

# 8. Critical Discourse analysis

## Tony abbot

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## A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF TONY ABBOTT'S STATEMENTS RELATED TO THE SPYING ALLEGATION TOWARDS INDONESIA

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**Abstract:** *This research was done in 2014 when there was an issue of spying towards Indonesia by the Australian government. It explored Tony Abbott's statements related to his countering the accusation towards the Australia government of the spying issue to Indonesia. The research aimed at answering Tony Abbott's political discourse in his statements, finding the way he used the political discourse; finding the supposed reason of using the political discourse and seeking for the effects of this statements for Indonesia. Descriptive qualitative was applied as the approach of the research. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) proposed by Norman Fairclough was used as the main theory and Van Dijk's theory of CDA is applied as the supporting theory. Data were taken from YouTube and transcribed; the data were enriched with the ongoing statements taken from Indonesian and Australian televisions. The results of the analysis showed that rhetorical strategy and power were always performed in his statements. This illustrated the way he used his political discourse. Explicitly, ideology was shown from his statements. His ideology was endorsing the activity of Australian Intelligence for the sake of National Security including the failure of stating apology towards Indonesia causing the disappointment and anger of the Indonesians to Australian Government. This result can be an evident of Fairclough's viewpoint that ideology is inherent in the discourse.*

**Keywords:** *CDA, rhetoric, power, ideology, political discourse*

**Abstrak:** *Penelitian ini dilaksanakan pada 2014 ketika terjadi berita penyadapan terhadap Indonesia oleh Australia. Penelitian ini mengeksplorasi pernyataan Tony Abbott terkait dengan perlawanannya atas tuduhan Indonesia terhadap pemerintah Australia tentang masalah penyadapan. Penelitian ini bertujuan mencari jawaban terhadap wacana politik Tony Abbott dalam pernyataan-pernyataannya, menemukan cara penggunaan wacana politiknya, dan alasannya serta menemukan efek dari pernyataan ini untuk Indonesia. Penelitian ini adalah penelitian deskriptif kualitatif dengan pendekatan Analisis Wacana Kritis (CDA) yang diusulkan oleh Norman Fairclough. Teori ini digunakan sebagai teori utama dan teori CDA Van Dijk sebagai teori pendukung. Data diambil dari youtube dan ditranskripsikan, data ini diperkaya dengan pernyataan-pernyataan yang sedang berlangsung yang diambil dari televisi Indonesia maupun Australia. Hasil analisis menunjukkan bahwa strategi retorik dan kekuasaan selalu dilakukan dalam pernyataannya. Ini menggambarkan cara Tony Abbot menggunakan wacana politiknya. Secara eksplisit, ideologi terlihat dari pernyataan-pernyataannya yang berupa dukungan terhadap aktivitas Intelijen Australia*

*demokrasi Keamanan Nasional, termasuk kegagalan menyatakan permintaan maaf terhadap Indonesia yang menyebabkan kekecewaan dan kemarahan orang Indonesia kepada Pemerintah Australia. Hasil ini bisa menjadi bukti pandangan Fairclough bahwa ideologi melekat dalam wacana.*

**Kata kunci :** *analisis wacana kritis, retorika, ideologi, wacana politis*

## INTRODUCTION

Indonesia has become the victim of the spying activities that has been conducted by Australian Intelligence. The espionage activity, tapping ten Indonesians' prominent figures', including Indonesian President's phone calls, was acted for 15 days in 2009. The case appeared as a secret document was leaked by former of American Intelligence Agent, Edward Snowden in 2013. By this revelation, it caused tension between Indonesia-Australia. The revelations were firstly published by Australian daily newspaper, *Sydney Morning Herald* in October 31<sup>st</sup>, 2013. In fact, Australia and Indonesia have been establishing their bilateral relationship more than sixty years. However, the respecting matter indeed raised serious disturbance to both bilateral relationship.

