

**POWER AND IDEOLOGY OF ASHIN WIRATHU'S SPEECHES
TOWARD MUSLIM IN ROHINGYA: CRITICAL
DISCOURSE ANALYSIS**



**Submitted As a Partial Fulfilment of Requirements for Getting Bachelor
Degree of Education in English Department**

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POWER AND IDEOLOGY OF ASHIN WIRATHU'S SPEECHES TOWARD MUSLIM IN ROHINGYA: CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini tentang Analisis Wacana Kritis. Tujuan utama dari penelitian ini adalah untuk mendeskripsikan ujaran-ujaran yang digunakan dalam pidato-pidato Ashin Wirathu terhadap Muslim di Rohingya dan untuk menggambarkan kekuatan dan ideologi yang tersirat dalam pidato-pidato Ashin Wirathu. Data diambil dari pidato Ashin Wirathu yang berjudul "Ashin Wirathu mengatakan hal-hal buruk tentang muslim" dan "Burma! Biku Buddha, Namanya Wirathu, dia menyebut dirinya Bin Laden Burma."

Jenis penelitian ini adalah penelitian deskriptif kualitatif. Teknik pengumpulan data dari penelitian ini adalah dokumentasi dan observasi, dan langkah-langkahnya adalah sebagai berikut: Mencari video di Youtube, mencari script video dan kemudian mengunduh video dan transkripnya. Teori yang mendasari yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini, yaitu Teori Tindak Tutur yang diusulkan oleh John R. Searle dan Teori Analisis Wacana Kritis yang diajukan oleh Thomas Huckin.

Hasilnya menunjukkan bahwa ada 6 jenis maksud yang ditemukan dalam penelitian ini. Mereka adalah menginformasikan, menegaskan, menyatakan, mendeskripsikan, menjanjikan dan menanyakan. Jenis pidato Wirathu yang pertama bersifat argumentatif. Dengan menggunakan pidato-pidato semacam itu, Wirathu berusaha menjelaskan argumen dan gagasannya terhadap Muslim dan dia mencoba mempengaruhi pendengar untuk membenci Muslim. Hal ini dapat dianalisis dari elemen analisis genre. Jenis pidato keduanya adalah persuasif. Dengan menggunakan pidato-pidato semacam itu, Wirathu berusaha membujuk pengikutnya untuk mengikuti idenya. Hal ini dapat dianalisis dari elemen analisis genre. Wirathu dapat mempengaruhi para pengikutnya untuk membenci Muslim dengan mudah karena ia memiliki kekuatan sebagai seorang Biku.

Kata kunci : Analisis Wacana Kritis, Tindak Tutur, Pidato, kekuatan, filsafat, orang-orang Muslim

ABSTRACT

The research is Critical Discourse Analysis. The main 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 entitled "*Ashin Wirathu is saying bad things about muslims*" and "*Burmese! Buddhist monk, His name is Wirathu, he calls himself the Burmese Bin Laden.*"

The type of this research is descriptive qualitative research. The techniques of data collection of this research are documentation and observation, and the steps are: Searching for the video on Youtube, searching the script of the video and then downloading the video and the transcript. The underlying theory used in this research, they are Speech Act Theory proposed by Jhon R. Searle and Critical Discourse Analysis Theory proposed by Thomas Huckin.

The result shows that there are six kinds of intentions found in this research. They are informing, describing, stating, claiming, questioning and promising. 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.

Keywords : *Critical Discourse Analysis, Speech act, speech, power, ideology, Muslim*

1. INTRODUCTION

Communication plays an important role in our life. It is a tool for people to share information each other. There are two kinds of communication, verbal and non verbal. According to Bovee and others, verbal communication is the expression of information through language which is composed of words and grammar. However, not all things can be communicate using only verbal language. This is why non-verbal communication is also needed which is a form of communication symbol or symbol. According to Megginson, Communication is the process of transmitting meanings, ideas and understanding of a person or a group to another person or group. There are many ways to communicate each other, and speech is one of the way to communicate with others.

