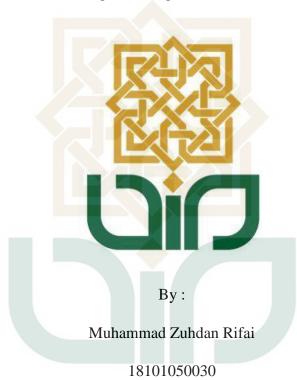# A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF LONDON'S MAYOR SADIQ KHAN'S INTERVIEWS IN REACTION TO WESTMINSTER ATTACK

A GRADUATING PAPER

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for Gaining the Bachelor's

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Atas perhatiannya, kami ucapkan terima kasih.
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FINAL PROJECT STATEMENT

I ascertain that this paper is my own work. I am responsible for this paper completely. I give credit where it is due by citing and quoting ideas fromm other people.

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MOTTO

**Do not convey what makes people do what you do not want them to do and
convey what makes people do what you want,
be a good propagandist.**

DEDICATION

I dedicate this graduating paper to:

My parents Dalhari and Muslikhah

and

other family members

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The writer

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By Muhammad Zuhdan Rifai

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ABSTRACT

This research aims to determine ideological squares, discursive devices according to Van Dijk, and ideology reflected on the mayor's interviews after the Westminster Attack. The ideological square and discursive devices will then used to determine the mayor's ideology as they can reflect his views. Ideological squares are ways in-group and out-group are represented. Discursive devices are strategy of ideological discourse production. The focus on ideology is because critical discourse analysis can help people understand political speech and talk. By using ideological squares, and discursive devices, ideas that the discourse producer tried to convey can be covered to an extend. This research type is descriptive qualitative research. 37 data were found from the first interview and 19 were found from the second interview. The most dominant ideological square from both interviews is emphasize our good things. The most dominant discursive device in the first interview is evidentiality, while in the second it is polarization. The ideology determined from previous findings is that the mayor believes in diversity, tolerance, democracy, and human right, is a pro-muslim, anti-terrorist, and a populist on occasions.

Keywords: Discourse, Discourse Analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis, Ideology, Westminster Attack, Sadiq Khan

A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF LONDON'S MAYOR SADIQ KHAN'S INTERVIEWS IN REACTION TO WESTMINSTER ATTACK

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ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menentukan ideological square yang dominan menurut Van Dijk, discursive device yang dominan menurut Van Dijk, dan ideology yang terefleksikan pada dua interview walikota setelah Serangan Westminster. Ideological square, dan discursive device lalu akan digunakan untuk menentukan ideologi sang walikota karena mereka bisa merefleksikan pandangan beliau. Ideological square adalah cara orang dalam grup si pembuat wacana dan orang luar grup direpresentasikan atau digambarkan. Discursive devices adalah strategy dalam produksi wacana ideologis. Fokus pada ideologi dikarenakan analysis wacana kritis atau critical discourse analysis bisa membantu masyarakat mengerti pidato dan perbincangan politik. Dengan menggunakan ideological square, dan discursive device, ide-ide yang coba disampaikan oleh pembuat wacana akan tercakup dalam batas tertentu. Penelitian ini berjenis penelitian deskriptif kualitatif. 37 data ditemukan dari interview pertama dan 19 data ditemukan dari interview kedua. Ideological square yang paling dominan dari kedua interview adalah emphasize our good things. Discursive device paling dominan dari interview pertama adalah evidentiality, sedangkan yang paling dominan pada interview kedua adalah polarisasi. Ideologi yang ditentukan dari temuan-temuan sebelumnya adalah bahwa sang walikota meyakini keanekaragaman, toleransi, demokrasi, dan hak asasi, dan sang walikota itu pro-muslim, anti-teroris, dan seorang populis dalam kesempatan tertentu.

Kata Kunci: Wacana, Analisis Wacana, Analisis Wacana Kritis, Ideologi, Serangan Westminster, Sadiq Khan

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of Study

Politic is a complicated matter. It is full of deceits, lies, charades, and propaganda. All politicians have their group and personal interests. They will defend their interests at the expenses of others' interest, even majority of people's interests. The will use all kinds of means like lying, exaggerating, understimating of something to get or maintain their interests. They even pretend to care on something to get votes. They will overestimate their good deeds but underestimate their mistakes to get popular support.

