A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS ON MEANING LEVELS IN HILLARY DIANE RODHAM CLINTON'S SPEECH ABOUT WOMEN

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Abstract

This thesis examines the levels of meaning in Critical Discourse Analysis in the speech of Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton about women in the conference of World Summit in New York, the United State of America. This study aims at (1) finding the hidden ideology of Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton macrostructurally (global level of meanings), (2) meaning of words and propositions emphasized and controlled (local level of meanings), (3) and subtle of formal structures explicitly conveyed by her (pragmatic level of meanings).

The descriptive qualitative design was used to analyze the data. Meanwhile, the theory used is Teun A. van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis focused on the levels of meanings to help in analyzing the data. The data were taken from Hillary's speech about women in the conference of World Summit in New York, the United State of America.

The findings show that the hidden ideology of Hillary, in influencing the audiences, was expressed and delivered by emphasizing the importance of liberal or even radical feminism for increasing a better life of human beings. This can be known by using semantic macrostructural analysis. Then, the local meanings which focus on the words and proposition representing the ideology were used by her. Instead, the formal structures were intentionally emphasized for controlling the speech. Thus, those three levels of Critical Discourse Analysis in investigating the meanings were eventually found in this research.

Key words: Semantic Macrostructures, Propositions, Local Meanings, Formal Structures

INTRODUCTION

Language is a tool of communication**.** It is used by humans to send receivers a certain message and information. Besides, it is regularly applied to have a more communicative social life. Therefore, it is also used to interact, with each other, socially or emotionally.[1] Yet, when language is shaped in a political discourse, it might be tended to be manipulated. It is because the contents of the discourse are mostly striked for interest. Furthermore, nobody who has an interest in relationships of power in modern society, can afford to ignore language.[2] In this case, CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis) plays important role to criticize the issue-oriented in society.

The use of language, for several purposes, relates to the concept of critical discourse analysis introduced by van Dijk (2001), namely levels in CDA. It is because CDA-studies pay attention to all

dimensions and levels of discourse. As a plea of diversity in CDA, van Dijk suggested three levels of CDA in finding the ideology in a text. These contain semantic macrostructures, local meanings, and formal structures. In relation to ideology, Mannheim (1929) attempts to relate ideology with certain ways of thinking as a representation of ideas of persons or groups. Hence, a thinking process can be included in ideological ways inserted in a discourse.[3]

At the first level (semantic macrostructures), the analysis is to find the global meaning of a discourse. It is because a discourse is not limited to the meaning of its words, phrases, and sentences. Thus, van Dijk (2003) argued that discourse also has more global meanings, such as topics or themes.[4] To have a global meaning, as suggested by van Dijk, the overall texts must be summarized. It is because summary is typically

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[1] *George Yule*, *The Study of Language; An Introduction*, Cambridge University Press, 1985, h. 6

[2] Norman Fairclough, *Language and power*, New York: Longman Group UK, . 1989, h. 3

[3] Ruth Wodak, *Language and Politics; Language and Ideology,* Amsterdam: John Benjamin Publishing Company, 2007, h. 2

[4] Sakban Rosidi, *Analisis Wacana Kritis sebagai Ragam Paradigma Kajian Wacana (Critical Discourse Analysis as Variance of Paradigm of Inquiry on Discourse).* Working Paper. Malang: UIN Malang, 2007, h. 11

found at the very end of the text and functions as a recapitulation of the main viewpoints expressed by the writer.[5] In this summarization, there are three ways proposed by van Dijk, these are deletion, generalization, and construction. The first attempts to delete the unimportant expression or proposition in the discourse. The second aims at generalizing the similar statements of Hillary. Meanwhile, the third attempts to formulate a new construction shortening the text without omitting the essence of its information.

At the second level (Local Meanings), the analysis is to find the meaning of selected words, propositions, relation between propositions used to enhance and provoke the ideology. This implies the importance of context dependency of such meanings, because certain arguments, discourse fragments, and topic are understood very differently in different historical periods and socio-political context.[6] Besides,

local meanings are used to de-emphasize "our" bad things and "their" good things (Dijk, 2001 as cited in Wodak & Meyer,2001:104).[7] This is a strong emphasis that the speaker's group or community is better than others. Consequently, van Dijk (2001) argued that people may need models featuring beliefs that remain implicit (presupposed) in discourse to understand its meaning and coherence.

