CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF
SUSILO BAMBANG YUDHOYONO'S SPEECH

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ABSTRACT

In a speech there is a relationship between language, power, and ideology which through the use of language, it creates the idea about power and its ideology. This study aims to describe language, power, and ideology of SBY's speech that is used about the Jakarta bombings. The analysis based on theory of CDA and its analysis methods presented by Thomas N.Huckin. It is started by analyzing some features in the text as a whole. Then, it is continued by analyzing some features in sentence-level and word-level. The last is by doing contextual interpretation. The result shows that through the language used, it can be known the strength of power and the purpose of the speaker, which the power is strongly felt and the ideology is clearly seen as well as understandable.

Keywords: *Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), ideology, language, power*

Pada suatu pidato, terdapat suatu hubungan erat antara bahasa, power, dan ideology yang mana melalui suatu penggunaan bahasa, maka menimbulkan juga gagasan mengenai power dan ideologi. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan tentang bahasa, power, dan ideologi yang digunakan pada pidato SBY mengenai pengeboman di Jakarta. Proses analisa pada tesis ini berdasar pada teori-teori CDA dan metode analisis yang diperkenalkan oleh Thomas N. Huckin. Hal ini dimulai dengan menganalisa beberapa aspek pada tingkat keseluruhan teks. Kemudian dilanjutkan menganalisa beberapa aspek lain pada tingkat kalimat dan tingkat kata. Hal terakhir adalah dengan melakukan interpretasi yang berhubungan dengan konteks. Hasilnya menunjukan bahwa melalui penggunaan bahasa, juga diketahui seberapa kuat power yang dimiliki dan tujuan si pembicara, yang mana pada kenyataannya power sangat kuat dirasakan serta tujuannya pun sangat jelas terlihat juga dapat dipahami.

INTRODUCTION

In society, certainly people communicate with others around them. In conducting a communication, people use something as a medium called language which can be used through two ways. The two ways of communication are directly and indirectly. Directly means that there is no mediator between the users or it is simply called spoken language. Spoken language also means a form of communication from one person to another where the language is produced by the

organs of human voice and released through the mouth so producing a series of words which arranged systematically, called utterance. One form of example from spoken language is a face to face conversation by people around us. While indirectly means that there is something as a bridge between the users or it is called written language which usually the users communicate through a certain device. A written language also means the representation of a language by means of a writing system. Several examples of written language are Short Message Service (SMS), letter, TV commercials and many others. Thus, through both definitions before arise something interesting to be discussed more that is how language is delivered directly from one person to the other persons and through certain device which is sometimes used for broadcasting. The representation of that direct and indirect phenomenon can be seen from an activity called public speaking.

When someone is doing public speaking, that person is called as a public speaker, in this profession there are some people who use public speaking activities in carrying out their work, including : orator, presenter that is presenting a program and usually associated with electronic mass media (can be heard or even seen), and mostly a leader in a community no matter how small that community, which is believed understanding and mastering technique of public speaking well, because it is closely related to deliver information, to explain, to describe, and to influence, especially when speaking about the ideas in the form of speech.

Speech is a public speaking activity which commonly is in form of formal talk performed by a leader to express his opinion, or give an overview about a thing or event that is important and should be discussed. Speech has many functions, one of them is to create a conducive situation in which only need a person who commits a speech so as can give a positive impression to those who heard that speech. In practice, there are some examples of speech such graduation speech, leadership speech, religious speech, oration, and president official speech. Besides that, there are a lot of things to be conveyed in a speech, some of the examples are like condolence, the statement of concerned feeling, statement to act to the happening event and many others. Thus, accordance with these phenomena at that time that is regarding to all Indonesians about a series of bombings which occurred in the capital city, Jakarta on July 17, 2009 by the president.

As president, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono can also be called as the number-one in this country. In addition, only he the one that is chosen purely by the people in two periods of presidential election as it is known the maximum tenure of president in Indonesia since reformation era. That is why the researcher is interested to SBY than the other figures. Moreover, the reason why speech is chosen because it is a form of language in used. Through the use of language, it creates the idea about power and its ideology. In order to examine the use of language and ask why it has been used that way and what the implications are of this kind of use on speech, the researcher conducted an analytical framework for studying connections among language, power, and ideology which is called critical discourse analysis. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse that views language

as a form of social practice and focuses on the ways social and political domination are reproduced by text and talk.

