IDEOLOGY REFLECTED ON PERSUASIVE STRATEGIES IN NARA MASISTA RAKHMATIA'S SPEECH AT UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THESIS

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ENGLISH LETTERS DEPARTMENT HUMANITIES FACULTY MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM STATE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY OF MALANG 2017

IDEOLOGY REFLECTED ON PERSUASIVE STRATEGIES IN NARA MASISTA RAKHMATIA'S SPEECH AT UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY THESIS

Presented to

Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University, Malang in Partial fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Sarjana Sastra

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2017

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APPROVAL SHEET

This is to certify that Nazla's thesis entitled Ideology Reflected on Persuasive Strategies in Nara Masista Rakhmatla's Speech at United Nations General Assembly has been approved by the thesis advisor for further approval by the Board of Examiners.

Malang, 5 December 2017

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STATEMENTS OF THESIS AUTHORSHIP

I certify that the thesis I wrote to fulfill the requirement for the Degree of Sarjana Sastra (S.S) entitled "Ideology Reflected on Persuasive Strategies in Nara Masista Rakhmatia's Speech at United Nations General Assembly" is truly my original work. It does not incorporate any materials previously written or published by other persons, except those indicated in quotation and bibliography. Due to this fact, I am the only person responsible for the thesis if there is any objection or claim from others.

Malang, 5 December 2017 RAI 2822 Nazla NIM 13320188

ΜΟΤΤΟ

Make it happen, shock everyone



DEDICATION

I proudly dedicate this thesis to my mother, ViviSahab; my father, Muhammad Assegaf; my sister and my brother, Ula and HabibAlhamid.



ACKNOWLEDMENT

All praise to Allah S.W.T. as the highest power, who gives His blessing for all creatures in the universe. Particularly, His blessing is given to me, so I can finish this thesis entitled "Ideology Reflected on Persuasive Strategies in Nara MasistaRakhmatia's Speech at United Nations General Assembly". *Shalawat and Salam*praise to our beloved Prophet Rasulullah Muhammad p.b.u.h, the messenger as well as the one who brings good news to human life.

I am able to accomplish this thesis successfully because of some talented people who always give advice, guidance, and critique in order to improve this thesis. I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. MeinarniSusilowati, for her critical advice and unsurpassed knowledge of doing research that are invaluable in both academic and personal levels.

Then, my deepest gratitude is to all lecturers at English Letters Department, especially BapakAgungWiranataKusuma, IbuRina Sari, BapakMuzakkiAfifuddin, and all of lecturers in Humanities Faculty, who have taught me so many great lessons. My thank you also delivers to my aunt, SidaSahab, my beautiful cousins, Salma Mauladdawilah and Banin Bin Syekh Abu Bakar, my cute nephew, Salma Zahra Anggawi, and my busy partner, Man Muhammad.

I am rightfully proud of my unbiological sisters Rahma, Agnes, Linda, Hanum, Yaya, Ijha, and Yufrida. Your togetherness teaches me to value life as a place to share happiness. Thank you so much.

Malang, December 2017

The Researcher

ABSTRACT

Nazla. 2017. Ideology Reflected on Persuasive Strategies in Nara Masista Rakhmatia's Speech at United Nations General Assembly. Thesis.English Letters Department.Humanities Faculty.Maulana Malik IbrahimState Islamic University, Malang. Advisor: Dr. MeinarniSusilowati.

Keyword: Ideology, Persuasive Strategies, Political speech.

This study investigates ideology reflected from persuasive strategies in Nara MasistaRakhmatia's speech at United Nations General Assembly. The researcher chose this topic as it has potential to investigate, specifically in revealing ideology. It is due to small number of people which are conscious about persuasive strategies in the speech. Moreover, by reflecting ideology through persuasive strategies, it will help the audience to be more careful to in believing the speaker's statement.

The researcher found that there were 9 excerpts of a speech divided into 25 data. The data were classified by using Beard (1999) and Herrick's (2011) Persuasive Strategies, analyzed by using Fairclough's (1989) Critical Discourse Analysis. Critical Discourse Analysis approach were used to elaborate the implicit meaning of the text. Methodologically, this study is categorized as descriptive qualitative as the research design.

The result shows that 3 (three) from 4 (four) of persuasive strategies reflected the speaker's ideology including, repetition, analogy, and proposition. In addition, the ideology revealed from persuasive strategies are: (a) Indonesia has the right to answer the allegation of human right violation proposed by the Solomon Island, Tuvalu, and other four countries; (b) Indonesia condemned the Solomon Island, Tuvalu, and other four countries allegation of human right violation in the UN assemblyIndonesia condemned the Solomon Island, Tuvalu, and other four countries allegation of human right violation in the UN assembly; (c) Indonesia is a country with high commitment in enforcing human rights.

For future researchers, it is recommended to find a more comprehensive data by collecting series of speech from one person or different person to get more saturated data. The future research should also investigate the possibility of the variation on the use of persuasive strategy among gender or age. Moreover, future research should study the use of persuasive strategy in different context, other than politics. These studies may broaden the insight on the use of persuasive strategies and linguistics features apparent from the context.

ABSTRAK

Nazla. 2017. Ideology yang Tercermin dari Strategi Persuasi dalam Pidato Nara Masista Rakhmatia di Sidang PBB. Skripsi. Jurusan Sastra Inggris.

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Kata Kunci: Ideologi, Strategi Persuasi, Pidato Politik.

Studi ini meneliti ideologi yang tercermin dari strategi persuasi dalam pidato Nara Masista Rakhmatia di sidang PBB. Topik ini dipilih karena peneliti menanggapnya sebagai topik potensial untuk diteliti, khususnya dalam mengungkapkan ideologi. Hal ini dikarenakan oleh sejumlah kecil orang yang sadar akan pentingnya strategi persuasive dalam pidato dan juga pentingnya merefleksikan ideologi melalui strategi persuasif.

Peneliti menemukan 9 kutipan pidato dan terbagi menjadi 25 data berdasarkan urutan kemunculannya. Data diklasifikasikan dengan menggunakan teori Strategi persuasi milik Beard (1999) dan Herrick (2011), selanjutnya ideologi dianalisis dengan menggunakan Analisis Wacana Kritis milik Fairclough (1989). Analisis Wacana Kritis menjadi pendekatan karena dalam prosesnya,, peneliti berusaha menguraikan makna implisit teks tersebut. Secara metodologis, penelitian ini dikategorikan deskriptif kualitatif.

Hasilnya menunjukkan bahwa 3 (tiga) dari 4 (empat) strategi persuasive mencerminkan ideologi pembicara seperti, pengulangan, analogi, dan proposisi. Selain itu, ideologi yang terungkap dari strategi persuasif tersebut adalah (a) Indonesia berhak menjawab tuduhan pelanggaran hak asasi manusia yang diajukan oleh Pulau Solomon, Tuvalu, dan empat negara lainnya, (b) Indonesia mengutuk Pulau Solomon, Tuvalu, dan empat negara lainnya (c) Indonesia adalah negara dengan komitmen tinggi dalam menegakkan hak asasi manusia.

Bagi peneliti selanjutnya, disarankan untuk menemukan data yang lebih komprehensif dengan mengumpulkan rangkaian pidato dari satu orang. Penelitian masa depan juga harus menyelidiki variasi penggunaan strategi persuasif antara jenis kelamin atau usia. Selain itu, penelitian harus meneliti strategi persuasif dalam konteks yang berbeda, selain politik. Penggunaan strategi persuasif telah dikenal luas dalam banyak konteks sosial. Studi ini dapat memperluas wawasan tentang penggunaan strategi persuasif dan fitur linguistik yang jelas dari konteksnya.

خلاصة البحث

نجلاء، 2017. انعكاس إيدولوجيا في استر اتيجية إقناعية في خطاب نارا ماسيستا رحمتية في الجمعية العامة للأمم المتحدة, الرسالة, كلية اللغة الإنجليزية قسم العلوم الإنسانية جامعة مولانا مالك إبراهيم الإسلامية ، مالانج, المشرفة: د. مينارني سوسيلواتي.

الكلمة الرئيسية: إيدولوجيا ، استراتيجية إقتاعية ، الخطاب السياسي.

تقدم هذه الدراسة في الإيديولوجية التي تنعكس على الاستراتيجية الإقناعية في خطاب نارا ماسيستا رحمتية في الجمعية العامة للأمم المتحدة, اختارت الباحثة هذا الموضوع لانه جدير بالتحقيق ، خاصا في الكشف عن الإيديولوجية. لقلة من يفهم أهمية استراتيجية إقناعية في الخطاب حيث إنه يساعد المستمعين في فهم بيان المتحدث

من الناحية المنهجية ، يتم تصنيف هذه الدراسة على انها نوعية وصفية مثل تصميم البحث. من هذه الدراسة ، وجنت الباحثة أن هناك تسع مقتطفات من الخطاب مقسمة إلى 25 بياتات. ففى التقسيم تم تصنيف البيانات باستخدام نظرية بيرد (1999) و هاريجك (2011) عن الاستراتيجية الإقناعية ، وفى التحليل تم التصنيف باستخدام نظرية فايرلوغه (1989) عن تحليل الحوار النقدي لتوضيح المعنى الضمني للنص.

تظهر النتيجة أن المتحدثة استخدمت ثلاث استراتيجية إقناعية في كلامها بما في ذلك التكرار والقياس والاقتراح. استندا إلى استخدام تحليل الاستراتيجية الإقناعية ، فإن الأيديولوجية التي تم الكشف عنها هي: (ا) يحق لإندونيسيا في الرد على ادعاء انتهاك حقوق الإنسان الذي اقترحته جزيرة سليمان وتوفالو والبلدان الأربعة الأخرى ؟ (ب) أدانت إندونيسيا جزيرة سولومون وتوفالو وغير ها من البلدان الأربعة المزعومة بانتهاك حقوق الإنسان في الجمعية العامة للأمم المتحدة ، (ج) إندونيسيا بلد ذو التزام كبير في إنفاذ حقوق الإنسان.

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CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

The word "ideology" cannot be easily described as a set of beliefs characteristic of a social group or individual. Beyond the statement above, ideology has also a fundamental role in human being of life system and essentially practical (Althusser, 2001: 51). It does not exist in the world of ideas conceived as a spiritual world but ideology exists in institutions and practices specific to them. Furthermore, van Dijk (1998: 8) believed that ideologies are developed or acquired by people through text and talk. Therefore, through studying the text and talk of a community, people may perceive the community's social, economic and politics ideology.

Moreover, the relation between ideologies and language, text and talk have been studied extensively for the last decades. According to Thompson and Hunston (2006: 6), identifying the text producer's or speaker's idea, reader or hearer may identify the communal value system and evaluate the value system as its social practice. In sum, the text and talk analysis may bring the writer to identify the ideology hold by the text producer or speaker.