At the final level (Formal structures), the analysis is to find the formal styles, passive constructs, and so forth. Formal styles are used prior to the statements, and these are usually repeated to emphatically state the ideas and argumentation. Meanwhile, passive constructs are used to hide the doers and keep their bad image. It is done to de-emphasize "our" agency of negative acts through passive sentences or nominalizations. This is also related to the interactional concerns such as positive self-representation included in the subtle of formal

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[5] Gylling Morten, *The Structure of Discourse a Corpus-Based Cross Linguistic Study.* Copenhagen: Copenhagen Business School, 2013, h. 145

[6] *Ruth Wodak, Language and Politics; Language and Ideology.* Amsterdam:

John Benjamin Publishing Company, 2007, h. 2

[7] Ruth Wodak, Meyer, Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis, Continuum, 2001, h. 104

structures of the discourse.

The analysis of meaning levels is important to deeply know the essential purposes of the discourse authors. Besides, in CDA context, the interest of them can be interpreted. Thus, it is easy for the readers or hearers to capture the main idea or gist of the text. Furthermore, they are not able to be manipulated or even deceived with a certain interest and goal.

In international speech, for instance, the analysis of those three levels can be used to find a certain interest and ideological provocation. It is because demonstrations, parliaments,presidential campaigns and political debates are all the fields of ideological battles.[8] Therefore, the analysis of meaning levels investigating the hidden and controlled ideology of the speakers is important to know the essence and interest of their speech. Moreover, the speech of Hillary is not short, thus it must be shortened and summarized. In this case, the semantic macrostructure

plays important role in analyzing the speech.

Hillary Clinton is a former secretary of the United States who became a public speaker to accommodate the aspiration of people of the United States, especially in the women's affairs. Her speeches were delivered either national or international speeches. Yet, in this research, it is about the speech concerning with the issues of women conveyed in the conference of World Summit. Therefore, it is interesting to find the hidden interest and ideology through analysis of semantic macrostructures, local meanings, and formal structures in her speech. It is because she is one of important persons in the US, moreover the speech was delivered in the World Summit, a historic moment of the nations. Therefore, her speech was totally taken into account by the audiences.

It is important to analyze the speech of Hillary Clinton, due to her position as a senator of one of great nations in the world. Meanwhile, the tasks and policies of the states are also under her consideration. Furthermore, her speech was about women, on the

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[8] Nasser, Rashidi, Mahzieh, Soundanzehfar, *A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Debates Between Republicans and Democrats over the Continuation of War in Iraq,* (n.d), 2010, h. 56

one hand, has a special interest for equalizing and balancing the rights of men and women.

Some studies on discourse structures were conducted, especially in academic purposes. Chun-yin, Louisa, and Wong (1995) conducted a research entitled *The Development of the Macrostructure of Oral Narratives.* This study elaborated the oral narratives of four groups of sixteen children in seven categories; those are Setting, Initiating Event, Internal Response, Plan, Attempt, Consequence and Reaction.[9] Then, Santoso (2001) analyzed the variances of political language entitled *Political Discourse and Choice of Words of Politicians*. This research discovered that all politicians use three kinds of linguistic features: experience, relation, and expression feature (Rahardjo, 2007:56).[10] Sakban Rosidi (2004) analyzed *The Public Discourse on the Accident in*

Jagorawi Street by using van Dijk's discourse structure. In so doing, Siddik (2008) conducted a research on *A Micro Structural Level of Discourse Analysis of Barack Obama's Political Speeches*. His analysis was taken from van Dijk's theory of discourse structure as a part of critical discourse analysis fields. He found the tactics, oral, phrasal, and sentential structures used by Barack Obama in his three speeches of presidential candidate of democratic party. Then, Morris (2008) analyzed on *The Selected Discourse Features of Lahu Si Folk Narrative.* He focused on discourse frameworks in narrative Lahu Si Folk.

Many researchers also have done the research of macrostructure. Nugroho (2009) analyzed the word choice entitled *Word-Choice of Headline News on Muslim Issues Used in Jakarta Post*. He found that lexicon used in the Jakarta Post on Muslim issues were to grow the image, such creating classification used to make gap between the members of Palestine. Besides, he also found the types of word-choice and the hidden ideology of the Jakarta Post Journalist. In so doing,

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[9] Wong, Chun-yin, Louisa, *The Development of the Macrostructure of Oral Narratives.* Hongkong: The University of Hongkong, 1995, h. 2

[10] Mudjia, Rahardjo, *Relung Relung Bahasa*. Yogyakarta: Aditya Media, 2002, h. 56

Christopher S.G, Jin-Cheon, and Kokil (2010) conducted the research of macrostructure entitled *Analysis of the Macro-level Discourse Structure of Literature Reviews.* This research is about literature structure by charting it into some segments to find either chronological and structural event of the story.

