



**MANIFESTASI VARIASI POLA RETORIKA DAN FUNGSI BAHASA
DALAM BINGKAI KOMUNIKASI POLITIK:
STUDI KASUS PRAKTIK RETORIKA ANGGOTA DPD RI**
*Manifestations of Variations of Rhetorical Patterns and Language Functions
in the Framework of Political Communication:
A Case Study of Rhetorical Practices of DPD RI Members*

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Naskah Diterima Tanggal 31 Desember 2023 — Direvisi Akhir Tanggal 4 Juni 2024 — Disetujui Tanggal 22 Desember 2024
doi: <https://doi.org/10.26499/rmh.v13i2.7095>

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk memotret variasi pola retorika dan fungsi bahasa dalam konteks komunikasi politik Anggota Dewan Perwakilan Daerah Republik Indonesia (DPD RI) Periode 2019-2024 serta implikasi retorika tersebut terhadap kebijakan publik di Indonesia. Di ranah politik, kemahiran retorika Anggota DPD RI sebagai anggota legislatif dinilai memiliki daya tarik tersendiri karena karakteristiknya yang bukan perwakilan suatu partai, melainkan perwakilan daerah di tingkat nasional. Oleh karena itu, kemahiran retorika menjadi kompetensi penting yang harus dimiliki oleh Anggota DPD RI agar mampu menyuarakan aspirasi masyarakat dan daerahnya secara efektif. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan metode deskriptif analitis. Sumber data penelitiannya adalah transkripsi rekaman rapat kerja Komite III DPD RI bersama Menteri PPPA RI. Teknik pengumpulan data dilakukan dengan studi dokumentasi terhadap transkripsi rekaman rapat tersebut. Teknik analisis data dimulai dengan mengidentifikasi data, mereduksi data, menganalisis data, serta menginterpretasikan data. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa retorika Anggota DPD RI tersebut terdiri atas enam variasi pola seperti berikut: (1) *Ethos-Pathos-Logos* (E-P-L); (2) *Pathos-Logos-Ethos* (P-L-E); (3) *Logos-Pathos-Ethos* (L-P-E); (4) *Ethos-Logos-Pathos* (E-L-P); (5) *Logos-Ethos-Pathos* (L-E-P); dan (6) *Pathos-Ethos-Logos* (P-E-L). Penelitian ini juga mengidentifikasi tiga jenis fungsi bahasa dalam retorika Anggota DPD RI: (1) fungsi bahasa ekspresif, seperti ungkapan salam dan sapaan, terima kasih, keprihatinan, apresiasi, dan kesediaan; (2) fungsi bahasa direktif dengan lima kategori (interogatif, harapan, rekomendasi, instruksi, dan permintaan); dan (3) fungsi bahasa puitis berupa pantun. Implikasi retorika Anggota DPD RI terhadap kebijakan publik dan komunikasi politik di Indonesia sangat signifikan karena dapat menciptakan sinergi antara DPD RI sebagai lembaga legislatif dan kementerian terkait sebagai perwakilan pemerintah di lembaga eksekutif. Kesynergisan ini mendukung lahirnya kebijakan publik yang lebih efektif, responsif, dan tepat sasaran dalam menangani isu-isu daerah melalui kebijakan pemerintah pusat.

Kata-kata kunci: anggota DPD RI, bahasa politik, fungsi bahasa; komunikasi politik; retorika

Abstract

This study aims to capture the variations in rhetorical patterns and language functions in the context of political communication of the members of the Regional Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia (Dewan Perwakilan Daerah Republik Indonesia/DPD RI) for the 2019-2024 period and the implications of this rhetoric for public policy in Indonesia. DPD RI members hold a unique position as

they are not party representatives but regional representatives at the national level. This makes rhetorical skills crucial for effectively conveying community and regional aspirations. This study adopts a qualitative approach with analytical descriptive methods, using transcriptions of Committee III of DPD RI meetings with the Minister of Women Empowerment and Child Protection of Indonesia (2019-2024). Data analysis involves identification, reduction, analysis, and interpretation. Results reveal that the rhetorical construction employed by DPD RI members encompasses six distinct patterns: (1) Ethos-Pathos-Logos (E-P-L); (2) Pathos-Logos-Ethos (P-L-E); (3) Logos-Pathos-Ethos (L-P-E); (4) Ethos-Logos-Pathos (E-L-P); (5) Logos-Ethos-Pathos (L-E-P); and (6) Pathos-Ethos-Logos (P-E-L). This study also identified three types of language functions in the rhetoric of DPD RI Members: (1) expressive language functions, such as expressions of greetings and salutations, gratitude, concern, appreciation, and willingness; (2) directive language functions with five categories (interrogative, hope, recommendation, instruction, and request); and (3) poetic language functions in the form of rhymes. The implications of DPD RI Members' rhetoric on public policy and political communication in Indonesia are significant because they can create synergy between DPD RI as a legislative institution and related ministries as representatives of the government in the executive institution. This synergy supports the birth of more effective, responsive, and targeted public policies in handling regional issues through central government policies.

