

**POWER STRUGGLE IN AUNG SAN SUU KYI'S SPEECH TOWARD
RESOLVING PROBLEMS OF ROHINGNYA SOCIETY: CRITICAL
DISCOURSE ANALYSIS**



Submitted As A Partial Fulfillment of The Requirements for Getting Bachelor Degree of
Education In English Department

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2018

APPROVAL

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POWER STRUGGLE IN AUNG SAN SUU KYI'S SPEECH TOWARD RESOLVING PROBLEMS OF ROHINGNYA SOCIETY: CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Abstrak

Penelitian ini adalah penelitian tentang analisis wacana kritis terhadap masalah Muslim Rohingya di Negara Myanmar. Tujuan utama dari penelitian ini adalah untuk menentukan *power struggle* dalam pidato yang diselenggarakan oleh penasihat umum Negara Myanmar, Aung San Suu Kyi, dan mendeskripsikan maksud dari ujaran ujaran-ujaran yang digunakan dalam pidato terkait masalah-masalah terhadap Muslim Rohingya. Jenis penelitian ini adalah penelitian deskriptif kualitatif. Data penelitian diambil dari YouTube dan berita harian. Teknik pengumpulan data adalah dokumentasi dengan menggunakan metode *library research*. Teori yang digunakan sebagai dasar dari penelitian ini adalah teori analisis wacana kritik dari Norman Fairclough dengan tiga pendekatan dalam analisis yaitu deskripsi, interpretasi dan penjabaran. Hasil dari penelitian menunjukkan bahwa dalam pidato, Aung San Suu Kyi menggunakan indikator *power struggle* seperti 1). kalimat formal, 2). kalimat sopan, *modality*, and 3). menggunakan *pronoun we* untuk menunjukkan penghormatan untuk semua orang. Dalam hubungan strata sosial, orang yang menggunakan kalimat-kalimat tersebut termasuk orang yang mempunyai kekuasaan. Sedangkan usaha yang telah dilakukan oleh Aung San Suu Kyi yaitu percaya terhadap peraturan undang-undang, anjuran, koordinasi dan kerjasama dalam menyelesaikan masalah Muslim Rohingya.

Kata kunci: analisis wacana kritik, Myanmar, *power struggle*, rohingnya,

Abstract

This research is about critical discourse analysis toward resolving problems of muslim Rohingya society in Myanmar. The main purposes of this research are to determine the power struggle of the speech which delivered by the state counselor in Myanmar, Aung San Suu Kyi, and the intention of the speech. The type of this research is descriptive qualitative. The data sources are retrieved by the researcher from YouTube channel and newspapers. The technique of collecting data is documentative; researcher uses the library research as the method of collecting data. For the theory, researcher used Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) proposed by Norman Fairclough with three dimensional approaches namely description, explanation and explanation. The result of the study shows that to answer the indicator of power struggle, Aung San Suu Kyi used 1) The formality, 2) Use of euphemism, 3) use of modality and 4) use of pronoun in order to respect each other especially the audiences. In the social relation, a person who used that phrases in their activity shows that they have a power and high position. In addition, the struggles that have been done by Aung San Suu Kyi are believing in the rule of law, implementing the suggestion, building coordination with Asean leaders, and increasing cooperation between Asean members toward resolving the problems of Muslim Rohingya.

Keywords: critical discourse analysis, Myanmar, *power struggle*, rohingnya

1. INTRODUCTION

Rohingya is an ethnic minority in Myanmar. They live mainly in the western state of Rakhine. They are not officially recognized by the government as citizens for decades and the majority of Buddhists in the country have been accused of discrimination and violence against their predominantly Muslims community, Rohingya. The general perception of the Rohingya conflict in Myanmar is a religious issue that is what the world knows; but, in fact some analysts say that the crisis is more politically and economically. Therefore the researcher would like to examine the meaning behind the words contained in the Aung San Suu Kyi's speech and Jakarta post newspaper as data from this research.

Recently the crisis of Rohingya issue had been well-known in the media and many researchers are trying to analyze from many aspect of view such as; politic, economic, sociology, psychology, power, power struggle, ideology, identity, dominance and discursive practice, etc. In this research, researcher only focuses on the purpose of analyzing the power struggle that have been used by Aung San Suu Kyi in delivering the speech.

Based on these theories the researcher would like to apply the analysis of the issue in this research used Norman Fairclough approach method. Fairclough's (1989, 1995) model for CDA consists three inter-related processes of analysis tied to three inter-related dimensions of discourse. These three dimensions are; The object of analysis (including verbal, visual or verbal and visual texts), The processes by means of which the object is produced and received (writing/ speaking/designing and reading/listening/viewing) by human subjects, The socio-historical conditions which govern these processes.

