

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Public speaking was formerly known as “oration,” with the speaker referred to as an “orator.” It is an art and an activity that involves a speaker, a discourse, and an audience. People use their skill of public speaking unconsciously in life. This happens because everyone regardless of age naturally done it on any kind of occasion. The elements of public speaking consist of delivery and feedback. The activity can be outlined as “Who is saying what to whom, using what medium, and what are the effects?” (Nikitina, 2012). Public speaking is a natural aspect of living since it regards the communication of a human being with other people. Out of every kind of public speaking, speech to persuade is the most complex.

Speech is a formal or informal oral talk that is addressed by a speaker to a group of people in a particular site. It is a tool for delivering changes regarding a subject or an action. The speaker gave arguments, thoughts, declarations, and ideas over something (Reyes, 2011). Speech can be in the forms of seminar, meeting, graduation, election, or inauguration. Thus, the activity is audience-oriented. In delivering the talk, the speaker must be aware of the audience’s

knowledge, values, belief, and attitude. The main goal of a speech, particularly a persuasive speech, is to have the audience agree with the speaker's sayings.

Persuasive speech is communication that calls for actions, it gets the audience to acknowledge the validity of our standpoint. We use speech to lead the audience to contemplate our ideas. In persuasion activity, emotion plays an important role. Rocklage et al.'s experiment (2018) proved that people spontaneously rely on positive-negative feelings in attempting an effective persuasive act. Greater emotionality is demonstrated to be employed when someone intended to do acts of persuasion.

Attitudes can be defined as someone's changeable emotional character over an object, a person, a concept, or an activity. It can be acquired through experience or learning. The attitude of someone relies on the person's feelings about the situation discussed (Aithal & Aithal, 2019). Generally, people can have positive or negative feelings toward something. They consist of preferences such as like or dislike and or agree or disagree. Since our attitudes are either characterized by language and actions, the feelings can be measured. In attitude of appraisal theory, the positive and negative feelings are divided further into three types: a) evaluation of emotional responses (*affect*), b) evaluation of human behaviour according to law or norms of society (*judgment*), and c) evaluation of events or objects (appreciation) (White, 2015). Attitude in speech ensures our point of view to the audience, making them ponder about our opinion and ideas. Hence, centralizing on how these aspects are delivered accommodates researchers

to examine how a speaker influences the audiences, getting them to have the same belief and value as him. That is the main intention of every political speech.

Political speech is a powerful source of influence for institutions at the state level, which determines the current or upcoming political and social processes in the society (Fairclough, 1989, as cited in Handayani et al., 2018). Persuasion and discussion are the tools to resolve discrepancies that are comprised in politics. The two aspects refer to the politician's intention and action in changing the audience's perspective. Presidential election speech as a form of political process is a mode of communication that includes a proposal that depicts the candidate's vision of the present and the future. While the present reveals the current problems, the future talks about the resolution to those problems (Bowers & Daniels, 2011). Politicians' ability in persuading and provoking the public can succeed if their speech covered Aristotle's rhetorical triangle: *logos* (appeal on argument), *ethos* (appeal on speaker), and *pathos* (appeal on emotion) (Varpio, 2018). This relates to the keys of political speech, which is making powerful and figurative use of words for engaging and connecting to the audience (Political Studies Association [PSA], n.d.).

CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis) or initially known as CL (Critical Linguistics) is a study that realizes language as a social practice. It investigates the relationship between language and power. In most cases, CL examines the language use of the ruling class who have the chance to change a society's condition, or who are responsible for injustice and the angles of people who are

considered as subordinate. CDA investigates how linguistic forms in discourse are used in diverse expressions and power manipulations. Power can be spotted by looking at a person's authority in a social practice, which is delivered through the genre of a text and the text's grammatical forms (Van Dijk, 2015). Therefore, language is influential because of how authoritarians use it.

In analyzing those fundamental aspects of CDA, Norman Fairclough, one of the notable scholars in the disciplinary, has developed a textual analysis. This analysis is located at the first level of his three interrelated dimensions. This textual analysis allows researcher to study the way people in power formed a discourse. The theory explores the elements of the text such as the vocabulary choices, grammatical forms, and the whole structure of the text. The text makers' ideology could be discovered as the overall structure of the discourse is investigated. This makes Fairclough's textual analysis suitable in uncovering an individual's particular set of belief in language, especially in the political sphere where the politician communicates their attitude and proposition to the public.

Political ideologies vary from one to another. Each ideology has its own core values and characteristics. For social democracy, it includes the balance between *freedom*, *justice*, and *solidarity*. Their objective is to create a just society by implementing those three aspects (Pautz, 2012). 'Freedom' is about the way to live. Social democracy keeps its citizen from the interference of state and society, in a way that it prioritizes security in financial, education, and opportunities. Justice refers to everyone's equality in law perspective. While this core value also

involves equality in opportunities, social democrats do not neglect the people's achievements and requirements. The 'solidarity' in social democracy is described as having sympathy and giving assistance to others. One of the foundations of the theory itself is feeling responsible for the welfare of each society member. These core values of social democracy differ from United States' liberal traditional value, which put liberty as the most prominent core (Kastning, 2013).

