

**Argumentative Discourse Analysis On Governor
Anies' Speeches in International Forums**

THESIS

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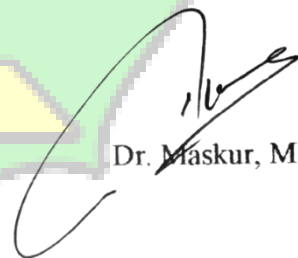
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Menyatakan bahwa sesungguhnya skripsi tersebut adalah benar-benar hasil karya asli saya, kecuali lampiran yang disebutkan sumbernya. Apabila terdapat kesalahan dan kekeliruan akan menjadi sepenuhnya tanggungjawab saya. Demikian surat pernyataan ini saya buat dengan sebenar-benarnya.

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Yang membuat surat pernyataan



Desviani Lestari Anggreini Br Surbakti

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ABSTRACT

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Argumentative discourse analysis (ADA) is the examination of what is being said to whom, and in what context. The aims of ADA is to identify story lines, how disparate actors mobilize them as members of discourse coalitions, and how discourse coalition and its story line become dominant through consideration of the policy context. This study analyzed the three concept of ADA found in the text speech of Anies Baswedan in International Forums as the objects of analysis. In conducting the research the writer applied qualitative descriptive method in analyzing all the selected data in order to describe the story lines, metaphor, and discourse coalition. Conclusively, the researcher discovered six story lines and three metaphors after examining the chosen data. Other than those two, because the researcher employed remarks from the same political figure which is Anies Baswedan, the governor of DKI Jakarta, there is only one discourse coalition in this research. The chosen discourse analytical approach has been very helpful in research.

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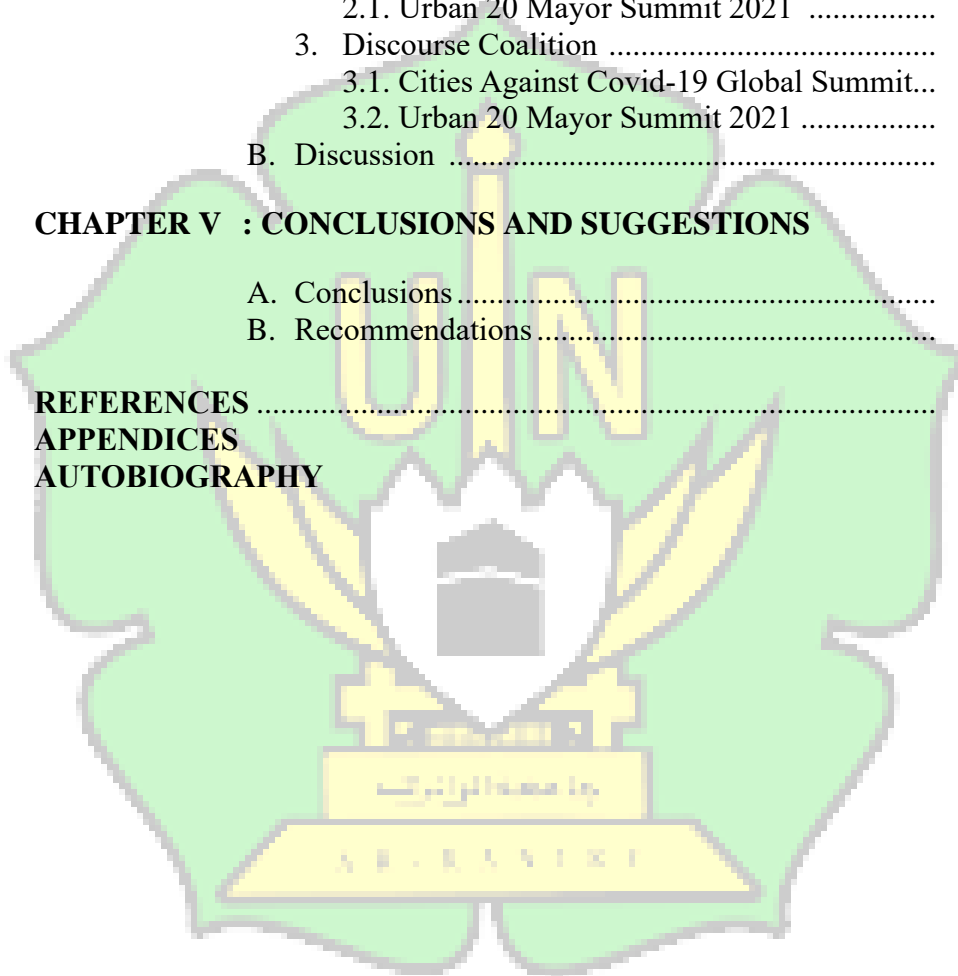
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims at providing an overview of the study by highlighting the background of the study, research questions, research aims, the significance of the study, and terminologies.

A. Background of the Study

Language has the power to shape politics by creating signals and symbols that can affect power dynamics and influence institutions and policymaking. It has the potential to make events harmless, but it also has the potential to cause political strife. In involving language as an intuitive device in both spoken and composed correspondence, individuals need to consider about what they need to pass as well as about how on to make it happen. It could imply that the writer or the speaker should examine the problem in terms of operational solutions, on the other hand, it could also imply that this is pointless because answers would necessitate significant institutional or cultural change.

According to Wilujeng (2013) language in politic or political language has its own ideology, namely the intersts of the speaker. It is often being multi-interpretations, ambigouse, even deceptive. Political language is generally not only used for reveal the fact yet also to hide it. Concequently to figure out the implicit meaning in political language the

Discourse Analysis Approach is needed to be applied. Hajer basic assumption of discourse analysis is that language profoundly shapes our view of the world and reality, instead of being merely a neutral medium mirroring it.

Dryzek and Lo (2015) state that Discourse analysis is one of a range of theories or methods that implicated in the interpretation of the language used in the texts, whether it is used in policy documents or debate issues in decision-making process and assemblies. There are some approaches of discourse analysis, one of them is Interpretive Policy Analysis (IPA) which discusses Argumentative Discourse Analysis (Glynos et al., 2009). According to Hajer (1995), Argumentative discourse analysis is the theory which proposes that in policy making, argumentative processes take place in discussions and meetings as actors position themselves and argue about controversial 'burning issues'. In this way, the discussion can be seen to be 'political' as one actor or a group of actors seeks to be dominant so that the discourse they are proposing will dominate the decision making and hence policy-making.

This study employed Hajer's Argumentative Approach. Hajer (2006) mentions that there are three concepts of Argumentative Discourse Analysis namely metaphor, story-line and discourse coalitions. Those can contribute to a better understanding of political issues particularly in public policy matter. Similarly, this study employed discourses presented by Anies Baswedan, one of Indonesia's legislators and the subject of this review.

Certainly, Anies Baswedan's speeches as Indonesian politician, precisely as the Governor of Jakarta, are related to political things and it fits the contribution of Hajer's argumentative approaches (Hajer, 2006).

Several earlier studies have used argumentative discourse analysis based on Hajer's theory to study political issues, which is similar to this research. Winton (2016) in her research used argumentative discourse for analyzing the school fundraising policy in Ontario. She presented the arguments (i.e., the story lines) of two discourse coalitions that have engaged in the struggle over the meaning of school fundraising: the fund-the-basics coalition and the fundraising-is-necessary-and-desirable coalition. The researcher exhibited the predominance of raising support is essential and helpful alliance's contention by showing assorted ways the training has become regulated and featuring parts of the arrangement set that have added to the standardization of school fundraising. Whereas Cottton et.al (2014) explored three dominant "storylines" emerging in relation to shale gas policy cleanliness and dirt, energy transitions – pathways and diversions, and geographies of environmental justice. The researchers found that central government policy rhetoric emphasizes economic development, regulatory oversight, and distribution of benefits to site communities, whilst minimizing discussion of the implications of shale gas for anthropogenic climate change.

Even though the topic of this study and the theory it used are similar to those in the previous studies the object of analysis of this study is

different. While Cotton (2014) focused on coalitions interview result as the object of data analysis, Winton (2016) used several documents from various media as the research object to describe her analysis. In this study the researcher scripted the policy actor speech in international forums were taken from media as the object of analysis. As previously mentioned the writer focused on three concepts of Argumentative Discourse Analysis and the data were taken from only one coalition through forum discussion, which is not from interview. As mentioned earlier, the reason of choosing Anies Baswedan's speeches is because his speeches as a politician are relevant to the function of Hajer's argumentative approach which contributes to discourse in political issues. It becomes more essential due to his prominence as one of capable leaders in Indonesia, thus it is interesting to analyze his argumentative style in persuading his people. Anies Baswedan's speeches analyzed in this research were "Cities Against Covid-19 Global Summit" and "Urban 20 Mayor Summit 20.

B. Research Question

The research question of this study is "How is the Argumentative Discourse Analysis accomplished in Mr. Anis' speeches in both International Forums "Cities Against Covid-19 Global Summit" and "Urban 20 Mayor Summit 2021?"

C. Research Aim

This study is specifically designed to describe the argumentative discourse analysis in Anis Baswedan's speeches in both International Forums Cities Against Covid-19 Global Summit and Urban 20 Mayor Summit 2021.

D. Scope of the Study

The scope of study only focused on Anis' speeches in both International Forums "Cities Against Covid-19 Global Summit" and "Urban 20 Mayor Summit 2021". These speeches are analyzed using Hajer's (2006) argumentative discourse analysis, which includes document analysis for organizing concepts, ideas, and categorizations, as well as the use of story lines, metaphors, and discourse coalitions. The data were taken from TV One and Pemprov DKI YouTube channels.

E. Significance of the Study

The result of the study is expected to deliver a contribution in discourse analysis especially to expand in the argumentative discourse analysis field regarding political speech. This study also informs society on how to summarize the ideas, arguments, and views provided by policymakers, political players, and other people in a forum utilizing Hajer's proposed argumentative discourse analysis (2006).

F. Research Terminologies

To avoid misunderstanding, definitions related to terms that are used in this study are provided below.