According to Merriam Webster dictionary, speech is the communication or expression of thoughts in spoken words. There are many examples of speech such as speech in front of public, giving argument, making statement by using Youtube as a media, interview, etc. Some examples of speech in front of public are graduation speech, leadership speech, religious speech, presidential speech, etc. Speech has many function,

one of them is to explain the arguments of the speaker about current issue and influencing others to follow the idea of the speaker. In this study the researcher focuses on two types of speech. There are speech in front of public and making statement by using Youtube as a media. Those two types of speech are used by the speaker in order to make argument and statement. If the speech is delivered by someone who has a power, their speech can influence the followers so easily. Thus is appropriate with the current issue, there is a monk in Myanmar named Ashin Wirathu. He often makes controversial statements and arguments in front of his followers in order to influence them to follow his idea. Wirathu hates Muslim very much. It can be seen from some statements that he has made. In one of his statement he said that *"In every town there is a crude and savage Muslim majority like this."* Beside, Wirathu also made an Anti-islamic movement named 969 who then massacred the Rohingyas and drove them from their homeland. Islam represents only 5% of Myanmar's population of 54 million but he claimed islam as a danger of Buddhist in Myanmar.

When people use language in a speech, they produce utterances in a particular context. An utterance is a unit of analysis of speech which has been defined in various ways but most commonly as a sequence of words within a single person's turn at talk that falls under a single intonation counter (Schmidt and Richards, 2002). The intentions of the utterance must be understood by the listeners in order that the speaker's intention can be delivered successfully. In order to analyze the intention of the utterances, the researcher use Speech act theory. According to Austin, he has differentiated utterance into three kinds of acts that are simultaneously performed, there are locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary. Illocutionary act is the function of the word, the specific purpose that the speakers have in mind. The most important study from the three kinds of speech act is illocutionary. The example of illocutionary act is when a mother says to her child who spent his time to watch television and forget to study, "I will report to Daddy." The illocutionary act of this utterance is directive and the intention is to frighten the child out of television.

Illocutionary act becomes the basic analysis in pragmatic comprehension. So that's why the researcher focuses on illocutionary act in order to analyze the intention of the utterances by using speech act theory proposed by John R. Searle.

Then, in order to examine the use of language and ask why it has been used that way and what the implications are of this kind of use on speech, the researcher conducted an analytical framework for studying connections among power and ideology which is called Critical Discourse Analysis. According to Teun A. van Dijk (1998:1-2), CDA is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose and ultimately resist social inequality. In order to analyze the data the researcher uses CDA theory proposed by Thomas Huckin. He has found it useful to carry out critical analysis in two stages. First, he reads (listens to, or views) a text trying to play the role of an ordinary reader. In this second stage he goes from larger text-level features through to smaller word-level ones. The last step to take is to make a contextualized interpretation of the data through the sociocultural surrounding.

The study of discourse based on illocutionary act and Critical Discourse Analysis has been done by some previous researchers, the first is Achmad Budiman Rosadi & Emalia Iragiliati who conducted the research of illocutionary act with the title *Illocutionary Act Seen in Barrack Obama's speech*. Their research focused on finding the application of illocutionary act types in Barrack Obama's speech. The design of this study is a descriptive qualitative by which the researcher interpreted and formulated the patterns of illustrated by Searle's theory. Based on the research that the researchers have done, they found more than one types of illocutionary act.

Second is Junling Wang who conducted the research of Critical Discourse Analysis with the title *A Critical Discourse Analysis of Barack*

Obama's Speeches. In this research he had analyzed ideational function, interpersonal function and textual function, to find out the formal features of Barack Obama's. The objective of this research is to explore relationships among language, ideology and power and to find out how to use the power of speeches to persuade the public to accept and support Barack Obama's policies. The theory that use by the researcher is Systemic Functional Grammar's theory proposed by M.A.K Halliday.

Based on the previous researchers above, this research wants to analyze about the intention of the utterance and describe power and ideology that are represented in Wirathu's speeches toward Muslim in Rohingya. In this study the researcher will use two theories, first is speech act theory proposed by John R. Searle in analyzed the intention of Wirathu's utterances and the second is critical discourse analysis theory proposed by Thomas Huckin to analyzed Ashin Wirathu speeches, the researcher attempted to elucidate not only the power and ideology of the speech itself but also from the speaker that is Wirathu. Thus, power and ideology can be seen from its use to the social problem which is going on at that time and to the social power which is trying to influence the ideology of the community to become closer to something that is desired by the speaker.