Social democracy is frequently mixed-up with democratic socialism. While these two political ideologies are rooted from the same history, they do not share similar values. The capitalist economy system is a 'competition,' which leads to the existence of winners and losers (Kastning, 2013). This eventually creates inequalities in social sphere. To fix that issue, democratic socialism creates a system which centralizes on collective-owned companies, where workers control the means of production, distribution, and exchange. In short, it abolishes free-market capitalism. Meanwhile, social democracy keeps the presence of capitalist market, but adjusting it to operate by prioritizing community's welfare over corporate (Freedman et al., 2013). Its basic characteristics include free healthcare, education, and the low disparity of wage. These are what Bernie Sanders, the United States 46th presidential candidate, advocate for.

Bernie Sanders has been the United States Senator since 2006. He formerly worked as Vermont's sole congressman in the House of Representatives for 16 years (Bernie Sanders, n.d.). He has aimed to take part in presidential nomination for the Democratic Party since April 2015. In 2020, he was one of the

top three main candidates to be the United States' President alongside Donald Trump, the 45th President of the United States, and Joe Biden, former Barack Obama's vice-president for 9 years. Sanders, whose age is 78, was also the oldest among the other United States Presidential candidates at that time. In contrast, based on the monthly Harvard-Harris online poll in November 2018, he was popular among young people by 59%, ranging from those who are 18 to 24. Sanders was proven to receive approval from Latinos by 58%, praised by black voters by 66%, and favored by 47% of white voters (Harvard CAPS-Harris Poll, 2018). However, on April 8, Bernie Sanders suspended his campaign from the presidential race, leaving Joe Biden to compete against Donald Trump. On April 13, he officially endorsed Joe Biden.

Bernie has always stated his achievements and the visions for the United States in his speeches. He brought up the issues that the United States has, which are healthcare, poverty, climate change, education, law, and criminality (USA Today, 2020). Although he labelled himself as a 'democratic socialist,' his agendas are more fitting to a social democrat. In addition, he has always mentioned the other candidates, particularly in his speech about staying in the presidential race. Sanders referred to Trump as "the most dangerous president in modern American history." Meanwhile, he called Biden a "friend." In Sanders' last speech before suspending his campaign, even though the evidence demonstrated he had lost in several states, he still talked about the challenges that the United States is facing, his achievements, and his visions. The speech about

the campaign suspension also has references towards Trump and Biden. The utterances in both speeches have indications of ideology and attitude.

The researches regarding political speech have conducted beforehand. "Critical Discourse Analysis of Political Speeches: A Case Study of Obama's and Rouhani's Speeches at UN" by Massoud Sharififar and Elaheh Rahimi (2015) uses Halliday's Systematic Functional Linguistics, particularly transitivity and modality to examine ideology and power within those speeches. The differences between their research and the writer's research are on the corpus and theories. For this research, transitivity, appraisal, and the textual level of Fairclough's three-dimensional model of CDA are applied. The findings of Sharififar and Rahimi's research demonstrate the frequent use of "will" and "can" are utilized, so the audiences believe in the government's capability in handling the difficulties that both countries face. Aside from that, the speakers employed personal pronouns to create a sense of intimacy.

"Experiential Metafunctional Analysis of Winston S. Churchill's Speech on Hitler's Invasion of the U.S.S.R." by Chen Liping (2014) examines the experiential function of Churchill's speech about Hitler's invasion through transitivity. To distinguish, the writer's research uses the textual level of Fairclough's three-dimensional CDA framework alongside transitivity and attitude of appraisal to explore indications of social democracy and attitudes of Bernie Sanders in his presidential speeches. The finding of Liping's study demonstrates that Churchill tends to utilize material and relational process. The

first process presents to visualize the criminal acts that Hitler did, so that the audiences would agree in his decision to assist Russia in fighting against him. The relational process, on the other hand, exists to visualize the Nazis' bad nature. Hence, it leads the audience to justify Churchill's assistance to Russia.

Veloso and Feng's study (2018) "'The End is Near': Negative Attitude and Fear in Political Discourse" investigates the persuasive strategies found in a short political propaganda movie entitled *Dilma Rousseff 2012 The End Is Near*. Their research employed appraisal theory by Martin and White, while this research adopted the textual stage of Fairclough's three-dimensional CDA framework with transitivity and attitude of appraisal to uncover hints of social democracy and attitudes in Bernie Sanders' 2020 presidential speeches. The discovery of their research includes the frequent use of negative judgment towards the political figure and the main character of the movie, Dilma Rousseff. Judgment is occupied to assess Rousseff's behaviour and characteristics, creating a negative image that she is unable to lead the country.