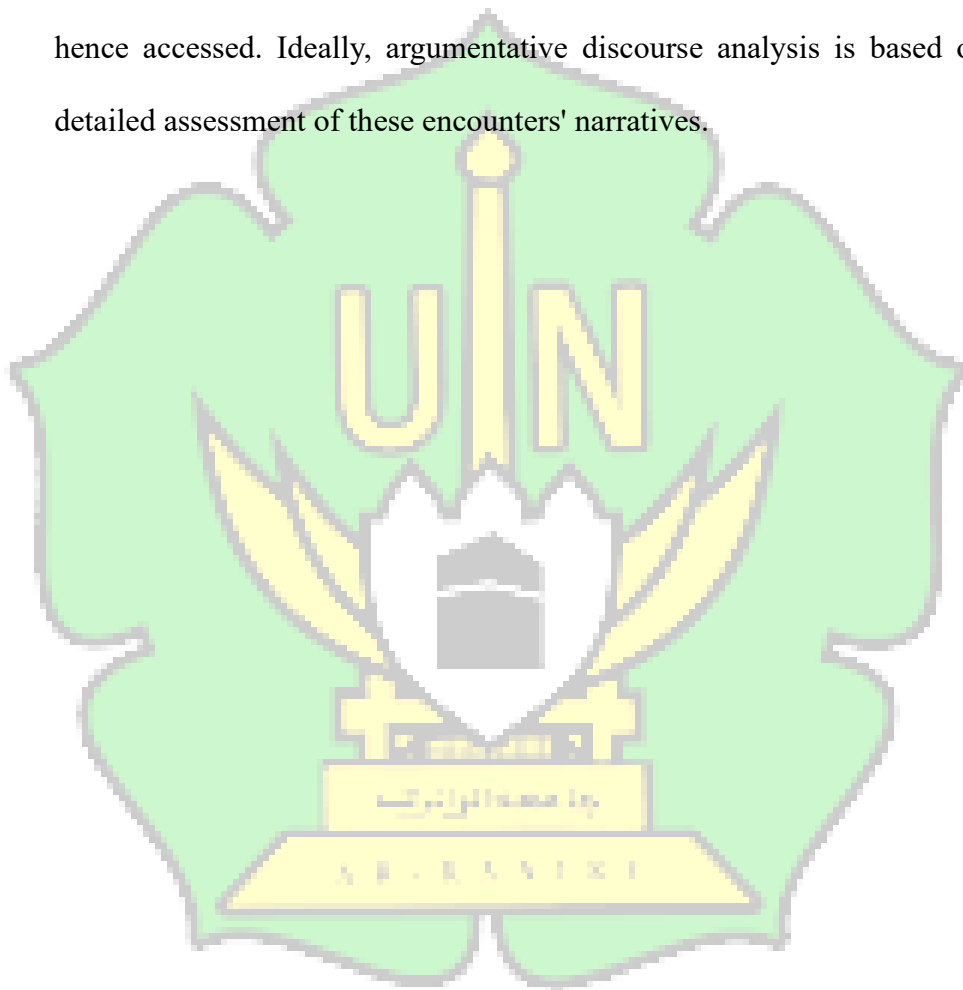
1. Speech

Speech is one of the speaking talents. Speech is the expression of ideas in the form of words directed to an audience or a prepared speech to be presented in front of an audience (KBBI, 1990). Speeches are typically delivered to an individual or group of individuals to offer congratulations, welcome guests, recognize significant occasions, etc (Karomani, 2011). Argumentative speech is one of several types of speeches that can be classified according to their functions. Argumentative speech is a speech that includes various components, such as arguments, information, or justifications. These organizations serve to disprove or affirm a proposition. In line with the previous definition, this study focus on analyzing argumentative speech in international forum by Governor Anies as the object of study.

2. Argumentative Discourse Analysis

The goal of argumentative discourse analysis (ADA) is to identify narrative lines, how divergent actors mobilize them as members of discourse coalitions, and how a discourse coalition and its story lines become dominant (or not) through policy context consideration. The evaluation of

what is said to whom and in what context is critical in argumentative discourse analysis (or ADA) (Hajer, 2006). The premise is that when people make assertions, they react to one another, producing meaning interactively. This emphasis on argumentation as interaction in the context of practices imposes methodological constraints on how data may be perceived, and hence accessed. Ideally, argumentative discourse analysis is based on a detailed assessment of these encounters' narratives.



CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter highlights several topics related to the literature review of this research. It consists of discourse analysis, discourse approaches, and three key concepts of argumentative discourse analysis: (a) story-lines (b) metaphor and (c) discourse coalitions; as well as speech and international forum.

A. Discourse Analysis

1. Definition of Discourse Analysis

Hajer (2006) defines discourse as a collection of ideas, concepts, and categories that give meaning to social and physical phenomena and are produced and reproduced through a distinct set of behaviors. Discourse is interpersonal communication that extends beyond a single sentence. Discourse, importantly, is more than just language. The term "language" can refer to any type of linguistic or symbolic unit (including things like road signs), and language studies can concentrate on the specific meanings of words. Beyond this, discourse examines the total meanings provided by language in context. "Context" here refers to the social, cultural, political, and historical background of the discourse, and it is important to take this into account to understand underlying meanings expressed through language. Discourse analysis is distinct in that it asserts that social reality is socially produced, or that our understanding of the world is subjective. The

literal meaning of words and languages is not the focus of discourse analysis (Crosley, 2021).

The goal of discourse analysis is to study the functions of language (i.e., what language is used for) and how meaning is created in various contexts, as well as to review and integrate the discourse's social, cultural, political, and historical foundations. Investigating discursive constructions such as narratives, story lines, or metaphors is especially successful when accompanied with research into the social-historical settings in which the statements were created and received. Then, discourse analysis provides methodologically sound ways for linking analysis of the discursive creation of meaning with analysis of the socio-political activities that give rise to social conceptions and in which the actors who make these statements participate.

For example, if you were to study a politician's speeches, you would need to situate these speeches in their context, which would involve looking at the politician's background and views, the reasons for presenting the speech, the history or context of the audience, and the country's social and political history.

B. Discourse Approaches

The discourse approach is an approach used to discuss a discourse in a language in certain sentences and conditions. In social or political sciences, there are six different approaches and techniques of doing discourse analysis (Glynos, Howarth and Norval, 2009) namely: Political Discourse Theory (PDT), Rhetorical Political Analysis (RPA), Discourse Historical Approach

(DHA) in Critical Discourse Analysis, Interpretive Policy Analysis, Discursive Psychology, Q Methodology.

1. Political Discourse Theory (PDT)

Discourse is a shared method of perceiving the world, allowing individuals who adhere to it to "interpret bits of information and put them together into coherent narrative or accounts" (Dryzek 1997, p. 8). Each discourse is founded on specific assumptions, judgments, and contentions that serve as the foundation for analysis, argument, agreement, and disagreement regarding an object. Thus, natural, physical, and cultural objects are comprehended and given meaning in discourses. However, discourse is more than only representations and meaning systems, which are viewed in simply cognitive or ideational terms. This is due to the fact that discourse is an ontological category in PDT that captures something about the nature of objectivity and social relations.

PDT's goal is to explain transformation, stabilization, and maintenance. In this view, discourse serves as an ontological horizon, which implies that practices – and any other item that can be defined as meaningful – are by definition discursive in nature.

2. Rhetorical Political Analysis (RPA)

RPA focuses on the nature and character of rhetoric, as well as its role in political analysis. RPA, like other discourse analytical approaches, comprises both theoretical thought on the role of rhetoric and its relationship

to reason, as well as the development of practical tools for rhetorical analysis. Glynos et al., 2009 The goal of Rhetorical Political Analysis is to provide a basic overview of the conceptual tools that can be used to analyze arguments as well as the nature of argument itself. Using speech act theory, attention is paid to the analysis of rhetorical situations in which argument occurs (Finlayson, 2007), the formation of various speaking positions/positions of enunciation in the speech situation, and the composition of various speaking positions/positions of enunciation in the speech situation (Austin 1986; Foucault 1972) as well as the constitution of the addressee of an argument.

3. Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) in Critical Discourse Analysis

DHA defines discourse as context-dependent linguistic practices that occur inside social action areas. DHA also incorporates the necessity for memory into this description, describing discourse as structured forms of knowledge and social practice memory (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001). The emphasis on practicing memory emphasizes the historical character of the DHA endeavor. Within DHA, history (and, by extension, memory) is viewed as an important context that must be considered. This serves to impart contingency, as different historical settings allow for various contingencies in terms of the mediation of objective social structures and subjective social actors (i.e. the historical context requires the analyst to address the influence of different historical contexts on the subjective understanding of social inequalities).

4. Interpretive Policy Analysis

Interpretive Policy Analysis (IPA) attempts to encapsulate plurality and embraces those who regard it as a more generic concept that incorporates a variety of postpositivist approaches to the study of public policy. The IPA is the area of study for Argumentative Discourse Analysis. The material obtained allows for the creation of an interpretive environment in which to evaluate and analyze social and political behaviors. Maarten Hajer and Dvora Yanow have used metaphors and stories to explain the creation of discourse alliances, as well as the explanation, legitimation, and implementation of policy decisions (Hajer, 1995).

Ethnographic and participant observation approaches were used to contextualize and familiarize. However, identifying points of dispute, defamiliarization, and difference is a crucial aspect of this strategy. The differences between the actions and linguistic utterances of the various actors and policy communities in question, as well as the differences between the researcher's expectations and assumptions, on the one hand, and what is 'found' in the policy spaces under investigation, on the other, are especially important in this regard (Fischer, 2003).

5. Discursive Psychology

Conversational analysis, ethnomethodology, Wittgenstein's later philosophy, psychoanalysis, and ideology critique are all sources used in

discursive psychology. It emerged in the 1990s and challenged conventional psychological and social psychological thinking by rejecting language about 'inner' processes, whether these inner processes are conceptualized as beliefs, memories, attitudes, cognitive qualities, or predispositions..

Instead, phenomena that orthodox theories of psychology consider as inner mental processes are revealed to be created through discursive activity. In other words, psychological language involves external, rather than internal, standards, meaning that psychological concepts such as emotions are socially produced. Thus, if one wishes to comprehend emotions, "psychologists should pay attention to what people do when they claim to have feelings" (Billig, 1997). As a result, psychology should be viewed as more action-centered, and thus more dynamic and culturally distinctive (Hepburn & Wiggins, 2007).

6. Methodology

Q methodology assists researchers in identifying discourse patterns that characterize collective subject narratives about an event or issue. Q technique and the first strand of discursive psychology share the goal of identifying patterns from the "bottom up." Q methodologists employ methodologies and interpretative abilities to find regularities using the subjects' interactions and replies as raw data. Q methodology stresses participants' active engagement in the development and appropriation of meaning, but it also provides a quantitative framework for making this type of study systematic and its

conclusions as solid and dependable as feasible. Some people refer to Q approach as a critical method (Watts and Stenner, 2005).

C. Argumentative Discourse Analysis

As previously explained above, the theory of Argumentative Discourse Analysis is derived from the field of Interpretive Policy Analysis (IPA) which is one of the six approaches of discourse analysis (Glynos, Howarth and Norval, 2009). Argumentative Discourse Analysis (ADA) is a discourse analysis theory proposed by Marteen Hajer in 1995. He began his research in the late 1980s on environmental politics development. According to Hajer (1995), Argumentative Discourse Analysis is the theory which proposes policy making. Argumentative processes take place in discussions and meetings as actors position themselves and argue about controversial problems 'burning issues'. In this way, the discussion can be seen to be 'political' as one actor or a group of actors exerts to be dominant so that the discourse they are proposing will dominate the decision making and hence policy-making.

The study of what is said to whom and in what circumstances is known as argumentative discourse analysis (ADA) (Hajer, 2006). Argumentative Discourse Analysis (ADA) seeks to identify narrative lines, how divergent actors mobilize them as members of discourse coalitions, and how a discourse coalition and its story lines become dominant (or not) through policy context consideration. This emphasis on argumentation as

interaction in the context of practices imposes methodological constraints on how data may be perceived, and hence accessed. Ideally, argumentative discourse analysis is predicated on a detailed investigation of these encounters' narratives (Hajer, 2006).

In such cases, one should first meticulously document conversations, noting not only what is said, but also how it is spoken, to whom, and to what effect. Second, one may be able to evaluate the significance of the context in which certain things are said. While language philosophy and discourse analysis demonstrate a deep understanding that people do things with words (Austin, 1955), it is commonly forgotten that contexts do things with people as well. A debate is more than just talking; it is also an act, and every act occurs in a specific 'context' (Lynch, 1991) that determines the quality of that performance.