People need means to better understand political talks and speeches. Most people opinions and sentiments are played by politicians for their intrests. Critical people with means to understand the political talks and speeches is essential for democratic society as it increases accountability on the part of politicians. Without the means to understand political talks and speeches, people tend to be easily manipulated by politicians.

This research focuses on London's Mayor Sadiq Khan interviews regarding the Westminster Attack. One of his interview contained interesting things such as a statement that London is one of the safest cities in the world (CNN, 2017). The contexts also makes it more interesting to analyze. One of the context is that the attacker has the same religion as the mayor which makes it more threatening to the mayor's power as Islam is a minority religion in the UK. Furthermore, the attack itself is considered as Islamic Terrorism (Thejakartapost, 2020).

This research will analyze two interviews. It will analyze two interviews as the use of two may results in more accurate analysing of his ideology. It is said that the larger the sample te more accurate the results (Zamboni, 2018). Actually there are many more from the mayor about the incident, but for practical reasons, only two are used.

The interviews were about Westminster attack on Wednesday 22 March 2017. That day, Khalid Masood drove a hired vehicle across Westminster Bridge in the direction of the Palace of Westminster. He hit pedestrians and damaged properties. Then he exited the car and attacked a police officer Keith Palmer. After that, he was shot dead. The attack injured 29 people and killed 6 people. This was followed by police investigation named Operation Classific. 12 people were detained and then released without charge (Hill, 2018, p. 5).

His interviews regarding the attack certainly contained his or his group's political interests. There had to be motives behind his interviews. Considering that he said that London is one of the safest cities in the world, which sounds off, there had to be something behind it. Furthermore, him belonging to the muslim community in the UK does not help.

In this research, the writer tries to analyze his interviews with critical discourse analysis. critical discourse analysis can act as a means to understand political talks and speeches.

According to Johnson & McLean (2020), critical discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary research with multiple distinct theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of language. Critical discourse analysis tends to view

language as a social practices and concerned with hidden power relations and ideologies embedded in discourse. According to Habibah (2020), critical discourse analysis can also mean an analysis of discourse which is social practices that contain identity, social relationship, and representation that makes these related to context beyond discourse itself (p. 244).

This research will use Van Dijk's ideological square and discursive devices. The theories will be used to determine dominating topics, focus, purpose, etc in each sentence. The classification will make the mayor's ideology clearer.

1.2 Research Questions

1. What are dominant ideological squares, and discursive devices from each interview?
2. What is his ideology reflected on his interviews?

1.3 Objective of Study

Based on research questions, this study aims are:

1. To know dominant ideological squares, and discursive devices from each interview.
2. To determine the mayor's ideology based on previous findings.

1.4 Scope of Study

The scope of this research is around Sadiq khan's interviews regarding Westminster Attack and classified data fom his interviews, three theories used and some general knowledge. This research focuses only on two of his interviews.

Theories used are limited to ideological squares, and discursive devices. In determining the ideology, some general knowledge and context will also be used.

1.5 Significance of Study

This research will make an example of the use of linguistics assisted with other discipline to study politician's talks. This will broaden the perception about linguistics use. Also it implies that any language use by politician should be studied as their talks and speeches contain multidimensional aspects. In addition, linguistics can be used to supplement other fields.

This research also provides a means to better understand political talks and speech. This era is where media is accessible to everyone, so are political talks and speeches. People tend to be easily swayed by political talks and speeches and even fight each other so we need means to better understand them.

1.6 Literature Review

There have been some research that cover the similar topic or issue with this research. The researcher found the similarities and differences between those researchs and this one. The differences that have been found show that this research has never been done yet.