Keywords: DPD RI members, political language, language function; political communication; rhetoric

How to Cite: Suhendar, Euis Nicky Marnianti., Yeti Mulyati, dan Vismaia S. Damayanti. (2024). Manifestasi Variasi Pola Retorika dan Fungsi Bahasa dalam Bingkai Komunikasi Politik: Studi Kasus Praktik Retorika Anggota DPD RI. *Ranah: Jurnal Kajian Bahasa*. 13(2). 442—456. doi: <https://doi.org/10.26499/rnh.v13i2.7095>

INTRODUCTION

Language plays an indispensable role in every facet of human existence. The utilization of language serves as a mirror reflecting the mindset and moral principles deeply ingrained in individuals. The fifth edition of *The Great Dictionary of Bahasa Indonesia* defines morals as a mental state manifested through one's actions. This aligns with Boas, (as cited in Palmer, 1999, p. 11) who asserts that language stands as the foremost manifestation of the mental life of its speakers.

In political communication, language function holds a pivotal role in reflecting power dynamics. Alwasilah (2014, p. 25) underscores the interplay between language and politics, positing that politics constitutes the art of influencing and controlling others to achieve specific objectives, thus giving rise to the term “political language”. Furthermore, King and Gilbert (2020, p. 263) assert that speech stands as one of humanity's most profound discoveries, as every conversation provides an opportunity for interpersonal interaction. In political endeavors, the ideal is that every instance of political communication offers politicians a platform to effectively convey their ideas and fosters an environment conducive to reciprocal discourse. Corcoran (as cited in Suparno, 2010, p. 2) emphasizes the significant role of political language within the study of political communication.

Fundamentally, according to Herrick (as cited in Maarif, 2019, p. 5), humans are inherently rhetorical beings, employing rhetoric in their existence, regardless of their backgrounds. Furthermore, politicians, categorized as political communicators by Lasswell (as cited in Arrianie, 2022, p. 49), naturally incorporate rhetoric into their political communication strategies. Additionally, Arwan et al. (2019, p. 3) assert that rhetoric is, in essence, the art of utilizing language effectively.

Herrick (in Maarif, 2019) stated that rhetoric has become an important topic in recent years. In his view, the significance of rhetoric for public discussion on political, social, and scientific issues has been widely recognized. In this context, the urgency of rhetoric in political communication generally functions as a tool to convey messages, influence public opinion, and build support for certain political policies or agendas. In politics, the Regional Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia (*Dewan Perwakilan Daerah Republik Indonesia/DPD RI*) has its own appeal because of its independent characteristics that is not tied to a particular party

group, unlike the People's Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia/DPR RI*) which consists of representatives from political parties. Although both play a role as part of the legislative institution in the structure of the state government, the DPD RI focuses on its main role in fighting for the interests of its region without direct influence from any political party. In this context, rhetoric becomes very important for DPD RI Members because it functions as a tool to articulate and fight for the interests of the community and the regions they represent. As an art in effective speaking skills, rhetoric plays a very important role in political communication, both in general and specifically for the role of politicians, including DPD RI.

Mulyana (2014) stated that the use of language in politics is one of the interesting phenomena in political communication and the language can reflect the interests of the party using it. Consequently, the utilization of language within the context of political communication underscores that language serves not merely as a tool for political communication but also as a means to shape public opinion, garner support, influence policy, and craft a desired image. By mastering effective rhetoric, DPD RI members can convey aspirations, criticisms, and policy proposals in a persuasive and influential manner. Rhetoric also allows them to build a strong and convincing narrative, which can influence ministers and executive officials in making decisions and policies that are more responsive to regional needs. Therefore, rhetoric is not just a skill in effective communication, but also an important strategy in carrying out legislative duties and ensuring that the voices of the people and regions they represent are heard at the national level.

Based on the results of direct observations of the rhetoric of DPD RI Members (2014-2019 Period), it was found that DPD RI Members were generally and consistently able to voice the aspirations of the community and their regions in meetings with ministries and other collaborators, as well as in various work-related activities. To effectively communicate their opinions and ideas to their counterparts, DPD RI members exhibited their best rhetorical skills. In addition, to obtain the latest information and data, a documentation study was also conducted on the transcription of the recordings of the DPD RI Members' meetings (2019-2024 Period). Considering these empirical findings, the rhetoric employed by DPD RI members emerges as a valuable resource worthy of investigation in language research, focusing on the construction of their rhetoric as an embodiment of language's role in the realm of political communication.

In contemporary society, certain communities still harbor stereotypes, shaping their perceptions of political figures based on their language skills and behavior. Consequently, this study holds significant relevance, aiming to capture the exemplary and effective rhetorical practices employed by DPD RI members. The objective is to establish their rhetorical patterns as valuable benchmarks for future reference, serving as examples or role models for the broader community, students, and other interested parties engaged in linguistics, rhetoric, and political communication studies. This perspective aligns with the viewpoint of Rakhmat (2021, p. 2), who underscores the importance of rhetoric as the art of effective communication, asserting that a person's speaking skills can divulge their character, whether they are educated or impudent.

Numerous studies have delved into political rhetoric, yet there remains a scarcity of research examining DPD RI members from a linguistic perspective, particularly those concentrating on their rhetorical skills. Existing studies with similar subject matter do exist, such as Syahri's (2017) research titled "Political Rhetoric Construction of North Sumatra Province DPD Member Drs. Rijal Sirait in the 2014 DPD Elections". However, this study does not center on linguistic rhetoric but also extends its analysis to non-linguistic techniques in the political communication strategy of North Sumatra Province DPD Member Drs. Rijal Sirait during the 2014 Election campaign. Furthermore, there was the study by Priatna (2022) titled "Political Discourse in the Speeches of Members of the Indonesian Parliament Regarding Handling COVID-19", which constitutes a rhetorical examination of speeches by Members of the DPR RI, utilizing data from the official website of DPR RI (www.dpr.go.id) and online

mass media (www.merdeka.com). Although previous studies have contributed to understanding political communication in Indonesia, they have not specifically discussed the study of variations in rhetorical patterns and language functions of DPD RI members in their political communication with executive institutions and have not examined the implications of this rhetoric for public policy in Indonesia.