As a part of Australia's response due to espionage allegation, they held Australian Parliamentary Sessions in November 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup>, 2013, in order to clarify this serious issue. Tony Abbott as Australian Prime Minister appeared to give the firm and resolute response due to the espionage allegation. Examining the statements from Tony Abbott, boosted the researchers' curiosity to deeply find out and reveal the meaning behind his spoken discourses and also the aims of stating them. The way Tony Abbott proposed his ideas through the use of language became decisive role in achieving the aims and persuading overseas public. When people speak or write the discourse, especially related to

politics, absolutely they use language as a means of communication to convey or distribute their ideas. Thus, language plays a crucial role in every political action. For this reason, language within the discourse enables to be considered to play central role in human's life.

Discourse is a term that people often hear recently in this new era especially related to social and politic. Discourse is applied to all spoken and written forms of language that is used either talk or text as social practice (Wood and Kroger, 2000:19). When a person is stating, talking, and giving speech or statement, it is absolutely clear that they have intended meanings or particular ideas to be conveyed and distributed to hearers or audience. Regarding to this reason, the proper way to understand meaning behind the discourse is through discourse analysis. Wider analysis in discourse can be undertaken through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) which aim is to help revealing some hidden meanings, out of sight values, positions, and perspectives.

Considering hot issue of spying activity towards Indonesia and responses given from Australia, the researchers were also interested to know the aims of Australian Government during their official response in Australian Parliamentary Sessions. The analysis was framed under the theory of CDA which aims are to demonstrate and examine political discourse strategies and its ideological component which are closely associated with their overall political

goals. This research was also mainly grounded in Norman Fairclough's perspectives in CDA, claiming that "ideologies reside in texts" that "it is not possible to "read off" ideologies from the texts" and that "texts are open to diverse interpretations" (Fairclough, 1995:71). The research aimed at finding the political discourses of Tony Abbott and Bill Shorten in their statements in Australian Parliamentary Sessions. How the way Tony Abbott and Bill Shorten used their political discourses. What are the aims and effect of Tony Abbott and Bill Shorten their political discourses

Paltridge (2006:1) says that discourse analysis is an approach to analyze the language that is linked to the social and cultural context by examining in language patterns. Furthermore, Yule (1996:83) states that it focuses on spoken or written text of the process by which language is used elaborately in some contexts to convey particular intention. Critical is used in the special sense of aiming to reveal the connections which may be hidden from people's discourse, like the connections between language, power, and also ideology (Fairclough, 1989:5). Based on van Dijk's view (2008:85), it can be said, by doing CDA, the certain intentions or meanings are able to be disclosed widely related to the social and political context where the discourse is constructed, reconstructed, and withstood. As a result, the effects of power abuse, dominance, and inequality in the society enable to be revealed deeply. Hence, the notions for CDA are linked to power, ideology, hegemony, interests, class, race, gender, institution, social structure, and also politics. Likewise, Fairclough(1995:2)defines that CDA consists of three dimensional framework which has purpose to outline segregated analysis forms in the

dimension of sociocultural practice which are, the analysis of spoken or written language texts, discourse practice, and discursive events.

To understand the meaning behind the discourse, people should link it with the context. Hymes (1962) describes, "A context can support a range of meanings" (Yule, 1983:37). He formulates nine features of context (Ibid:38). They are the roles of addressor and addressee, topic, setting, channel, code, message form, event, key, and purpose. The notion of power when doing CDA has often appeared. Fairclough (1989:46) furthermore accentuates that power in discourse is drawn as the way powerful participants controlling and constraining contributions of non-powerful participants. In CDA, language is not powerful on its own, but it gains power by the use of powerful people make it.

When people do speech, they usually perform rhetorical strategy. The term rhetoric is derived from the Greek, *rhetorike*, 'the art of speaking'. In Latin word, *oratory*, refers to skill in public speaking. Rhetoric has three means of persuasion based on Aristotle's view (Richards, 2008:33). They are; logos, or rational argument; ethos, the speaker's character, particularly his 'trustworthiness'; and pathos, the emotions aroused in an audience. Aristotle distinguishes rhetoric into three genres. They are deliberative, forensic, and epideictic rhetoric (Norman and Isabela Fairclough, 2012:19). In forensic or legal rhetoric, a person should defend someone's action. In epideictic or ceremonial rhetoric, a person concerns primarily with how to praise or discredit another person or action. In deliberative or political rhetoric, a person will deliberate public affairs, about what people should do - what people should

choose or avoid. As Jager states, “political statements occur in all sorts of context” qtd. in Van Dijk, 2007:148. He also describes that a discourse can be said as political if it deals with matters of public interest and political issues. Thus, political discourse is a discourse which has a tendency to express struggle of power, concerns with political interest or issue, and contains rhetorical strategy.