Hajer (2006) mentions the three key concepts of Argumentative Discourse Analysis namely metaphor, story line and discourse coalition. The explanation of the three concepts of argumentative discourse analysis based on Hajer (2006) is provided bellow.

1. Metaphor

The word metaphor is derived from Greek verb *metaphora*; *meta* means over and *phora* means to carry or transfer. It can be defined as the use of words or phrases to express the different meaning from the actual meaning

(Cruse, 2004). Metaphors bring out the 'thisness' of a that or the 'thatness' of a this (Burke, 1969,p.247). In line with that, the term is also defined as "The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, p.65). It means that the essence of metaphor is the understanding and experience of something that is equated or combined with something else. In addition, Beard (2000) states that metaphors play a central role in public discourse, particularly political discourse. He claims that by knowing how to use metaphorical language in an influential way, a politician could either gain or keep power. Otieno (2006) also emphasizes that metaphors could be used to highlight certain aspects of political discourse practice and hide others.

Hajer's case of the biological reality of 'acid rain' is one of the most direct examples of metaphor (Hajer, 1995). That this is not insignificant was demonstrated by the Dutch discussion, in which politicians and campaigners for a long time framed the problem in terms of 'acid rain.' Years later, the Dutch discovered that the source of their withering trees was not rain at all, but rather ammonia (gas) emissions from surrounding pig farms. The acid rain metaphor was also significant for another reason: the 'environmental catastrophe' was continually felt as a result of the acid rain problem. Some might say that the appearance of acid rain demonstrated how industrial civilization created welfare at the expense of an environmental calamity. This was a significant relationship because it highlighted the key role that the acid rain debate played in environmental politics. Hajer focuses on significant

subjects. He contended that the acid rain debate was not only about dying trees, but also about institutional politics. Acid rain served as a symbolic issue: it served as a framework around which a basic awareness of environmental issues could be built.

Its significance as an emblem was crucial in promoting much more than a 'mere' legal change: it promoted a deeper conceptual development. This was seen, for example, in the constant reference to acid rain in White Papers and reports of advisory organizations such as the Royal Commission on Environmental Pollution when they were considering how to address the ecological crisis (Southwood, 1984). In theory, this emphasizes the importance of finding such symbolic subjects for understanding political speech, since they appear to play a significant influence in policy discourse changes.

From the example, the phenomenon indicates that metaphor for this concept is to identify symbolic issues in a discourse. Where in actual expression "rain" should have a positive impact on life, and the phenomenon of "acid rain" is a form of metaphora that explains the poor environmental conditions due to political policies from certain party.

2. Story line

A storyline is a refined and simplified summary of the problem or issue - drawing special attention to the scope, causes and people in charge (Silberman, 2015). Selbmann cites Hajer 1995's point that what is so powerful

about storylines is the ability to challenge the status quo to generate considerable potential for political change.

Story-lines are narrative constructs that are repeated on a regular basis and serve to connect the parts of various discourses. They are shorter statements that summarize a narrative and are used as "shorthand" by performers in discussions. In talks, story arcs serve as shorthand, masking not only the intricacy of a policy topic but also disparities in actors' comprehension of it. Storylines place actors, award praise and blame, create policy dilemmas, and establish a social and moral order (Hajer, 1995). Players are drawn to specific narrative lines because they "sound right," and whether a story line "sounds right" is determined by its plausibility, the perceived credibility of other actors mobilizing the story line, and the story's plausibility, the practices through which the story line is produced, and the story's acceptability for actors' discursive identities (Hajer, 1997, p.72). Importantly, Hajer's argumentative discourse theory posits that actors' beliefs are constituted in part from both discourses and contexts, and when one (or both) changes, actors' beliefs and values may change as well.

Story line often have the form of a narrative; people tell facts in a story. One quickly realizes that in any field there are few such stories that fulfill such an important role. For instance, the process of rebuilding Ground Zero was often described as a way to show the world that America would not accept the terrorist attack on democracy: "*we must rebuild as a democracy. It*

would be a travesty if in the aftermath of an attack on our democracy, we circumvent our basic democratic procedures” (Hajer, 2006, p.67).

From the example of *story line* above Hajer employs the concept of *story line* to refer to a condensed statement summarising complex narratives, used by people as ‘short hand’ in discussions. Identifying story lines bring out that people not merely refer to a problem with a fixed identity, but are continually *changing the Problem definition*. A story's core is that it has a beginning, middle, and finish. People, however, frequently have their own versions of a given story. Because the rebuilding process, for example, is quite hard to comprehend, most individuals do not relate the entire tale but instead utilize brief signals. The same applied to the acid rain controversy. People are accustomed to assuming that the recipient's mind contains a more complete tale about acid rain, which may be activated by providing a cue when they speak the words "acid rain." However, this is where fascinating social impacts begin to emerge. It is frequently assumed that the meaning that the receiver'reads' in a communication is the same as the meaning that the sender meant to put into the message. This presumption about mutual comprehension is incorrect. Discourse analysis repeatedly reveals that individuals talk at cross purposes, that people do not truly or completely comprehend each other. This is a fact of life but, interestingly, this can be very functional for creating a political coalition. Hajer's Argumentative Discourse Analysis does not begin with the premise of coherence or complete comprehension. He claims that most communication is dependent on interpretative readings, thinking along,

and judging assertions depending on whether they sound correct.' That is why the notion of a story arc is so important.

Sue Winton's (2016) article about the struggle over fundraising policy in Ontario over the last 20 years has been grounded in Hajer's argumentative discourse theory. Winton presented the arguments (i.e., the story lines) of two discourse coalitions that have engaged in a struggle over the meaning of school fundraising: the fund-the-basics coalition and the fundraising-is-necessary-and-desirable coalition, based on findings from an argumentative discursive analysis of 159 texts produced since 1996. She proved the dominance of the fundraising-is-necessary-and-desirable coalition's argument by demonstrating various ways the practice has become institutionalized and highlighted policy context factors that have led to the normalization of school fundraising. She concluded with a discussion of the utility of Hajer's argumentative discourse theory and analysis in education policy research and highlighted contributions of the current study to understanding advocacy, media, and education policy change.

Cotton (2014) conducted another case study related to story line, in which they examined the growing national debate as a matter of discourse, using an argumentative discourse analytic approach to assess data collected from stakeholder interviews (n=21) and key policy actor statements quoted in broadsheet newspapers. In respect to shale gas policy, three prominent "storylines" emerged: (1) "cleanliness and dirt" is concerned with the relative framing of shale gas's environmental benefits and harms; (2) "energy

transitions - pathways and diversions" is concerned with geographical metaphors of transitions to carbon-intensive and low-carbon energy systems; and (3) "geographies of environmental justice" is concerned with divisions of economic benefit distribution, environmental impact, and procedural fairness. Cotton (2014) found that central government policy rhetoric emphasizes economic development, regulatory oversight, and distribution of benefits to site communities, whilst minimizing discussion of the implications of shale gas for anthropogenic climate change. The role of these discourses in influencing shale gas policy is discussed.

3. Discourse Coalition

A discourse-coalition is a collection of actors who, within the context of an identifiable set of behaviors, share the use of a specific set of story lines over a specific time period (Hajer, 2006). It is critical to consider the specific conditions in which story lines are spoken and discourses are drawn upon. The concept of practice is utilized for this purpose: ingrained routines and mutually acknowledged rules and norms that offer consistency to social life. As a result, people can consider writing articles for academic journals to be an activity unique to the lives of university professors. A central tenet of Wittgensteinian philosophy of language is that linguistic utterances cannot be understood independently of the contexts in which they are uttered. Similarly, discourse should be conceived of in connection to the actions that produce, reproduce, and modify it. As a result, we can expand the above-mentioned definition of discourse to include practice. Discourse is therefore described as

a collection of ideas, concepts, and categories that give meaning to experiences and are formed and reproduced through a distinct set of behaviors (Hajer, 1995). As a result, a discourse-coalition is not so much tied to a specific individual (as if such a person would have a cohesive set of ideas and views that are not context-specific), but to practices in which actors deploy story lines and (re)produce and change certain discourses. It is thus possible to accept that some players may make contradictory assertions or even aid in the reproduction of distinct discourse coalitions. To apply this entire lexicon to politics, one must be able to connect discourse with power and dominance. It should be feasible not merely to identify discourses but also to analyze their impact. According to Hajer (1995), there are two mechanisms by which a discourse can become dominant:

- a. A discourse can begin to dominate how a social entity (e.g., policy area, company, or society as a whole) conceptualizes the world, for example, by making things appear “traditional,” “natural,” or “normal.” He refers to this as “discourse structuration.”
- b. A discourse can also present itself in specific institutional arrangements and organizational activities, such as monitoring procedures, planning procedures, and so on. This is what he means by “discourse institutionalization.”

Thus, the researcher has a straightforward two-step technique for determining a discourse’s influence: whether many people use it to conceive

the world (discourse structuration) and whether it solidifies into institutions and organizational procedures (discourse institutionalization). If both criteria are met, the researcher contends that a specific discourse is dominant.

D. The Steps of Argumentative Discourse Analysis

Beside mentioning three concepts of Argumentative Discourse Analysis (Hajer, 1995) also suggests ten steps that are parts of the analysis, these steps help the researcher to analyze the data authentically.

- a. Desk research is a sort of research relying on material released in reports and comparable materials available in public libraries, internet, and data acquired via surveys.
- b. ‘Helicopter interviews’: conducting the interview with several selected actors because they have the overview of the field be it from different positions. The involved interviewees are those who have knowledge authority of the data or information to be analyzed. They may consist of knowledgeable journalists, key government advisers, expert policy makers.
- c. Document analysis: analyzing documents to develop concepts, ideas, and categorization; use of storylines, metaphors, etc. This should result in the first attempt to define the structure of discourse in discussion. At this stage people will get a basic idea about the process of events and the place of discursive production.

d. Interviews with key players: Interviews with key actors in the political process can be done as a result of subsequent processes. Interviews can be used to get more information about the causal chain ('which leads to what') that will always be at the center of the interviewee's encounter, but they can also be used to acquire a deeper understanding of the meaning of specific occurrences for the person being interviewed. This later evolved into a focused interview' (Flick 1998). What do they make of specific events? As a result, the goal is to reconstruct the discourse through which an actor approaches the issue. We can also investigate how certain cognitive alterations occur. What actually triggers the reframing? Does it read reports (which is highly unlikely)? Is it a meeting? Confrontation with questions that the actor doesn't answer? It's also possible to use interviews to find out what makes someone recognize another's perspective as valuable. What is the shift about? Is it about learning to know people who express a certain point of view? Does it have anything to do with the practices in which people are involved (Forester, 2012)?

e. Argumentation site: Data should be searched not just to reconstruct arguments but also to interpret argumentative encounters. Parliamentary debates, investigation minutes (a highly rich source), presentation and interpretation of evidence provided to select

research commissions, and panel discussions at conferences are other examples.