This study attempts to fill this gap by focusing on new subjects, contexts, and data sources. The purpose of this study is to reveal the variations in the rhetorical patterns of DPD RI Members (2019-2024 Period) and the language functions used in the context of a joint working meeting with the Minister of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection of the Republic of Indonesia (Minister of PPPA RI). In addition, this study also aims to highlight the implications of DPD RI Members' rhetoric on public policy and political communication in Indonesia, by providing a deeper understanding of the role of DPD RI Members' rhetoric which is considered to be able to influence the dynamics of policy and political communication at the national level.

When considering the purpose of language usage, it serves various functions. In this regard, linguists found that the term language function is basically the same, namely that they all document civilization. In this study, Holmes' theory of language function is chosen because it is considered to cover the various aspects described by other experts. Holmes (2001, p. 259) identifies six types of language functions, all with the common objective of capturing aspects of human culture: (1) Expressive Function: To articulate the speaker's emotions; (2) Directive Function: To influence someone's actions; (3) Referential Function: To convey information; (4) Metalingual Function: To comment on language itself; (5) Poetic Function: To emphasize the aesthetic aspects of language; (6) Phatic Function: To express solidarity and empathy towards others.

In political communication, Arrianie (2022) presents several expert-defined definitions: (1) Political communication is defined as political outcomes when they underscore the results (Mueller in Arrianie, 2022, p. 39); (2) Political communication is the process of disseminating meanings, significance, or messages related to the operation of a political system (Plano in Arrianie, 2022, p. 40); (3) Political communication encompasses any means of transmitting messages, whether through symbols, written or spoken words, or signals, that influence an individual's position within a specific power structure (Suwardi in Arrianie, 2022, p. 41).

In this study, the concept of political communication refers to Suwardi's idea (as cited in Arrianie, 2022, p. 41) which states that political communication is any form of message delivery, either in the form of symbols or in the form of written or spoken words, or in the form of signals that influence a person's position in a particular power structure. This definition is relevant to the focus of this study, namely analyzing the rhetoric of DPD RI Members in a meeting forum with the Minister of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection of the Republic of Indonesia (Minister of PPPA RI).

Gurevitch and Blumler's (as cited in Arrianie, 2022, p. 40) conceptualization of political communication comprises four components: (1) Political institutions in their communication capacity; (2) Media institutions in their political role; (3) Audience orientation towards communication; (4) Aspects of political culture relevant to communication. Therefore, this study focuses on the first component of political communication according to Gurevitch & Blumler (as cited in Arrianie, 2022), namely political institutions in their communication aspects. The component was chosen because this study aims to analyze the rhetoric of DPD RI Members in the context of working meetings with ministers. The communication aspect of these two political institutions is very important because DPD RI Members use rhetoric to influence policies and decisions taken by ministers as part of the government in the executive institution. By focusing on how political institutions, especially the DPD RI, communicate in the process of supervision and conveying aspirations at the central government level with relevant

ministers, this study is expected to provide a deeper understanding of the role of communication or language activities in political dynamics in Indonesia.

Aisyah (2022, p. 445) cites Struever's viewpoint, suggesting that Aristotle's rhetoric should be seen through two lenses: his role as a philosopher and his rhetorical theory, which is particularly well-suited for a political context. According to Aristotle (2018, p. 17), rhetoric means the ability to identify persuasive tools available in any given situation. Aristotle's theory of rhetoric introduces three modes of persuasion (*pisteis*) encapsulated in the concept of the rhetorical triangle, primarily used in verbal discourse. These modes rely on different factors: the personal character of the speaker (*ethos*), the audience's mental framework (*pathos*), and the evidence within the spoken words themselves (*logos*) (Aristotle, 2021; Fahrudin et al., 2022; Mulyana, 2023)

Dhia et al. (2021, p. 85) assert that Aristotle's rhetoric is built on two key assumptions. Firstly, effective public speakers must consider their audience. Secondly, effective public speakers employ a range of evidence in their presentations. West and Turner (2010) explain that, in Aristotle's rhetorical triangle, *ethos* pertains to the perceived character, intelligence, and good intentions of the speaker, as conveyed through their speech. *Pathos*, on the other hand, revolves around the emotions the speaker aims to elicit in the listener. Aristotle argued that emotions influence the way listeners judge and respond, whether it's joy, pain, hatred, or fear (West & Turner, 2010). *Logos*, the third component, involves logical evidence presented by communicators, encompassing arguments and rationalizations. Aristotle emphasized the importance of using logical claims and clear language in employing *logos* (West & Turner, 2010).

Regarding these three rhetorical proofs (*ethos, pathos, and logos*), Aristotle (2021, p. 91) stressed that individuals seeking to comprehend these tools must meet specific conditions: (1) mastering syllogisms through logical thinking, (2) having a scientific understanding of human character and virtue in its diverse forms, and (3) comprehending human emotions, including their various types, causes, and how they manifest in practice.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study adopts a qualitative approach, aiming to comprehensively understand phenomena experienced by the study subjects, including behaviors, perceptions, motivations, actions, etc., through descriptive narratives and language, as defined by Moleong (2022, p. 6). Within this qualitative framework, the study employs analytical descriptive methods. The study's subjects are members of DPD RI (2019-2024 period), specifically those belonging to Committee III of DPD RI. Sample selection was accomplished using a simple random sampling technique.