There is a belief people want to convey inside the discourse. “Ideology resides in the discourse” (Fairclough, 1995:71). It can be interpreted as the body of ideas reflecting the social needs and aspirations of an individual, group, class, or culture. It is also a set of doctrines or beliefs that forms the basis of a political, economic, or other systems. Van Dijk (2002:17) describes “ideologies and other social representations control discourse and other social practices of group members”. Therefore, people can say that ideology is a term which reflects the idea and beliefs of an individual or a group related to a number of fields such as, politics, economics, social, psychology, philosophy, and others. Based on the fact and background of the research, the research purpose is formulated in four statements, they are :

1. Finding the political discourses of Tony Abbott in his statements in Australian Parliamentary Sessions?
2. Describing the way Tony Abbott uses political discourses
3. Elaborating the possible aims of Tony Abbott’s political discourses and
4. Describing the effects of Tony Abbott’s statements for Indonesia.

#### METHOD OF RESEARCH

The data were taken from the videos in <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cfkYjv4Kk2w> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SuSXbnVxd4Q> of Australian Parliamentary Session in November 19th and 20th, 2013 and January 8<sup>th</sup>, 2014. It aimed at describing and revealing the aims and effect of Tony Abbott and Bill Shorten’s political discourse concerning the tapping issue. This research used qualitative data in the form of dialogue of the two in the form of video and enriched with other statement from mass media. Then, the sorted statements were transcribed by using transcription conventions developed by Gail Jefferson (1979), and they were examined using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) theory by Fairclough and van Dijk to determine the political perspectives with particular ideologies, the use of language power and political and social issues depicted in the statements and to reveal the aims of the political discourses and the effects of their statements. The data, were, then analyzed by using descriptive qualitative method. The effect of the statements were sorted from interent, several medias, like newspaper, online and television news, for example the Indonesian president twitter: [twitter@SBYudhoyono](https://twitter.com/SBYudhoyono), *Sydney Morning Herald* and many Indonesian newspapers.

**FINDING AND DISCUSSION**

**Asserting the Standpoint of Australian Prime Minister to Unstating Apologetic Statement which is Stated in November 19<sup>th</sup>, 2013**

Tony Abbott’s statement in excerpt 1 is identified to have a tendency unstating apology officially. It is implicitly described in this excerpt. Excerpt 1 is as follows:

*Madam Speaker (.5) Australia (.) should not be expected (.) to apologize for the steps (.) we take (.) to protect their country (.) now (.) or in the past (.) any more (.) than*

*other governments should be expected (.) to apologize for the similar steps that they have taken.*

The word *Australia* is used by Tony Abbott in the opening phase at the first sentence. This may illustrate the way he establishes expectation that the following remark is not merely from him as the representation of Australia but also from all Australians. He constructs topical theme *Australia* and followed by rheme *should not be apologized* which may convey the topic of this excerpt that it is – an assertion of conviction to unstating apology. As the rheme mentioned previously, it shows the way he creates the statement using passivization, *should not be expected to apologize*, and the following clause, *other governments should be expected to*. This way he gives emphasis to part of the sentence which normal word order does not emphasize by moving the grammatical object to the position of subject. It may be used to grab audience's attention to be centered upon this statement. The word *apologize* that is reduplicated in a high intonation may reflect his assertion in officially unstating apology. The linguistic terms here in this first sentence is also portrayed in modality, the meaning of those passive statements hinges on the meaning of modal *should* as well. It may mean either advisability or necessity. The use of *should* expresses the strength of suggestion to a statement of responsibility or duty. In fact, mostly, overseas public expects Australia to state officially apologetic statement related to this spying issue, therefore, apologizing is the remark Australia should declare to alleviate this matter. In contrast with public's expectation, Tony Abbott uses *should* in the negative form *should not*. Thus, it indicates the way he expresses an implicit suggestion to audience about his

responsibility as the leader of Australian Government by covered apology.