In analyzing ideology, many researchers focus their analysis on the text and talk discourse. Discourse analysis perceived the text in context with a focus on discourse as an action (van Dijk, 1998: 55). Thus, the word "discourse" is a wider term than text. Discourse is focused on natural language representing semantic in certain context, while text refers to any

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passage, spoken, or written or whatever length (Halliday and Hassan in Hussein, 2016: 86). Thus, the word "discourse" cannot only be interpreted as text.

Spoken discourse is usually delivered by effective speakers. In this case, political discourse which is presented in political forum, and it is included in spoken discourse, must be delivered by a politician. Furthermore, in certain forum of politics, political speech is more demanding because the speaker will need more strategies to persuade the audience to agree with his/her idea. Moreover, in political speech, the speaker is even expected to assert and maintain his power through driving majorities' ideology (Chilton, 2004: 3). Therefore, to be a successful politician, one should be an eloquent orator in order to steer the receiver's emotions, attentions and agenda as part of the ideology.

Furthermore, in analyzing ideology in political speech, I used Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach proposed by Fairclough (1989). CDA is selected as it sees the use of language as a form of social practice.CDA also concerns how discourse is implicated in relations to power and ideology. The use of written texts in our daily and professional live maintains the mediation between ideology and power. Furthermore, CDA illuminates the problems generated by this relationship (Heberman in Ghaderinezhad, 2015: 884). According to Fairclough (1989: 25), in analyzing ideology, CDA requires three kinds of analysis: text analysis, processing analysis and social analysis. The text analysis belongs to the description level focusing on object analysis,

while processing analysis refers to production and receiver by human. Lastly, social analysis occurs to the explanation level which focuses on the socio historical condition.

I chose to use Norman Fairclough's theory in this research because the theory provides specific steps to reveal ideology. Fairclough (1995: 32) believed that ideological representations can be identified in the texts. In addition, textual analysis is needed to be framed and can consider bodies of texts in term of their effects on reveal ideology (Fairclough, 1993). This indicates that the theories have been well established and can be applied in investigating ideology.

Moreover, the current study focuses on studying the reflected ideology in political speech based on the persuasive strategies. Beard (2000: 37) believed when a political speech is delivered by using persuasive strategies, the speech will be well constructed, and the audience will be successfully convinced. The four aspects of persuasive strategies are metaphors, repetition, analogy and propositional meaning (Beard, 2000: 19; Herrick in Watt & Barnett, 2011: 163). The persuasive strategies will be briefly elaborated as follow. Metaphors refers to a word or phrase used to establish a comparison between the ideas to another while repetition refers to a word which is repeated several times. Next, analogy refers to a word or a sentence which compares two different things yet they have certain elements in common. The last, propositional meaning refers to view point that will be

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created, defended, and destroyed by the speaker which should be unambiguous (Beard, 2000: 19; Herrick in Watt and Barnett, 2011: 163).

Persuasive strategy theory is selected to identify the subject's ideology for several reasons: firstly, persuasive strategies theory is relevant to be applied in the current research in investigating political speech because, as it function in political speech the speaker intends to persuade the audiences. Beard (2000: 8) believed that persuasive strategy is relevant to analyze political discourse. Secondly, persuasive strategy provides fresh angle of analysis on speech. Thus, I decided to use persuasive strategy theory in this research to provide novel insight from new angle to provide new findings in persuasive strategies study.

Moreover, in this research, I investigated Nara Masista Rakhmatia's speech presented in The United Nations General Assembly in New York. I choose Nara Masista Rakhmatia's speech in United Nation General Assembly because her speech is rich with some linguistic features such as stress, intonation, and persuasive strategies. Interestingly, those persuasive strategies are able to reflect ideology of Nara Masista Rakhmatia through her speech.

The studies of persuasive strategies and ideology have been widely done because of its significance towards the world. Most previous researchers investigated persuasive strategies and ideology used in advertisements and speeches. First, Najihah (2016) investigated the ideological concept of beauty reflected on body care advertisements. Second, Nurrosyidah (2016) investigated persuasive strategies in Joko Widodo's political speeches. Interestingly, persuasive strategies reflected ideologies in speeches are rarely investigated. Since the previous researchers have not analyzed persuasive strategies reflect the speaker's ideology, this present study focuses on analyzing what are the persuasive strategies used within a speech and how those persuasive strategies which reflect the speaker's ideology. Moreover, previous researchers have different interest, focus, and subject in investigating the persuasive strategies and ideology.

Therefore, through this research, I attempted to investigate persuasive strategies and ideology, specifically the types of persuasive strategies used in Nara Masista Rakhmatia's speech and how those persuasive strategies reflect her ideology seen from critical discourse analysis approach. Based on the discussion, I focus on studying ideology reflected from the use of persuasive strategies in Nara Masista Rakhmatia speech at United Nations General Assembly.

1.2 Research Questions

From what I discussed above, I want to investigate "How do the persuasive strategies reflect ideology in Nara Masista Rakhmatia speech?"

1.3 Significance of the study

Theoretically, this study is expected to give contribution to linguistic fields, particularly the persuasive strategies which reflect speaker's ideology. Moreover, the research would be a potential sources for the future researchers studying the use of persuasive strategies in political speech.

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Practically, the present study on persuasive strategies and ideology can be useful for the speakers such as politician and debaters. For the politicians they can deliver their idea and convince people to agree with their idea. For the debaters they can strengthen their arguments in order to defeat their opponents. Furthermore, the study about ideology represented in persuasive strategies can help the audience to be more careful to in believing the speaker's statement.

1.4 Scope and Limitation

The focus of this research is persuasive strategies used in political speech and ideology which is reflected from it. I selected political speech delivered by Nara Masista Rakhmatia at United Nations General Assembly as the subject of my research.

However, I only investigated one speech of Nara Masista Rakhmatia in United Nations General Assembly because I did not find any specific features of a persuasive strategies on her other speeches.

Therefore, this research focuses on investigating the use of persuasive strategies to reflect ideology through her speech using persuasive strategies theory proposed by Beard (2000) and Herrick (2011) and CDA theory proposed by Fairclough (1989).

1.5 Research Method

The research method describes the research design, research subjects, data, sources, research instrument, data collection and data analysis of the current study.

1.5.1 Research Design

To analyze ideology by using persuasive strategies of the speech, I used constructivism paradigm because I did the analysis starting from understanding the context. Moreover, I attempted to collaborate persuasive strategies theory and critical discourse analysis theory. However, by using the selected paradigm this research is expected to show that persuasive strategies can reflect the speaker's ideology which is formulated into new theory.

Furthermore, this research used persuasive strategies and CDA theories to reveal the speaker's ideology. The theories are selected for two reasons. First, the data are in the form of utterances from the object's speech. Second, the theories facilitated me to study the persuasive strategies use and ideology born with the speech.

1.5.2 Data Source

The data of this research is the speech of Nara Masista Rakhmatia presented at United Nations General Assembly. The data source is taken from the video uploaded by Yudiwebnews on YouTube Sept 28, 2016 <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=le2A0ra6nBU</u>. Yudiwebnews is selected as the source of YouTube channels because it is one of YouTube channels which provides a full version of Nara Masista Rakhmatia speech. However, other links such as AlvinBambang and Malesbaca.com do not provide the full version of her speech.

1.5.3 Research Instrument

The main instrument of the research is me because the nature of the data can be taken only by human. In doing this research, I was the only research instrument. I investigated the subject by watching the video and writing down the transcription of Nara Masista Rakhmatia's speech based on Jefferson (1985) theory.

1.5.4 Data Collection

To collect the needed data as required to answer the research questions, there are two steps to be done. Firstly, I downloaded the speech from YouTube. Secondly, I watched the video around several times while making a transcription of the speech. The first and second time watch, I looked at the whole video. Next, the third and fourth I began making transcript from Nara Masista Rakhmatia's speech. Finally, I looked back on Nara Masista Rakhmatia's speech from the beginning then identify the persuasive strategies features in it.

1.5.5 Data Analysis

I did the analysis from the collected data by following several steps. First, I classified the data based on persuasive strategies used in the speech to answer the research question. The persuasive strategies consist of: (a) utterance which is classified as metaphors if there is a word of phrase establishing a comparison between one ideas to another; (b) utterance which can be categorized as repetition if there is a word repeated several times; (c)

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utterance which is classified as analogy if there is a word or a sentence comparing two different things but these things have certain element in common; (d) utterance which can be categorized as propositional meaning if there is the speakers unambiguous view point.

Next, I analyzed the ideology reflected by those persuasive strategies using Norman Fairclough's theory. To achieve this objective, firstly, the **text** was explored using persuasive strategies proposed by Beard (2000) and Herrick (2011). This step resulted in classification of persuasive strategies used in the text. After that, the study performed syntactical analysis on the persuasive strategies found on the text. This step was performed to determine the meaning of the sentence. Next, the Fairclough's (1989) theory was used to reflect the speaker's ideology from the collected data. Afterward, I discussed the finding based on theories used to answer the research questions. Lastly, I formulated conclusion based on the finding and discussion of the research.

1.6 Definition of Key Terms

To avoid ambiguity, the definition of important terms are given as follows:

 Persuasive strategies: some strategies used by the speaker to convince the hearer. It also understood as some strategies to persuade other people to be agreed with the speaker's idea. The features of persuasive strategy include:

- a. Metaphor : refers to a word or phrase used to establish a comparison between the ideas to another
- b. Repetition : refers to a word which is repeated several times
- c. Analogy : refers to a word or a sentence which compares two different things yet they have certain element in common
- d. Proposition : refers to view point that will be created,

defended, and destroyed by the speaker which should be unambiguous.

- 2. Ideology : a shared framework of social beliefs that organize and coordinate the social interpretations and practices of groups and their members, and in particular also power and other relations between groups.
- Political speech : a speech presented by Nara Masista in UNGA on 28th September 2016 to represent Indonesia in related forum.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter elaborates theories related to the current study covering, Ideology, Political Speech Analysis, and Persuasive Strategies.

2.1 Ideology

Ideology is a set of normative value in human beings life system that shared by a social group. Moreover, van Dijk (2006: 4) stated that the ideas of those beliefs can be valued by the members of a certain community. Ideology specifically includes a large range of ideas, beliefs, value systems, prejudices, stereotypes, legends, and any other notions (Schiffman in Yun, 2005: 132). For instance, some Americans believe that the real American is white not black.

This example shows that ideology is only shared in certain group of people. Furthermore, ideology also represents feelings and perceptions of certain group of people that filters everything, including in politics. Therefore, ideologies, like languages, are essentially social as well as politics. There are no personal or individual ideologies, only personal or individual uses of ideologies in politics.

Moreover, ideology in politics is inseparable. Van Dijk (2006: 731) argued that politics is the most ideological field in social area. Politics is defined as overall systems including democracy, dictatorship, etc. Furthermore, politics is also applied at special social macro actions, such as government, legislation, elections, or decision making; its special norms and values, for example: freedom, equality, etc. (van Dijk, 2006: 732).