During the data collection phase, the researchers conducted a documentation study of transcriptions from meetings of Committee III DPD RI Members. These transcriptions were directly obtained from the Minutes Section of the Information Systems and Documentation Bureau of DPD RI. To initiate this process, the researchers submitted an official request for study permission to the Secretary General of DPD RI. Due to space constraints, only one of the ten available data sources was utilized in this article. Below is detailed information about the chosen data source.

Table 1.
Source of Data

Date Source	Note
Transcription of the Recording of the Working Meeting of Committee III of DPD RI with the Minister of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection of the Republic of Indonesia.	The meeting was held on Tuesday, 31 January 2023, 10:32-13:15 WIB, in the Sriwijaya Meeting Room, 2nd Floor, Building B DPD RI, MPR RI/DPR RI/DPD RI Parliamentary Complex.

The data presented, analyzed, and discussed in this study represent instances with distinct rhetorical construction patterns. Data exhibiting similar rhetorical construction patterns have not been included in this article due to space limitations. Despite this constraint, the study analyzes the diverse rhetorical construction patterns to provide readers with valuable insights into the variations within DPD RI members' rhetoric.

During the data analysis phase, the researchers followed a structured approach that involved identifying, reducing, analyzing, and interpreting the data. This process aligns with the study's primary focus, which is to elucidate the variations in the rhetorical construction patterns of DPD RI members and offer a portrait of the manifestation of language functions in their rhetoric.

DISCUSSION

Variations in Rhetorical Patterns and Language Functions of DPD RI Members

This section delves into the analysis results of the diverse rhetorical construction patterns employed by DPD RI members based on Aristotle's principles of three rhetorical proofs. Below are the research findings along with an analysis and discussion.

Data 1: Rhetoric of Hasan Basri, S.E., M.H. (Member of DPD RI for North Kalimantan Province Electoral District/Chair of Committee III DPD RI)

“Bismillahirrahmanirahim, Assalamualaikum warahmatullah wabarakatuh, Good morning, Peace be upon us all, Shalom, Om swastiastu, Namu buddhaya, Greetings of virtue... We express our gratitude for the presence of the Minister... Ladies and gentlemen, blessed attendees, as we know that Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution place women as citizens who have positions, rights, obligations, responsibilities, roles, and opportunities in various fields... in fact, there is still gender inequality in various aspects... In fact, almost half of the population in this country are women. If we look at the average value of the Human Development Index or HDI, women still seem to be lagging behind men. This is what we can see. Later, Madam Minister, we will wait for your analysis, why do you think that's the case? In 2019, the average HDI for women was 69.18%. Far behind the male HDI which has reached 75.96%...”

Based on Data 1, the speaker's rhetorical pattern begins with the ethos aspect through the use of greetings from various religions and cultures. This aligns with Larson's (as cited in Hendri, 2019, p. 30) perspective on the platinum rule, acknowledging cultural and religious diversity and emphasizing communicators' sensitivity to the rights and choices of others. The use of diverse greetings reinforces the speaker's personal character as someone who values tolerance in a multicultural setting.

The use of phrases like *“Ladies and gentlemen, blessed attendees”* conveys a friendly and approachable demeanor, fostering a conducive atmosphere and audience receptiveness to the message, a strategy highlighted by Mardiyansyah (2014, p. 63) as indicative of a skilled communicator who can convey ideas convincingly.

Furthermore, the speaker's reference to Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution as the foundation for women's rights and obligations underscores a politician with integrity who upholds principles of equality and justice. Data 1 also contains pathos elements evident in phrases like *“almost half of the population in this country are women”*, *“women still seem to be lagging behind men”*, and *“Madam Minister, we will wait for your analysis”*. These elicit an emotional response, creating an expectation for change as a result of the forthcoming analysis. Presenting empirical data comparing HDI percentages for women (69.18%) and men (75.96%) introduces a logos aspect, providing factual evidence to persuade ministers to address gender inequality. In summary, the rhetorical construction pattern of Data 1 is *Ethos-Pathos-Logos* (E-P-L).

Examined from the aspect of language function, Data 1 shows the manifestation of directive language function in the interrogative form category, as follows: *“If we look at the average value of the Human Development Index or HDI, women still seem to be lagging behind*

men. This is what we can see. Later, Madam Minister, we will wait for your analysis, why do you think that's the case?" The question word 'why' indicates the interrogative form. Based on the context of Data 1, it can be seen that the rhetorical strategy of DPD RI Members by asking questions to the minister is believed to be able to persuade the relevant ministers to clarify or provide answers to the problems being discussed by DPD RI Members regarding the fact that the women's HDI is lower than the men's.

Greetings and salutations from various religions and cultures to the audience in Data 1 can also be interpreted as the application of expressive language functions because they show an attitude of respect and recognition of the diversity of the audience. In addition, the expression "thank you" contained in Data 1 also shows the use of expressive language functions, in line with the statement of Assidik, Vinansih, and Kustanti (2023) namely that the expressive speech act of gratitude is marked by the presence of a lingual marker in the form of the word 'thank you'. In this context, gratitude was expressed by the DPD RI Member to express appreciation and appreciation to the Minister for his presence. This is used not just for formality, but to create harmony in the ongoing political communication.