2. RESEARCH METHOD

The type of this research is descriptive qualitative research. In this research, the researcher use descriptive qualitative method. Qualitative method often involves no statistical analysis; it is associated with hypotheses generating and developing an understanding. The data of this research is the transcript of Ashin Wirathu's speeches and the data source is the speeches of Ashin Wirathu itself. The researcher uses two speeches of Wirathu as the data to analyze. The first speech entitled "*Burmese! Buddhist monk, His name is Wirathu, he calls himself the Burmese Bin Laden*" taken from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uqxeYpc0lzQ> and the second speech entitled "*Ashin Wirathu is saying bad things about muslims*" taken from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fDzU9u2ljDw>. In this research uses two

theories in order to analyze the data, there are Speech Act theory proposed by John R. Searle and Critical Discourse Analysis theory proposed by Thomas Huckin.

3. FINDING AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Finding

There are two objectives of this research. First is to describe the intention of Ashin Wirathu's utterance in the speeches about Muslim in Rohingya and second is to describe power and ideology that are represented in Ashin Wirathu's speeches. The researcher has found some illocutionary acts in his speeches, the findings are written in the table below:

Table 1. The findings of illocutionary acts in Ashin Wirathu's speeches

No	Illocutionary acts	Intention	Frequencies	Percentage (%)
1	Assertive	a. Informing b. Convincing c. Questioning d. Describing e. Stating f. Claiming	1 - - 1 1 1	33,33%
2	Directive	a. Inviting b. Requesting c. Asking / questioning	- - 7	58,33%
3	Commissive	a. Promising b. Offering	1 -	8,33%
4	Expressive	a. Thanking b. State of pleasure c. Greeting	- - -	
5	Declarative	a. blessing b. firing	- -	
	TOTAL		12	100%

The table above show, the intentions found in Wirathu's speeches are informing, describing, stating, claiming, questioning and promising. The intention was dominated by questioning. There are seven intentions of

questioning. The findings of the objective number two describes clearly in the discussion below.

3.1.1 The intentions of Wirathu's Utterances by Using Speech Act theory Proposed by John R. Searle.

3.1.1.1 The analysis of intensions found in Wirathu's speech Transcript Entitled "Burmese! Buddhist monk, His name is Wirathu, he calls himself the *Burmese Bin Laden*". Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uqxeYpc0lzQ>

Data 1

Ashin Wirathu said "*We are being raped in every town, being sexually harassed in every town, being ganged up and bullied in every town.*"

Based on the utterance written in italic above, Wirathu describes the conflict in every town in his country. He claims that people in some towns in Myanmar being raped, sexually harassed and being ganged up and bullied.

Based on the context, Wirathu's intention is the type of *Assertive* speech act. Assertive represents a state of affairs. The utterance written in italic above, Wirathu provided the description of the current situation in his some towns in Myanmar include Rohingya. It is clear that the intention of this utterance is *Describing*, by using his utterance Wirathu wants to tell the listeners about the real condition in Myanmar.

Data 2

Ashin Wirathu said "*We mention in every sermon stories of girls being ungrateful to their parents, harassing their parents after they get married to Muslims.*"

The utterance written in italic above shows that Wirathu informs the phenomena of Girls after they get married to Muslim. Wirathu believe that every sermon stories of girls being ungrateful to

their parents, harassing their parents after they get married to Muslims.

Based on the context, Wirathu's intention is the type of *Assertive* speech act. Assertive represents a state of affairs. By using the utterance above Wirathu wants to inform the listeners about the real condition of Girls after they get married to Muslim. Wirathu describes their condition by using some sentences that have negative meaning "*girls being ungrateful to their parents, harassing their parents after they get married to Muslim.*" It is clear that the intention of this utterance is **Informing**, by using the utterance the speaker wants to inform the listeners about the condition in his country and he wants his listeners believe with his information and then they hate Muslim like him.

Data 3

Ashin Wirathu said "*We are not attacking any race. We are not insulting Islam. We are not destroying Islamic culture.*"

The word "We" in the utterance written in italic above is refers to Wirathu and his followers. By using the utterance above Wirathu claims that he and his followers are not attacking any race and they are not insulting Islam and also they are not destroying Islamic culture.