Other linguistic terms are analyzed to reveal his aim in excerpt 1. The referent *we* as the first plural person reflects on Australian Intelligence because he describes *for the steps we take* which refers to the steps taken by the Intelligence. The word *protect* which lexically means to ensure the safety of Australian is selected in his statement that may be used as the strategy in persuading audiences that every decision or step taken is for Australians' own good – Australians' safety. Furthermore, the use of temporal deixis *now or in the past* points the period of time, here, it may mean anytime, either at the moment or at the previous time. The deixis *now or in the past* also reflects his conviction about the right step he has taken *not to apologize*. By mentioning the benefit or goal in doing spying activity *to protect their country*, he may expect that public will accept his belief or decision. In the following clause of the first sentence, *any more than other governments should be expected to apologize for the similar steps that they have taken*, he tries to compare Australian Government's swift response to other governments' about the way to solve a crucial and sensitive case of spying issue. Throughout the analysis of the first sentence, it can be briefly inferred that based on his belief, every activity of the Intelligence should be endorsed for Australians' safety anytime. According to the previous analysis, it can be seen that the topic he wants to bring along in this excerpt is – unstating apology. The necessity of apology frame is foregrounded and stated as the topic of this excerpt while most of public's expectation to officially state apology is backgrounded in the way he uses agentless passivization.

The results of the description stage can be used to reveal Tony Abbott's intended meaning in excerpt 1. He uses constative utterance which function is to make an assertion and it is identified in declarative type. Clearly, it can be seen in his beginning statement, *Australia should not be expected to apologize*. Here, he intends to assert his standpoint to unstating apology. Then, the illocutionary point of this excerpt can be classified into directive type as the way he uses modality 'should' which may express either implicit command or advice. So, based on the previous analysis, the intended meaning he wants to convey is – persuading audience to accept his belief to unstating apology with logical reasons he has created. The political platform – unstating apology – is used to shape public opinion.

Considering Tony Abbott's ability to establish the topic – unstating apology in this excerpt, it shows the way he applies rhetorical strategy skillfully. The forensic or legal rhetoric enables to be observed in this excerpt. According to preceding analysis, his aim is to persuading public to defend Australian Intelligence's action. The persuasion in this case is linked with *logos* as Aristotle's theory. In his statement, he brings rational conviction by giving argumentation and explicit information about any benefit of collecting resources through Intelligence's activity. Regardless many protests because of undeclaring apology appeared from overseas public, especially from Indonesia, he is a man with a strong conviction.

With the response from Tony Abbott in excerpt 1, there comes several effects for Indonesia. In particular, regarding with Tony Abbott as the leader of Australia. Overseas public and

Indonesia declaim the arrogance of Tony Abbott undeclares the apology. His diplomacy is different from Barack Obama who had ever faced the same issue. This triggers public's anger towards him, especially from Indonesians. A number of functionaries of Indonesian Government criticized his statements. They insisted the President to stop the bilateral relationship. For example, Eva Kusuma Sundari, the Indonesian house member of Commission III opined that Indonesia has more skilful strategy in the Intelligence related to eradicating terrorism than Australia. Thus, Indonesia should not be afraid to cease this cooperation. Furthermore, the problem of asylum boat seekers, in which the main concern of Australia, their Government will be overwhelmed without the assistance of Indonesian Government. Thus, the assistance must be under review. Lastly, in economic side, Indonesia does not fully depend on Australia since the biggest investors for Indonesia are America, Japan, and China (Fadly, November 20<sup>th</sup>, 2013).

Public of Indonesia also insisted the Government to act rigidly towards the Prime Minister's statements. Most expected to freeze any kinds of cooperation with Australia. Some showed their indignation and disappointment to Australia by demonstrating and protesting Tony Abbott's arrogance in front of the Embassy of Australia in Jakarta. This disgraceful occurrence provoked the nationalism of Indonesians. For instance, it is from the Young Indonesian Hackers in Indonesia Security Down. They released their action of reprisal towards Australia's Intelligence. They vowed that Australia will payback of it. Federal Government websites had been targeted in a possible cyber-attack. In addition, activist group anonymous

Indonesia claimed responsibility for defacing more than 170 Australian websites to protest at reports of Australia's spying on its nearest neighbor and strategically.