Using critical discourse analysis in president's speech, the researcher attempted to elucidate not only the language, power, and ideology of the speech itself but also from the speaker, the President himself. Thus, language, power and ideology can be seen from its use to the social problem which is going on at that time and to the social power which is trying to influence the ideology of the community to become closer to something that is desired by the speaker.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is 'a theory and method analyzing the way that individuals and institutions *use* language' (Richardson, 2007: 1; emphasis in original). Critical discourse analysts focus on 'relations between discourse, power, dominance and social inequality' (van Dijk, 1993: 249) and how discourse (re)produces and maintains these relations of dominance and inequality'.

As cited in Critical Discourse Analysis second draft by Teun A. van Dijk (1998:1-2), CDA is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose and ultimately resist social inequality.

As cited from Huckin's article, *Critical Discourse Analysis and the Discourse of Condescension* in *Discourse Studies in Composition*, ed. E. Barton and G. Stygall (2002: 3-6), Critical discourse analysis is useful to both composition research and composition teaching. For researchers, CDA offers a powerful arsenal of analytic tools that can be deployed in the close reading of editorials, op-ed columns, advertisements, and other public texts. Critical discourse analysis is also a valuable tool for composition teachers and students. CDA can readily be used in undergraduate writing courses whenever students are required to analyze a text critically and then write about it. Typical examples of such texts include news reports, editorials, letters to the editor, advertisements, Internet postings, political campaign literature, fundraising letters, and junk mail.

Those are the concepts of CDA. In the next sub chapter will discuss the theory of technical analysis based on CDA Huckin's theory. But before learning the theory, it would be good to know how to view the use of these theories are described as follows:

1. Analyzing Text from a Critical Perspective
2. Language, Power, and Ideology
3. Public Speaking
4. Speech
5. The History of The Jakarta Globe
6. The Previous Research

METODE

Research Design

In this thesis, the researcher uses descriptive qualitative approach in conducting this research. The researcher chooses qualitative research because it can describe systematically the fact and characteristics of the data. Besides that, qualitative research methods were developed in the social sciences to enable researchers to study social and cultural phenomena like case study and ethnography. In this thesis, the researcher described the language, the power, and the ideology of SBY's speech that is used about the Jakarta bombings.

Data

The data of this thesis was in term of script which is taken place at the Presidential Palace in Jakarta on Friday afternoon, July 17, 2009. The script of the speech was in an article which taken from a blog on the internet named The Jakarta Globe Blog, (http://www.thejakartaglobe.com/home/sbys-speech-on-the-jakarta-bombings-full-text/318827) which had a theme, *the Jakarta Bombings*. Whereas, the speaker of this speech was Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono or more familiar with SBY surname as Republic of Indonesia President.

Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis of this research was utterances of SBY's speech on the Jakarta Bombings on July 17, 2009, since it was in form of written text due to it had been transcribed before and it was analyzed by applying Huckin's CDA method.

Data Collection

The data which is used in this thesis comes from SBY's speech as The President of Indonesia. In the way of collecting the data, researcher uses some step which is mentioned and explained as follows;

1. Searching for the video
   As the first step of collecting the data, researcher used video recorder observation. It was looking for the video of SBY's speech from the network, in this case was www.youtube.com. It showed that the event was truly happen in reality. It meant that the utterances were truly said by the speaker; in this case was President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono.
2. Searching the script.
   After the video had been found, then researcher looked for the script of the speech. The principle of its searching was almost same with the video, it was found in certain blog on the internet named The Jakarta Globe's Blog.
3. Downloading the video and the script
   Then the final step was, after the data both video and the script had collected, researcher downloaded them both and saved them then. For the script especially, it would be used for the main data to be analyzed.

Data Processing and Analysis

In analyzing the data, the researcher used some steps according to Huckin's theory. These steps were as follows:

1. Reading the SBY's speech in *The Jakarta Globe* about the bombings that occurred in the capital city, Jakarta
2. Classifying the data indicating three CDA methods of Huckin
3. Making a conclusion of the analysis

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Analyzing the Text at the Whole Text-Level

   a. Genre

       Genre of SBY's speech in this study was argumentative text. In the analyzing process, it mentions and describes the *social function, schematic structure, and linguistics features.*

   b. Framing is how the content of a script of speech is presented, what is the perspective of the speaker is taking. SBY's perspective on his speech was he wanted to convince people that as a choice of the people, he would take full responsibility for anything that involves people and he did not want to disappoint the people who had given their mandate as a representative.