The first research was written by Kayvan Shakouri (2018) titled "Critical Discourse Analysis of Iranian Presidents' Addresses to the United Nations General Assembly (2007-2016)" and published in 2018. The purposes of this research are to find out prevalent discursive devices (micro-level), similarities and differences in the use of discursive devices by the two presidents, political or non-political

ideologies (macro-level) reflected in their speeches and their relations to socio-political issues in Iran, and whether there is evidence of President Rouhani's moderateness in his speech compared to Ahmadinejad's speech. He used Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, and Van Dijk's theories in conducting this research. Fairclough's theory provided three-dimensional CDA framework. According to Fairclough as cited by Syakouri (2018), These are micro level analysis which considers discourse as text which analyzes the linguistics features of a text, meso level analysis which involves the matters of text production, distribution, and consumption and their variability under social factors, and macro level which views discourse as a sociocultural practice (p. 17-18). Wodak as cited by Syakouri (2018) initiated a new approach to CDA called Discourse-Historical framework which emphasises the historical and socio-political features of context in analyzing a discourse (p. 18). According to Rashidi & Souzandehfar and Van Dijk as cited by Syakouri (2018), Van Dijk proposes a Socio-cognitive model of CDA which incorporates discourse, social and cognitive analyses (p. 20). The dominant aspect of his analysis is the use of Van Dijk's ideological square and discursive devices.

Minoo Alemi, Zia Tajeddin, Amin Rajabi Kondlaji (2018) made a journal named "A Discourse-Historical Analysis of Two Iranian Presidents' Speeches at the UN General Assembly." The purposes of this research are to explore what these speeches could unfold about their presidential identities such as being moderate or radical and to establish a framework for the analysis of political public speeches based on topoi in light DHA without considering the larger history of talks. They used theory of identity in political speeches and Wodak's Discourse Historical

Analysis. The prominent analysis was done by analyzing how they describe themselves and by using DHA or more specifically a key aspect of it which is theory of topoi. The theory said that the topoi or topics are connected through "the content-related warrants or conclusion rules which connect the argument or arguments with the conclusion, the claim." The research listed topoi used and their frequency of use.

There are some differences between this and Shakoury's research. The objects of this research analyzed London's Mayor Sadiq Khan's interviews in reaction to Westminster Attack while his research analyzed Iranian presidents' speech in The United Nations General Assembly. These two research used the same and different theories. this research used Van Dijk's ideological square and discursive devices while his used Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach's topoi theory, and Van Dijk's ideological square. this research purposes are to find dominant ideological square and discursive devices and explain and determine ideology while Syakouri's are to find out prevalent discursive devices (micro-level), similarities and differences in the use of discursive devices by the two presidents, political or non-political ideologies (macro-level) reflected in their speeches and their relations to socio-political issues in Iran, and whether there is evidence of President Rouhani's moderateness in his speech compared to Ahmadinejad's speech. The similarities between this research and Syakouri's is analyzing talks and speeches from powerful people with discourse analysis and the use of Van Dijk's ideological square.

As compared to Minoo Alemi, Zia Tajeddin, Amin Rajabi Kondlaji's research, there are also differences with this one. The objects of this research analyzed London's Mayor Sadiq Khan's interviews in reaction to Westminster Attack while their research analyzed Iranian presidents' speech in The United Nations General Assembly. this research used Van Dijk's ideological square, and discursive devices while theirs used Ruth Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach and Identity in Political Speeches. Both researches used DHA to different extent and with different key concept. This research purposes are to find ideological square and discursive devices and explain and determine ideology while theirs are to explore what these speeches could unfold about their presidential identities such as being moderate or radical and to establish a framework for the analysis of political public speeches based on topoi in light DHA without considering the larger history of talks. The similarities between this research and Minoo Alemi, Zia Tajeddin, Amin Rajabi, & Kondlaji's is analyzing talks and speeches from powerful people with discourse analysis and aims to discover teir ideologies.

1.7 Theoretical Approach

This research focuses on analyzing the utterances of London's Mayor Sadiq Khan using Van Dijk's ideological square and discursive devices.

According to Rashidi & Souzendehfar as cited by Shakoury (2018), Ideological Square can simply be described as fundamental dichotomy which ,according to Van Dijk as cited by by Shakoury (2018), focused on Positive Self-representation and Negative Other-representation (p. 24).