Based on the context, Wirathu's intention is the type of *Assertive* speech act. Assertive represents a state of affairs. He claims that he and his followers are not attacking any race and they are not insulting Islam and also they are not destroying Islamic culture. This utterance is one of the way of Ashin Wirathu to make all of the people know that there is no problem in Buddhist and claims that the problem is from Muslim. It is clear that the intention of this utterance is **Claiming**.

Data 4

Ashin Wirathu said “*I am preaching this, as a means of protecting our people, religion, culture and country for national security.*”

From the utterance written in italic above, Wirathu gives promise that he will protect his people, religion, culture and also his country. He do this because he wants make his followers feel so peaceful.

Based on the context, Wirathu’s intention is the type of **Commissive** speech act. Commissive is an illocutionary act for getting the *speaker (i.e. the one performing the speech act)* to do something. The act aims to get the hearers expect something from the speakers. In this utterance Wirathu gives promise that he will protect his people, religion, culture and also his country. He do this because he wants make his followers feel so peaceful. It is clear that the intention of this utterance is **Promising**, by using this utterance Wirathu wants to show his power as a Monk. He wants his followers believe that he can protect them from Muslim.

Data 5

Ashin Wirathu said “*The local Muslims are crude and savage because extremists are pulling the strings, providing them with financial, military and technical power.*”

From the utterance written in italic above Wirathu state that Muslim are crude and savage. Those two words have negative meaning. In this utterance Wirathu show how he hates Muslim a lot.

Based on the context, Wirathu’s intention is the type of **assertive** speech act. Assertive represents a state of affairs. Wirathu gives statement in front of his followers about conflict in Rakhine and also about Muslims on there. It is clear that the intention of the utterance is **Stating**, by using his statement the speaker wants to influence his followers to hate Muslim.

3.1.1.2 The analysis of illocutionary acts found in Wirathu's speech transcript entitled "*Ashin Wirathu is saying bad things about muslims*" transcript. Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fDzU9u2ljDw>

Data 1

Ashin : *If we get married with Muslims, than what happens?*

Audiences : our religion will lost

The utterance written in italic above shows Wirathu gives question to the audiences. The situation is Wirathu speech in front of his followers (Buddhist). Basically, Wirathu and his followers are hated Muslim. It can be seen from this utterance, when Wirathu gives question "*if we get married with Muslims, than what happened?*" the answer of the followers is "*our religion will lost.*" This answer is really shows a negative meaning.

Based on the context, Wirathu's intention is the type of **Directive** speech act. Directive is an illocutionary act for getting the addressee to do something. In this utterance Wirathu giving a question to his followers and he expects that his followers to give an answer. It is clear that the intention of this utterance is **Asking/questioning**.

Data 2

Ashin : *will our religion really lost?*

Audiences : yes, it will

The utterance written in italic above shows that Wirathu gives the same question with the previous utterance. The different is Wirathu add the word "*really*" in order to make sure that the answer of his followers is true or not. And the followers still giving the same answer that is "*yes, it will.*"

Based on the context, Wirathu's intention is the type of **Directive** speech act. Directive is an illocutionary act for getting the addressee to do something. In this utterance Wirathu giving a question to his followers and he expects that his followers to give an answer. It is clear that the intention of this utterance is **Asking/questioning**.

3.1.2 Power and Ideology Represented in Ashin Wirathu Speeches by Using CDA's Theory Proposed by Thomas Huckin

The analysis of Ashin Wirathu's speech are divided into three steps which consist of sub-steps among the first two steps. The first steps is analyzing the text at the whole text-level which is divided into genre, framing, foregrounding or backgrounding, presupposition, and discursive difference. The second step is analyzing the text at the sentence level and word level which is divided into topicalization, agency, deletion or omission, insinuation, connotation, register, and modality. The third step is analyzing the text in contextual interpretation. This is a summary of the overall Wirathu's speech about how power and ideology that is used. The interpretation is also based on the results from the two previous analyses.