Thus, this research is worthy to do. Charting and mapping the text, in finding the hidden ideology, is seen as a remarkable linguistic contribution. It looks important to do, due to the linguistic phenomenon of global structure of a discourse. Hence, the goal intended by the discourse authors can be known through the semantic mapping process, selected words and propositions, and formal structures as the levels of meaning in Critical Discourse Analysis.

Teun A. van Dijk's Theory

The explanation of CDA can be related to the macro vs. micro level of analysis.

According to van Dijk, language use, discourse, verbal interaction, and communication belong to the micro level of the social order. Power, dominance, and inequality between social

groups are typically terms that belong to a macro level of analysis. This means that the theoretical framework of CDA, especially macro level analysis, is focused on the social issues and phenomenon. Thus, it is important to be analyzed for further language development.

CDA relates to the concept of positive-self presentation and negative –self presentation, in which emphasize our good things and their bad things. It refers to the elaboration of "us" and "them", and emphasizes the group of the authors are better than the out groups. In so doing, our bad things and their good things are de-emphasized. In addition, van Dijk argued that groups may more or less control other groups, or only control them in specific situations or social domains. Moreover, dominated groups may more or less resist, accept, condone, comply with, or legitimate such power, and even find it natural.

According to van Dijk's perspective, CDA also focuses on how *discourse structures* influence mental representations. At the *global level* of discourse, *topics* may influence what people see as the most important information of text

or talk, and thus correspond to the top levels of their mental models. For example, expressing such a topic in a headline in news may powerfully influence how an event is defined in terms of a "preferred" mental model. The global level, in this case, can be named as semantic macrostructures that summarize the overall text to find the hidden interest of the authors.

There are another versions of critical discourse analysis proposed by van Dijk that are more applicable, these are called discourse structures. He classified the levels of discourse into three levels; these are microstructure, macrostructure, and superstructure. [11]

Macrostructure

This structure focused on the global meaning and emphasized the meaning of themes or

topics. For having macrostructure, the text must be reduced or summarized by three steps proposed by van Dijk; deletion, generalization, and construction (Dijk, 1980:79)[12]. In

deletion process, he argued that one or more propositions from a sequence of propositions in a discourse are deleted. The example is as follows:

(KH saw a blonde. She was wearing a white summer frock...) DEL

KH saw a blonde

The example above shows that KH as a name of somebody saw a blonde. The core of the example above is "see" or "look" activity. Meanwhile, the next sentence merely supports the sentence "KH saw a blonde". Thus, the unimportant propositions or expression is deleted. Finally, it becomes KH saw a blonde. This summarization is called deletion process in macrostructure.

In generalization process, the proposition is derived with the concept of "pet" from a sequence of propositions with concepts like "cat", "dog", or "canary". It also involves slight modifications, such as making collective groups from individuals or making plurals. The

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[11] Teun A. van Dijk, Discourse Semantics and Ideology, Amsterdam, University of Amsterdam Press, 2004, vol. 2

[12] Teun A. van Dijk, *Macrostructures; An*

Interdisciplinary Study of Global Structures in Discourse, Interaction, and Cognition. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum associates, 1980, h. 79

example can be seen as follows:

(John saw a tall slim blonde...)

GEN

John saw a pretty girl

The example above is a process of generalizing a proposition. The phrase "tall slim blonde" can be generalized to be "pretty girl". This is one of processes to have macrostructure.

The last is construction process. This relates to the several propositions constructed, due to their similar information that can be reconstructed to a new sentence. The example can be seen as follows:

(John went to the station. He bought a ticket. He walked to the platform and boarded the waiting train. After a few minutes the train departed..........)

CONS

John made a trip with the train to....

The example above is basically shortened or summarized by the process of construction to be macro proposition, but the essential meaning is not omitted.

In elaboration, the collection of macroproposition is then summarized with the higher level, namely macrostructure. Furthermore, the summarization still uses the three macrorules process proposed by van Dijk.