Data 2: Rhetoric of Rahmijati Jahja, S.Pd. (Member of DPD RI for the Gorontalo Province Electoral District)

"Thank you, Ma'am. I see here that the budget from the Ministry of Women is very minimal. Very, very minimal... I am asking, we have a lot of women here. So, I'm really concerned, Ma'am,...Secondly, I have a lot of souvenirs from Gorontalo Province,...Gorontalo Province, which has only been around for 22 years, has had a lot of cases of sexual violence and child violence. For 2022, there were almost 400 cases, Ma'am... Lastly, considering that the number of women's participation in politics and in making decisions is still very low, we really hope that the ministry can budget for these activities in the regions in the form of seminars or regional women's consultations which are attended directly by Mrs. Minister of Women's Empowerment..."

Data 2 initiates the conversation by invoking *pathos* through emotionally charged phrases like "very minimal", "very, very minimal", and "So I'm really concerned". These emotionally laden words are strategically chosen to elicit empathy from the audience, particularly the relevant ministers. The statement "For 2022, there were almost 400 cases" incorporates a *logos* element as it presents factual data to bolster the argument.

Furthermore, the *ethos* aspect is evident in statements expressing hope, such as: "we really hope that the ministry can budget for these activities in the regions in the form of seminars or regional women's consultations which are attended directly by Mrs. Minister of Women's Empowerment". This statement reflects hope and suggests practical solutions, portraying the speaker as a senator who courageously conveys the aspirations of their constituents and demonstrates concern and responsibility for their needs. In summary, the rhetorical construction pattern of Data 2 is *Pathos-Logos-Ethos* (P-L-E).

Based on the variety of language functions, Data 2 indicates a directive language function categorized as a form of hope that is explicitly marked by the word 'hope', as seen in the quote above. Meanwhile, the word "thank you" is included in the application of an expressive language function that shows the attitude of appreciation and politeness of the DPD RI Member to the Minister. The words "So, I'm really concerned, Ma'am..." in Data 2 can also be included in the expressive language function because it shows the feelings of concern and empathy of the DPD RI Member towards the situation being discussed.

In the context of Data 2, it is evident that DPD RI members employ a rhetorical strategy by expressing their hopes to the relevant ministers. This approach aims to appeal to the emotions and intentions of the ministers, encouraging them to fulfill the wishes of DPD RI members and the constituents in their respective regions. The expressed hope is for the ministry to allocate a budget for seminars and women's consultations in the regions, with the added expectation that the Minister of Women's Empowerment will personally attend these events.

Data 3: Rhetoric of Dr. Jihan Nurlela Chalim, S.Ked. (Member of DPD RI for the Lampung Province Electoral District)

“It is recorded in the online information system for the protection of women and children that there were 499 cases of violence against women and children in Lampung during 2022... The high number of cases of violence against women and children cannot be separated from moral education which should be well received by the wider community. Maybe we are not massive enough in providing education... so perhaps what I can suggest is that the Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection should form a kind of Task Force/cyber to collaborate with the Ministry of Communication and Information to provide recommendations for bad content to be banned and etc., because it really has an impact on our students... That’s all from me, thank you and I also appreciate the achievements of the Minister and staff. I hope the work output this year will be even better. That is all.”

Data 3 places the *logos* aspect at the forefront by presenting data: *“there were 499 cases of violence against women and children in Lampung during 2022”*. Additionally, a *pathos* element is introduced through the expression *“Maybe we are not massive enough”*. In the context of Data 3, the use of the phrase *“maybe”* here conveys a sense of concern and a lack of understanding regarding the causes of the high number of cases of violence against women and children. This statement can evoke feelings of concern among the meeting audience, including the relevant ministers present.

Moreover, the *ethos* aspect is apparent in the following statement: *“so perhaps what I can suggest is that the Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection should form a kind of Task Force/cyber to collaborate with the Ministry of Communication and Information”*. This proposal implicitly reflects the speaker’s *ethos*. By suggesting collaboration between relevant ministries, DPD RI member demonstrates a deep understanding of existing problems, building credibility and confidence in the competence and concern of the senator or regional representative.

Furthermore, the closing remarks expressing appreciation for the achievements of the relevant minister and staff in Data 3 can also be categorized as a rhetorical strategy with an *ethos* aspect. Expressions of appreciation enhance the speaker’s credibility as a senator with strong communication ethics and morals. DPD RI member acknowledges and appreciates the ministry’s accomplishments, not solely focusing on their own proposals but recognizing and valuing the ministry’s work. In summary, the rhetorical construction pattern of Data 3 is *Logos-Pathos-Ethos* (L-P-E).

Examined from the aspect of language function, the rhetoric of DPD RI Members in Data 3 shows the manifestation of directive language functions in the form of recommendations, as follows: *“...so perhaps what I can suggest is that the Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection should form a kind of Task Force/cyber to collaborate with the Ministry of Communication and Information to provide recommendations for bad content to be banned and etc.”*. This is also explicitly reflected in the use of the word *‘suggest’*. From the context of Data 3, the suggestion given by the DPD RI Member was considered an effort to persuade the relevant minister to consider the suggestion. The DPD RI Member’s speech containing the proposal is even more persuasive because after the word *‘suggest’* it is continued with the word *‘should’*. This implicitly contains the meaning that the proposal expressed by the DPD RI Member is actually urgent to be carried out immediately by the relevant ministry. Moreover, the words *“That’s all from me, thank you and earlier I also appreciated the achievements of the Minister and staff, hopefully the work output this year will be even better. I end it.”* in Data 3 indicates the application of the expressive language function, namely to convey the gratitude and appreciation of the DPD RI Members to the minister who is their working partner.