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Van Dijk's ideological square is proposed to distinguish ideological polarization in political discourses. According to Van Dijk (2011), ideological square can be summarized as:

1. Emphasize Our good things

2. Emphasize Their bad things

3. De-emphasize Our bad things

4. De-emphasize Their good things

(p. 396-397)

There are 25 discursive devices which, as according to Van Dijk, are general strategies of ideological discourse production and can be used as a recognition and discovery procedure for ideological analysis of political discourse (Shakoury, 2018, p. 25). These 25 discursive devices according to Van Dijk and cited by Shakoury (2018) are:

1. Actor description (meaning)

2. Authority (argumentation)

3. Burden

4. categorization (meaning)

5. comparison (meaning, argumentation)

6. consensus (political strategy)

7. counterfactuals (meaning, argumentation)

8. disclaimers (meaning)

9. euphemism (rhetoric, meaning)

10. evidentiality (meaning, argumentation)

11. example/illustration (argumentation)

12. generalization (meaning, argumentation),

13. hyperbole (rhetoric)

14. implication (meaning)

15. irony (meaning)

16. lexicalization (style)

17. metaphor (meaning, rhetoric)

18. national self-glorification (meaning)

19. norm expression (normalization)

20. number game (rhetoric, argumentation)

21. polarization; US-Them categorization (meaning)

22. populism (political strategy)

23. presupposition (meaning)

24. vagueness (meaning)

25. victimization (meaning)

(p. 25)

1.8 Method of Study

1.8.1 Type of Study

Qualitative method is used in this research. Qualitative method is a method that is decriptive in nature and tend to use analysis and it also attempts to understand

and interpret the meaning (Universitas Raharja, 2020). The data in this research are interviews from video and texts which is suitable for qualitative method.

1.8.2 Data Sources

This research uses primary data that are from youtube videos. One of the video is from CNN titled "Sadiq Khan talks London terror attack" uploaded on March 24 2017. The other one is from On Demand News titled "Westminster attack: Sadiq Khan: To those who want to harm us, you won't succeed" uploaded on March 23 2017.

1.8.3 Data Collection Technique

The researcher used listening technique which according to Sudaryanto (1993) is listening to data on language use (p. 133). Then the researcher transcripted the data. Data were transcripted after they are clear by listening to them multiple times.

1.8.4 Data Analysis Technique

This research uses descriptive analysis method. The theoretical approach is used to classify the data by interpreting, analyzing, and explaining it. This research uses Van Dijk's ideological square and discursive device to classsify the data into certain topos or ideological square. The conclusion can then be drawn from the classified data.

1.9 Paper Organization

This research paper consists of four chapters. The first chapter is introduction. It includes several sub-chapters, such as background of study, research questions, objective of study, scope of study, significance of study, literature review, theoretical approach, method of study, and paper organization. The second chapter is theoretical framework. It covers up all the theories used by the researcher. The third chapter is about findings and discussions. In this chapter, the researcher explains the findings of the utterance analysis from many aspects based on the theory. The last chapter is conclusion and suggestion. It sums up the points of the whole analysis

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

4.1 Conclusion

In this section, the points in dominant ideological squares, and discursive devices and ideology reflected from the mayor'interviews will be drawn into conclusion.

The researcher found the emphasize our good things as the most dominant ideological square based on Van Dijk's theory. From the first interview, this research found 20 data or 54% of sentences dominated by the emphasize our good things. From the second interview, this research found 10 data or 52,6% of sentences dominated by the emphasize our good things.

This research found evidentiality, polarization, and populism as three most dominant discursive devices based on Van Dijk theory of discursive devices. From the first interview, this research found 9 data or 24,3% of sentences dominated by evidentiality, 6 data or 16,2% of sentences dominated by polarization, and 4 data or 10,8% of sentences dominated by populism. From the second interview, this research found 6 data or 31,5% of sentences dominated by polarization, 2 data or 10,5% of sentences dominated by evidentiality, and only 1 data or 5,2% of sentence dominated by populism.

This research found from the dominant ideological square, and discursive devices that the mayor is a politician who believes in diversity, tolerance, democracy, and human right. He wants to retain his city's stability and harmony between religious communities. He is pro-muslim as he tried to prevent division

and prejudice against muslims. He sometimes uses populist platform to retain his influence after the attack. He has no sympathy to radical muslims who are terrorists and polarizes between terrorists and tolerant muslims.

4.2 Suggestion

This research used critical discourse analysis to be a platform to know ideology reflection. It is advisable in this kind of research to use more than just one theory and uses those who can cover ideas of discourse producer. Critical discourse is a broad study so combining theories will not be a problem. The broadness of critical discourse analysis gives potential to uncountable combinations of theories.

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