It is very common in politics to have very different and opposed groups, power, struggles, and interests. In order to be able to compete, political groups need to be ideologically conscious and organized (van Djik, 2006: 732).

Therefore, politics can be understood as a system applied to govern and regulate a country in which power struggles and conflict of interests.

2.2 Political Speech Analysis

In this sub chapter I put forward a brief description covering Political Speech, CDA Fairclough's analysis model and its components such as text, discourse practice and social practice as a tool to analyze ideology.

2.2.1 Political Speech

The relations between political speech and ideologies are usually studied in terms of the structures of political discourse. This relationship may be extracted in the following contexts, such as the use of biased lexical items, syntactic structures such as actives and passives, pronouns such as us and them, metaphors, arguments, implications, and many other properties of discourse (Van Dijk, 2006: 732). It should be emphasized, however, that political speech should be viewed as discourse which is conceptualized also in terms of its context structures (Van Dijk, 2006: 732).

Since such political speech situations do not simply cause political actors to speak in such a way, that the hearer need a cognitive interface between such a situation and talk or text, that is, a mental model of the political situation (van Dijk, 2006: 733). Such mental models define how participants experience, interpret, and represent the for-them-relevant aspects of the political situation. These specific mental models are called contexts. In other words, contexts are subjective participant definitions of communicative situations. They control all aspects of discourse production and comprehension.

2.2.2 CDA Fairclough's Analysis Model

Analyzing context of the political speech, one needs a set of an established analysis framework. Fairclough (1989) proposed a fairly comprehensive model of analysis which can analyses discourse: text, discourse practice, and social practice (Badara, 2012: 26). Firstly, text relates to linguistics which can be analyzed by looking at the vocabulary, semantics, and phrase, as well as coherence and cohesiveness, and how they form persuasive strategies. Secondly, discourse practice is a dimension associated with the process of production and consumption of text, such as work patterns and work charts. Lastly, social practice is defined as dimensions related to contexts outside the text such as the context of the situation or the context of the media in relation to a particular society or political culture.

2.2.2.1 Text Analysis

Specifically, text analysis has three functions, namely representation, relation, and identity. Fairclough (1994: 107) stated that the function of representation is related to the ways in which it is performed to display social reality into text. The analysis of text includes traditional forms of linguistic analysis, vocabulary and semantic analysis, sentence grammar, and sound systems (phonology). Furthermore, Fairclough (1995: 9) acknowledges it as linguistic analysis. The followings are properties of text studied in CDA:

A. Cohesion and Coherence

This analysis is intended to show how clauses are formed to be sentences, and how sentences are formed in larger units. Cohesion and coherence are terms used in discourse analysis and text linguistics to describe the properties of written text. The intertwined in this analysis can be seen through the use of lexical, repetition of words (repetition), synonyms, antonyms, pronouns, hyphens, and others Fairclough (1989: 130).

Furthermore, text structure concerning on the "architecture" of the text that can give a lot of insight into the system of knowledge and belief. It is including the assumption about social relationship and social identities built into the form of text (Fairclough in Najihah, 2016: 19). For example, advertising language tends not to use clear markers of cohesion, but is interpreted as being coherent.

B. Grammar

Grammatical analysis is a very important part of critical discourse analysis. Grammatical analysis in critical analysis is more emphasized on the angle of clauses contained in the discourse (Halliday in Fairclough, 2003: 24). These clauses are analyzed from the point of transitivity, theme, and modalities. Transitivity is analyzed to determine the use of verbs constructing clauses whether the clause is active or the passive clause, and how its significance when using nominalization. The use of an active, passive, or nominalization clause affects the offender, the cause, or the reasons for liability and others. The examples of the use of active clauses is the main actor / subject as the theme is positioned at the beginning of the clause. Meanwhile, the placement of the passive clause is omitted. Utilization of the form of nominalization is also able to bias both the perpetrator and the victim, even both (Eriyanto, 2012: 290).

C. Diction

Analysis of diction is an analysis of the keywords which is selected and used in the text. In addition, there are also metaphors used in the text. The choice of spoken vocabulary relates primarily to how a particular event, person, group, or activity is in a particular set (Eriyanto, 2012: 291). This vocabulary will be crucial because it deals with the question of how reality is marked in language and how language ultimately constructs a particular reality. For example, the selection of words for poor, incapable, less able, marginal, marginalized, oppressed, and others.

Moreover, there are three primary aspect of diction. Firstly, diction includes a sense about which word used in conveying a thought, how to highlight the right words and use the right expressions, and what the best style used in a situation. Secondly, diction is the ability in groping the right form in adaptability of situation and ethics being achieved by society or hearer. Thirdly, the right and suitable word choice is only achieved by having a large number of vocabularies. While vocabulary means that an entire word being had a language. Based on the definition above, it could possibly be highlighted that diction is concerned with the selection of words that should be used to convey thought or about how to use words appropriately in sentence.

2.2.2.2 Discourse Practice

Discourse practice focuses on the production and the use of a text. Fairclough (1989: 38) stated that discourse analysis serves to know the process of production, distribution, and the use of texts. Texts are formed by discursive practice and it will determine how a text is produced. Moreover, Discursive practices include action and interaction, social relations, the material world, material practices, as well as the rituals, beliefs, attitudes, values, desires of people and institutions (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999). They also include power and discourse, forms of consciousness, time and space, objects, instruments, subjects and their social relations and activities as well as abstract social structures, concrete social events as well as relatively stabilized forms of social activity (Fairclough, 1989: 74).

For instance, discourse on political forums such as parliamentary sessions. Discourse is formed by discursive practice that involves the interaction between speakers and audiences. How do the speakers convey the ideas and how do the audiences give a response. Those practices are including in discursive practice and will form a discourse.

2.2.2.3 Social Practice

Social practice refers to the social context that influences a discourse. Socio-cultural practice analyzes three things: economics, politics (especially with regard to issues of power and ideology) and culture (especially with regard

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to values and identity) that also affect the discourse (Fairclough, 1989: 16). Moreover, Fairclough (2006: 731) argued that sociocultural practices are the wider socio-cultural, political, ideological and institutional structures and processes in a historical context. The concept of social practice allows one to capture the changeability and interactive flow between social structure, as well as social action and agency and the role of discourse in this context. Absorbing moments, social practices or extra-discursive within the operational definition of discourse thus suggests an oscillation between the perspectives of social structure, action and agency (Eriyanto, 2012: 320).

The discussion of socio-cultural practice includes three levels, those are: (a) situational level, related to production and context of the situation, (b) institutional level, related to the influence of institutions, internally and externally, (c) the social level, related to the macro situations, such as the political system, the economic system, and the cultural system of society (Eriyanto, 2012: 322). The brief description on the three strategies above is as follow:

Firstly, in the situational level, a text is generally exists in a particular condition and unique atmosphere. Discourse is understood as an action, it is an attempt to respond to a particular social situation or context (Eriyanto, 2012: 322). In the other words, the situational level focus on the context of events that occur when the news is published.

Secondly, the institutional level focuses on the influence of organizational institutions on practice when a discourse is produced. Organizational institutions

can come from the power of external institutions that can determine the process of producing the text (Eriyanto, 2012: 323).

Lastly, the social level focuses on micro aspects such as the economic system, political system, or community cultural system. In addition, a discourse that appears in the media is determined by the change of society (Eriyanto, 2012: 325).

2.3 **Persuasive Strategies**

Persuasive strategies are always employed within a speech. Halmari (2005: 3) stated that persuasive strategies are refer to all linguistic behavior that attempts to either change the thinking or behavior of an audience, or to strengthen its beliefs, should the audience already agree.

Dealing with it, Beard (2000: 19) proposed there are three persuasive strategies that can be used within a speech; those are metaphors, repetition, and analogy. The brief description on the three strategies above is as follow:

First, metaphor is a figure of speech which makes an implicit, implied or hidden comparison between two things that are unrelated but share some common characteristics. Beard (2000: 21) stated that metaphor is deeply embedded in human language. Furthermore, Lakoff and Johnson (2003) believed that metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action.

For example, John F. Kennedy at Remarks at the Dedication of the Aerospace Medical Health Center on November 21, 1963 said, "America has tossed its cap over the wall of space!" At the start of the speech, JFK announced that the United States was going to be at the front of the movement. He compared this speech to "tossing his cap" or declaring monopoly over the first successful trip to the moon. America tossing its cap is a metaphor for declaring that it will take charge of the movement. However, metaphors are a matter of colorful language and human uses metaphors as a tool to understand the world and it is reflected by communication (Top 6 great metaphors, n.d.).

Second, analogy refers to a figure where an item is compared with a similar other. Furthermore, analogy is defined as a large scale comparison where one concept is understood by comparing it to another well-known concept (Beard 2000: 27). In a political speech, the speaker needs more devices to persuade the audience. In this case analogy can be used as a tool to convince the audience and it involves comparison on a larger scale.

For example, Ronald Raegan in Inaugural Address on January 21, 1985 stated in his speech, "But there are many mountains yet to climb. We will not rest until every American enjoys the fullness of freedom, dignity, and opportunity as our birthright." (Top 6 great metaphors, n.d.). Ronald Raegan knew about the problems facing the country in the mid-1980s, including the AIDs virus, tax problems, inequality, and the rise of communism. He used the words "the mountains" to show that the United States had to focus on for the next four years, or the main problems they were going to encounter. Thus, analogy has its function as a very powerful persuasion tool that is useful especially in a political speech (Top 6 great metaphors, n.d.).

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Next, repetition refers to a word which is repeated several times. However, when repetition is applied within political speech, it will give a strong sense (Beard, 2000: 38). It means there is an important message in a particular word or sentence, so the speaker repeats it more than one times. Repetition often uses word relations to express the speaker's ideas and emotions in an indirect manner (Beard, 2000: 38). In 2015, Dastpak and Taghinezhad investigated persuasive strategies used in Obama's political speech. The results showed that Obama used repetition in a few words such as country, new and America. From the result above, Obama used repetition in his speech because he wanted to highlight several important points to be conveyed in that occasion. Thus, the audiences have to interpret such relations and understand the underlying or implicit meanings of the speaker's sentences.

In addition, Herrick (in Watt & Barnett, 2011: 163) proposed propositional meaning as a part of persuasive strategies. Propositional meaning describes as the type of meaning that comes from the context within the sentence.

There are three types of prepositional meaning including propositions of fact, proposition of value and propositions of policy.

2.3.1 Propositions of fact focus on the existence of something. Whenever it is applied in political speech, it also understood as a statement which the speaker aims at obtaining audience acceptance on his/her arguments being true or false (Herrick in Watt & Barnett, 2011: 163).