The protest from the Indonesian President, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono also appeared because Tony Abbott entirely does not show the regret about their attempts in spying activities. In November 20<sup>th</sup>, 2013, in the official press conference, he suspended the cooperation in Intelligence exchange and information sharing, ceased the military cooperation and coordinated military operation related to people smuggling, in which the main focus of Tony Abbott's Government. In Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's opinion, there are code of ethics to behave if Australia really supposes Indonesia as the closest friend they have. He furthermore stated that the action of their Intelligence is unreasonable and hard to be understood as their efforts in maintaining national security. He also tweeted in his official twitter @SBYudhoyono in November 19<sup>th</sup>, 2013 after the statements of Tony Abbott's in the first Australian Parliamentary Session. The first tweet is *Sejak ada informasi penyadapan AS & Australia terhadap banyak negara, termasuk Indonesia, kita sudah protes keras,\*SBY\**. (We have protested rigidly since the information about spying allegation of the USA and Australia towards many countries appears, \*SBY\*). If Tony Abbott as the representation of Australians still stands on his ideology – endorsing the activity of Australian Intelligence for the sake of National Security, it may be possible that some cooperation that have been frozen by Indonesian Government will never be continued again.

### **Stating the Remorse of Australian Government about Spying Issue without Specifically Declaring Apology which is stated in November 20<sup>th</sup>, 2013**

A part of Tony Abbott's response clearly illustrates the remorse of Australian Government about spying issue. This can be seen in excerpt 2. It is as follows:

*Again Madam Speaker I want to express here in this Chamber my deep and sincere regret about the embarrassment (.) to the President (.) and to Indonesia (.) that's been caused by (.) recent media reporting. The President indicated that he would shortly (.) be writing to me.*

The topic that can be inferred from Tony Abbott in excerpt 2 is his expression of empathy towards Indonesia about spying matter without specifically stating apology. This can be drawn from the analysis of several linguistic terms in his statement. *Again Madam Speaker*, may function to restate his intention in order to remind the audience about what he has stated previously – the remorse. He positions himself as the subject or agent by using first person singular *I* in *I want to express* is probably used to show his personal sincere willingness. In spite of using first personal plural *we*, he prefers *I* to stress on his following statement. The use of spatial deixis *here* points out the near location *this chamber* as the place where his statement utters. This represents his ability to use an important moment in Australian Parliamentary Session to show the world about his regret as people know that whatever issue discusses in the chamber is a very important problem which needs to be worked through. The selected phrases *my deep and sincere regret* reflect his direct intention. The adjectives

*deep* and *sincere* lexically mean an extreme or serious feeling he has in this difficult ambience. Any attempts in lessening public indignations is done deliberately by exaggerating his feeling. This is obviously seen in the use of those adjectives. Passivization is identified<sup>5</sup> in his following statement as the rheme, *the embarrassment to the President and to Indonesia that's been caused by recent media reporting*. This way he attempts<sup>1</sup> to give emphasis to part of this clause which normal word order does not emphasize by moving the grammatical object *the embarrassment* to the position of subject. Pointing out to *the* embarrassment of Indonesian President and Indonesians as well may reflect his strategy to acquire audience's attention. The participant roles in this clause are *recent media reporting* as agent and *the embarrassment* as the affected. The possible reason why he positions *recent media reporting* as the agent is to substitute the real one and he also may try to figure him as the closest friend by condemning the media reporting. As most people know that Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono directly states his personal response after hearing Tony Abbott's remark to unstating apology in the first Australian Parliamentary Session. Tony Abbott's response may show his arrogance. Therefore, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono takes a swift response to remind Australian Government what they must do in regaining trust and repairing relationship. Based on the Indonesian President's response<sup>5</sup>, Tony Abbott may imply that *the embarrassment to the Indonesian President and to Indonesia is caused by* Australian Government's response to unstating apology and not caused by recent media reporting at all. As this possible implicature, positioning recent media reporting as the agent may

function as his strategy not to lose face. Additive conjunction *and* is used to link two objects he has mentioned *president* and *Indonesia*. Mentioning *president* as the highest Government position in Indonesia may suggest his direct empathy to Susilo Bambang Yudhono who feels disappointed with his response and to *Indonesia* defines all Indonesian citizens involves nine other prominent figures who were tapped by Australian Intelligence. He furthermore describes that Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono will send him an official feedback that can be used as his strategy to show all public that their relationship is still close and can be recovered. This is also stated to reveal that he will also take a response swiftly and courteously from the Indonesian President's formal letter.