- f.** Analyze for positioning effects: Actors might become ‘stuck’ in an encounter. They may pressure others to play certain roles, but once they realize what is going on, they may readily resist (indicator: No, that’s not what I meant’, that’s not what I meant at all’). This is true not just for individuals, but also for institutions and even nation-states. Furthermore, this sort of analysis is typically performed on political personalities, with an emphasis on analyzing the consideration of specific individuals and their supporting variables.
- g.** Identification of key incidents: this inspection leads to the identification of key incidents which are important for understanding the discursive dynamics in the selected case. Wherever possible, these key incidents were then transcribed in greater detail to allow for more insight into their political effects.
- h.** Analysis of practice in particular argumentative cases: Rather of assuming coherence on a specific subset of actors, one goes to the facts at this point to determine if the meaning of what was said can be tied to the practice in which it was stated. So that a researcher may determine whether the two are relevant, either actors or practices in policy implementation

i. Interpretation: On this basis, one can determine the discursive order that governs a specific domain at a given time. In an ideal world, one would provide an explanation of the discursive structure in the given conversation, as well as an interpretation of the practice, the site of production that is significant in describing a specific sequence of events. Data interpretation can also be interpreted as an activity that has the aim of combining various results from analyzes made in various forms, for example from the form of criteria, from the form of questions, or from special standards.

j. Second visit to key actors: The analyst inferred discourse from reality. When presented with findings, responders should be able to distinguish some covert linguistic structures. Therefore, revisiting some of the key actors is a way to control whether discursive space analysis makes sense.

From the ten steps above, not all researchers apply the ten steps, some of them only use some of the steps that are in accordance with the data obtained. For example, Spath (2012) in his research on Murau Energy Vision, he used several processes, such as briefly analyzing workshop and meeting minutes, presentation slides, and a programming paper. In an ongoing learning process including four energy area activities, interviews were heavily weighted, supported by remarks from the activity's creator. In this case, steps 5-8 are just rudimentarily described, but they would be valuable for extending the research. Step 10, the last confrontation of key players with the findings

of the discourse analysis, was discussed in multiple oral sessions, and a draft of this report was commented on and approved by the Murau initiative's originator and manager.

Beside Spath, Winton (2016) also collected two sets of data in her study *The Normalization of School Fundraising in Ontario*, the first set examined how P4E (People for Education), Since 1996, an advocacy organization in Ontario has been fighting over the definition of fundraising policy. The collection includes 39 documents created by P4E between 1999 and 2015, as well as 51 media texts published between 1996 and 2015 that contain references to or direct quotes from P4E. The second collection of data for this current study includes the P4E study's 90 publications and texts, as well as additional writings written between 1996 and 2015 that address school fundraising in Ontario but do not include references to or direct quotes from P4E and were not produced by P4E. There are 69 media pieces, parliamentary debates, political party platform documents, government documents, and research reports in this second corpus of materials. In this case Winton only used step 1, 3 and 9 to describe her analysis. Similar to Winton's research, in this study the researcher also uses steps 1 and 3.

E. Speech

Speech is one of the speaking skills. Speech is the expression of thoughts in the form of words addressed to the crowd or discourse that is prepared to be spoken in front of the audience (KBBI, 1990). According to

Saksomo (2009), making a speech is the appearance of one's self in front of the listener to convey the contents of the heart or thoughts with a series of words in the hope that the listener will be moved by his conscience and moved his mind. Speeches are generally addressed to a person or group of people to express congratulations, welcome guests, commemorate major holidays, and etcetera (Karomani, 2011). There are several types of speech, one type of speech that is known to many people is the informative speech. An informative speech is a speech that has the purpose of conveying important knowledge or information. The information will be given to the communicant or listener. The next type of speech is argumentative speech. An argumentative speech is a speech that contains several elements such as arguments, data, or reasons. These entities serve to reject or support a statement. The next type of speech is recreational speech. Recreational speeches are also often referred to as family speeches. This type of speech will generally present joy. The last type of speech is a persuasive speech. The purpose of a persuasive speech is to influence the listener. Persuasion is the process of influencing opinion.

F. International Forum

Literally international forum consists of two words, namely international and forum. International means between or involving different countries while forum is a place, situation, or group in which people exchange ideas and discuss issues, especially important public issues (Collin Dictionary, 2022). As a result, International Forum programs can be defined

as programs that challenge leaders or societies to learn more about themselves and the world outside their institutions. The International Forum will introduce you to a global network of leaders from business, politics, economics, history, art, science, religion, medicine, civil society, social welfare, and music. Participants in the Forum learn from one another while learning more about what is going on in the world by connecting with others who experience similar challenges and issues. Several examples of International forum are Global Summit 2020 and U20 Mayor Summit 2021 which in this occasion become a forum from which this research data is obtained.

G. Anies Baswedan

Anies Rasyid Baswedan is an Indonesian academic, activist, and politician who has served as the Governor of Jakarta as an Independent since 2017. Until joining public service, he was a student activist and political analyst who served as rector of Paramadina University before being appointed Minister of Education and Culture in the Joko Widodo administration. He is also the originator of Indonesia Mengajar, a program that chooses, trains, and places university graduates on a one-year teaching mission around the country.

Anies is also a politician who has earned various national and international honors, including The Golden Awards, which were awarded by Harian Rakyat Merdeka in June 2013 to honour this newspaper's 14th anniversary. Anies was chosen for his educational impact as part of the Indonesian Teaching Movement. Anies Baswedan received the National Integrity Award from the Anti-Bribery Entrepreneurs Community (Kupas) and the Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and Industry in August 2013. This grade is based on a 2012 research of popular perceptions of a variety of national figures.

Anies Baswedan won the Gerald Maryanov Fellow award from Northern Illinois University's Department of Political Science in 2004. World's 100 Public Intellectuals In 2008 Foreign Policy Magazine included Anies Baswedan in the 100 World Public Intellectuals. Anies is the only Indonesian on the magazine's release list. Anies' name appears with world giants such as Noam Chomsky (a peace figure), Nobel laureates such as Shirin Ebadi, Al Gore, Muhammad Yunus, and Amartya Sen on the list.

He also received the 21 Heroes 2021 award from TUMI, a German non-profit organization that promotes sustainable urban transportation policy initiatives around the world, and he was successful in bringing Jakarta the Sustainable Transport Award 2021 from ITDP, a nonprofit organization headquartered in New York City with offices in Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Mexico, and the United States. Through the Jak Lingko concept, an integrated transportation trip for the passenger, the city has taken

tangible measures to transform its car-oriented city design paradigm and deliver seamless mobility.



CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the description of research methodology used in this study. It includes research design, resourch of data and thechnique of analysis.

A. Research Design

The qualitative descriptive method was used to perform this study. The phrase qualitative research refers to a wide range of approaches and methods for studying natural social life (Saldana, 2011). The natural settings of qualitative research aim to make sense of or explain occurrences in terms of the meaning people bring to them. Furthermore, according to Creswel (2012), qualitative research is utilized to uncover and investigate variables that have not yet been recognized. This study is classified as a qualitative study since it addressed a research problem in which the variables were unknown and necessitated further investigation. Furthermore, based on Hajer's (2006) in Anies Baswedan's speeches in both International Forums "Cities Against Covid-19 Global Summit" and "Urban 20 Mayor Summit 2021," it used qualitative method to figure out the three concepts of Argumentative discourse analysis, namely, storyline, metaphor, and discourse coalitions. It was also implemented since data analysis was addressed descriptively.

B. Source of Data

The data were taken from TV One and Pemprov DKI YouTube channels. The data source was Anis Baswedan's Speeches that were derived from the Youtube channel <https://youtu.be/7W0DFWHJt0E> which was broadcasted through government channel managed by the Jakarta government and <https://youtu.be/ocvmcsvzi04> which is managed by a private broadcasting station namely tv one. The speeches were "Cities Against Covid-19 Global Summit" and "Urban 20 Mayor Summit 2021".

C. Technique of Data Analysis

Miles and Huberman (2007) qualitative analysis technique was used to examine the data, which involves four steps of data analysis: data collection, data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing or verification.

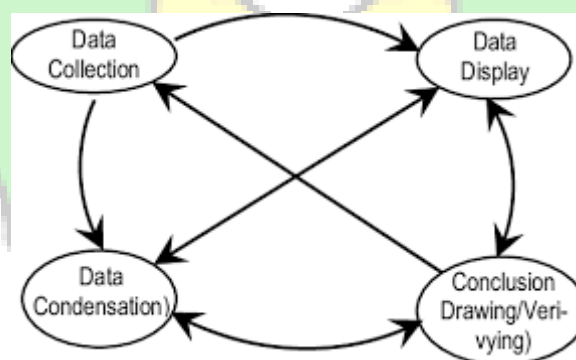


Figure 3.1 Qualitative Analysis Technique by Miles and Huberman 2007

D. Data Condensation

The goal of data condensation is to process the raw data found in written-up field notes so that it may be examined. Selecting, concentrating, simplifying, abstracting, and transforming are all examples of the process. Condensing the data is the next phase in this study after all of the data has been collected. It entails selecting sentences from the speech that are truly appropriate as data, then simplifying the data by categorizing them in the form of story line, metaphor, and discourse coalition. In collecting and analyzing the data of this study the writer did several steps as follows:

1. Watching and understanding the both speeches of Governor Anies in international forums; Cities against covid-19 global summit and urban 20 mayor summit, to comprehend the whole speeches.
2. Scripting the speeches into written text and checking them several times to avoid the error in converting the data.
3. Finding the three concept of Argumentative discourse analysis of Hajer (1995) namely, Metaphor, story-line and discourse coalition by applying document analysis.

E. Data Display

Data display is defined as an ordered collection of data that allows for conclusions to be drawn and actions to be taken. In this step, all of the previously condensed data will be shown according to the story line,

metaphor, and discourse coalition. The explanation and description of each type of argumentative discourse analysis would be explained.

F. Drawing Conclusion

Developing a conclusion entails taking a step back to evaluate what the studied data mean and how they pertain to the topic at hand. The information supplied is used to draw a conclusion. At this stage, the researcher confirmed the study results with supervisors based on the findings acquired.



CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the research findings and discussion of the analysis of Argumentative Discourse Analysis in Anis Baswedan's speech in International Forums "Cities Against Covid-19 Global Summit" and "Urban 20 Mayor Summit 2021". The findings are the answers of research questions found from the analysis which are presented in the description, while the discussion is the elaboration about the result of the analysis and the explanation of the Argumentative Discourse Analysis and their referents.

A. Findings

This study focuses on analyzing the use of three concepts of Argumentative Discourse Analysis (ADA) proposed by Hajer (2006), which are story line, metaphor, and discourse coalition, in Anies Baswedan's speeches. The speeches analyzed are "Cities Against Covid-19 Global Summit" and "Urban 20 Mayor Summit 2021". After analyzing the data, the researcher story lines, metaphors, and discourse coalition from the two speeches of Anies Baswedan. The findings of this research are presented in the following section, which answers the research question "How is the Argumentative Discourse Analysis accomplished in Mr. Anis' speeches in both International Forums".

Table 4.1 presents the result of the analysis which answer the research question.