For example, in early 2017 Bank Indonesia (BI) launched the latest data on Indonesia's foreign debt position. As of September 2017,

Indonesia's foreign debt was recorded at USD 343, 13 billion. In their report, this debt figure rose quite high compared to the previous month or Agustus 2017 which recorded only USD 340. 93 billion. The government considers this is because development financing poses a risk that can affect macroeconomic stability. Each of these three fact propositions is supported by a series of historical analyzes of its own (Hutang Indonesia terus naik, n.d.).

2.3.2 Propositions of value refer to compare something and determine the best one (Herrick in Watt & Barnett, 2011: 163). It refers to a statement of the speaker, where she/he asks the audience to make an evaluative judgment. When it comes to a speech, proposition of value are also make an evaluative claim regarding morality, aesthetics, wisdom or desirability within the speech (Herrick in Watt & Barnett, 2011: 164).

For example, whenever American state that The United States is the greatest nation on earth, it means that Americans offer standards for evaluating the proposition. So evaluating criteria will be needed to support the proposition.

2.3.3 Propositions of policy focus on the speaker who demands the audience to endorse a policy or to commit themselves to a particular action (Herrick in Watt & Barnett, 2011 :164). This form of persuasive speech is used every day in congress to determine laws, but it is also used interpersonally to

determine how we ought to behave. For example, the statement

"The federal government should legalize medicinal marijuana". This sentence illustrates the proposition of policy. This sentence ask the reader to advocate for an appropriate course of action and policy.

2.6 Previous Studies

Several previous researchers provide insights on the studies that support the stances why this present study significant to conduct.

The first research employing Fairclough's (1989) theory was conducted by Najihah (2016). The researcher studied the ideological concept of beauty from body care advertisements. There were twelve body care advertisements from three brands, Oriflame, Wardah and Nivea which were analyzed in the study. The result of the study revealed that the use of diction selected by the advertisements have a big impact on consumers. Moreover, the use of adjective had two main function, to describe the product and to describe the result after using the products. Furthermore, the most pronouns used in the advertisements was 'your' which had function to directly point at the reader, so the reader will feel engaged to the advertisement.

Similarly to Najihah (2016), the present study also investigates ideology. However, the present study does not focus on advertisements, but it focuses on speech. Specifically, it also attempts to investigate the ideology reflect on political speech, which is analyzed using critical discourse analysis designed by Fairclough (1989). The researcher believes that the variations of the subjects can contribute to the new findings about critical discourse analysis fields.

In addition, Nurrosyidah (2016) tried to investigate persuasive strategies in JokoWidodo's political speeches. The expected goal from the study was the consciousness of small number of people about the important of persuasive strategies in speeches. The data sources which in the form text is taken from JokoWidodo speeches at APEC CEO Summit 2014 and Asia – Africa Conference 2015. The result showed that JokoWidodo used all the types of persuasive strategies within his speeches in order to persuade the audience by using figurative language.

The present study also investigates persuasive strategies in the speech. If Nurrosyidah (2016) only investigated persuasive strategies used in speeches, the present study will also investigate the ideology reflected by the speaker through the persuasive strategies. However, the present study uses political speech and focuses on the framework of persuasive strategies theory proposed by Beard (2000) and Herrick (2011).

CHAPTER III

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

This chapter presents the finding and discussion. The finding consists of the analysis of the data to answer the research question. The result of the analysis is further discussed in the later part of the chapter.

3.1 Findings

This research analyzed persuasive strategies of a speech text to reveal its' ideology. The speech is delivered by Nara Masista Rakhmatia at the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) to answer the human rights violations allegation stated by Vanuatu, Solomon Island and four other Pacific Asia countries. This research classified the speech text into 9 excerpts which was, then, divided into 25 data. These data were analyzed using persuasive strategies to reveal the speaker's ideology. The data is presented based on the sequence of emergence.

As a basis of the analysis in reflecting ideology from the used of persuasive strategies in the speech, this research draws on Beard (2000) and Herrick (2011)'s theory of persuasive strategies, critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1989). To achieve this objective, firstly, the text was explored using persuasive strategies proposed by Beard (2000) and Herrick (2011). This step resulted in classification of persuasive strategies used in the text. After that, the study performed syntactical analysis on the persuasive strategies found on the text. This step was performed to determine the meaning of the sentence. Next, the Fairclough's (1989) theory was used to reflect the speaker's ideology from the collected data.

In addition, to perform comprehensive analysis, I decide to include linguistic features analysis covering stress, rising and falling intonation using Jefferson's transcription markings (1985). This step is done through marking intonation and stresses made by the speaker. The markings are italicization indicating stress intonation, upwards arrow (\uparrow) indicating rising intonation and downwards arrow (\downarrow) indicating falling intonation.

The details finding of the research are presented as follows:

Excerpt 1

In this excerpt, the speaker began her speech by greeting the president of UNGA as the leader in current forum. The speaker stated the intent of Indonesia to use its' right to answer Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Nauru, Marshall Islands, Tuvalu and Tonga's accusation on the human rights violation issue in Papua and West Papua.

"Mr. President, Indonesia would like to <u>↑*exercise* our right of reply</u> to the statement delivered by Solomon Islands and Vanuatu. Coded by Nauru, Marshall Islands, Tuvalu and Tonga. Regarding matters concerning Papua **a** province of Indonesia (datum 1)".

From the data above, it can be seen that the speaker used stress in her first sentence especially on the word "exercise". The speaker emphasized this word in her speech which refers to Indonesian right to defend and answer the human right violation issue of Papua and West Papua stated by Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and other four countries allegation. Related to the persuasive strategies, datum 1 indicated the use of proposition of policy. It is revealed from the use of words "exercise our right of reply" which means that the speaker persuaded the audience to acknowledge that Indonesia has the right to answer the human right violation issues in Papua and West Papua as stipulated in UN regulations. Thus, by using proposition of policy in her first sentence, she attempted to influence the UNGA audience to accept Indonesia's rights to answer the allegation at this forum.

Based on the explanation above, the ideology reflected from the proposition of policy is that Indonesia has the right to reply the allegation as it is stipulated under the UN regulation. The use of proposition of policy indicated on the phrase of "exercise our right of reply". Based on the proposition, it is known that the speaker tried to highlight the Indonesia's right to reply the human right allegation addressed by Solomon Island, Vanuatu and other four countries. Moreover, the speaker also emphasized the word "exercise", so that the audience acknowledge the right to reply on Indonesia. By having legitimate power to answer the allegation, Indonesia hold the authority to put forward arguments which would be used to rebut the allegation directed to it. Therefore, from this data, the speaker maintained that this right to reply is regulated under the UN regulation and Indonesia wanted to use it as legitimate power obtained from the policy.

Excerpt 2

The statement on excerpt 2 below occurred after the speaker opened her speech by greeting the UN president as the leader of the assembly. Then, the speaker began to convey Indonesia's reply to what stated by Solomon Island, Vanuatu and other four countries. The speaker perceived that these state leaders violated the UN charter.

"Indonesia is \uparrow *shocked* to hear that at this important stage, <u>where leaders</u> gather in this august body to address the early implementation of SDGs (The Sustainable Development a Goals), the transformation of our collective actions, and other global challenges such as climate change of which the Pacific countries are affected the most (datum 2). The state leaders \uparrow *chose instead* to violate the UN charter by interviewing in other countries sovereignty and violating its territorial integrity (datum 3)."

In the first statement (datum 2), it shows that Indonesia is dissatisfied with the topic of the discussion at the assembly by showing some markings of statement such as stress and rising intonation. The stress and rising intonation of the "shocked" word is addressed to the UN president and the audience at the forum including Vanuatu, Solomon Island and other four countries. Moreover, the stress and rising intonation of the words "of change which is the pacific countries" refer to the fact that the impact of climate change most felt by pacific countries. Therefore, in this datum the speaker used stress and rising intonation in some words to highlight some points of the sentences.

In terms of persuasive strategies, the data indicates the use of proposition of fact. Based on the proposition of fact used in the data, the speaker presented some facts within her speech such as the early implementation of SDGs and global challenges such as climate change. It can be seen from the words "where leaders gather in this august body to address the early implementation of SDGs (The Sustainable Development a Goals), the transformation of our collective actions, and other global challenges such as climate change of which the

Pacific countries are affected the most". Furthermore, the speaker claimed that those things that should be discussed in the forum rather than human right violation issues in Papua and West Papua. Thus, by using proposition of fact the speaker attempted to persuade the audience to accept with her ideas through the facts that she mentioned.

Next, in the datum 3, the speaker used rising intonation on the words "choose instead" which refer to the state leaders include Vanuatu, Solomon Island and other four countries because they were considered violating the UN Charter. Furthermore, it is included in the propositions of facts because the speaker stated forbidden aspect for the UN member states such as interviewing in other countries sovereignty and violating its territorial integrity. Therefore, the speaker wanted to point out the specific message of her speech in order to attract the audience's attention.

Based on the description above, the ideology reflected by proposition of fact within the speech is that the topic of the meeting should discuss about the early implementation of SDGs, the transformation of their collective actions, and other global challenges such as climate change affecting pacific countries. It is seen from her statement in datum 2 "where leaders gather in this august body to address the early implementation of SDGs (The Sustainable Development a Goals), the transformation of our collective actions, and other global challenges such as climate change of which the Pacific countries are affected the most". By presenting this statement, it is also implicitly pointed out that Indonesia rejected the discussion on the human rights allegations

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conveyed by those countries as this forum should discuss the environmental problem arising in pacific countries. The speaker argued that, in fact, the real agenda of the forum is sustainable development goals and climates challenges. Using these two facts, Indonesia is strongly opposed the discussion of human right violation allegation happened in Papua. Thus, from this point the speaker attempted to highlight facts supporting Indonesia's rejection on the discussion of human rights violation in Papua and West Papua.

Excerpt 3

In this excerpt, the speaker addressed the human rights violation alleged by Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Nauru, Marshall Islands, Tuvalu and Tonga. Furthermore, the speaker stated that these countries had insufficient information about the history, current situation and progress in West Papua and Papua Province. The speaker also believed that these countries supported the separatist group movement in Papua.

"We categorically $\uparrow \underline{reject}$ (datum 4) the continuing insinuations in their statements. They clearly $\uparrow \underline{reflect}$ an unfortunate $\uparrow \underline{lack of understanding}$ of the history, current situation and progressive developments in Indonesia, including in the provinces of $\uparrow Papua and West Papua$, and also an unfriendly and rhetoric political maneuver (datum 5). Their politically motivated statements were designed $\uparrow \underline{to \ support}$ separatist group and the state provinces who have consistently engaged in inciting public disorder and in conducting armed terrorist attacks up and civilians and security personnel (datum 6)."

From the data above, it can be seen that the speaker used rising intonation and stress in some words including "reject", "reflect", "lack of understanding", "Papua and West Papua", and "to support". The use of rising intonation on those words were aimed to raise the attention of the audience of the forum. The speaker also attempted to emphasize the message of this excerpt including what these countries allegedly indicated their lack of understanding on the developments in Indonesia. Thus, the speaker deliberately used rising intonation and stressed these words to raise the attention as well as deliver the message.