Having previous textual analysis, Tony Abbott's hidden meaning can be perceived in this excerpt. Declarative sentence is the type he uses and expressives is identified as illocutionary point of this statement. Clearly, it can be seen in his beginning statement *I want to express my deep and sincere regret*. This direct illocutionary act expresses his mental state about the event presumed to be true. He expresses his psychological state by giving sympathy to the Indonesian President as well as Indonesia. He calls the Indonesian President personally as he understands the disappointment President feels. Probably, he feels worried about Indonesian Government's decision to persistently end the important relationship which is the main focus of his government as has been campaigned in his inauguration about what Australian Government's main concerns under his leadership. One of them is to restrain asylum boat seekers and people smuggling come to Australia. In fact,

those relationships have been under reviewed by Indonesian Government because of this spying matter and Australia understands that the assistance of Indonesia is very substantial for them. Meanwhile, the indirect illocutionary act is not merely saying sympathy but also implicitly explaining his willingness to rebuild the relationship even without stating apology officially.

To increase public response, Tony Abbott performs rhetorical strategy in excerpt 2. Here, he attempts to reach the goal of ethos in creating a gentle emotion which can be seen in the expression of his deep and sincere regret. Performing power in the discourse is also drawn in the way he positions himself as the agent in his beginning statement, *I want to express*. The power is used to control or influence other, whether it is mind, decision, or ideology. He tries to influence people to stand on the same ideology as like he has mentioned implicitly – expressing sympathy without stating apology. According to Fairclough's viewpoint (1989), powerful people speak illusively because they want their utterance being interpreted in different dimension for their own sake in situations when they are criticized. Shortly, up to the end of Tony Abbott's brief response, he merely feeds his ego without considering protests or critics from overseas public, especially from Indonesians. Again, he wants to show his powerful position to cover up this case elegantly.

In the whole statement of Tony Abbott in the second Australian Parliamentary Session, he again does not officially declare apology. This brings bad effects for their relationship again. After responding serious remarks from the Indonesian President, Tony Abbott promises to write an official letter to

Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. Therefore, many protests still appear in Indonesia, such as, protesting and conducting demonstration in front of Australian Embassy in Jakarta. The burning of Australian flags also happened everywhere. One counterpoint from his secret letter is an official response comes from Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono which was declared in presidential office in Jakarta in November 26<sup>th</sup>, 2013. He proclaimed six points as the actions of Indonesian Government regarding to replying Tony Abbott's letter. They are; (1) he will delegate the Minister of Foreign Affair, Marty Natalegawa or certain delegation to discuss more deeply about this spying issue, including sensitive issue related to bilateral relationship between Australia-Indonesia; (2) after the mutual understanding and mutual agreement occur, he expects that there is a follow up to a discussing of protocol and ethic codes in bilateral relationship; (3) He will personally fill the protocol draft and ethic codes; (4) He expects the validation of protocol and ethic codes are conducted directly in front of him and Australian Prime Minister; (5) the tasks of two countries are to prove that protocol and ethic codes that have been made are fulfilled and undertaken so the observation and evaluation are required; (6) Indonesia is able to continue the cooperation if the protocol and ethic codes are applied correctly. Based on six conditions that the Indonesian President has proposed, Tony Abbott should swiftly take a response to recover this bilateral relationship (Subekti, November 26<sup>th</sup>, 2013).

## CONCLUSION

Based on the foregoing analysis, it can be concluded that there are some benefits in the power of Critical

Discourse Analysis (CDA). It can be used to solve problems in society. CDA can unearth power relation and dominance that finally reveals how the ideology is legitimated by people who have more power. Therefore, by applying CDA, people can detect social problems in advance, particularly, in the case of discrimination, then it will also be followed by a solution related to the type of social problem itself. In language teaching, CDA can bring benefit as well. It can be utilized to add or empower language competence, improve people's communicative competence, increase learner's knowledge of language components through the way people analyze the text semantically, and understand functional use of language.

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