Table 4.1
Result of Analysis

| No | ADA | Speech 1: “Cities Against Covid-19 Global Summit” | Speech 2: “Urban 20 Mayor Summit 2021” |
|----|---------------------------|---|---|
| 1 | Story Line | 1. Health and economic crisis 2. Opportunities to transform city 3. Social distancing must be paired with large-scale social solidarity | 1. Covid 19 pandemic and climate crisis 2. Silver lining behind covid 19 pandemic 3. Phenomena in post-pandemic cities that may need to address |
| 2. | Metaphor | - | 1. Silver lining |
| 3. | Discouse Coalition | Anies Baswedan | 1. Anies Baswedan |

As shown in the table 4.1, it was found that there are two story lines. The first story line is the Health and economic crisis – opportunities to transform the city – social distancing must be paired with large-scale social solidarity in

the “Cities Against Covid-19 Global Summit” speech. And the second story line is the Covid 19 pandemic and climate crisis – silver lining behind the covid 19 pandemic – phenomena in post-pandemic cities that may need to address in the “Urban 20 Mayor Summit 2021” speech. Besides the story line, another aspect of Argumentative Discourse Analysis found in Anis Baswedan's speech is metaphor. There is no metaphor found in the "Cities Against Covid-19 and 1 metaphor found in the “Urban 20 Mayor Summit 2021” is “silver lining”, each of these metaphors has its own meaning behind its literal meaning. And the last is the discourse coalition which is found in both speeches referring to one political figure, namely Anis Baswedan who became a speaker at two international forums.

1. Story Line

1.1. Cities Against Covid-19 Global Summit

The story lines found in “Cities Against Covid-19 Global Summit” speech are: 1. health and economic crisis; 2. opportunity to transform city; and, 3. social distancing must be paired with large-scale social solidarity. These storylines obtain several political issues and also the idea how to solve that issue. Below are the explanation of each story line found from the first speech. In the explanation, some data are provided in order to explain how the finding is gained. To simplify reading the data, the data were codified based on the speech and the number of the utterance in the speech. Therefore, the code ‘S1’ refers to the first speech, Cities againts covid-19 global summit; and, the code ‘U’ refers the utterance in the speech. For example, if

the data is codified as S1U01, it means that the data is derived from the first utterance (U01) from the first analysed speech.

a. Health and economic crisis

The first storyline found from Cities Against Covid-19 Global Summit speech is health and economic crisis. As mentioned in the second chapter of this study that storyline refers to a condensed statement that summarize complex narratives, which are used by people as an 'approach' in discussions. Importantly, the essence of a story line is that it has a beginning, middle and end. Therefore, this first story line was derived from the beginning part of the speech.

Conclusively, there were three utterances that lead this study to conclude that the beginning story line of Cities Against Covid-19 Global Summit speech is health and economic crisis. The following utterance is one of several utterances that supported economic and health crisis as the beginning of the storyline.

1. S1U02

“ Allow me at this moment to share a little bit of our experience, but what I would like to share here, is more of how do we, how should we look forward, I mean we all have our experience in dealing with the pandemic and I think, it is very important for us now to look what's beyond this pandemic.”

The utterances above explained that the main reason why these two issues became problems for citizens, governors and mayors around the world is COVID-19 pandemic. The Covid-19 outbreak is not only a disease that affects health, but also has an economic impact, because the more workers who are infected, the more costs for treatment and production costs are borne by the state. The implementation of social distancing has an impact that not only distances human physical relationships but also disrupts people's economic behavior. The second utterance that lead health and economic crisis as beginning of storyline as mentioned.

2. S1U05

“The problem says at least two, number one, we have health crisis, number two we have economic crisis.”

The short narrative above explicitly stated the two issues of the first story line, the health crisis and the economic crisis. These two were used by Anis Baswedan as an approach to get the attention of all coalitions who were present at the meeting. Based on Mr. Anies' speech the first key to find out the storyline is easing up PSBB. Where the past six months, there were many problems faced by Jakarta. The two main issues being faced at that time were economic and health issues, but these issues were not only experienced by Jakarta but also almost all cities around the world. As the following utterance mentioned by Anies these two problems were caused by

the epidemic which affected the world condition. This second utterance that leads economic and health crisis as the the storyline of the first speech.

Facing the same problems, the leaders need to share ideas and thoughts on how to manage these issues. Moreover this is a big challenge for all of the leaders around the world as stated on utterance below.

3. S1U10

“This is what it feels when we have implemented sustainable economic development, so this crisis, the health crisis the economic crisis, those are issues that we need to tackle but also our populations is experiencing a transformation with that we never expected a few months ago. So now, I think it's it's for all of us, to start sharing new values about about how we manage our cities.”

Through the utterance on S1U10 Governor Anies emphasized that the two issues of the first storyline which are economic and health crisis should be resolved. However this is also something that cannot be separated from the role of communication technology. The rapid rate of dissemination of information has caused tremendous panic in the community. This condition changes people's behavior. One of these panics resulted in an imbalance between supply and demand that caused economic chaotic and food

scarcity. Therefore the result is necessary in order to cultivate economic behavior stability.

Those are the three utterances that lead economic and health statements as the storylines in Cities Against Covid-19 Global Summit speech.

b. Opportunities to transform city

The second storyline, or middle story line, from Anies' Cities Against Covid-19 Global Summit speech is "opportunities to transform city". In this part of his speech, Anies explained about the positive things that can be felt by city residents from the implementation of social distancing. There were Four utterances that lead this study to conclude that the middle storyline of Cities Against Covid-19 Global Summit speech is opportunities to transform city. The following utterance is one of them.

1. S1U08

"We had conventional a gathering of mayors in a certain area and certain cities at certain times, but because of this pandemic suddenly, we started to see a new opportunities, digital life breakthrough and also greener environment"

Before the pandemic, when people were attending an official forum, people had to gather at the same time and place, but since the pandemic era the digital life breakthrough has progressed, people

can gather at the same time but in different places. Besides that, once a megapolitan city like Jakarta was oriented towards car-oriented development, then become transformed into a transit-oriented development and now heading towards digital-oriented development as explained below.

2. S1U12

“We build public transport, we build stations, we build properties surrounding stations, so transit oriented development is our approach.”

Besides transforming in the field of transportation, Jakarta is also transforming in the field of public services, which used to be based on underprovided basic services, turned into well-provided services, and then transformed into resilient urban services. Based on that, people must be able to see the opportunities behind this pandemic, especially the opportunity to change how leaders lead a city that can anticipate challenges that will arise in the future. In general, Anies gave several ideas to survive in the midst of a pandemic, namely creating a city that is resistant to various pandemics, resilient to crisis city, building a digital advanced city, and making a sustainable and livable city. And the third utterance that supported “opportunity to transform city” as the middle storyline of the first speech as followed.

3. S1U15

“It's a transformations that we need to undergo, given the the pandemic that we experienced, but again I think we need to look beyond the covid pandemic, we need to start seeing this as an opportunity to transform, how we lead the city and also to transform the city itself to anticipate similar challenge that may come up in the future” (S1U15)

According to the utterance mentioned by Anies baswedan on S1U15, he emphasize that everyone who experienced the pandemic should relise that apart from the economic and health impacts the current condition provides an opportunity for the city and all of the residents to transform into the better living ecosystem. The last utterance that in line with the previous utterances that leads the oppotunity to tranform city as the middle of story line as follows.

4. S1U18

“This pandemic for some reasons have given us an opportunity to make the transformations”

The utterance above explicitly stated that the pandemic gave residents, governors and mayors the opportunity to make the better transformation. In his speech Anies mentioned that one of the problems and challenges of Jakarta citizens in the past was air pollution, but since the implementation of social distancing and also

the new normal for the last three months, Jakarta citizens can see the blue sky and realized what it is like to have a greener surroundings. It can be said that the Covid 19 pandemic brings several other opportunities that can build the growth of the city.

c. Social distancing paired with large-scale social solidarity

The end of the storyline found in Anies' speech is about the solution of the problem in the discourse "*Social distancing paired with large-scale social solidarity*" As mentioned in the first storyline that, there were two issues discussed, they are health and economic crisis. Based on what has been conveyed by Governor Anies. To deal with this crisis, one of the efforts and solutions is to build solidarity among residents. This is stated in the following utterance as one of several utterance that lead Social distancing paired with large-scale social solidarity contents as the end of storyline in Cities Against Covid-19 Global Summit speech.

1. S1U20

"For those who have no savings this is an issue, of course government provide support, government provide subsidies, however we take this opportunity to introduce large-scale social solidarity programs"

This pandemic for some reason also has given people an opportunity to make transformations in the aspect of humanity, based on experience in Jakarta, when they started to adopt large-scale

social measures, that means restrictions of economic activity, restrictions to social and cultural activities, many citizens suffer the loss of incomes, for those who have no savings this is an issue, of course, the government provides support and subsidies, but they take this opportunity to introduce large-scale social solidarity programs. So on the one hand, they have social distancing measures being adopted, however, on the flip side they also adopted a social solidarity program. Anies baswedan also asked for those who have middle to upper economic ability to donate for city

2. S1U22

“And the message is that I call for the business leaders in Jakarta, I don't call them to donate to our populations, but we call them for duty and the message goes along this line”

In this case, Anies called for the business leaders in Jakarta to pay back to their city, to give back what have been given to them from their city. So the calling is a calling for duty to give back to their cities and, Anies was overwhelmed by the response. The number of donors have increased more than 220 %, even though the amount of donations is much smaller than when it was 100% of donors because of the economic crisis. As the following supported utterance that related to end of the storyline.

3. S1U26

“So the numbers of donors increase but the amount of donations significantly reduced, because of the economic crisis, but the message is this, social distancing doesn't mean distancing between people, distancing between socio-economic class, but it becomes measures of building solidarity within the city, then I think this is something that that we need to strengthen after we completed our approach in next week, we would like to make sure that the Solidarity were building in the past two-three months is something that we can live under to the future”.

Based on utterance above, social distancing is not only refer to distancing between people but Anies explained that this also refers to economic inequality. Therefore solidarity to build a better life ecosystem is a very important for the sustainability of the city's future. Then Anies also summarized his speech.

4. S1U27

“So, those are some of our experience if I may summarize, this has been a crisis of health and crisis of economic, but also provided us with opportunity to transform our city, to transform our leadership, and we need to look toward the futures where digital oriented development may be the way to the future, micro centric development is perhaps

the approach in special planning, and we need to move from simply providing basic services to our our citizens.”

Behind this crisis of health and crisis of economic, this problem also provided the opportunities to transform the city and leadership. That was how Anies used the storyline in his argumentative speech.

1.2. Urban 20 Mayor Summit 2021

The storylines was found in the “Urban 20 Mayor Summit 2021” speech presented by Anis Baswedan are – covid 19 pandemic and climate crisis – silver lining behind covid 19 pandemic – phenomena in post-pandemic cities. Below are the explanation of each story line found from the second speech. In the explanation, some data are provided in order to explain how the finding is gained. To simplify reading the data, the data were codified based on the speech and the number of the utterance in the speech. Therefore, the code ‘S2’ refers to the second speech, Urban 20 mayor summit 2021; and, the code ‘U’ refers the utterance in the speech. For example, if the data is codified as S2U01, it means that the data is derived from the first utterance (U01) from the second analysed speech.

a. Covid 19 pandemic and climate crisis

In the “Urban 20 Mayor Summit 2021” meeting, Governor Anies again became one of the key actors who argued through his speech, from it the researcher found “*Covid 19 pandemic and climate crisis*” at the begining of his speech as the first storyline. The following

utterance is the content of speech that lead covid-19 pandemic and climate crisis as the begining of storyline.