Data 4: Rhetoric of Prof. Dr. Hj. Sylviana Murni, S.H., M.Sc. (Member of DPD RI DKI Jakarta Provincial Electoral District)

“Yesterday there were lots of women in East Jakarta, ma’am. If you are going to do a focus group discussion, they need action. Maybe I will take you to Kampung Tangguh Jaya, where the extraordinary women are,

ma'am. Well, here, in my opinion, sometimes we don't need anything too formal in focus group discussions, they need action. Action is needed in the field directly to Kampung Tangguh, we will have a dialogue. For example, if you are busy, you can assign your deputy to come. I am ready to be whatever catalyst, mediator, or you just order me to be. After all, I am also a senator who prepares the aspirations of the people, which I then pass on to you. So don't worry, ma'am. I'm ready to help, ma'am. I return it to the Chair. Thank you."

In Data 4, the speaker seeks to establish *ethos* by drawing on their experience as a member of DPD RI for the DKI Jakarta Province electoral district. The statement about the presence of many women in East Jakarta reflects the speaker's keen observations of the community, specifically Kampung Tangguh Jaya. By sharing these observations, the speaker appears as a senator with a sharp understanding and sensitivity to local realities. This contributes to enhancing the speaker's credibility as a regional representative who genuinely cares about and comprehends the social dynamics within their electoral district.

The *logos* aspect takes center stage in Data 4. The speaker proposes conducting Focus Group Discussion (FGD) activities in Kampung Tangguh Jaya and emphasizes the importance of taking practical action rather than adhering to overly formal approaches in FGDs. The speaker advocates for the presence of ministers or their deputies in dialogues with the community. These ideas are presented as rational arguments to support the persuasive strategy aimed at the relevant minister. Thus, Data 4 is characterized by a strong *logos* element, with well-constructed arguments and strategic planning to address the issues at hand.

Additionally, the *pathos* element emerges in the speaker's reassurance to the Minister. The statement, "*So don't worry, ma'am. I'm ready to help, ma'am.*" is designed to touch the emotions of the interlocutor, in this case, the Minister. The speaker's willingness to offer assistance and support conveys a sense of empathy and readiness to collaborate. In summary, the rhetorical construction pattern of Data 4 can be described as *Ethos-Logos-Pathos* (E-L-P).

Meanwhile, the language function depicted in Data 4 is the directive language function in the instruction form category, as follows: "*I am ready to be whatever catalyst, mediator, or you just order me to be. After all, I am also a senator who prepares the aspirations of the people, which I then pass on to you.*" The directive language function is shown by the use of the word '*order*'. From the context of Data 4, it can be seen that the statement above can be interpreted as a rhetorical strategy of DPD RI Members to direct or persuade the minister so that they do not hesitate to give orders to themselves as DPD RI senators (regional representatives at the national level). The utterance in Data 4 can also be interpreted as a form of implementing the expressive language function, namely expressing willingness, proactive attitude, and emotional responsibility towards their duties as DPD RI Members. Meanwhile, the use of the word '*thank you*' at the end of his rhetoric shows that the DPD RI Member uses the expressive language function to end his rhetoric with full respect for the chair of the meeting and the audience of the meeting, including the Ministry.

Data 5: Rhetoric of Alexander Franciscus (Member of DPD RI for the electoral district of Bangka Belitung Islands Province)

"Ma'am, we hope that in Committee III, the Minister can work together with us. In Committee III, every time there is an activity in the region, for example. Well, we have 34 members, ma'am. In Committee III, each of them represents four people in their constituency and in Committee III there is one person, namely myself, ma'am. Yesterday I had a meeting with the provincial office for women's empowerment and child protection. In our department, ma'am, in the province we also say the same thing, ma'am, budget limitations, ma'am. Well, this concerns all of us...I just do rhymes, Ma'am... So, some of our friends from the region gave me "pantun" (traditional poetry) to read to the Minister... 'Tudung saji disingkap, makan nasi lauk teri. Masalah diungkap, duduk sebaris dengan Ibu Menteri' (a pantun that means problems can be solved if you can talk to the Minister). Well, there's more. 'Ada ketupat ditambah kecap, kata sepakat cap Komite III pun menancap ke hati Bu Menteri. Ketupat dibelah lalu diolah, terucap bismillah akan ridho Allah' (a pantun that expresses the message of seeing being in agreement and praying for God's blessings). Thank You."

In Data 5, the *logos* aspect is prominent in the speaker's rhetorical strategy, employing logical thinking skills to outline the structure and role of Committee III DPD RI in regional activities. The speaker presents numerical data, stating that there are 34 members in Committee III and detailing their representation of four people in their respective constituencies. This logical reasoning is used to reinforce the speaker's hope for collaboration with the Minister, as indicated in the following quote: "*Ma'am, we hope that in Committee III, the Minister can work together with us. In Committee III, every time there is an activity in the region, for example. Well, we have 34 members, ma'am. In Committee III, each of them represents four people in their constituency, and in Committee III there is one person, namely myself, ma'am.*"

The *ethos* aspect is cultivated through the speaker's mention of his recent meeting with the provincial office for women's empowerment and child protection in his electoral district, Bangka Belitung Islands Province. This approach aims to enhance the speaker's credibility as a senator who actively engages in work meetings with relevant agencies to address community and regional issues.

Meanwhile, the *pathos* aspect is introduced through the speaker's use of rhymes to conclude his speech. Employing rhymes creates a more lighthearted and enjoyable atmosphere, likely generating a sense of joy among the meeting's attendees, including the targeted minister. The rhymes add an emotional element to the communication. In summary, the rhetorical construction pattern of Data 5 can be described as *Logos-Ethos-Pathos* (L-E-P).