3.1.1.2 Analyzing the text at the whole text-level

The data: Ashin Wirathu's speech entitled "*Burmese! Buddhist monk, His name is Wirathu, he calls himself the Burmese Bin Laden*" and "*Ashin Wirathu is saying bad things about muslims.*" Speech 1 refers to Wirathu's speech entitled "*Burmese! Buddhist monk, His name is Wirathu, he calls himself the Burmese Bin Laden*" and speech 2 refers to Wirathu's speech entitled "*Ashin Wirathu is saying bad things about muslims.*"

Table 2. Genre Analysis of Speech 1

No	Genre classification Argumentative	Wirathus speech entitled " <i>Burmese! Buddhist monk, His name is Wirathu, he calls himself the Burmese Bin Laden</i> "
1	Social function:	a. To present a point of view and the speaker's opinion about Muslim in Rohingya.
2	Schematic Structures	There are some statements of Ashin Wirathu's speech toward Muslim in Rohingya a. Wirathu believed that In every town there is a crude and savage Muslim majority like in Rohingya.
3	Statement of position Argument	

No	Genre classification Argumentative	Wirathus speech entitled “ <i>Burmese! Buddhist monk, His name is Wirathu, he calls himself the Burmese Bin Laden</i> ”
	2.3 Summing up	<p>b. Wirathu claimed that every sermon stories of girls being ungrateful to their parents, harassing their parents after they get married to muslims.</p> <p>c. Wirathu believed that the local muslims are crude and savage because extremists are pulling the strings, providing them with financial, military and technical power.</p> <p>Ashin Wirathu wants to protect his people (followers), religion, culture and country from Muslims. He claimed Muslims as a threat for him and his followers and he want to show his hatred toward Muslim.</p>
3	<p>Linguistics Features</p> <p>3.1.1 the argument and statement of persuade are written in the timeless past perfect tense and present tense</p> <p>3.2 Verbs are used when expressing opinions</p> <p>3.3 Use of pronoun We, I, They, and Their</p>	<p>a. We are being raped in every town, being sexually harassed in every town, being ganged up and bullied in every town.</p> <p>b. We are not attacking any race. We are not insulting islam. We are not destroying Islamic culture. I am preaching this, as a means of protecting our people, religion, culture and country for national security.</p> <p>- There are my own and resolutions. I want the world to know this. The local muslims are crude and savage because extremists are pulling the strings, providing them with financial, military and technical power.</p> <p>a. We are being raped in every town, being sexually harassed in every town, being ganged up and bullied in every town.</p> <p>b. I am preaching this, as a means of protecting our people, religion, culture and country for national security.</p> <p>c. Of girls having to unwillingly and miserably follow islam after being converted by force, and being killed in instances when they don’t follow.</p> <p>d. We mention in every sermon stories of girls being ungrateful to their parents,</p>

No	Genre classification Argumentative	Wirathus speech entitled “ <i>Burmese! Buddhist monk, His name is Wirathu, he calls himself the Burmese Bin Laden</i> ”
		<p>harassing their parents after they get married to muslims.</p> <p>e. If <i>we</i> get married with Muslims, than what happens?</p> <p>f. Will <i>our</i> religion really lost?</p> <p>g. What do <i>you</i> prefer?</p>

Table 3. Genre Analysis of Speech 2

No	Genre classification Persuasive	Wirathu’s speech entitled “ <i>Ashin Wirathu is saying bad things about muslims</i> ”
1	Social function	To persuade the listeners to follow the idea of the speaker
2	Schematic Structures 2.1 Statement of position 2.2 persuasive sentences	<p>There are some interrogative sentences include in Wirathu’s speech:</p> <p>a. Ashin : If we get married with muslims, than what happens? Audiences : our religion will lost</p> <p>b. Ashin : so, will you get married with an alcoholic or a muslim? Audiences : with an alcoholic!!</p> <p>c. Ashin : a freak or a muslim? Audiences : freak!!!</p> <p>d. Ashin : with a tramp or muslim? Audiences : with tramp!!</p> <p>e. Ashin : with a dog or a muslim? Audiences : with a dog!!</p>

No	Genre classification Persuasive	Wirathu's speech entitled " <i>Ashin Wirathu is saying bad things about muslims</i> "
	2.3 Summing Up	Wirathu persuades his followers to follow his idea.
3	Linguistics Features 3.1.1 the argument and statement of persuade are written in the timeless present tense 3.2 Verbs are used when expressing opinions Use of pronoun <i>We, our and you</i>	a. If we <i>get married</i> with muslims, than what happens? b. so, <i>will you get married</i> with an alcoholic or a muslim? - If we <i>get married</i> with muslims, than what happens? - we <i>prefer</i> dog!! a. If <i>we</i> get married with Muslims, than what happens? b. Will <i>our</i> religion really lost? c. What do <i>you</i> prefer?