1. S2U03

“since the world is urbanizing and this is the time cities get the greatest attentions, so cities in the world are facing two challenges at least, one is the covid 19 pandemic and two is the climate crisis that requires special attentions”

This conclusion was arised because of two problems were stated in the narrative namely covid-19 pandemic and climate crisis as discourses, which used by Anies as initial approach to discuss about the policies with coalitions or politic actors who attended the assembly, for the sustainability of the urban ecosystem. Anies explained in his scpeech that in the urbanizing era, cities have a great role in providing a livable and sustainable environment for their inhabitants, cities need the greatest attention, so cities in the world are facing two challenges at least at this time, one is the covid 19 pandemic and two is the climate crisis that requires special attention.

b. Silver lining behind covid 19 pandemic

As the middle of the storyline in the spech of Governor Anies in “Urban 20 Mayor Summit 2021”, the researcher found “*Silver lining behind covid 19 pandemic*” as a narrative that is related to the first storyline such as stated in Mr. Anies' spech. This means that

good things were still happening to the city in the midst of a pandemic crisis. There were two utterances that lead this study to conclude that the middle of the storyline of Urban 20 Mayor Summit is silver lining behind covid 19 pandemic. The following is one of two utterances.

1. S2U05

“Likewise in the covid 19 pandemic it also brings a silver lining to urban lives, as movement of our populations restricted, big cities experience clearer air including us in Jakarta.”

Through the narration above Mr. Anies explained that the covid 19 pandemic, also brings a silver lining or new hope to urban lives, as movement of populations is restricted, big cities experience clearer air including in Jakarta. Besides that, in the second utterance Anies also explained the positive things that supported the second middle of storyline.

2. S2U06

“We also witness the rise of digital transformations in various sectors as well as better awareness on the public health and on Hygiene.”

Based on the utterance above people also witness the rise of digital transformations in various sectors as well as better awareness of public health and Hygiene. They might be still in the recovery mode post to covid 19 pandemic, but the world is changing and people need

to adapt. If people could see what opportunities rise behind this pandemic, they can not transform the better city live ecosystem in the future. On this argument, Mr. Anies convinced the entire audience which are consisting of majors from various countries to keep trying to be optimistic in constructing a better city.

c. *Phenomena in post-pandemic cities*

The end of the storyline obtained by the researcher from Mr. Anies' speech in "Urban 20 Mayor Summit 2021" is "*Phenomena in post-pandemic cities*". This storyline is a narrative that used by Governor Anies in the speech for explaining several conditions that occurred after the pandemic. With the result that from this phenomenon, the majors considered several policies to obtain solutions for cities life.

1. S2U08

"So fellow U-20 city leaders for the next U-20 summits, we might be still in the recovery mode post to covid 19 pandemic, so the world is changing and we need to adapt."

There are six interesting phenomena of the post-pandemic cities introduced by Anies Baswedan. The following utterance is one of six phenomena.

2. S2U09

"First, there is an interesting need for productive yet affordable housing, the global trend shows a rising demand to have houses that is not just able to maintain healthiness of

the dwellers, but also suitable for supporting productivity, as more and more people may decide to continue working from home.”

This phenome explained that as more individuals want to continue working from home, there is an intriguing need for productive yet inexpensive housing. The global trend indicates a developing need for homes that are not only able to sustain the health of the occupants, but also suited for boosting productivity. The second factor is how the real estate market will develop.

3. S2U11

“Number two is the future of the property industry, the contributions of the property sectors in urban areas or around the world present a declined as much as 29 % by 2020, there are many empty office buildings, so the leaders have to rethink the futures of property industries in cities across the globe.”

The second issue is the future of the real estate sector. Due to a decline in the sector's contributions in urban areas or globally by as much as 29 percent by 2020 and a large number of vacant office buildings, decision-makers will need to reevaluate the futures of the real estate sectors in cities around the world.

4. S2U12

“Number three, about sustainable mobility access for all the covid 19 pandemic and climate change has forced the city to

reconsider the relationship between mobility, urban space and health, in order to ensure physical distance while meeting the rifle needs of our residents and now, you know rising questions is not about how cities provide the infrastructure for sustainable mobility, but in fact how cities ensure equal access to sustainable mobility.”

In order to ensure physical distance while providing community needs, the city has been compelled to reevaluate the link between mobility, urban space, and health as a result of the COVID 19 epidemic and climate change. As a result, the issue that needs to be addressed is how the city ensures that there is a consistent access to mobility for the COVID 19 pandemic. The other utterance that supported the end of storyline is the future of work as explained bellow.

5. S1U13

“Issue number four that i'd like to share here is the future of work, the loss of jobs, the emerging demands for new skills to support the carbonizations as one of the side effect of the pandemic global unemployment rose by 1.1 %, on the other hand there is also an emerging demand for new skills to support a promising green industry and digital economy.”

As one of the effects of the pandemic, global unemployment increased by 1.1 percent. On the other hand, there is also an emerging

demand for new skills to support a promising green industry and digital economy. It concluded that the issue number four is the future of work, the loss of jobs, and the emerging demands for new skills to support the carbonizations. Therefore, the question is how cities could adapt to changes in the labor market for a future that is more environmentally friendly.

6. S2U15

“Issues number five, i'd like to share is the deprived of social interactions. The long-term current time, the working from home can lead to current time fatigue and the rising of thread of online abuse as well. So how do we protect the mental health of our citizens in the urban area like what we had here.”

According to the fifth utterance above Anies mentioned that the absence of social interactions and long-term working from home may result tiredness and increasing online abuse threads. Therefore the the result of this issue should be how can urban residents' mental health be preserved. And the last supported issue in the utterance is the rising of numbers of orphans.

7. S1U16

“And the last point is the rising of numbers of orphans. Globally, there are at least by now 4.5 millions death due to covid 19. This has made our children lost their primary

and secondary caretakers, so how could we facilitate the futures of our children who have lost family members in the fighting of covid 19.”

Globally, there are at least by now 4.5 millions death due to covid 19. This has made children lost their parents, and the government should take action to facilitate the futures of the children who have lost family members. From this speech Governor Anies concluded that it is time to regulate the city's policy system, but more importantly it is time to act together, because the future of the city is in everyone's hands. That was how Anies used the storyline in his argumentative speech of Urban 20 Mayor Summit.

2. Metaphor

As previously explained that metaphor is the process of transferring an expression's image, meaning, or quality to another expression. A notion is transferred by comparing it to another concept to convey similarity, analogy, or the connection between the two ideas. It means metaphor describes something that appears to be the same or to be of equal worth to another object that is actually different. Based on that meaning, the researcher found no metaphors in the Cities Against Covid-19 Global Summit speech, while in the

Urban 20 Mayor Summit 2021 speech the researcher found only one metaphor.

2.1. Urban 20 Mayor Summit 2021

In order to inspire the audience, Mr. Anis employed convincing words in his speech. The phrase "silver lining" found in "Urban 20 Mayor Summit 2021" speech presented by Anis Baswedan.

a. Silver Lining

The third metaphor found in "Urban 20 Mayor Summit 2021" was derived from following utterance.

1. S2U05

"Likewise in the covid 19 pandemic it also brings a silver lining to urban lives, as movement of our populations restricted, big cities experience clearer air including us in Jakarta."

In literal meaning based on chemistry, silver is a metallic element with atomic number 47. While lining is an additional layer of fabric that is attached to the main fabric material on a garment. At the interstate governor's meeting, Anis used the phrase "silver lining" in his speech. In this context, the term "silver lining" is frequently employed to indicate that there is hope hidden behind a tragedy. Accordingly, even though Covid-19 is still become the matter that

should be resolved, the phrase "lining silver" in Anis' speech represents a hope and the future for all urban in the world.

3. Discourse Coalition

As mentioned in previous chapter that discourse-coalition refers to a group of actors that, in the context of an identifiable set of practices shares the usage of a particular set of story lines over a particular period of time . In addition discourse coalition is an alliance or a number of alliances, groups, or coalitions of different elements that, although working together, each have their own goals. These kinds of alliances could be momentary or based on benefits. In line with this concept, since the data in this study are two speeches from a single speaker, the discourse coalition or key actor in this case is Governor Anis Baswedan. Although Anies Baswedan is the key actor of this research. The audience who attended the meeting were coalitions in Anies' discourse. The following is an explanation of the two speeches of Anis Baswedan.

3.1. Cities Against Covid-19 Global Summit

The following are several utterances derived from the first speech to prove that Governor Anis conveyed his speech to his coalitions in International forum.

S1U01: *“First of all, allow me to express my appreciations for the invite to join this important gathering of leaders across the globe, especially*

my appreciation to mayor Park, a very good friend of ours and one of a role model for leadership in the cities and for all governor's, mayor's whom we admire.”

In the utterance above Governor Anies mentioned that the meeting was implemented for gathering of leader across the globe. This indicated that who attended the meeting were leaders of cities. It also supported by Governor Anies appreciation to Mayor Park as their good friend. this sentence clearly emphasized that the people present were leaders with the same interests and goals.

1. S1U02

“Allow me at this moment to share a little bit of our experience, but what I would like to share here, is more of how do we, how should we look forward, I mean we all have our experience in dealing with the pandemic and I think, it is very important for us now to look what's beyond this pandemic.

In his speech Governor Anies used the word “we” in several sentences. The word “we” in the speech referred to all the coalitions condition in dealing with the pandemic. Governor Anies explained as the leaders of cities the audiences in the meeting faced the same obstacle in the midst of covid-19. Based on that situation all the coalition involved in the meeting have the same solution to resolve the problem.

2. S1U27

“So, those are some of our experience if I may summarize, this has been a crisis of health and crisis of economic, but also provided us with opportunity to transform our city, to transform our leadership, and we need to look toward the futures where digital oriented development may be the way to the future, micro centric development is perhaps the approach in special planning, and we need to move from simply providing basic services to our our citizens.”

In the end of his speech Governor Anies emphasized the whole speech by summarizing it. Although the cause of health and economic crisis was pandemic covid-19 but it also provided the opportunity for Governors across the world to transform their leadership, to construct the better cities. Those are several utterance which supported the audiences as coalitions of the key actor.

3.2. Urban 20 Mayor Summit 2021

The following are several utterances derived from the second speech to prove that Governor Anis conveyed his speech to the coalitions International forum.

1. S2U01

“First of all i'd like to play a tribute to Mayor Reggie and Mayor Salah for their great leadership in making references to the

continued missions of the U-20 and for hosting this event during this challenging time.”

In the beginning of his speech, Governor Anies mentioned his appreciation to Mayor Reggie and Mayor Salah as the leaders who gave the great references to carry on the missions of the U-20, they also hosted the gathering of event during the pandemic to discuss the planning to deal with the challenge. As known that Urban 20 Mayor Summit is the meeting where governors or mayor as the member of U20 gathered to discuss the mission to construct the cities which part of U20. Conclusively, the Mayor who involved in the meeting was a group of coalitions.

2. S2U04

“ However, as mayor of London, my friend Mayor Khan has explicitly said that we don't like the word opportunity, but indeed in every challenge there is an opportunity to innovate and adapt to a new way of life, for example the climate crisis has made us aware of the importance of balancing economic growth and environmental sustainability to maintain the earth temperatures rise not more than 1.5 degrees Celsius.”