According to Fairclough each of these dimensions requires a different kind of analysis; text analysis (description), processing analysis (interpretation), and social analysis (explanation).

Fairclough (1992a) sketches a three-dimensional framework for conceiving of and analyzing discourse. The first dimension is discourse-as-text, i.e. the linguistic features and organization of concrete instances of discourse. Choices and patterns in vocabulary (e.g. wording, metaphor), grammar (e.g. transitivity, modality), cohesion

(e.g. conjunction, schemata), and text structure (e.g. episoding, turn-taking system) should be systematically analyzed (see below for CDA's reliance on certain branches of linguistics). The use of passive verb forms in news reporting, for instance, can have the effect of obscuring the agent of political processes. This attention to concrete textual features distinguishes CDA from germane approaches such as Michel Foucault's, according to Fairclough (1992)

The second dimension is discourse-as-discursive-practice, i.e. discourse as something that is produced, circulated, distributed, consumed in society. Fairclough sees these processes largely in terms of the circulation of concrete linguistic objects (specific texts or text-types that are produced, circulated, consumed, and so forth), but keeping Foucault in mind, remarkably little time is spent on resources and other "macro" conditions on the production and distribution of discourse. Approaching discourse as discursive practice means that in analyzing vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and text structure, attention should be given to speech acts, coherence, and intertextuality—three aspects that link a text to its context. Fairclough distinguishes between "manifest intertextuality" (i.e. overtly drawing upon other texts) and "constitutive intertextuality" or "interdiscursivity" (i.e. texts are made up of heterogeneous elements: generic conventions, discourse types, register, style). One important aspect of the first form is discourse representation: how quoted utterances are selected, changed, contextualized (for recent contributions to the study of discourse representation, see Baynham & Slembrouck 1999).

The third dimension is discourse-as-social-practice, i.e. the ideological effects and hegemonic processes in which discourse is a feature (for CDA's use of the theories and concepts of Althusser and Gramsci, see below). Hegemony concerns power that is achieved through constructing alliances and integrating classes and groups through consent, so that "the articulation and rearticulation of orders of discourse is correspondingly one stake in hegemonic struggle" (Fairclough 1992a: 93). It is from this third dimension that Fairclough constructs his approach to change: Hegemonies change, and this can be witnessed in discursive change, when the latter is viewed from the angle of intertextuality. The way in which discourse is being represented, respooken, or rewritten sheds light on the emergence of new orders of

discourse, struggles over normativity, attempts at control, and resistance against regimes of power.

Fairclough (1992) stated that discourse analysis is concerned not only with power relation in discourse (compare conversation analysis), but also with how power relation and power struggle shape and transform the discourse practice of a society or institution because power relation are always related to struggle (p. 36). Moreover, the power relations are not reducible to class relations because there are power relations social groupings which can be classified into two types; the first type is social grouping in institutions, for example, between interviewer and interviewee, teacher and students in class room, the speaker and listener in the speech activity, etc while the second one is the social grouping in non-institutions, for example, between men and women, young and old, ethnic grouping, etc. Fairclough (1989)

Power behind discourse is power relation related to the power to do something, to say something, and to access someplace, and to use formal language based on the status, knowledge, and origin of the participants. For example, the doctor who cannot say something directly to their patients because of the ethical code, a priest who has full access in the church because of their knowledge about religion, a person who is in high social class must use formally standardized language, and a speaker who should use formal language in front of audiences in order to respect the audiences.

In order to achieve coordination and commonality of practice in respect of knowledge and belief, social relationships, and social identities, three mechanism should be applied. The first one is the practice and the discourse which are universally followed and necessarily accepted due to the no conceivable alternative related to the knowledge and belief, social relationships, and social identities which have been built. The second one is the mechanism inculcation which is related to ‘power behind discourse’ itself and maintained by the society. And the third one is the mechanism communication which is achieved through rational communication and debate (Fairclough, 1989).

Wardani (2018) her research is Critical Discourse Analysis. The aims of this research are: To describe the utterances intention that is used in Ashin Wirathu’s speeches about Muslim in Rohingya and to describe power and ideology that are

represented in Ashin Wirathu's speeches. The data are taken from Ashin Wirathu's speeches. The type of this research is descriptive qualitative research. The techniques of data collection of this research are documentation and observation. The underlying theory used in this research, they are Speech Act Theory proposed by John R. Searle and Critical Discourse Analysis Theory proposed by Thomas Huckin. The result shows that there are three kinds of illocutionary acts found in this research. They are assertive, directive and commissive. The type of Wirathu's first speech is argumentative. By using those kinds of speech Wirathu tried to explain his argument and idea towards Muslim and he tried to influence the listeners to hate Muslim. It can be analyzed from the genre analysis element. The type of his second speech is persuasive. By using those kinds of speech Wirathu tried to persuade his followers to follow his idea. It can be analyzed from the genre analysis element. Wirathu can influence his followers to hate Muslim easily because he has power as a Monk.