Related to persuasive strategies, datum 4 indicates proposition of policy. It is shown from the word "reject". This word denotes the rejection on the allegation of the related countries on the issue of human rights violation in Papua and West Papua. Moreover, the speaker tried to advocate the appropriate course of action which is rejecting. In this case, Indonesia's rejection of allegations of human rights violation is perceived as the appropriate course of action submitted on the occasion because it clearly violated the UN charter as the speaker conveyed to the previous excerpt. Thus, the use of a proposition of policy delivered by the speaker in this datum is considered as an appropriate action to be taken by Indonesia and through this action Indonesia tried to show that what those countries allege is not true.

Next, in the datum 5, the speaker used propositions of value which is a part of the persuasive strategies. It is seen from the words used by the speaker such as "reflect" and "lack of understanding". The words "reflect" and "lack of understanding" were aimed at Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Nauru, Marshall Islands, Tuvalu and Tonga. The speaker mentioned that what they alleged reflected their lack of understanding on the history and development in Indonesia. The speaker mentioned that these countries were lack of information on what is really happened in Indonesia. Using this proposition, the audience were asked to evaluate their judgment on Indonesia performance towards Papua and West Papua province.

Moreover, the datum 6 also contains proposition of value as reflected from the word "to support". This word is also directed to several countries mentioned above because what they alleged have considered to support separatist groups who carry out armed terrorist attacks against civilians and security guards. The proposition of value in this word aims to emphasize another purpose of those states which is none other than to support separatist groups existing in Papua and West Papua. Therefore, the use of persuasive strategy in this datum aims to convince the audience that their action in accusing human rights violations issue to in Indonesia as the act of giving support to the separatist army.

Furthermore, from the excerpt above, the reflected ideology from proposition of policy is that the speaker expressed disagreement towards the Vanuatu, Solomon Island and other four countries on human rights violation issues in Papua and west Papua. The speaker expressed her intention through the word "reject", as mentioned in the first line of the excerpt. As this proposition of policy persuades the audience to agree that discussing the allegation violate the UN charter as mentioned in excerpt 2. Furthermore, the speaker also rejected the human rights violation discussion in the forum as the speaker believed that those related countries are supporting separatist group in Papua and West Papua. As it will harm Indonesia state in general, civilians and security personnel. Therefore, using the proposition of policy, the speaker legitimated her rejection on the human rights allegation discussion in that occasion.

Excerpt 4

In this part, the speaker revealed that Solomon Island, Vanuatu and other four countries proposal clearly violated UN Charter. It was also a form of violation of other country sovereignty. In addition to violating the UN charter, what the State may undermine inter-State relations.

"Evidently, the statement made by those countries clearly $\uparrow \underline{violate}$ the purposes and objectives of the <u>UN charter</u> (datum 7), and the principle of international law and friendly relations among state as well as <u>the sovereignty</u> and territorial integrity of state. $\uparrow I$ repeat, it is $\uparrow a$ violation of sovereignty and territorial integrity of state. (datum 8)"

In datum 7, the speaker used stress and rising intonation on the word "violate". It aims to emphasize that what those countries deed was wrong and was considered as a violation of the UN charter. Moreover, in the datum 8, speakers stressed and rose the intonation on the words "I repeat" and "a violation". The emphasis and giving of rising intonation in the above two words is a reaffirmation of the previous speaker's statement. Therefore, the audience will pay more attention to the word violate which is the main message the speaker wants to convey.

Related with persuasive strategies, datum 7 contains proposition of fact which is part of persuasive strategies. As it is seen on the words "violate" and "UN charter". Proposition of fact deal with the existence of a particular idea. In this case, the idea or content of UN charter is a fact and is known by all UN member states. What these countries do is a real violation of the UN charter. However, the speakers had proposed the proposition of fact within her speech in order to emphasize the source of the problem.

Moreover, there is another persuasive strategy within this datum called repetition. It is seen from the word "violate" and "UN charter". The word "violate" and the word "UN charter" have been mentioned first in datum 3 in excerpt 2. The repetition of these two words is addressed by the speaker to those countries which was aimed to emphasize the important points to be conveyed to the audience. Thus, the use of repetition used by speakers in speech will highlight the message to the audience.

Next, datum 8 contains proposition of value shown by the phrase "a violation of sovereignty and territorial integrity of state". It is classified as proposition of value because the speaker claimed that those countries (i.e. accusing human rights violations in Papua and West Papua) was considered as a violation of sovereignty and territorial integrity of state. Next, datum 8 contains proposition of value shown by the phrase "a violation of sovereignty and territorial integrity of state. Next, datum 8 contains proposition of value shown by the phrase "a violation of sovereignty and territorial integrity of state". It is classified as proposition of value because the speaker claimed that those countries (i.e. accusing human rights violations in Papua and West Papua) was considered as a violation of sovereignty and territorial integrity of state. Thus, the used of proposition of value within this datum will help the speaker to convince the audience to agree with her idea.

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In addition, persuasive strategy found in this datum is repetition. The "sovereignty and territorial integrity of state" words were repeated as previously mentioned at datum 7. The purpose of repeating this words is to raise the audience awareness to the speaker's ideas in her speech. Furthermore, it is to convince the audience that Indonesia had control on its own territory. Besides, this repetition was also to state to the audience that every country should respect other country's sovereignty.

The ideology reflected from the use of repetition in this excerpt is that the speaker stated other countries are forbidden to interfere Indonesia sovereignty and territorial integrity. Through the use of repetition on the words of "violation of sovereignty and territorial integrity of state", the speaker reiterated the importance of respecting other country's domestic affairs. Thus, ideology reflected from the datum is that the speaker implicitly stating to the audience on the allegation had disrespected and violated UN charter and other country's sovereignty

Excerpt 5

In excerpt 5, the speaker conveyed the disappointment of Indonesia and felt this was a misuse of UN forum. In addition, the speaker considered that Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Nauru, Marshall Islands, Tuvalu and Tonga used the forum to divert attention to the problems that exist in their own country.

"It is highly $\uparrow <u>regrettable</u>$ and $\uparrow <u>dangerous</u>$ for states to misuse the United Nations, including this august assembly (datum 9). These countries are using the General Assembly to advance $\uparrow <u>their domestic agenda</u>$ and for some

countries <u>to divert</u> attention from political and social problems at home (datum 10). The state countries are also using $\uparrow <u>false and fabricated information</u>$ as the basis of their statement (datum 11). The conduct of $\uparrow these countries$ <u>undermined</u> the UN charter and are <u>detrimental</u> to $\uparrow the credibility of this assembly (datum 12)."$

In the excerpt above, the speakers used stress and rising intonation in several words: "regrettable", "dangerous", "their domestic agenda", and "the credibility of this assembly". Furthermore, the stress and rising intonation of the word "regrettable" used by the speaker in datum 9 was aimed to highlight Indonesia's disappointment with what happened in the forum. Moreover, the stress and rising intonation of the word "dangerous" was addressed to the UN in relation to the violations committed by related states. This fact must be further acted upon in order not to occur at subsequent sessions and may be harmful to the UN itself while allowing the offense to occur continuously without any action whatsoever.

Next, in the 10th datum, the speaker stressed and rose intonation on the word "their domestic agenda" that addressed to related countries for what they alleged to Indonesia. The speaker said that the allegation was nothing but to succeed their domestic agenda. Furthermore, in datum 11, the speaker also stressed and rose intonation on the word "false and fabricated information" which was still addressed to Solomon Island, Tuvalu and other four countries. It was to show that their allegation was silly and misinformed.

The last, in datum 12, the speaker stressed and rose intonation in the words "these countries" and "the credibility of this assembly". The word "these country" was addressed to the states that violated UN Charter and the word

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"the credibility of this assembly" was addressed to the UN in particular the ongoing trial at the time. According to the speakers, what Solomon Island, Tuvalu, and other four countries done can defile the credibility of the UN. Thus, the use of stresses and rising intonations used in this excerpt were aimed to emphasize the important points that the speaker wanted to convey in that occasion.

Related with persuasive strategies, datum 9 contains a proposition of value which is included in the persuasion strategies section. It is seen from the words "regrettable" and "dangerous" used by the speaker in her speech. The word "regrettable" used by the speaker to represent Indonesia's disappointment over what was discussed in the forum. This is parallel to the second proposition of value used in the word "dangerous". The violation of UN Charter may be harmful or will adversely affect the credibility of the UN itself. Therefore, by using persuasive strategies in the form of propositions of value, the speaker expected that the speaker can convince the audience of the forum.

Next, the use of persuasive strategies in the form of proposition of value is also found in datum 10. The speaker used it in the words "to advance" and "to divert". These two words show the judgment of the speakers related to the allegations addressed against Indonesia. The speaker adjudicated that those country allegation on human rights violations in Papua and West Papua were to support their own countries agendas and to divert the world's attention of political issues and social problems in their own countries. Therefore, the use of proposition of value on this datum was to strengthen Indonesia's stand point on human rights abuses in Papua and West Papua.

Next, in datum 11, the persuasive strategies used is the proposition of value. It can be seen from the words "false and fabricated information" which was directed against what have been said by Solomon Island, Tuvalu, and other four countries. The speaker persuade the audience to refuse the validity of the information presented by these countries as it was wrong and untrue. This is related to the previous excerpt when the speaker mentioned that those countries made allegations of human rights violations against Papua and West Papua. Those countries also had very little information or understanding of the history and current situation in Indonesia. It is mentioned again in datum 11 which was to reinforce the false and fabricated information words. Those words indicated the Solomon Island, Tuvalu, and other four countries' lack of understanding of the history of Indonesia, and also the progressive development of Indonesia. Thus, the use of the proposition of value in this datum indirectly reinforced and supported the statement that presented by the speaker in the previous excerpt.

In the datum 12 the speaker also used a proposition of value that appeared on the words "undermined" and "detrimental". The word "undermined" was addressed to the UN Charter which has been violated by those States. As I mentioned earlier, Solomon Island, Tuvalu and other four countries have violated the UN charter and if it is allowed it will damage the credibility of UN itself. Furthermore, the word "detrimental" used to reinforce the speaker's argument in the previous word. These two different words show the same meaning of destruction, in this case those words were aimed at the UN. Therefore, the speaker used two words that contain a proposition of value to invite the audience to realize what will happen in the future if the actions taken by those countries remain unjustified.

Furthermore, the ideology reflected from the proposition of value is that the discussions of human rights violation in this forum is a form of violation of UN Charter which was harmful or had adversely affect the credibility of the UN itself. As it is shown in the words "regrettable" and "dangerous" which shows that the action has adverse effect on the assembly. Furthermore, there are some phrases such as "to advance and "to divert" which indicate that those country allegations on human rights violations in Papua and West Papua were to support their own countries agendas and to divert the world's attention of political issues and social problems in their own countries.