The Analysis of Power represented in Ashin Wirathu's Speeches shown in the sentence below:

"I am preaching this, as a means of protecting our people, religion, culture and country for national security."

Based on the utterance written in italic above, Wirathu shows his power as a Monk to calm his followers it can be seen from the word protecting. Wirathu claims Muslim are crude and savage so he has to protect his followers from Muslim.

The analysis of ideology represented in Ashin Wirathu's speeches shown in the sentence below:

"We are being raped in every town, being sexually harassed in every town, being ganged up and bullied in every town. In every town there is a crude and savage Muslim majority like this."

The utterance written in italic above explains the opinion of Wirathu towards Muslim in Rohingya. He starts his statement by using sentence 'We are being raped in every town...' this sentence implies a negative meaning and it refers to Muslim, it can be seen from the sentence 'in every town there is a crude

and savage Muslim majority like this...’ in the beginning of his speech Wirathu assumes Muslim as a threat for him and his followers because Wirathu claims that Muslim committing a crime toward people in Rohingya for example are raping, sexually harassing and gang up and intimidate people in Rohingya

3.1.2.1 Framing

Framing is how the content of a script of speech is presented, what is the perspective of the speaker is taking. The perspective is captured by taking all the details together into some sort of unified whole. Perspective itself is a human point of view on reality that is captured by the sensory experience. So according to the terms of framing, researcher tries to explain the point of view of the text, in this case is Wirathu’s speech text, as a whole and in detail starting from the opening, contents, and closing.

3.1.2.2 Opening

On the first speech, there are no utterances which describe an introduction or an opening in this speech. Wirathu starts his speech from the sentence below.

“We are being raped in every town, being sexually harassed in every town, being ganged up and bullied in every town.”

Based on the utterance written in italic above, Wirathu doesn’t using any sentence to open his speech. In the beginning of his speech he provides a statement which is a main point for his speech.

On the second speech, Wirathu doesn’t any sentence to open his speech too. His speech is start with an interrogative sentence below:

Ashin : If we get married with muslims, than what happens?

Audiences : our religion will lost

3.1.2.3 Content

This is the main part of the speech. It contains a description of the subject matter which is presented to the audience so that the audience can receive the message properly. In this part, the researcher discovers at least three ideas which is said by Ashin Wirathu. Those are, his concerns on this conflict, his concerns to protect the Buddhist from Muslim and his statement about his beliefs. In this analysis of framing, the three of them are described according to their perspective as follows:

About his concerns on the conflict between Muslim and Buddhist in Rohingya, is shown through some paragraphs below:

“In every town there is a crude and savage Muslim majority like this. We mention in every sermon stories of girls being ungrateful to their parents, harassing their parents after they get married to Muslims. Of girls having to unwillingly and miserably follow Islam after being converted by force and being killed in instances when they don’t follow. If they aren’t killed , then they are tortured daily until they are in tears”.

A piece of the speech above shows his concerns. As it is known that the conflict in Rohingya is dominance by religion conflict.

About his concerns to protect the Buddhist from Muslim, is shown in the paragraph below:

“We are not attacking any race. We are not insulting islam. We are not destroying Islamic culture. I am preaching this, as a means of protecting our people, religion, culture and country for national security.”

Based on the utterance written in italic above, the researcher focus on the underline sentence, it shows that Wirathu really serious to protect his country especially his followers. Wirathu claims Muslim as a threat.

Next, is about his statement about his beliefs:

“I don’t believe I am creating or contributing hatred towards Muslims. I am not working for any parties, organizations or persons. There are my own beliefs and resolutions”.

Based on the utterance written in italic above Wirathu tells to his followers about his beliefs. He said that he does not working for any parties, organization or person. He hates Muslim by his own beliefs and resolution.

Here the main topic of the second speech. The utterance below show that Wirathu really hate Muslim.