Superstructure

It focused on the arrangement of the discourse or schematic. It is not directly controlled

by ideological variation. The same as common conversation or writing text which is usually started by the background, it is followed by the content, and it is closed by conclusion. Which one come first, and the next that will be arranged based on the interest of the discourse maker (Dijk, 2003:3 as cited in Nugroho, 2009:31).[13]

Microstructure

It is related to the local meaning of the discourse. It can be known by finding the semantics , rhetoric aspect, and so forth. It is actually and directly expressed structure of the discourse. Besides, it is also found

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[13] Wakhid Nugroho, Word-choice of Headline News on Muslim Issues Used in the Jakarta Post, Malang, Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University, Malang, 2009, h. 31

through the words, phrases, sentences, and relation between sentences in a discourse text.[14] According to van Dijk, Microstructure is analyzed one by one; from semantics, detail, surface or background, lexicon, presupposition, syntactic, and so forth.[15]

Microstructure is an effective way to identify the power maintained by the discourse maker, through the micro-elements of the text, such the words, propositions, phrase, and sentence. Besides, it is intentionally used by the authors to persuade and influence the hearers and readers to believe what they convey or write.

Research Problems

Based on the background of the study above, it comes to the research problems as follows:

1. How did Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton's ideology influence the

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[14] Teun A. van Dijk, *Macrostructures; An Interdisciplinary Study of Global Structures in Discourse, Interaction, and Cognition*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum associates, 1980, h. 29

[15] Wakhid Nugroho, Word-choice of Headline News on Muslim Issues Used in the Jakarta Post, Malang, Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University, Malang, 2009, h. 32-39

audiences macro structurally in her speech about women?

2. What are the local meanings used by Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton in her speech about women?

3. What are the formal structures used by Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton in her speech about women?

Research Design

A research design is a general plan helping the researcher to conduct the study in reference to the objectives, the method of data gathering and analysis and the strategy to present the findings and conclusion. It should be noted that this research deals with the social science. It is because the language phenomenon is directly related to the social circumstances. Thus, the qualitative methodology is primarily used and applied to explore the problems.

This research is also descriptively elaborated in its explanation especially in the chapter of finding and discussion. Therefore, the research design of this study is descriptive qualitative. It is because the analysis is focused on the levels of CDA, these are semantic macrostructures, local

meanings, and formal structures.

This research focused on the analysis of Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton's speech about women in the conference of World Summit in New York. The researcher solely took one speech of her mainly analyzed in this research. The related data was directly taken from her personal website, Hillaryclinton.com. Then, the analysis of the data was focused on the levels of critical discourse analysis, these are semantic macrostructures, local meanings, and the relevance subtle of formal structures.

The data, in this case, was gathered with reading process. In the other words, the data and aspects of discourse were collected by applying a relevant technique of skimming reading process. This technique helped the researcher to collect the data in detail. In qualitative research, the main instrument is the researcher himself as the collector and analyst of the data.

The data of this research were collected through reading the transcript and watching the video of Hillary's speech about women. Then, the researcher focused on the most important ideas of each paragraph that finally became collection of propositions or statements. Furthermore, the local meanings and formal structures were attempted to be found.

In analyzing the data, the first step was grouping the speech text into six tables. In each table, there are the same statements or propositions of Hillary Clinton. Then, from each table, the propositions were shortened by summarizing with macro propositions becoming the collection of propositions. Finally, these macro propositions were summarized with the higher level, macrostructure of the speech text. The second step was finding the words and propositions in which their meaning can influence the recipients and these are best recalled by them. Meanwhile, the third step was finding the formal structures that support and control the Hillary's speech conveyed.

Findings

The findings of the research were classified into three parts. The first is semantic macrostructures representing the hidden ideology of

her in viewing now day's women. The intention of Hillary in the speech is found that she totally fought anything for their rights, including the extremism ideology that limits their opportunities. It can be shown through the macro propositions below:

- Creating women's opportunities and rights is a priority
- Many women are still dehumanized
- The advocacy for women's rights should be increased
- The action of Extremist should be against
- No women, no economical advance
- American power depends on women's contribution

From the overall macro propositions above, the macrostructure can be shortened and generalized with ***the women's dehumanization should be stopped by the Extremists***. This shows that Hillary's ideology influenced the audiences to believe that the women's right should be continuously fought and advocated by the US.