In the second utterance Governor Anies remind the audiences that Mayor of London which is Mayor Khan once stated that in every challenge there must be an opportunity to transform or adapt a new way of life. It means that Governor Anies stood the same statement as Mayor Khan. This also

indicated that both of them are coalition of the discourse about the pandemic crisis.

3. S2U07

“So fellow U-20 city leaders for the next U-20 summits, we might be still in the recovery mode post to covid 19 pandemic, so the world is changing and we need to adapt.”

The utterance above stated that in the second speech Governor Anies used the word “we” to persuade the audience which consist of Mayor of U20 as fellow leaders to adapt to the new condition of the changing world.

B. Discussion

As shown in the table 4.1, it was found that there are two story lines. The first story line is the Health and economic crisis – opportunities to transform the city – social distancing must be paired with large-scale social solidarity in the “Cities Against Covid-19 Global Summit” speech. And the second story line is the Covid 19 pandemic and climate crisis – silver lining behind the covid 19 pandemic – phenomena in post-pandemic cities that may need to address in the “Urban 20 Mayor Summit 2021” speech. Besides the story line, another aspect of Argumentative Discourse Analysis found in Anis Baswedan's speech is metaphor.

There was only one metaphor found in the “Urban 20 Mayor Summit 2021” namely “silver lining”, the metaphor has its own meaning behind its literal meaning. And the last is the discourse coalition which is found in both speeches referring to one political figure, namely Anis Baswedan who became a speaker at two international forums.

Comparing with previous studies, there are some similarities and differences between this study and the study conducted by other researchers. According to Hajer’s theory that the objectives of Argumentative Discourse Analysis (ADA) are to identify narrative lines, how diverse actors mobilize them as members of discourse coalitions, and how a discourse coalition and its story lines become dominant (or not) through consideration of the policy context (Hajer,2006). Cotton (2014) examine the discourses emerging in relation to shale gas policy in the united kingdom. By implementing Argumentative Discourse Analysis of Hajer’s theory, Cotton (2014) assess data collected from stakeholder interview (n=21) and key policy actor statements quoted in broadsheet newspaper. He explore three dominant storylines emerging in relation to shale gas policy: : (1) “cleanliness and dirt” concerns the relative framing of the environmental benefits and harms of shale gas; (2) “energy transitions – pathways and diversions” concerns geographic metaphors of transitions to carbon intensive and low-carbon energy systems; and (3) “geographies of environmental justice” concerns divisions of economic benefit distribution, procedural justice and environmental effect. Related to Hajer’s theory concept in doing analysis,

Cotton (2014) applied desk research and key-players interview in analyzing data process. From aforementioned explanation the researcher concludes that the similarities between Cotton (2014) study with this study first is in its discourse which discussed about environmental and social policy issues. The second is the data were analyzed by using desk reseach analysi in both studies. Even though they both have something in common but there are also clear differences between the two. Cotton (2014) focused on several key players (number of coalition) and applied interviews in analysing the data. Meanwhile this study only focused on an actor of discourse coalition and used document analysis in analyzing the data after doing desk research.

Besides that, Winton (2016) examine the normalization of school fundraising in Ontario by implementing Argumentative Discourse Analysis of Hajer's (1997). Drawing on findings from ADA of 159 texts produced since 1996, winton (2016) presents two storylines from two discourse coalition that have engaged in the struggle over the meaning of school fundraising. Back to this study, unlike Winton (2016) which analyzed two discourse coalition, the researcher only focused on one discourse coalition. Other than that in terms of discourse, Winton (2016) examine education policy issue. While the discourse of this study is about Environmental and social policy issue as mentioned above. In data analyzing process, similar to this study Winton (2016) applied desk research and document analysis in analyzing the data. Although the results of the previous research results and

this study are storylines whether it's winton or cotton, only this study found the metaphors on data research.



CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter is divided into two sections which are conclusions and recommendations. The first section concludes the research findings which is then followed by recommendations.

A. Conclusion

This research concludes that the three concepts of Argumentative Discourse analysis can be found in both speech. From the speech "Cities Against Covid-19 Global Summit" the story line is Health and economic crisis – opportunities to transform the city – social distancing must be paired with large-scale social solidarity while from the speech "Urban 20 Mayor Summit 2021" the story line is the Covid 19 pandemic and climate crisis – silver lining behind the covid 19 pandemic – phenomena in post-pandemic cities that may need to address. These two story lines have similarities in several aspects, especially in the field of health and the economic crisis as a result of the impact of the pandemic, but behind the COVID-19 pandemic, there are several silver linings that we can find, namely digital life breakthrough has progressed and also a greener environment. In addition to the story line, there are also two metaphors found, namely "not to donate but for duty" and "payback to our city". This increases solidarity between citizens during the pandemic and makes the government, especially the Jakarta government amazed at the solidarity

between its citizens. This proves that social distancing doesn't mean distancing between people, distancing between socio-economic class, but it becomes measures of building solidarity within the city.

B. Recommendation

Since this study only focused on argumentative discourse analysis proposed by Anies Baswedan at an international forum entitled "Cities Against Covid-19 Global Summit" and "Urban 20 Mayor Summit 2021". The writer suggests for future researchers to analyze the other types of argumentative discourse analysis using different kinds of data. Moreover, the result of the analysis is expected to give theoretical and practical contributions to readers. The writer hopes this study can be a supporting reference in analyzing works of discourse through argumentative analysis. Furthermore, the students and literature enthusiasts can widen their knowledge and insight about argumentative discourse analysis. Finally, the writer expects the study of argumentative discourse analysis to be concerned by the whole students of UIN especially students of English, and also by linguistics or discourse lecturers

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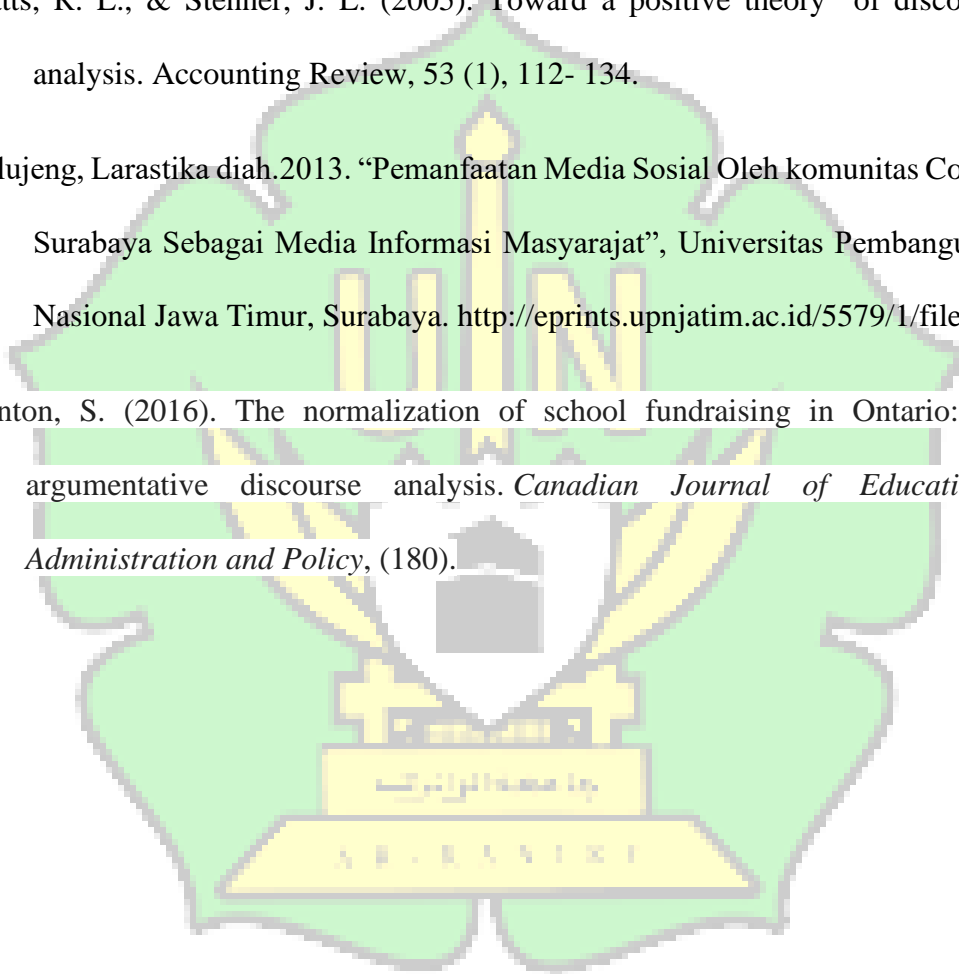
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APPENDICES

SURAT KEPUTUSAN DEKAN FAKULTAS TARBIYAH DAN KEGURUAN UIN AR-RANIRY
Nomor : B-16637/UN.08/FTK/KP.07.6/11/2021

TENTANG PENGANGKATAN PEMBIMBING SKRIPSI MAHASISWA FAKULTAS TARBIYAH DAN KEGURUAN UIN AR-RANIRY

DEKAN FAKULTAS TARBIYAH DAN KEGURUAN UIN AR-RANIRY

- Menimbang : a. bahwa untuk kelancaran bimbingan skripsi dan ujian munaqasyah mahasiswa pada Fakultas Tarbiyah dan Keguruan UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh, maka dipandang perlu menunjuk pembimbing skripsi tersebut yang dituangkan dalam Surat Keputusan Dekan;
b. bahwa saudara yang tersebut namanya dalam surat keputusan ini dipandang cakap dan memenuhi syarat untuk diangkat sebagai pembimbing skripsi.
- Mengingat : 1. Undang-undang Nomor 20 Tahun 2003, tentang Sistem Pendidikan Nasional;
2. Undang-undang Nomor 14 Tahun 2005, tentang Guru dan Dosen;
3. Undang-undang Nomor 12 Tahun 2012, tentang Pendidikan Tinggi;
4. Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 74 Tahun 2012 tentang Perubahan atas Peraturan Pemerintah RI Nomor 23 Tahun 2005 tentang Pengelolaan Keuangan Badan Layanan Umum;
5. Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 4 Tahun 2014, tentang Penyelenggaraan Pendidikan Tinggi dan Pengelolaan Perguruan Tinggi;
6. Peraturan Presiden RI Nomor 64 Tahun 2013; tentang Perubahan IAIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh Menjadi UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh;
7. Peraturan Menteri Agama RI Nomor 12 Tahun 2014, tentang Organisasi dan Tata Kerja UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh;
8. Peraturan Menteri Republik Indonesia No. 21 Tahun 2015, tentang Statuta UIN Ar-Raniry;
9. Keputusan Menteri Agama Nomor 492 Tahun 2003, tentang Pendelegasian Wewenang, Pengangkatan, Pemindahan dan Pemberhentian PNS di Lingkungan Departemen Agama Republik Indonesia;
10. Keputusan Menteri Keuangan Nomor 293/KMK.05/2011 tentang Penetapan Institut Agama Islam Negeri Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh pada Kementerian Agama sebagai Instansi Pemerintah yang Menerapkan Pengelolaan Badan Layanan Umum;
11. Keputusan Rektor UIN Ar-Raniry Nomor 01 Tahun 2015, tentang Pendelegasian Wewenang kepada Dekan dan Direktur Pascasarjana di Lingkungan UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh;
- Memperhatikan : Keputusan Sidang/Seminar Proposal Skripsi Prodi Pendidikan Bahasa Inggris Fakultas Tarbiyah dan Keguruan UIN Ar-Raniry Tanggal 27 Oktober 2021

MEMUTUSKAN

- Menetapkan
PERTAMA :
Menunjuk Saudara:
1. Drs. Mustafa AR, M.A., Ph.D Sebagai Pembimbing Pertama
2. Fera Busfina Zalha, MA Sebagai Pembimbing Kedua
Untuk membimbing Skripsi :
Nama : Desviani Lestari Anggreini Br Surbakti
NIM : 150203023
Program Studi : Pendidikan Bahasa Inggris
Judul Skripsi : Microstructural Discourse Analysis of Governor Anies' Speeches in International Forums
- KEDUA : Pembiayaan honorarium pembimbing pertama dan kedua tersebut diatas dibebankan pada DIPA UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh Tahun 2020; No.025.04.2.423925/2020, tanggal 12 November 2019.
- KETIGA : Surat keputusan ini berlaku sampai akhir semester Genap Tahun Akademik 2021/2022
- KEEMPAT : Surat Keputusan ini berlaku sejak tanggal ditetapkan dengan ketentuan segala sesuatu akan diubah dan diperbaiki kembali sebagaimana mestinya apabila kemudian hari ternyata terdapat kekeliruan dalam penetapan ini.