Ashin : so, will you get married with an alcoholic or a muslim?

Audiences : with an alcoholic!!

The utterance written in italic above show Wirathu and his followers really hate Muslim. It can be seen from the utterance above. They prefer to choose get married with an alcoholic than Muslim.

3.1.2.4 Closing

The following paragraph is utterances from Wirathu and it is used as the conclusion in his speech about Muslim in Rohingya:

“There are my own beliefs and resolutions. I want the world to know this. The local muslims are crude and savage because extremists are pulling the strings, providing them with financial, military and technical power”.

Based on the utterance written above, the researcher focuses on the underlined sentence. It shows that Wirathu conclude Muslim in Rohingya are Crude and savage because extremists are pulling the strings, providing them with financial, military and technical power. From his conclusion we can know that Wirathu hates Muslim a lot. He claims

Muslim as a threat for people in Myanmar especially in Rohingya.

1) Analyzing the text at the sentence level and word level

At this level, it aims to constructing the basic meaning of each sentence. Then it starts with the analysis of topicalization as below.

1) Topicalization

Topicalization is focusing more closely at the individual sentence which has a sentence topic. Sentence topic is what the sentence said by the speaker talks about. Thus, it creates speaker's perspective that influences reader's perception.

The data of this analysis is the transcript of Ashin Wirathu speech entitled "*Burmese! Buddhist monk, His name is Wirathu, he calls himself the Burmese Bin Laden*". The text consist of two paragraph where each paragraph has one main sentence. There are the explanations of main topic in both of paragraph:

Paragraph 1

"We are being raped in every town, being sexually harassed in every town, being ganged up and bullied in every town. In every town there is a crude and savage Muslim majority like this. We mention in every sermon stories of girls being ungrateful to their parents, harassing their parents after they get married to muslims. Of girls having to unwillingly and miserably follow islam after being converted by force, and being killed in instances when they don't follow. If they aren't killed , then they are tortured daily until they are in tears."

Topic of the first paragraph above is Wirathu's explanation toward the negative effect of majority Muslim in Rohingya. This explanations influence the listeners to follow his beliefs. Wirathu claims Muslim as a threat, it can be seen from the some evidences that he has mentioned there are 'girls being ungrateful to their parents, harassing their parents after they get married to muslims and girls having to unwillingly and miserably

follow islam after being converted by force, and being killed in instances when they don't follow...'

Paragraph 2

"We are not attacking any race. We are not insulting islam. We are not destroying Islamic culture. I am preaching this, as a means of protecting our people, religion, culture and country for national security. I don't believe I am creating or contributing hatred towards Muslims. I am not working for any parties, organizations or persons. There are my own beliefs and resolutions. I want the world to know this. The local muslims are crude and savage because extremists are pulling the strings, providing them with financial, military and technical power."

Based on the second paragraph written in italic above, the main topic of those paragraph is Wirathu wants to influence the listeners to hate Muslim. It can be seen from the sentence "*I want the world to know this. The local muslims are crude and savage because extremists are pulling the strings, providing them with financial, military and technical power*". The researcher underlined the words *Crude and Savage*, as words that used to influence the listeners to hate Muslim. Both of two words are have negative meaning.

2) Agency

Basically, agency is more to a person whose role is to do a certain thing or an action. In this agency level, readers will be able to know who has a key role in the text. According to the data, agency is shown through the bold and italic font in sentences below:

"I am preaching this, as a means of protecting our people, religion, culture and country for national security."

Based on the utterance written in italic above, the speaker Ashin Wirathu (as agent) shows his power to his followers. He try to make the listeners believe him that he can protect all of the people in Rohingya.

2) Analyzing the Text in Contextual Interpretation

Based on the previous analysis that has been conducted, both the analyzing the text at the whole text-level and analyzing the text at the sentence level and word level, researcher has a pretty clear overview of Ashin Wirathu speech. That overview would later become the reference in the analysis at this stage, other than from the researcher's own interpretation. Analysis at this stage can be used to answer questions about how language, power and ideology that are contained in the Wirathu's speech. Each explanation can be seen in the following paragraphs.