In addition, the speaker believed that the allegation proposed by the Solomon Island, Tuvalu, and other four countries reflecting their lack of understanding of the history of Indonesia, and also the progressive development of Indonesia. It is shown on the words "false" and "fabricated information. Using the propositional of value, the speaker invited the audience to evaluate the discussion itself and to accept that the allegation was improper and misused. The speaker also invited the audience to realize that this incident was a bad precedent as indicated on the words "undermined" and "detrimental". If the actions taken by those countries left unjustified, there would be similar case happened in the UN forum. Therefore, in this point the speaker implicitly asked the audience to become conscious of the possibility with the same case that would be happen to UN in the future.

Excerpt 6

In this excerpt, the speaker affirmed Indonesia's commitment to human rights enforcement. In addition, the speaker also mentioned some of Indonesia's achievements in human rights related activities. Furthermore, the speaker also stated that Indonesia is an initiator of intergovernmental commissions in charge of human rights.

"Mr. President, Indonesia's commitment to protection of Human Rights is \uparrow <u>unquestionable</u> (datum 13). Indonesia is \uparrow <u>a</u> founding member of the Human Rights Council (datum 14). Indonesia has set as member of the console for three previous periods, and is currently a member of the console for \uparrow <u>the fourth</u> time (datum 15). Indonesia is \uparrow <u>the initiator of the ASEAN intergovernmental</u> commission on human rights and OIC independent permanent commission of human rights (datum 16). Indonesia has ratified \uparrow <u>eight out of nine core</u> International Human Rights instruments (datum 17). All incorporated into our national legal system \uparrow *in compared* four by Solomon Islands and five by Vanuatu." (datum18)

In this excerpt, the speaker used stress and rising intonation in the words "unquestionable", "a founding member", "three previous periods", "the fourth time", "the initiator", "eight out of nine core", and "in compared". In datum 13, the word "unquestionable" referred to Indonesia's dedication in term of human rights. It is proved in the next datum where the speaker stressed in "a founding member" words. By saying it, the speaker tried to emphasize Indonesia's achievement for example, Indonesia was among the founder of the Human Rights Council. Moreover, in datum 15, the speaker stressed and raised intonation on the word "three previous periods" and "the fourth time". The following statements still highlighted Indonesia's efforts in human rights enforcement. In addition, the speaker mentioned the number of Indonesia participation as member of Human Rights Council.

Next, in datum 16 and 17, stresses and rising intonations were given by the speaker in "the initiator" and "eight out of nine cores". "The initiator" referred to Indonesia's accomplishment as the initiator of the ASEAN intergovernmental commission on human rights and OIC independent permanent commission of human right. Furthermore, "eight out of nine cores" referred to Indonesia's approval of International Human Rights instruments. The last, in datum 18, the speaker stressed and raised intonation in the words "in compared". These words addressed Solomon Island and Vanuatu related with achievement in International Human Rights instruments. The speaker tried to highlight it by comparing with Solomon Island and Vanuatu. However, the use of stress and rising intonation in this excerpt was to emphasize Indonesia's achievement in human rights enforcement.

In term of persuasive strategies, datum 13 contained proposition of value. It is seen from the word "unquestionable" which proposed to the president of the occasion. In the above data, speaker used the proposition of value to convey the position of Indonesia as a state that always upheld human's right. In this sentence, the speaker invited the audience to acknowledge that Indonesia really committed to the enforcement of human rights. Thus, by inviting the audience to acknowledge Indonesia's commitment in term of human rights, the speaker will successfully convey the audience. Meanwhile, datum 14 indicated proposition of fact which seen from the phrase "Indonesia is a founding member of the Human Rights Council". In this sentence, the speaker used the data as the basis of the argument presented to the audience. The speaker invited the audience to verify the truth of the argument and to accept the argument of the speaker. Therefore, proposition of fact that is presented in this datum will support the previous argument mentioned by the speaker about Indonesia's commitment in term of human rights.

Furthermore, in datum 15, the speaker used proposition of fact within her sentence. It is seen from "Indonesia has set as member of the console for three previous periods" and "currently a member of the console for the fourth time". By using those fact, the speaker tried to convince the audience on the real performance of Indonesia on the enforcement of human right. Indonesia had been elected for four times as a member of the council which became a strong evidence on the Indonesia's alignment with human right enforcement. Thus, the real performance of Indonesia that mentioned by the speaker will make the audience realize that Indonesia did many things on the enforcement of human rights.

Next, datum 16 also contained proposition of fact. This sentence "the initiator of the ASEAN intergovernmental commission on human rights and OIC independent permanent commission of human rights" was indicated as the speaker conveyed the role of Indonesia as the initiator of cooperation between states in the human rights commission. However, this fact became the main evidence in convincing the audience of Indonesia's main contribution to human rights enforcement in other countries.

Afterwards, in datum 17, the speaker used proposition of fact. It is seen from the phrase "Indonesia has ratified eight out of nine core International Human Rights instruments". Based on the facts presented, the speaker once again provides evidence that Indonesia played an active role in the enforcement of human right as evidenced in implementation of 8 out of 9 main international human right laws. Therefore, another fact presented by the speaker will help the speaker to show the audience that Indonesia has a good reputation in case of human rights.

The last, in datum 18 the speaker used proposition of facts. It is seen from "All incorporated into our national legal system in compared four by Solomon Islands and five by Vanuatu". This strategy is used to compare Indonesian commitment to human right enforcement compared to Solomon Island and Vanuatu. Both countries were still applying half of international human rights core law into their government system. Speaker tried to show Indonesia's superiority over the two countries in its commitment to enforce human right as reflected in the legal system. Furthermore, using proposition of fact, the speaker directed the audience to acknowledge the real roles and actions of Indonesia in the enforcement of human right compared to two countries accusing Indonesia of doing human right violations in the provinces of Papua and West Papua. Moreover, the ideology reflected from this excerpt is that Indonesia's human rights achievements are undeniable. It is reflected from the use of proposition of fact in this excerpt. For example, the speaker mentioned Indonesia's membership in Human Rights Council and ASEAN intergovernmental commission on human rights and OIC independent permanent commission of human right. Thus, Indonesia had been a very supportive in human rights enforcement in international level and played great role in manifesting the human rights protection.

Excerpt 7

In this excerpt, the speaker conveyed to the forum about Indonesia's commitment in upholding the human rights. The speaker said that Indonesia had been continuously conducting human rights enforcement efforts.

"Indonesia is among few countries who have a continued \uparrow national action plan on human rights, and currently is on its four generations of the plan from 2015-2019 (datum 19). Indonesia has an active and robust national commission on human rights since 1993 \uparrow vibrant civil society and free media (datum 20). Indonesia is also a country with full-fledged democracy in function with such a fiber national democracy coupled with the highest commitment to the promotion and protection of human rights at \uparrow all levels (datum 21). It would be \uparrow nearly impossible for any human right allegations to go unnoticed and unscrew tonight (datum 22)."

In this excerpt the speaker stressed and raised intonation in several words including "national action plan", "vibrant civil society and free media", "all levels", and "nearly impossible". In datum 19, "national action plan" referred to Indonesia's agenda deals with human rights. It was continued with the next stress given by the speaker for "vibrant civil society and free media" in datum 20. The data was supported by the existence of human rights words. In this part, the speaker attempted to emphasize the protection given by Indonesia for all citizens of Indonesia. The last, stress and rising intonation found in "nearly impossible". By stressing this words, the speaker wants to make the audience realize that the truth of the alleged issue is almost impossible with Indonesia's achievements in the field of human rights.

Related to persuasive strategies, datum 19 indicated proposition of fact. In this datum, the speaker used a proposition of fact within "Indonesia is among few countries who have a continued *î*national action plan on human rights, and currently is on its four generations of the plan from 2015-2019" sentence. Furthermore, the speaker used it to strengthen her argument over Indonesia's efforts in human rights enforcement. The speaker used the facts of Indonesia's concern in enforcing human rights as stipulated in the national agenda that had been implemented for the last 20 years. In this datum, the speaker also conveyed that Indonesia was not new in enforcing human right and was continuing to pursue this effort as its important agenda. The facts presented here was an effort of the speaker in convincing the audience of the role of Indonesia in the enforcement of human rights for the last 15 years.

In datum 20, the speaker used a proposition of fact to reinforce the previous statement. It is seen from "Indonesia has an active and robust national commission on human rights since 1993 vibrant civil society and free media". In this datum, the speaker reviewed Indonesia's efforts in enforcing human rights by establishing a human rights institution. This institution had been established since 1993 and was active in monitoring human rights enforcement in Indonesia. In addition, this institution also monitored the implementation of press freedom in this country. From this data, it can be concluded that the speaker used the prepositional of fact as a basis to make the audience aware of Indonesia's active role in enforcing human rights through official institutions. So from this fact, the audience was invited to recognize Indonesia's concern for human rights and press freedom.

Next, in datum 21, the speaker used a proposition of value in "Indonesia is also a country with full-fledged democracy in function with such a fiber national democracy coupled with the highest commitment to the promotion and protection of human rights at all levels". By linking this datum with previous data, the speaker invited the audience to acknowledge Indonesian effort in enforcing and granting freedom of human right to its citizen. The speaker claimed that the effort of enforcing human right in Indonesia was not only limited to the statement and had been implemented **at** every level of human life. In this datum, the speaker attempted to make an evaluative claim against the facts first discussed in the previous data. It can be concluded that the speaker tried to invite the audience to appreciate the efforts of Indonesia in upholding the human right and the freedom of the press.

The last, in datum 22 the speaker used the proposition of value to invite the audience to make evaluative claims based on all the real efforts done by the Indonesian government for the past decade. It is seen from "It would be nearly impossible for any human right allegations to go unnoticed and unscrew tonight". The speaker stated that the violation of the human rights alleged over Indonesia was something that could not have happened without the media or human right enforcement agencies notice. Thus, the audience must evaluate the truth of the accusations that were being addressed to Indonesia.

Moreover, the reflected ideology from the use of proposition of value in this excerpt is that the human rights violation in Indonesia would be hard without noticed by the media and independent council system running in the country. It is shown from the sentence "Indonesia has an active and robust national commission on human rights since 1993 vibrant civil society and free media". The speaker emphasize the existence of running system monitoring the implementation of human rights protection. Furthermore, the free media complete and balance the monitoring process both from government and society. Using the proposition of value, the speaker invited the audience to acknowledge the real efforts of Indonesia. Thus, the ideology reflected in this datum is that Indonesia had an active independent human rights monitoring (i.e. human right council and media) system and the alleged human rights violation was non-existence.

Excerpt 8

In this excerpt, the speaker reiterated to the president of the UN that Indonesia had an integrated system that worked actively in the country. The speaker also assured the audience that Indonesia would continue to give appropriate attention on the development of Papua and West Papua for all

parties' benefit.