Ditetapkan di: Banda Aceh
Pada Tanggal: 09 November 2021
Dekan



Tembusan

1. Rektor UIN Ar-Raniry (sebagai laporan);

Script 1: Jakarta, 2nd June 2020.

Cities Against Covid-19 Global Summit 2020.

2nd June 2020

[AB]

01:13

| No | Script |
|-------|---|
| S1U01 | First of all, allow me to express my appreciations for the invite to join this important gathering of leaders across the globe, especially my appreciation to mayor Park, a very good friend of ours and one of a role model for leadership in the cities and for all governor's, mayor's whom we admire. |
| S1U02 | Allow me at this moment to share a little bit of our experience, but what I would like to share here, is more of how do we, how should we look forward, I mean we all have our experience in dealing with the pandemic and I think, it is very important for us now to look what's beyond this pandemic. |
| S1U03 | In the past six months many of us were struggling to save our fellow citizens to make sure, that they can back to our life again and new normal but allow me in this opportunity to serve some thought regarding how do we move forward. |
| S1U04 | Jakarta starting this weekend, we will start easing up our life skills social distancing measures, but what's also important during this period of three months, we experience problems but also we have experienced opportunities. |
| S1U05 | The problem says at least two, number one, we have health crisis, number two we have economic crisis. |
| S1U06 | I think all of us experience that, but on the other hand, we experience digital life breakthrough, and also experience a greener environment. |
| S1U07 | This meeting could have been done a year ago, could have been done six months ago, but we didn't do it. |
| S1U08 | We had conventional a gathering of mayors in a certain area and certain cities at certain times, but because of this pandemic suddenly, we started to see a new opportunities, digital life breakthrough and also greener environment. |

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| S1U09 | For us in Jakarta, pollute air pollution is one of our challenge and suddenly in the past three months, we experienced blue sky every day and people started to realize, so this is what it feels when we have greener economy. |
| S1U10 | This is what it feels when we have implemented sustainable economic development, so this crisis, the health crisis the economic crisis, those are issues that we need to tackle but also our populations is experiencing a transformation with that we never expected a few months ago. So now, I think it's it's for all of us, to start sharing new values about about how we manage our cities. |
| S1U11 | In the past for example, in a developing country like ours, mega politan like Jakarta, we were developed through car oriented development, minimum public transport and then we transform ourselves from car oriented development into transit oriented development. |
| S1U12 | We build public transport, we build stations, we build properties surrounding stations, so transit oriented development is our approach. |
| S1U13 | But now I think we need to start to think of the next step, from car oriented development to transit oriented development, and then next, I think we will need to move into digital oriented development, that may be the future we need to anticipate, and then in the past, our approach was mono centric development, we have transformed ourself into polycentric development. |
| S1U14 | I think in the future we may be heading into micro centric development, and about services that we provided to our citizens. |
| S1U14 | We move from under provided basic surfaces into well provided basic surfaces, but given this pandemic what's needed is not only well provided basic services or what's needed is resilient urban services. |
| S1U15 | It's a transformations that we need to undergo, given the the pandemic that we experienced, but again I think we need to look beyond the covid pandemic, we need to start seeing this as an opportunity to transform, how we lead the city and also to transform the city itself to anticipate similar challenge that may come up in the future. |
| S1U16 | So if I... if I may put this in sequence, we need to number one make sure that this is a pandemic proof city and then we step forward one more step to resilient the crisis city, a digitally advanced city and sustainable and livable city. |
| S1U17 | So the approach that we need to undertake is somewhat different. |
| S1U18 | This pandemic for some reasons have given us an opportunity to make the transformations. |
| S1U19 | And with the other aspect that I'd like to share based on experience in Jakarta, when we started to adopt large-scale social measures, that means restrictions of economic activity, restrictions to social and cultural activities, and because of that, we suffer loss of incomes to many of our population. |

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| S1U20 | For those who have no savings this is an issue, of course government provide support, government provide subsidies, however we take this opportunity to introduce large-scale social solidarity programs. |
| S1U21 | So on the one hand, we have social distancing measures being adopted, but on the other hand, we adopted a social solidarity program in our skill. |
| S1U22 | And the message is that I call for the business leaders in Jakarta, I don't call them to donate to our populations, but we call them for duty and the message goes along this line. |
| S1U23 | Jakarta has given us so much, now Jakarta needs you and our message is let's pay back to our city, let's give back where have been given to you from our city. |
| S1U24 | So the calling is a calling for duty to give back to our cities and, we were overwhelmed by the response. |
| S1U25 | Now we have charity organizations that we invited them to to participate to channel people that would like to contribute to support our fellow citizens, what happened is, this charity organizations has reported to us that the number of donors have increased more than 220 %, even though the amount of donations is much smaller than when it was 100% of donors. |
| S1U26 | So the numbers of donors increase but the amount of donations significantly reduced, because of the economic crisis, but the message is this, social distancing doesn't mean distancing between people, distancing between socio-economic class, but it becomes measures of building solidarity within the city, then I think this is something that that we need to strengthen after we completed our approach in next week, we would like to make sure that the Solidarity were building in the past two-three months is something that we can live under to the future. |
| S1U27 | So, those are some of our experience if I may summarize, this has been a crisis of health and crisis of economic, but also provided us with opportunity to transform our city, to transform our leadership, and we need to look toward the futures where digital oriented development may be the way to the future, micro centric development is perhaps the approach in special planning, and we need to move from simply providing basic services to our our citizens. |
| S1U28 | We need to move into resilient urban surfaces that we provide to our citizens, and the last point is social distancing measures that is adopted in the large scale need to be paired with social large-scale social solidarity, if that is able to be done. |
| S1U29 | I think we will be seeing a better cities, stronger cities not only for us who have experienced this pandemic but also to all city across the globe. |

Script 2: Jakarta, 3rd September 2021

U20 Mayor Summit 2021/ continuing Urban 20 mission in the midst of pandemic crisis

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| S2U01 | First of all i'd like to play a tribute to Mayor Reggie and Mayor Salah for their great leadership in making references to the continued missions of the U-20 and for hosting this event during this challenging time. |
| S2U02 | Indeed we all know that city have a great role in providing a livable and sustainable environment for its inhabitants. |
| S2U03 | Since the world is urbanizing and this is the time cities get the greatest attentions, so cities in the world are facing two challenges at least, one is the covid 19 pandemic and two is the climate crisis that requires special attentions. |
| S2U04 | However, as mayor of London, my friend Mayor Khan has explicitly said that we don't like the word opportunity, but indeed in every challenge there is an opportunity to innovate and adapt to a new way of life, for example the climate crisis has made us aware of the importance of balancing economic growth and environmental sustainability to maintain the earth temperatures rise not more than 1.5 degrees Celsius. |
| S2U05 | Likewise in the covid 19 pandemic it also brings a silver lining to urban lives, as movement of our populations restricted, big cities experience clearer air including us in Jakarta. |
| S2U06 | We also witness the rise of digital transformations in various sectors as well as better awareness on the public health and on Hygiene. |
| S2U07 | So fellow U-20 city leaders for the next U-20 summits, we might be still in the recovery mode post to covid 19 pandemic, so the world is changing and we need to adapt. |
| S2U08 | Therefore, i'd like to briefly introduce six interesting phenomena of the post-pandemic cities that we may need to address together in the upcoming U-20 mayor summits next year. |
| S2U09 | First, there is an interesting need for productive yet affordable housing, the global trend shows a rising demand to have houses that is not just able to maintain healthiness of the |

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| | <p>dwellers, but also suitable for supporting productivity, as more and more people may decide to continue working from home.</p> |
| S2U10 | <p>So this type of housing needs need to be affordable for sure, so that's number one.</p> |
| S2U11 | <p>Number two is the futures of property industry itself, the contributions of the property sectors in urban areas or around around the world uh present a declined as much as 29 % by 2020, and the view of empty offices is no rare view these days including us here in Jakarta, we are seeing vacancy in office buildings so we have to rethink of the futures of property industries in cities across the globe.</p> |
| S2U12 | <p>Number three, about sustainable mobility access for all the covid 19 pandemic and climate change has forced the city to reconsider the relationship between mobility, urban space and health, in order to ensure physical distance while meeting the rifle needs of our residents and now, you know rising questions is not about how cities provide the infrastructure for sustainable mobility, but in fact how cities ensure equal access to sustainable mobility.</p> |
| S2U13 | <p>So that's uh an issue that we need to think about. Issue number four that i'd like to share here is the future of work, the loss of jobs, the emerging demands for new skills to support the carbonizations as one of the side effect of the pandemic global unemployment rose by 1.1 %, on the other hand there is also an emerging demand for new skills to support a promising green industry and digital economy.</p> |
| S2U14 | <p>So the question is how could cities accommodate the transformations in the labor market for a greener futures.</p> |
| S2U15 | <p>Issues number five, i'd like to share is the deprived of social interactions. The long-term current time, the working from home can lead to current time fatigue and the rising of thread of online abuse as well. So how do we protect the mental health of our citizens in the urban area like what we had here.</p> |
| S2U16 | <p>And the last point is the rising of numbers of orphans. Globally, there are at least by now 4.5 millions death due to covid 19. This has made our children lost their primary and secondary caretakers, so how could we facilitate the futures of our children who have lost family members in the fighting of covid 19.</p> |
| S2U17 | <p>So looking at those six issues. This is the time to reflect. This is the time to reset but more importantly this is the time to act together, because the futures of cities lies on everyone's hands, so on this special occasion, i'd like to thank for the opportunity to hold the next urban 20 chair in 2022.</p> |
| S2U18 | <p>Jakarta will continue compiling messages on those 3p, people planet and prosperity and look forward to working together with all of you U-20 city leaders, conveners and partners to amplify our collective voices to the next G-20 presidency of Indonesia with the theme of recover together, recover stronger. Thank you very much for your kind attention and look forward to welcome all of you here in Jakarta, thank you.</p> |

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