2. RESEARCH METHOD

This research paper, the type of the study is descriptive qualitative research and this study concern in linguistics subject. The researcher analyzes the text using qualitative method because this research type does not need numeral data at all. The type of data source consists of primary and secondary data. The primary data of this research is documentative data that researcher retrieved from Jakarta Post Newspaper in the year 2016-2017 especially about Rohingya Society issue and YouTube channel . It can be form of utterance, phrases, clause, text or sentence that supported the critical discourse analysis. The data are found in several online article of newspaper and YouTube channel that have been interesting and outstanding in this world right now and all the data are about Rohingya Society. The data sources in this research are the study of discursive practice which focus on power struggle, the intention of Aung San Suu Kyi's speech and the government system rules represent as problems toward Rohingya society. Those data analyzed by CDA theory". The secondary data source covers some data that support the analysis such as research paper, thesis, journals, books, articles from internet and any other source that can support this research.

Technique of the data analysis is carried out by applying the theory of critical discourse analysis and considering the contents, power, power struggle, power relation and subject position in online news of Jakarta Post and the speech event. The data analysis was conducted by applying the Fairclough's version of the critical discourse analysis related to three dimensional approach. The data analysis consists of the description of context of situation and the analysis of three dimensional stages of critical discourse analysis by Norman Fairclough namely description, interpretation and explanation. Those three stages refer to of problems statement of the research, which is to find out the power struggle, to explain the purpose of the speech and to represent government system rules to solve the problems. More steps of analysis are to answer the aims of problems statement first, the researcher focus only in the text of Aung San Suu Kyi speech in the conference under title '*Aung San Suu Kyi's speech 'we condemn all human rights violation'*' to answer the pwer struggle and the intention of the speech. Second, stategy of finding several texts in online newspaper related Rohingya issue to answer government system rules in resolving the problems. The analysis was focus on thinking critically related Rohingya society issue based on the study of CDA as the three dimensional approach by Norman Fairclough and answer the main problem of the research.

3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Relational Values

On lexical level, relational values deal with the choice of words used by participants in forming social relationship. Words are likely to have such values simultaneously with other values. It is possible for words that contain relational values to overlap with other values Fairclough (1989:116). Level of formality and the use of euphemism will be covered in this subsection. Formality reflected on text producer's diction can be a sign of the differential in social status, position, and power.

3.1.1 The use of formality

In the speech activity, Aung San Suu kyi used the phrase '*diplomatic community*' to address the congress in Myanmar. It can be seen in the production text "*we would like to invite the members of our diplomatic community to join us in our endeavor to*

learn more from the Muslims who have integrated successfully into the Rakhine state”. → The state counselor prefers used the phrase ‘diplomatic community’ in order to respect each other.

3.1.2 The use of euphemistic expression

The words ‘*peace, and harmony*’ repeatedly delivered by the speaker in the speech event. It shows that the speaker as the state counselor of Myanmar used that word in order to produce the Rohingya society feel peaceful and calm. Those words have positive value meaning as the hope and wish from the state counselor in resolving the problems of Rakhine state by implementing the strategy of peace and harmony.

3.1.3 The use of pronoun ‘We’ and ‘You’

The speaker use the pronoun ‘We’ in lines (163-165) “*We would like to invite you to take part in this peace process to join as in finding lasting solution to the problems that have plagued our country for years*”. → The pronoun ‘we’ here show that the speaker puts herself and the audiences or the member of the Myanmar diplomatic *community* in the same position which is they have an authority to control the country.

Then, the speaker uses the pronoun ‘You’ in lines (80-81) “*We would like you think of our country as a whole, not just as little afflicted areas it is as a whole only that we can make progress*”. The pronoun ‘you’ is used to address the people who would like to help the conflict in Myanmar.

3.1.4 The use of modality

The speaker uses an expressive modality of obligation in lines (160-163) “*I would like to take the opportunity to remind you that there are problems as serious for us. As what is happening in the west of our country, we have been trying to build peace out of internal strife. A peace that must (modality) be lasting and that must be accompanied by sustainable and equitable development*”. → It is used to emphasize that the problems in Myanmar is really serious and to explain people that Myanmar government obligated by building a peace. So, it can solve the problems which happen.

3.1.5 The Subject Position of the speaker

In the speech event which delivered by the state counselor of Myanmar, Aung San Suu Kyi in Naypyitaw, September 19, 2017. The speaker's role is as the informant about the Rakhine and Rohingya situation in Myanmar who controls the speech activity from it is started until it is ended. Here is the explanation related to the subject position of the speaker.