The second is local meanings of the speech. These are related to the words, propositions, relation between propositions used and chosen by Hillary. The local meanings can be seen below:

Tabel 1

No	Words	Propositions
1	Right	In advancing the great unfinished business of the 21st century
2	Repression	All we need is a fighting chance
3	Fight	That firm faith has been at the heart of my work my entire life
4	Dehumanize	Other abuses that dehumanize women
5	Equality	Needs to open the doors

Table 1 shows that most of the words in local meanings show the dehumanization of women. In doing so, the chosen-words of Hillary were intended to provoke and invite the whole American to struggle for giving women rights and opportunities in all aspects of life. Meanwhile, the propositions show that the struggle for their rights must be continuously done. Hence, the government of the US was requested to overcome this problem. Besides, the moment of Summit was also utilized by her, due to her position as Senator in

the US parliament.

By knowing local meanings, it is possible to know the powerful influence of Hillary's speech in the Summit. This means that her ideology shown in the level of macrostructure can be reinforced by using simple words and propositions namely local meanings. The third is subtle formal structures. This relates to the repetition of formal styles, passive structures, and so forth. The table can be seen below:

Table 2

No	Passive Constructs	Formal Styles
1	too many women are still treated at best as second-class citizens	We need to (5 times)
2	whose schools have been destroyed.	Let's keep fighting for (3 times)
3	How can we be deprived from education	It is no coincidence that (3 times)

In table 2, there are three sentences of passive constructs. The function of passive sentences was used to hide the vague doers in the action. Thus, Hillary kept the possible mistake done if she mentions the doers. Meanwhile, the repetition of formal styles indicates that Hillary was really serious in describing the statement after the repetition.

The first repetition of Hillary's formal styles enhanced the prosperity of economy. Thus, the statements were intentionally established by Hillary for convincing the audiences that women really play important role in economical advance. Those repeated-expressions also means that the participation of women in the workplace is a must and necessity for a better world's economy. The second is related to the freedom and liberation of women. It should be noted that the expression ***let's keep fighting*** was an allurement for the audiences, especially American people to continuously struggle in creating a liberty for them. Besides, the word ***keep*** was also an encouragement for the government to be strongly energetic in equalizing them in all aspects of life. The third is the explanation of countries in which the women's repression happened. By repeating the formal style ***it is no coincidence***, Hillary attempted to convince the audiences that the women's dehumanization is not a destiny, thus it must be started by the government of the United State of America to pay attention more

about women's role in daily life. Yet, in the last formal styles, the countries which care to women were mentioned, those are India and China. It was intended to compare to the previous statements in how a country's prosperity achieved through their participation and contribution. This was one of ways in how Hillary's ideology of women liberation delivered to the audiences.

CONCLUSION

This thesis analyzes the hidden ideology of Hillary Clinton in her speech about women in the conference of world summit in New York, the United State of America through three levels of CDA on meanings.

Hillary's ideology macro structurally can be identified by six macro propositions found through summarizing her speech by the operation of macro rules; deletion, generalization, and construction. These were used to have the gist and main idea of the text. In the level of global semantic (semantic macrostructures), Hillary influenced the audiences by regularly investigating the meanings of her speech about women.

Hillary intentionally selected words and propositions to enhance the topics that her ideology could influence the audiences. In this second analysis, she emphasized the meanings of the words and propositions. It is because it could imply and control the topics through controllable meanings of the speech. Besides, Hillary used formal styles and structures of language that topicalize the positive-self presentation of the United State, in which emphasized the good things of the US and bad things of the Extremists in the Middle East. She explicitly stated that the ideology of liberal feminism is urgent to be practically used by all countries in the whole world. In addition, she argued that most of the developed-countries are supported by women's contribution and participation in all aspects of life.

The result of this study hopefully gives some useful suggestions for readers, students, and researchers. The first, it is suggested for readers to deeply analyze and catch the intention of a discourse authors whether they are evoked, influenced, or manipulated. Then, they should be well-aware

about the speech texts or discourses, especially political discourse texts. The second suggestion is for students, especially in English Language and Letters Department. Through this study, they are expected to further view the multidisciplinary of critical discourse analysis in other side, especially the analysis of meanings (semantic macrostructures, local meanings, and formal structures) due to the development of language phenomenon. The third, may the result of this study be useful reference for the next researchers who want to analyze the levels of critical discourse analysis on discourse meanings, especially in semantic macrostructures and local meanings in different objects of research.

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