   c. Visual Aid

       One particularly powerful way of framing a text was through the use of visual aids. It could be photographs, sketches, diagrams, and other visual embellishments. One of that visualization could be found from the data, in this case SBY's speech text which was taken from the Jakarta Globe, it was in form of a group of visual aids. It consisted of the large bold typeface used for headline, the picture, and text below the picture as the information of the picture itself. They could be viewed in figure below:

SBY's Speech on the Jakarta Bombings: Full Text

President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono talks to Governor of Jakarta Fauzi Bowo at a hospital after visiting injured bombing victims on Friday. (Photo: Romeo Gacad, AFP)

d. Foregrounding or Backgrounding

The researcher interprets *foreground* as the explicit general idea which is said by the speaker, while *background* as the implicit one. Generally the main idea contained on the whole SBY's speech exposes three things. Those three things are a brief description of his speech, an explanation of the government's efforts to stop terrorism, and an invitation to the community to work together to fight terrorism.

The first is a brief description of the speech which is located at the beginning as shown in the following paragraph:

[1] *My fellow countrymen and women, to all Indonesians that I love, wherever you are.* **Today** *is a black dot in our history [as a nation].* **Once again, there has been an attack or a bombing committed by terrorists in Jakarta**. *It is suspected to have been committed by a group of terrorists,* **although it may not necessarily be the same terrorism network that we have realized** *…*

The second is an explanation of the government's efforts to stop terrorism which is located randomly on the whole speech as shown in the following paragraph:

[6] **I instructed** *the Chief of Police, the National Intelligence Agency and other related state institutions* **to conduct a proper and thorough investigation and to bring the perpetrators to justice.**

Whereas the last is an invitation to the community to work together to fight terrorism and to prevent such events from happening again in the future which is located at the part towards the end as shown in the following paragraph:

[22] **For the future, I encourage all Indonesians and all elements of the nation to unite and stand together in protecting the safety and peace of this country.** *No country and no religion condones terrorism, whatever the motives and reasons are. Don't hesitate, nor be afraid, in preventing and exterminating terrorism...*

e. Presupposition

Presupposition was something that the speaker assumes to be the case prior to making an utterance. There were five types of presupposition in SBY's speech that was used as the data, such as Existential Presupposition, Factive Presupposition, Lexical Presupposition, Structural Presupposition, Counter – Factual Presupposition.

f. Discursive Difference

It is the use of language which led to inequalities in social and political context. After reading and listening to the whole speech of President SBY on the bombing incident in Jakarta, according to the researcher there are no utterances that show discursive difference between SBY and the people.

1. Analyzing the Text in Sentence-Level and Word-Level
   a. Topicalization

Topicalization is focusing more closely at the individual sentence which has a sentence topic. Sentence topic is what the sentence said by the speaker talks about. Topic of the speech consists of twenty-four paragraphs where each paragraph has one main sentence. Topic of the first paragraph would be example of all topics. Topic of the first paragraph was SBY's explanation that the speech talk about the bomb attack carried out by terrorists which happens once again.

*[1] My fellow countrymen and women, to all Indonesians that I love, wherever you are. Today is a black dot in our history [as a nation]. **Once again**, there has been an attack or a bombing committed by terrorists in Jakarta....*

   b. Agency

Basically, agency is more to a person whose role is to do a certain thing or an action. In this agency level, readers would be able to know who had a key role in the text. According to the data, agency was shown through the bold and italic font in sentences below as example of all of agencies:

*[2] Therefore, on this opportunity, on behalf of the country and the government, and as a person, **I would like to express** my heartfelt condolences to the families of the victims.*

   c. Deletion or Omission

In this sentence level analysis, deletion or omission dealt with the agent. Agent-deletion occured most often through nominalization and the use of passive verbs. In this part of analysis, readers or listeners were forced to guess this. Instead, the speaker probably assumed that readers or listeners could easily infer this. Based on the data, the transcript of SBY's speech on the Jakarta bombings, deletion was shown through the bold and italic font in sentences below:

*[2] This **barbaric** act has brought about innocent casualties as well*

It seems a little bit racist to be heard, because barbaric means a brutal act which usually done by barbarian ethnic group. Although the certain thing that is meant by SBY about barbaric in statement above is only the act, but it still belong to certain ethnic group. It is better if he replaces 'barbaric act' into 'inhuman act', because this words are felt neutral which is not refer to certain ethnic group.

d. Insinuation

   Insinuation is comments that are slyly suggestive. It typically has double meanings and if challenged, the writer or the speaker can claim innocence, pretending to have only one of these two meanings in mind.