As the person who control the speech event

The speaker is Aung San Suu Kyi as the State counselor of Myanmar. Aung San Suu Kyi has the authority to reveal the situation in her country. There is an aspect in the structure of the text that shows the speaker's role in controlling or delivering the speech. This part analyzes the order of a whole text. Fairclough (1989: 137) stated that a whole text may have structure, the structure itself contain of the predictable elements in a predictable order: by *the opening*, introduction of *the obligation of Myanmar government*, introduction about *human right violation and the rule of law*, *official invitation* for the member of Myanmar diplomatic community, *The closing of the speech*. →The speaker built these schemes in her speech which indicate that the speaker can handle and control the speech very well.

In the explanation stage, the researcher found the power struggle of the speaker in her speech; it in the institutional matrix that can be found in this discourse is related to governmental institution.the institutional process are (i) the struggle between the state counselor and the diplomatic member. (ii) Aung San Suu Kyi struggle in convincing the diplomatic community's member and the public about the plan. Aung San Suu Kyi's utterances is reflection of her struggle as counselor state in making a better solution for the conflict of Rakhine state by promoting a peace and harmony within communities.

Here the researcher would like to discuss the findings obtained from previous data analysis. These findings are important to answer the problem statements of the research related to power struggle in this data. On the other hand, this discussion stages is also much affected by the objectives of the research which are seeking the power struggle. More detail explanation of the findings would be discussed in the following part of this stage.

3.2 The power struggle

Firstly, the findings are organized by comparing the result of the data analysis with the theories used in this research, in order to answer the problem statements of the research in the end of discussion. The result of data analysis will be compared with the theories of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in accordance with power struggle and position within discourse. The power indicators performed by Aung San Suu Kyi in her speech namely formality, euphemism, modality, modes of sentences and the use of pronoun in text production. This is supported by Fairclough (1989: 111), the realization of interpersonal relations can be seen through the employment of formality, modes, modality, and the use of pronoun in the text. The employment of interpersonal relation within the discourse is an indicator of power struggle. It can be seen in the stage of explanation above that the findings of this research are in line with the theories in chapter 2. In example is the employment of formality in the text. Formality is a common property in many societies of practices and discourses of high social prestige and restricted access. Fairclough (1996). In the data analysis, formality used in order to respect the audiences meanwhile showing the authority of the speakers. In datum 1, Aung San Suu Kyi repeatedly used the phrase '*diplomatic community*' in order to show her respect to her audiences. It can be seen in the text as the evidence for that statement "*This was intended to keep the members of our diplomatic community the representatives of our friends from all over the world in touch with what we are trying to do but in some ways it is more than just a diplomatic briefing*" and "*we would like to invite the members of our diplomatic community to join us in our endeavor to learn more from the Muslims who have integrated successfully into the Rakhine state*".

The second one is euphemism, in order to avoid unpleasant and offensive words towards the speaker targets of audiences; euphemism is being used by Aung San Suu Kyi in delivering the speech event activity. It can be seen in the text that the speaker used phrase '*peace and harmony*' on datum 1. By mentioning these phrases repeatedly, Aung San Suu Kyi implicitly told to the audience that her plan in this speech activity is for making better situation for Rakhine state and Muslim Rohingya communities. And also in datum 2, The word '*honest*' is delivered by Dr.

Kofi Annan in his speech in front of public shows that the speaker used that word in order to convince that the report was really true. It can be seen in the text "*I had the privilege of chairing there were nine of us six from Myanmar and three internationals but we managed to produce a report which has with conscious without much tension even though we think there is a strong report constitutive and honest*" in that sentence, phrase honest is the euphemism for word emphasizing.

The third one is the use pronoun 'We' in datum 1 and 2, the use of that pronoun is to show unity and collective identity.

4. CONCLUSION

Based on the analysis and previous chapter researcher conclude that there are two indicator that indicate the power struggle of the speaker, Aung San Suu Kyi as the state counselor in Myanmar. The answers are follows: Power struggle can be seen in many aspects. It begins from what diction she chooses, how she behave, etc. in this research, Aung San Suu Kyi as the speaker has power in the speech event activity. Some indicators of power were shown by the state counselor in the speech event activity: *The first* indicator comes from the state counselor Aung San Suu Kyi's manner. She as usual, can control his emotion in delivering the speech. She also chooses carefully the diction that she makes; and, *The second* indicator come the formality, the use of euphemism, the use of modality and the use of pronoun. In this research, the data come from political aspect of speech. It means that during activity, the speaker must be in formal style. The formality is to show the professionalism at work and it is as regard of state counselor from Myanmar.

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