"Mr. President, we <u>reaffirmed</u> that there are domestic mechanisms $\uparrow in$ place at the national level in Indonesia as well as at the provincial level in Papua and West Papua (datum 23). For our part, Indonesia will continue to give $\uparrow appropriate focus$ to the development of Papua and West Papua provinces and to the best interest of all (datum 24)."

In this excerpt the speaker stressed and raised intonation in the following words: "in place" and "appropriate focus". "in place" refers to domestic mechanism at all over Indonesia including Papua and West Papua. Furthermore, "appropriate focus" means Indonesia would continue to focus on the development of Papua and West Papua associated with all the things there. By using stress and rising intonation in this excerpt, the speaker tried to highlight to the next action to be taken by Indonesia.

In datum 23, the speaker used the proposition of value by stating the word "reaffirmed" to convince the UN and audience that Indonesia had a well-functioning integrated system to oversee human rights and press freedom enforcement. The speaker tried to convey that Indonesia had run and provided freedom of human rights in all areas in Indonesia without exception in the province of Papua and West Papua. Therefore, by using the proposition of value, the speaker drew the attention of the audience to accept the commitment of Indonesia to the enforcement of human rights in the province of Papua and West Papua.

Next, in datum 24 the speaker used proposition of value to show that, in the future, Indonesia would pay closer attention to these two provinces. It was

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seen from the phrase "to give appropriate focus". With a history of development in all fields implemented in Papua, the speaker asserted that Indonesia would develop both provinces for the benefit of all parties. However, by using this strategy, the speaker attempted to persuade the audience by mentioning Indonesia's act towards Papua and West Papua.

Nevertheless, the ideology reflected from the proposition of value used in this excerpt is that Indonesia was committed on the enforcement of human rights in the province of Papua and West Papua Indonesia and would develop these two provinces for all parties' benefit. It was reflected from the use of proposition of value found in the excerpt "We reaffirmed that there are domestics mechanism in place... in Papua and West Papua, Indonesia will continue appropriate focus..." The audience was invited to evaluate the past actions of Indonesia in implementing human right enforcement as well as the development of these two provinces. Therefore, the speaker tried to imply that Indonesia would continue the effort to maintain the human rights enforcement and the development.

Excerpt 9

In this excerpt, the speaker closed her speech by delivering an idiom to the audience. She used this idiom to conclude all of her massages and to firmly state the stand of Indonesia towards the allegation forwarded by the four countries.

In conclusion, Mr. President, we have a saying in our Asia Pacific region, when $\uparrow one \ points$ the index finger to others that thumb finger $\uparrow automatically \ points$ to one's own face.

From the data above, it can be seen that the speaker stressed and raised intonation in her sentence especially on the words "one points". It refers to the Solomon Island, Tuvalu and other four countries related with their accusation on human rights violation in Papua and West Papua. The speaker tried to deliver her idea about a proverb. Furthermore, the speaker also stressed and raised intonation on the words "automatically points".it still refers to Solomon Island, Tuvalu and other four countries which is also a continuation of the proverb mentioned by the speaker. The speaker emphasized some points to get the audience's attention on her words. So, she could deliver her idea and convey the audience into her arguments.

The persuasive strategy found in this datum is analogy. Analogy is widely used to generate insight for the audience so that the audience arrives at the intended understanding. The meaning of the analogy is that while someone is blaming and criticizing others, he is forgetting one important fact: when he pointed the finger at someone, three of them were pointed right back at himself. The rest of the fingers point back at himself to remind everybody. A person has three times more control than the one we point our finger to. The analogy used in this datum is deductive analogy as the speaker tried to state that the four pacific countries should evaluate their human right enforcement before pointing at other country's practice. The speaker tried to sum up her speech by stating that the four pacific should reflect of their human rights enforcement before accusing other country human rights enforcement implementation more importantly, the idiom also indicated that if we accused other doing wrong things, we tend to be judgmental and intolerant. Therefore, this persuasive strategy was intended to highlight the misconduct of the four countries as well their judgmental and intolerant attitude towards Indonesia.

Moreover, the ideology reflected from analogy in this datum is that the four pacific countries neglected their own human right enforcement practice while they were busy pointing at other country's practice. It is indicated from the analogy used by the speaker. The four countries should and responsible to evaluate their human rights enforcement rather than to be judgmental towards other country's practice. Thus, the speaker invited the audience to concur that the four countries allegation was inappropriate and should reflect on their domestic human right activities.

3.2 Discussion

This research shows that the speaker utilized some of persuasive strategies utilized in the speech and the ideology reflected from it. These findings will be discussed and elaborated below.

3.2.1 Ideology Reflected from Persuasive Strategies

Based on the findings, as a political speech, it is found that persuasive strategies utilized in Nara Masista Rakhmatia's speech reflected her ideologies. It is in line with Van Dijk (2006) that ideology in politics is inseparable and is also the most ideological field in social area. To refelect the ideologies in Nara's speech, the analysis is done on lexical items, syntactic structures such as actives and passives, pronouns such as us and them, metaphors, arguments, implications, and many other properties of discourse (Wilson, 2003). The analysis showed that the persuasive strategies used were Proposition of Fact, Proposition of Value, Proposition of Policy, Repetition, and Analogy.

Based on the analysis, it is found that there are 9 excerpts with 25 data. The summary of the findings is as follow:

Types of Persuasive Strategies	101	1
Types of Persuasive Strategy	Count	Datum
Proposition of Value	12	5,6,8,9,10,11,12,13,21,22,23,24
Proposition of Fact	10	2,3,7,14,15,16,17,18,19,20
Proposition of Policy	2	1,4
Repetition	1	7
Analogy	1	25

The table above shows that the speaker mostly utilized proposition of value with twelve (12) times and followed by proposition of facts ten (10) times, proposition of policy two (2) times, repetition and analogy are only once. Proposition of value is a persuasive strategy used to Propositions of value refer to compare something and determine the best one (Herrick in Watt & Barnett, 2011: 164). It refers to a statement of the speaker, where she/he asks the audience to make an evaluative judgment. When it comes to a speech, proposition of value is also to make an evaluative claim regarding morality, aesthetics, wisdom or desirability within the speach (Herrick in Watt &Barnett, 2011: 164). From all of data, it is found that the speaker tried to invite the audience in the UN assembly to make an evaluative judgment on the matter being discussed. The second most used persuasive strategy is proposition of fact. Propositions of fact focus on the existence of something. Whenever it is applied in political speech, it also understood as a statement which the speaker aims at obtaining audience acceptance on his/her arguments being true or false (Herrick in Watt and Barnett, 2011: 163). Based on this finding, the speaker intended to convince the UN assembly on the matters presented using facts so that the assembly participant can accept the speaker argument.

However, it seems a big disparity in the used of other persuasive strategies. The use of Proposition of Policy which is used to focus on the speaker who demands the audience to endorse a policy or to commit themselves to a particular action (Herrick in Watt and Barnett, 2011: 164) is quite lacking. It is only once, while according to Herrick (in Watt and Barnett, 2011: 164) this form of persuasive speech is used every day in congress to determine laws, but it is also used interpersonally to determine how we ought to behave. It seems that the speaker avoided directing the audience to a certain policy.

Similarly, the use of repetition which is applied within political speech to give a strong sense (Beard, 2000: 38). Furthermore, there is an important message in a particular word or sentence, so the speaker repeats it more than one times. Repetition often uses word relations to express the speaker's ideas and emotions in an indirect manner (Beard, 2000: 38). So that, the audiences have to interpret such relations and understand the underlying or implicit meanings of

the speaker's sentences. It is only used once. Based on the data, the speaker was not fighting for the implicit emotional expression.

The use of analogy also found one time. It only occurred at the datum 25. Analogy is a figure where an item is compared with a similar other. Furthermore, analogy is defined as a large-scale comparison where one concept is understood by comparing it to another well-known concept (Beard, 2000: 27). In a political speech, the speaker needs more devices to persuade the audience. In this case analogy can be used as a tool to convince the audience and it involves comparison on a larger scale. Thus, analogy has its function as a very powerful persuasion tool that is useful especially in a political speech. Based on the finding, the speaker put this analogy at the end of her speech. It can be assumed that using the analogy, the speaker wanted to convince the audience by involving a larger scale of comparison so that the whole audience may reflect on the matters being presented.

Nevertheless, based on the findings, all of data also presented the speaker's ideology. Fairclough (1995) stated that text analysis including, vocabulary and semantic analysis, sentence grammar, and sound systems (phonology) will reveal discursive practice, including the ideology.

All of data showed that the speaker presented several ideologies. The first ideology is Indonesia has the right to answer the allegation of human right

violation proposed by the Solomon Island, Tuvalu, and other four countries. Based on the findings, the speaker uses proposition of policy. It is revealed from the use of words "exercise our right of reply" in excerpt 1 which mean that the speaker utilized Indonesia's right to answer the human right violation issues in Papua and West Papua as it is permitted under UN regulations. Thus, by using proposition of policy in her first sentence, she attempted to influence the UNGA audience to accept Indonesia's rights to answer the allegation.

The second ideology is that Indonesia condemned the Solomon Island, Tuvalu, and other four countries allegation of human right violation in the UN assembly. The speaker used proposition of fact to present some facts that this forum should discuss SDGs and global challenges such as climate change rather than human right violation issues in Papua and West Papua. It is seen from her statement in datum 2 "where leaders gather in this august body to address the early implementation of SDGs (The Sustainable Development Goals), the transformation of our collective actions, and other global challenges such as climate change of which the Pacific countries are affected the most". By presenting this statement, it is also implicitly pointed out that Indonesia rejected the discussion on the human rights allegations conveyed by those countries as this forum should discuss the environmental problem arising in pacific countries. Using these facts, Indonesia strongly opposed the discussion of human right violation allegation happened in Papua. Thus, from this point the speaker attempted to highlight facts supporting Indonesia's rejection on the discussion of human rights violation in Papua and West Papua.

Next, the speaker used proposition of policy to denote the rejection on the allegation of the related countries on the issue of human rights violation in Papua and West Papua. As seen from the words "reflect" and "lack of understanding", the speaker stated that Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Nauru, Marshall Islands, Tuvalu and Tonga. This "wrong allegation" reflected their lack of understanding on the history and development in Indonesia. Using this proposition, the audiences were asked to evaluate their judgment on Indonesia performance towards Papua and West Papua province. Furthermore, the speaker also rejected the human rights violation discussion in the forum as the speaker believed that those related countries are supporting separatist group in Papua and West Papua. As it will harm Indonesia state in general, civilians and security personnel. Therefore, using the proposition of policy, the speaker legitimated her rejection on the human rights allegation discussion in that occasion.