[20] To prevent and exterminate terrorism, and other crimes properly, the intelligence [agency] must be very sharp. Prevention must be very effective. The police, the intelligence agency, the armed forces must unite in a complete synergy. Negligence and ignorance must be discarded.

   That statement is the prove that police work alone in preventing and stopping terrorism actions. They are not unite in a complete synergy with the intelligence agency and the armed forces yet. That is why terrorism action like Jakarta bombing occurred once again. Besides that, the other SBY's suggestive comments which also want to unite with the people as shown in the following sentence:

[21] To all Indonesians, as you increase public alertness, stay at your work and live your lives normally. If something suspicious happens, call the police.

e. Connotation

   Connotation is the meaning of a word or group of words based on feelings or thoughts that arise in the speaker. A word is called has connotative meaning if it has "sense of value", both positive and negative.

*[11] Other statements said they wished **to turn Indonesia into** [a country like] **Iran**.*

   It is considered as metaphor for it is basically a comparison between things, and the comparison itself is actually implied meaning which is not expressed by some words such as like, as, than, etc. As it has been known that Iran is a country which currently at war so it is not safe for people to live. Thus, the phrase "to turn Indonesia into Iran" means that the terrorist want to create the conditions and the situation which are highly unsafe for people to live in Indonesia.

f. Register

   There are three main dimensions of variation which characterize any register; what is being talking about (this is called the '**field'**), the people involved in the communication and the relationship between them (the '**tenor**'), and how the language is functioning in the interaction whether it is written or spoken (the '**mode**'). The fact that there are three areas is not accidental since each of them corresponds to one of the metafunctions. The field mainly determines the experiential meanings that are expressed, the tenor mainly determines the interpersonal meanings, and the mode mainly determines the textual meanings. All the more specific functions will be described and explained from lexicogrammatical analysis to contextual description as the following:

Table 4.2 Field of Discourse

Experiential meaning		Field of discourse
Process types Material process – *was committed, is performing, ...* Mental process – *believe* Verbal process – *laughing, say, instructed, screaming, ...* Existential process – *there were, ...* Relational process – *Today is a black dot in our history*	As a result of the analysis and knowledge of context of culture, it can be written in a description	**Experiential domain** The speech of President to all Indonesian about his concerns on the bombing incident, the information from the intelligence, his efforts to apprehend and prosecute the perpetrators, and the invitation to prevent terror in the future
Participants The President of Indonesia as the speaker, Indonesian, the police, the intelligence agency, the armed forces, and the terrorist		**Short-term goal** People become aware of the incident which actually has happened, so they know the action that should be done.
Circumstances Today, this country, a few weeks ago, presently, the last five years		**Long-term goal** obtained the positive effects, at least people feels a little bit calm and also think that there is no the same bombing again for the future.
Time and Modality Mostly use present tense although past is also used		

Table 4.3 Tenor of Discourse

Interpersonal meaning		Tenor of discourse
Mood selection Declarative	As a result of the analysis and knowledge of context of culture, it can be written in a description	**Agentive or societal roles** Between the speaker and all Indonesian
Person selections I, my, you, we, us, they, their		**Status** Unequal

Appraisal motif		Social distance
The emotions, judgments, and appreciations of SBY (*he condemn the brutal act of terrorism*)		Maximal

Table 4.4 Mode of Discourse

Textual meaning		Mode of discourse
Thematic choices Marked topical themes – My fellow countrymen and women, presently, surely Unmarked topical themes - With God's blessings, the bombing	As a result of the analysis and knowledge of context of culture, it can be written in a description	**Role of language** Formal language **Type of interaction** Monologue
Cohesion It talks about the bombing which is committed by terrorists, but it also discusses about the attempt to stop that terrorism act		**Medium and channel** Originally is spoken but since it is published in Jakarta Globe, it turns into written text.
Structural patterns Descriptive speech		**Rhetorical thrust** Descriptive

g. Modality

Basically, modality system construes the region of uncertainty that lies between 'yes' and 'no'. Modality generally expresses a speaker's attitudes, or "moods". For example, modals can express that a speaker feels something in necessary, advisable, permissible, possible, or probable; and, in addition, they can convey the strength of these attitudes. It is usually carried by words and phrases like *can, could, had better, may, might, must, ought to, shall, should, will, would.*

h. Analyzing the Text in Contextual Interpretation

Based on the previous analysis that has been conducted, both the analyzing the text at the whole text-level and analyzing the text at the sentence level and word level, researcher has a pretty clear overview of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's speech related to the bombings in Jakarta. That overview would later become the reference in the analysis at this stage, other than from the researcher's own interpretation. Analysis at this stage can be used to answer questions about how language, power, and ideology that are contained in the SBY's speech.