Viewed from the aspect of its language function, the rhetoric of DPD RI Members in Data 5 can reflect the expressive language function, namely the expression of concern marked by the words "*...Well, this is our concern...*". In Data 5 there is also a poetic language function in the form of rhymes or traditional poetry, as follows: "*...Tudung saji disingkap, makan nasi lauk teri, masalah diungkap, duduk sebaris dengan Ibu Menteri. Nah, masih ada lagi iya. Ada ketupat ditambah kecap, kata sepakat cap Komite III pun menancap ke hati Bu Menteri. Ketupat dibelah lalu diolah, terucap bismillah akan ridho Allah. Thank you.*" In the speech, the DPD RI member used poetic language function through rhymes to attract the attention of the audience, especially the relevant minister as the interlocutor in the meeting forum. The rhymes are also seen as a strategic effort to creatively express appreciation and respect for the Minister. The use of rhymes in meeting forums not only attracts attention, but also creates a more relaxed and friendly atmosphere. Meanwhile, saying "**thank you**" in Data 5 is interpreted as a form of use of the expressive language function, namely to express appreciation and respect directly to the minister for the opportunity and attention given.

Data 6: Rhetoric of Evi Apita Maya, S.H., M.Kn. (Member of DPD RI NTB Province Electoral District/Deputy Chair I of Committee III DPD RI)

"Thank you, Madam Minister... Now, it is important to know that Nusa Tenggara Barat is the only one that probably already has a Regional Regulation on the Implementation of Women and Children... The number of cases of woman and child abuse in Nusa Tenggara is relatively high. What's the cause? the reason is because of the culture there. Ma'am, we already said that there is something worth noting. Early marriages are still ongoing and the culture of women submitting to their husbands continues. If domestic violence is committed, it is not normal, and people do not dare to report it. So, for this reason, in this draft bill, we might include cultural factors that cause the implementation of the Mother and Child Welfare (MCH) Law to be hampered. Maybe there is a solution. For example, we will include sentences like that in the MCH draft later...Secondly, it is true that Mr. Chairman said that it is not just that program, Ma'am. Every time you visit the area, please inform us. Here there are 34 provinces. Every time you come, please inform us if we are in the area. God willing, we will accompany you to organize your programs..."

In Data 6, the *pathos* aspect is emphasized through the speaker's use of a question to draw attention to the relatively high number of cases involving women and children in Nusa Tenggara and to raise curiosity among the audience. The speaker also touches on sensitive issues like early marriages and domestic violence, aiming to evoke empathy and concern among the listeners regarding these challenges.

The *ethos* aspect is evident in the speaker’s credibility and competence in proposing a solution to the MCH Bill. By suggesting that sentences addressing cultural factors be included in the bill, the speaker demonstrates a deep understanding of the issues faced by her constituency and the ability to offer practical solutions.

The *logos aspect* is portrayed through the speaker’s logical reasoning and request for information about the Minister’s visits to different regions. This request is grounded in the idea that DPD RI members can provide valuable insights and assistance during the implementation of programs in their respective provinces, based on their in-depth knowledge of local issues and community needs. In summary, the rhetorical construction pattern of Data 6 is characterized as *Pathos-Ethos-Logos (P-E-L)*.

Examined from the aspect of language function, Data 6 shows the manifestation of directive language function in the form of requests as follows: “*Every time you come, please inform us if we are in the area. God willing, we will accompany you to organize your programs...*” The request is apparent from the use of the word ‘*please*’. Based on the context of Data 6, the utterance is a persuasive rhetorical strategy because it aims to persuade or ask the relevant minister to be willing to inform the DPD RI Member whenever the relevant minister is on duty in his/her area. The request was motivated by the DPD RI Member’s wish to accompany the relevant minister during an official visit to his/her electoral district. The context of Data 6 also indicates the manifestation of the directive language function in the recommendation category, as follows: “*...in this draft bill, we might include cultural factors...*” The choice of the word ‘*might*’ in the DPD RI Member’s utterance is seen as a persuasive strategy that gives the impression that his/her suggestion can be used as an option that needs to be considered by the relevant ministry. The utterance “Thank you, Madam Minister” in Data 6 is an expressive language function that shows politeness and maintains good relations before starting further discussions. In addition, the phrase “*God willing, we will accompany you (the Minister)....*” reflects an expressive language function that expresses the willingness of DPD RI members to collaborate with the minister in implementing these programs.

Based on the results of the analysis described in the previous section, in brief, the classification of variations in rhetorical patterns and language functions of DPD RI Members in this study is presented in Table 2.

Table 2.
Classification of Variations of Rhetorical Patterns and Language Functions of DPD RI Members (2019-2024 Period)

Data	Variations of Rhetorical Patterns	Language Functions (Holmes’ Theory)					
		Expressive	Directive	Referential	Metalingual	Poetic	Phatic
D1	<i>E-P-L</i>	Thanking, and Greetings	Interrogative				
D2	<i>P-L-E</i>	Thank you, and Concern	Hope				
D3	<i>L-P-E</i>	Thanking, and Greetings	Recommendation				
D4	<i>E-L-P</i>	Thanking, and Willingness	Instruction				
D5	<i>L-E-P</i>	Concern and Thanking				Rhymes	
D6	<i>P-E-L</i>	Thanking, and Willingness	Request and Recommendation				

Based on the explanation, the results of this study show that if observed in detail, every rhetoric in political communication can reflect more than one language function. This seems to be in line with Holmes's opinion (2013) which stated that actually every utterance can express more than one language function.