"An Adaptation-Based Study on Attitude Resources in Political Discourse" by Song (2019) explores resources of attitude and their adoption to the communicative context of Donald Trump's State of the Union Address 2018 by utilizing attitude of appraisal from Martin and White. To differ, the writer's research occupies Fairclough's textual stage of three-dimensional CDA framework, transitivity, and attitude of appraisal to examine social democracy and attitude in Bernie Sanders' presidential speeches. The findings of the research

show that Trump uses appreciation the most rather than affect and judgment. The positive evaluation of appreciation is linked to his tax cuts plan, while the negative refers to the disadvantages caused by the former president's policy. The reason is to facilitate the acceptance of his new policies for the United States citizens.

“Transitivity Analysis of Hillary Clinton's and Donald Trump's First Television Debate” by Zhang (2017) employed transitivity theory from Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics to answer the distributions of the six transitivity processes of the two candidates' debates, their similarities and differences, the reasons of those distributions, and the functions of those distributions. This research, on the other hand, focuses on using Fairclough's textual level of the three-dimensional CDA model, transitivity, and attitude of appraisal to analyze Bernie Sanders' speeches. Zhang's article (2017) demonstrates that most of the processes that both candidates used are material, relational, and mental. It is also found that Trump tends to utilize existential process more. The words function to express attitudes, interact, and influence the audiences.

“Critical Discourse Analysis of Barack Obama's 2012 Speeches: Views from Systemic Functional Linguistics and Rhetoric” by Kazemian and Hashemi (2014) adopted Ideational Grammatical Metaphor (IGM), rhetorical devices, and CDA to investigate Obama's speeches from 2012. To distinguish, this research will examine speech from Bernie Sanders by using Fairclough's textual stage of three-dimensional CDA framework, transitivity, and attitude of appraisal. The

result of the research indicates that Obama tends to use material process. It is used to depict power, specifying which party is the doer and influencing people how to act. The rhetorical devices are employed to evoke emotion and powerful imageries. Those two strategies are utilized for efficiency purpose.

“The Socio Pragmatic Functions of Inaugural Speech: A Critical Discourse Analysis Approach” by Reza Biria and Azadeh Mohammadi (2012) aimed to explore hints of ideologies in George Bush’s second term and Barack Obama’s first term inaugural speeches. The difference between their research and the writer’s research lies on the corpus and theory. They adopted Van Dijk and Cheng’s models of CDA while this research uses the textual stage of Fairclough’s three-dimensional framework with transitivity and attitude of appraisal. Their study shows that both speakers portrayed those who are out-groups or ‘others’ negatively. On the other hand, they attributed positive qualities to the in-groups and themselves.

The data sources that the writer uses for this study are Bernie Sanders’ speeches about staying in the presidential race on March 11, 2020, and suspending the campaign on April 8, 2020. The first speech was held in Burlington, Vermont, during one of his campaigns. In the speech, Sanders informed that he would keep running in the United States Presidential race although the public’s supports towards him in several states were missing. He questioned the other candidates’ capability in handling the issues that the country is facing too. The later speech was also conducted in Burlington, Vermont, in which Sanders expressed his

gratitude for the supporters along with the presidential campaign, his decision to leave the race as he kept losing numbers of support from the Americans, and his congratulatory to fellow Democratic United States Presidential candidate, Joe Biden.

This study will be conducted with a qualitative approach. The limit of this study focuses on seeking social democracy and attitude at the textual level of Bernie Sanders' speeches, untied to the text production and consumption. The analysis will be examined through Norman Fairclough's textual stage from the three-dimensional framework of Critical Discourse Analysis alongside transitivity and attitude of appraisal. Transitivity is adopted to observe the text-maker's representation of the world. The attitude domain of appraisal is occupied to concentrate deeper on how the text-maker's feelings about subject matters are demonstrated and employed in the texts. The theories are significant in investigating how the text-maker creates the text, and how the text-maker views and thinks of certain issues and parties.

1.2 Research Problems

Based on the background of the study above, this study aims to answer the following questions:

1. How does Bernie Sanders structure the speeches?
2. How is Bernie Sanders' ideology of social democracy revealed in his speeches?

3. How are Bernie Sanders' attitudes to his campaign, the other candidates, and the United States are conveyed in his speeches?

1.3 Purposes of the Study

The purposes of this study are:

1. To examine how Bernie Sanders structures the speeches.
2. To investigate how Bernie Sanders' ideology of social democracy revealed in his speeches.
3. To explore how Bernie Sanders' attitudes to his campaign, the other candidates, and the United States are conveyed in his speeches.

1.4 Significance of the Study

1.4.1 Theoretical Significance

The findings and result of this study could contribute to the development of research surrounding Critical Discourse Analysis field. In addition, the discussion from the corpus analysis could support and enrich the theories concerning public speaking subject.

1.4.2 Practical Significance

The practical significance of this research is for the people who wish to raise their career by improving the quality of their public speaking skills since a speech may not be influential without the appropriate linguistic choices and the proper skill of the speaker. The study could also help people to comprehend the way politician utilizes language to achieve power, to obtain the benefit of it, or to

maintain it. It can be a reminder for the public to be an active audience who seeks truth and acts objectively if they wish for the situation of the country to become better. People should not imply political speech literally and should not pay attention merely to the matters which the political figure conveyed, but also to the matters which the political figure did not convey.