Similarly, ideology reflected from the use of repetition is that the speaker stated other countries are forbidden to interfere Indonesia sovereignty and territorial integrity. Through the use of repetition on the words of "violation of sovereignty and territorial integrity of state", the speaker reiterated the importance of respecting other country's domestic affairs. Thus, ideology reflected is that the speaker implicitly stating to the audience on the allegation had disrespected and violated UN charter and other country's sovereignty. The speaker reiterated the importance of respecting other country's domestic affairs.

Moreover, the ideology reflected from the proposition of value is that the discussions of human rights violation in this forum is a form of violation of UN Charter which was harmful or had adversely affect the credibility of the UN itself. As it is shown in the words "regrettable" and "dangerous" which shows that the action has adverse effect on the assembly. Furthermore, there are some phrases such as "to advance and "to divert" which indicate that those country allegations on human rights violations in Papua and West Papua were to support their own countries agendas and to divert the world's attention of political issues and social problems in their own countries. In addition, the speaker believed that the allegation proposed by the Solomon Island, Tuvalu, and other four countries reflecting their lack of understanding of the history of Indonesia, and also the progressive development of Indonesia. It is shown on the words "false" and "fabricated information. Using the propositional of value, the speaker invited the audience to evaluate the discussion itself and to accept that the allegation was improper and misused. The speaker also invited the audience to realize that this incident was a bad precedent as indicated on the words "undermined" and "detrimental". If the actions taken by those countries left unjustified, there would be similar case happened in the UN forum. Therefore, in this point the speaker

implicitly asked the audience to become conscious of the possibility with the same case that would be happen to UN in the future.

Lastly, the ideology reflected from analogy is that the four pacific countries neglected their own human right enforcement practice while they were busy pointing at other country's practice. It is indicated from the analogy used by the speaker. The four countries should and responsible to evaluate their human rights enforcement rather than to be judgmental towards other country's practice. Thus, the speaker invited the audience to concur that the four countries allegation was inappropriate and should reflect on their domestic human right activities.

The last ideology is Indonesia has a high commitment in enforcing human rights. The ideology reflected is that Indonesia's human rights achievements are undeniable. It is reflected from the use of proposition of fact used by the speaker. As evidenced as a four times elected member of the council of human rights. Furthermore, the role of Indonesia as the initiator of cooperation between states in the human rights commission as a proved of contribution to human rights enforcement in other countries. In addition, the speaker stated that Indonesia played an active role in the enforcement of human right as evidenced in implementation of 8 out of 9 main international human right laws. Lastly, the speaker compared Indonesian commitment to human right enforcement compared to Solomon Island and Vanuatu. The speaker showed Indonesia's superiority over the two countries in its commitment to enforce human right as reflected in the legal system. Therefore, using proposition of fact, the speaker directed the audience to acknowledge the real roles and actions of Indonesia in the enforcement of human right compared to two countries accusing Indonesia of doing human right violations in the provinces of Papua and West Papua. Thus, Indonesia had been a very supportive in human rights enforcement in international level. Indonesia also played great role in manifesting the human rights protection.

Furthermore, the reflected ideology from the use of proposition of value is that the human rights violation in Indonesia would be hard without noticed by the media and independent counsel system running in the country. The speaker also used a proposition of value to acknowledge Indonesian effort in enforcing and granting freedom of human right to its citizen. The speaker claimed that the effort of enforcing human right in Indonesia was not only limited to the statement and had been implemented at every level of human life. The proposition of value also used to invite the audience to make evaluative claims that the violation of the human rights alleged over Indonesia was something that could not have happened without the media or human right enforcement agencies notice. Therefore, the speaker stated the human rights violation in Indonesia would be hard without noticed by the media and independent counsel system running in the country. It is shown from the proposition of value used by the speaker to invite the audience to realize the real efforts done by Indonesia. Thus, the ideology reflected is that Indonesia had an active independent human rights monitoring (i.e. human right council and media) system and the alleged human rights violation was non-existence.

Lastly, the ideology reflected from the proposition of value is that Indonesia was committed on the enforcement of human rights in the province of Papua and West Papua Indonesia and would develop these two provinces for all parties' benefit. It was reflected from the use of proposition of value found in the excerpt "We reaffirmed that there are domestics mechanism in place... in Papua and West Papua, Indonesia will continue appropriate focus..." The audience was invited to evaluate the past actions of Indonesia in implementing human right enforcement as well as the development of these two provinces. Therefore, the speaker tried to imply that Indonesia would continue the effort to maintain the human rights enforcement and the development.

Based on the above discussion, its known that the persuasive strategies analysis allow the reader to reveal the exact intention of the speaker. Based on the data analysis, it can be concluded that persuasive strategies also help the speaker to effectively address the problem at the forum and deliver the intended meaning accurately.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This chapter summarizes the findings and discussion conducted on the previous chapter. In addition, it also put forward some implication on the future research and the application of persuasive strategies in practice and ideology analysis.

4.1 Conclusion

Based on the previous chapter, it is revealed that Nara Masista Rakhmatia in her speech used several persuasive strategies. These strategies are used to attempts to either change the thinking or behavior of an audience, or to strengthen its beliefs, should the audience already agree. Based on the analysis, proposition of value and fact are mostly used by the speaker. The used of these two strategies indicated that the speaker tried to convince the audience using an evaluative claim regarding morality, aesthetics, wisdom or desirability within the speech and obtaining audience acceptance on his/her arguments being true or false. Furthermore, the speaker also used two Proposition of Policy, two repetitions and only 1 analogy. These indicate that the speaker was less focus on the persuading audience through highlighting messages through idioms and repetition.

The used of persuasive strategies revealed the ideology of the speaker. There are three ideologies found in the data. The first ideology is that Indonesia has the right to answer the allegation of human right violation proposed by the

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Solomon Island, Tuvalu, and other four countries. It is revealed from the use of proposition of policy in the first excerpt. The second ideology is Indonesia condemned the Solomon Island, Tuvalu, and other four countries allegation of human right violation in the UN assembly as indicated in excerpt 2, 3, 4, 5, and 9. The speaker utilized Proposition of Fact, Proposition of Value, Repetition, and analogy to present her belief. The third ideology is that Indonesia is a country with high commitment in enforcing human rights. This ideology is evidenced on the use of persuasive strategy in excerpt 6, 7, and 8. Using Proposition of Fact and Proposition of Value, the speaker tried to convince the UN Assembly participants that Indonesia had been working hard in the human rights enforcement.

4.2 Suggestion

This research investigates the use of persuasive strategies to reveal the speaker's ideology. Based on the findings and discussion, the writer can suggest several follow up research in the future.

From the data perspective, this research can only found limited sample of persuasive strategies. Beard (2000: 19) stated that there are three persuasive strategies that can be used within a speech; those are metaphors, repetition, and analogy while Herrick (in Watt and Barnett 2011: 163) proposed propositional meaning as a part of persuasive strategies including propositions of fact, proposition of value and propositions of policy. The persuasive strategies found in the data are limited on propositional meaning, while repetition, and analogy is limited and metaphor is absence. This finding seems incapable of displaying the rich data. Therefore, future research is expected to find a more comprehensive data by collecting series of speech from one person or different person to get more saturated data.

The future research should also investigate the possibility of the variation on the use of persuasive strategy among gender or age. So, the research can compare the tendency of using persuasive strategy among gender or age in political context. This may produce insight on the use of persuasive strategies affected by these aspects.

Lastly, future research should study the use of persuasive strategy in different context, other than politics. The use of persuasive strategies has been widely known in many social contexts. These studies may broaden the insight on the use of persuasive strategies and linguistics features apparent from the context.

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Nara Masista Rakhmatia's Speech at United Nations General Assembly

Mr. President, Indonesia would like to exercise our right of reply to the statement delivered by Solomon Islands and Vanuatu. Coded by Nauru, Marshall Islands, Tuvalu and Tonga. Regarding matters concerning Papua a province of Indonesia (**datum 1**).

Indonesia is shocked to hear that at this important stage, where leaders gather in this august body to address the early implementation of SDGs (The Sustainable Development a Goals). The transformation of our collective actions, and other global challenges such as climate change of which the Pacific countries are affected the most (datum 2). The state leaders chose instead to violate the UN charter by interviewing in other countries sovereignty and violating its territorial integrity (datum 3).

We categorically reject the continuing insinuations in their statements (**datum 4**). They clearly reflect an unfortunate lack of understanding of the history, current situation and progressive developments in Indonesia, including in the provinces of Papua and West Papua, and also an unfriendly and rhetoric political maneuver (**datum 5**). Their

Excerpt 1

Excerpt 2

Excerpt

politically motivated statements were designed to support separatist group and the state provinces who have consistently engaged in inciting public disorder and in conducting armed terrorist attacks up and civilians and security personnel (**datum 6**).

Evidently, the statement made by those countries clearly violates the purposes and objectives of the UN charter, and the principle of international law and friendly relations among state (**datum 7**). As well as the sovereignty and territorial integrity of state. I repeat, it is a violation of sovereignty and territorial integrity of state (**datum 8**).

It is highly regrettable and dangerous for states to misuse the United Nations, including this august assembly (**datum 9**). These countries are using the General Assembly to advance their domestic agenda and for some countries to divert attention from political and social problems at home (**datum 10**). The state countries are also using false and fabricated information as the basis of their statement (**datum 11**). The conduct of these countries undermined the UN charter and are detrimental to the credibility of this assembly (**datum 12**).

Mr. President, Indonesia's commitment to protection of Human Rights is unquestionable (**datum 13**). Indonesia is a founding member of the Human Rights Council (**datum 14**). Indonesia has set as member of the council for three previous periods, and is currently a member of the council for the fourth time (**datum 15**). Indonesia is the initiator of the

Excerpt 4

Excerpt 5

Excerpt 6

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ASEAN intergovernmental commission on human rights and OIC independent permanent commission of human right (**datum 16**). Indonesia has ratified eight out of nine core International Human Rights instruments (**datum 17**). All incorporated into our national legal system in compared four by Solomon Islands and five by Vanuatu (**datum 18**).

Indonesia is among few countries who have a continued national action plan on human rights, and currently is on its four generations of the plan from 2015-2019 (**datum 19**). Indonesia has an active and robust national commission on human rights since 1993 vibrant civil society and free media (**datum 20**). Indonesia is also a country with full fledged democracy in function with such a fiber national democracy coupled with the highest commitment to the promotion and protection of human rights at all levels (**datum 21**). It would be nearly impossible for any human right allegations to go unnoticed and unscrew tonight (**datum 22**).

Excerpt 7

Mr. President, we reaffirmed that there are domestic mechanisms in
place at the national level in Indonesia as well as at the provincial levelin Papua and West Papua (datum 23). For our part, Indonesia will
continue to give appropriate focus to the development of Papua and
West Papua provinces and to the best interest of all (datum 24).

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Excerpt 9 In conclusion, Mr. President, we have a saying in our Asia Pacific region, when one points the index finger to others, that thumb finger automatically points to one's on face (**datum 25**).

I thank you