Implications of DPD RI Members' Rhetoric on Public Policy and Political Communication in Indonesia

Based on the analysis in the previous section, it can be seen that the dominance of directive language functions in the rhetoric of DPD RI Members has a significant role because it can be an effective communication means to persuade, influence, or convince the Minister in the context of formulating a policy. Holmes (2001, 2013) stated that the function of directive language aims to try to influence or ask someone to do something. This is in line with Searle (1969) that directives are speech that encourages the interlocutor to act according to the speaker's wishes.

Samyo, Fauzan, and Ardhanariswari (2021) explained that to carry out the supervisory function of the implementation of certain laws, the Committee as a DPD RI supporting tool can hold a working meeting with the government or officials representing it to request information regarding a problem. In the context of a meeting with the Minister of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection of the Republic of Indonesia (Minister of PPPA RI), the application of directive language functions in the form of interrogative speech, hopes, recommendations, instructions, and requests by DPD RI members are considered a rhetorical strategy that not only aims to highlight regional issues but also encourages the ministry as a representative of the government to be more responsive and immediately take concrete action on various problems and aspirations of the community in the regions. This is in line with Taufik, Tarjana & Nurkamto's (2014) findings emphasizing that persuasive speech often functions as a directive speech act, which indicates an intention to persuade that is closely related to efforts to direct the actions or behavior of the interlocutor. This is also consistent with Suwardi's opinion in Arriane (2022, p. 41) that political communication involves every form of message delivery—whether in the form of symbols, words, or gestures—which aims to influence a person's position in the power structure, including in the context of decision-making by public officials.

The use of the directive language function in the rhetoric of DPD RI Members is also considered to reflect their rights to ask questions and convey suggestions or opinions, in line with the mandate of Article 257 in Law Number 17 of 2014 concerning the People's Consultative Assembly, the People's Representative Council, the Regional Representative Council, and the Regional People's Representative Council (MD3 Law). In addition, the rhetoric of DPD RI Members indicates the implementation of their obligation to raise regional issues to the national level as an effort to accommodate and follow up on public aspirations and complaints, such as the mandate of Article 258 point (h) in the MD3 Law. Thus, the rhetoric of DPD RI Members not only strengthens the role of DPD RI in carrying out its supervisory function on the implementation of laws, but also has significant implications for the creation of targeted public policies.

Through effective and persuasive rhetorical skills, DPD RI members are seen as being able to direct policy discussions at the national level to meet the needs of the community and regions. This contributes to strengthening political communication between the DPD RI as a legislative institution and ministries as representatives of the government in the executive institution. Yusuf (2013) argued that in order for political communication between the DPD RI institution and the executive institution, both the president and his ministers, to be well established, it is important to conduct periodic consultations to discuss problems that occur in this country.

The use of pronouns rhetorically is also important for a political speaker. Pronouns used to refer to the speaker, refer to political views, and refer to the listener can be used to emphasize or hide the agent (i.e. the person or party carrying out a certain action) and the responsibility for that action (Thomas & Wareing, 2021). In the context of the DPD RI Members' rhetoric, there are numerous usages of the pronouns 'we/us' (in the first and second point of views) as seen in Data 1 to Data 6. The pronoun 'we/us' (in the second point of view) emphasizes the collective responsibility between DPD RI Members and ministers in finding solutions to various problems faced by the community in the regions. Meanwhile, the pronoun 'we/us' (in the first point of view) is used to separate the role of DPD RI from the executive, emphasizing their responsibility in supervising and voicing the aspirations of the community. Shovak & Petiy (2023) assert that the use of inclusive pronouns such as 'we/us' (in the first and second point of views) is part of a persuasive technique that fosters a sense of collective identity and shared responsibility in political communication.

Guthrie as well as Herrick (as cited in Green Jr. & Li, 2011) stated that rhetorical practices explicitly have a political dimension, because actors use discourse to promote their interests in cooperation with the interests of other actors. Thus, the implications of the rhetoric of DPD RI members on public policy and political communication are also considered significant. This rhetorical practice not only strengthens their role in overseeing policies at the central government level, but also creates better synergy between DPD RI as a legislative institution and ministries as executive branches, so that the resulting public policies are more responsive to the needs and aspirations of the community in the regions.

CONCLUSION

The rhetorical patterns of DPD RI Members (2019-2024 Period) indicate effectiveness in political communication, because they consistently include the three elements of persuasion (ethos, pathos, and logos) although the order of delivery varies. This study also found that the use of language functions in the rhetoric of DPD RI Members does not only rely on directive language functions that persuade their partner Ministers, but also involves expressive and poetic language functions that add emotional and aesthetic depth to their political communication. The selection of rhetorical forms that are appropriate to the topic of discussion is considered to be able to help the message be conveyed effectively and achieve the desired communication goals. The rhetoric of DPD RI Members has significant implications for public policy and political communication in Indonesia, because it is able to strengthen the synergy between DPD RI as a legislative institution and ministries as executive representatives. This collaboration plays a role in creating more effective, responsive, and targeted public policies in resolving regional issues through follow-up at the central government level. Further research is expected to explore rhetoric in other political contexts or compare the rhetoric of DPD RI Members with other legislative institutions, both in Indonesia and in other countries. In addition, the study of politicians' rhetoric from a critical discourse analysis perspective is also a prospective topic for further research.

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