i. The Relation of Language, Power, and Ideology

It needs to be known briefly that language is a medium which is used by a person to communicate. In this thesis one form of communication is SBY's speech about the bombings in Jakarta. Thus, speech is the application of what is called language. Meanwhile power is a word or words that can affect a person's thoughts and actions towards something. In other words, power can give or make a particular point of view and it can also make a person to perform a particular action. Besides that power also means the social status of a person or the speaker in the community. Afterward is ideology, it is a thing that can make a person think, feel, desire, and imagine for something that they receive as input.

First of all, it explains about relationship between language and power. As it has been known that language is shown by SBY's speech to all the people of Indonesia about the bombings in Jakarta. The use of language in that speech can describe or reflect a power which in this case it could be a strong or a weak power. Vice versa, the strength of a power can be seen from how the language is used. In addition of that, it is also need to be known that SBY is President which certainly has various powers, especially the power in the case of language use. Basically what is said by someone who has the authority such as SBY in this regard, the language that is used by him should contain a strong power as well.

Then, it is discussed further on the relationship between language and ideology. Basically ideology deals with the language which is telling about, in this case is what SBY said in his speech. Through the language in his speech it creates certain implication of people mind. In other words the speaker has particular purpose or implicitly purpose through the speech.

One more thing is about the relationship between power and ideology. As where it is known that SBY's speech in the context of power and ideology also cannot be separated, it can be seen that the words that contain a strong power so ideology will also be apparent. In other words, if an ideology on the speech can be achieved, it can be said that what is said has the power. Those are the explanation of language, power, and ideology as a whole, both individually and their relationships. Based on those explanation can be concluded that those three things is a unified whole which is strongly associated to one another so it is impossible to separate.

CONCLUSION

As it has been known, in his speech, SBY is using language to convey information. Otherwise, the delivery of information is conducted in less coherent, this makes the information becomes less obvious, so the messages which are captured by the addresses are not optimal. As the addition, the language used by SBY can be seen through the process types and the linguistic features of genre. In the process types, material process is the most dominant used. As it has been known, it is an activity to do something, for example the words 'seek, capture, and prosecute' in sentence [19]… *More importantly, the law enforcers must truly **seek, capture and prosecute** the perpetrators, organizers, and masterminds behind this violence…* Based on the example, those are not only words but also a real action which will be realized. Whereas the linguistic features is seen through the use of past tense. It means that the speech is conducted after the bombing event occurred. It can be concluded that through his speech SBY also can calm the people, because by conducting an official speech, people realize that the government has already known about the incident that occurred. It calms the people down because people know that the situation and the condition have been under control by the government.

Meanwhile, the use of power is very strongly felt, it can be seen when SBY gives instruction to his subordinates to work optimally in order to respond to the bombings that occurred. It can be illustrated through the use of modality by SBY such as; *will, shall, should, and must* that in practice it is considered a representative of a power because it has a strong degree of certainty. Specifically for modality 'must', it is the most dominant modal that is used and it can make other people act certain action as well. It can be called, in SBY's speech, power is expressed through the words which contain power and be able to make other people do an action based on his words. In other words, he has the power over something that he says.

It can be called that ideology is a goal which want to be achieved. In his speech the main goal of SBY is that he wants to ask for help. It is proved in paragraph 9 and 10 that he tells about the terrorist who practiced shooting at SBY's picture as the target. In addition, in paragraph 23 SBY invites to protect this country from terrorism. Based on those two reason, it can be concluded that the ideology which SBY have is he worries about his security and he needs help from all national security element added by all Indonesian to fight against terrorism.

Those are each explanation about language, power, and ideology used by SBY in his speech. Since those three aspects are closely related to each other in CDA, especially in analyzing public addresses, it can be summarized that in the use of language it also contains certain ideology and power. It means that from the language used, it can be known the strength of power and the purpose of the speaker.

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