In fact there are some aspects in the process of identifying the language used in the speech these aspects can be seen clearly through the analysis of genre, framing, foregrounding and backgrounding, deletion and omission, insinuation, and register. In the genre, it is known that language is used formal or less formal and it can also known whether the language used is in accordance with the rules of the actual composition of speech or not. From the framing analysis can be known the clarity and the precision. Foregrounding and backgrounding show that the language in the speech delivered consecutively or not. Deletion and omission reflects that there is an emphasis on the language used. It aims to strengthen the meaning of message to be conveyed in the speech. Whereas insinuation describes the use of language that in such a manner, so things that in fact have a positive image after it is said perceived as having negative image. In more detail language can be viewed especially from mode of discourse in register analysis.

The second is about the power. In its identification process, power is clearly seen in the analysis of backgrounding, but it can also be seen in the analysis of the register, insinuation and agency. On the analysis backgrounding, power is clearly viewed, from the backgrounding the implicit meaning can be known well. It is said to

have power when the speaker believes with what he says, whereas does not have power or less power when he is no sure. It is seen from the backgrounding. On the other hand, power can also be reflected through who the speaker is. It means how the social status of the speaker, so it is felt to have a power upon what he says. This is clearly illustrated in the previous analysis of register, especially in the tenor of discourse that discusses how the relationship between the speaker and the addressee, their status, and their social distance.

The third is about the ideology. It can be viewed from the analysis of framing, backgrounding, insinuation, connotation, and register, especially in field of discourse. Based on those aspects of analysis, the point is the speaker has the purpose or particular objective to be achieved in the speech. For example, the ideology in field of discourse is that the speaker has original purpose to inform the addressee about what actually happened, that is the conflict in Rohingya, so people become aware of the conflict which actually has happened, so they know the action that should be done. In the framing and backgrounding, the speaker shows his ideology and the purpose is to influence the Muslim as same as him. The other hand, in fact he has other purposes such as calming the anxiety in the community.

3.2 Discussion

In this research, the researcher focuses on the relationship between power and ideology. As where it is known that Wirathu's speech in the context of power and ideology also cannot be separated, it can be seen that the words that contain a strong power so ideology will also be apparent. In other words, if an ideology on the speech can be achieved, it can be said that what is said has the power. Those are the explanation of language, power, and ideology as a whole, both individually and their relationships. Based on those explanation can be concluded that those three things is a unified whole which is strongly

associated to one another so it is impossible to separate. From the analysis that the researcher has done above, the power and ideology of the speaker is describe clearly. In both of the speeches as the data, Wirathu shows his power by using sentence *“I am preaching this, as a means of protecting our people, religion, culture and country for national security.”* This sentence explained Wirathu as a Monk will protect his followers, religion, culture and the country from Muslim. Then, the ideology of of Wirathu describe on the sentences *“I am not working for any parties, organizations or persons. There are my own beliefs and resolutions. I want the world to know this. The local muslims are crude and savage because extremists are pulling the strings, providing them with financial, military and technical power.”* From phrase *“There are my own beliefs and resolution”* implied that Wirathu wants to share his ideology to the listeners. By using his power and ideology the speaker can influence the listeners easily. All of the utterance that Wirathu has made in his speech is describe the ideology of Wirathu toward Muslim in Rohingya. Every statement that he has made explained how Wirathu want to show his power and ideology to all of the listeners especially his followers.

This research is totally different from the previous research, because there are no previous researches using CDA’s Theory proposed by Thomas Huckin as method for analyzing the data. Then, the data is totally different too, because there are no previous researchers using Ashin Wirathu speeches as the data of the research. In this research the researcher combines two theories as the tool to analyze the data there are Speech Act and Critical Discourse Analysis.

4 CONLUSSION

After analyzing Ashin Wirathu speech by analyzing the illocutionary act and describe power and ideology of Ashin Wirathu’s speeches toward Muslim in Rohingya. The researcher concludes that there are some important points of Wirathu.

The points will be explained as follows:

- 1) Wirathu tried to spread hatred towards Muslim. His intention can be analyzed from the illocutionary act element.
- 2) Wirathu showed his power as a Monk, he said that he will protect his followers, religion, culture and his country. It can be analyzed from the illocutionary act element.
- 3) The type of his 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.
- 4) 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.
- 5) By using his speech, Wirathu wants to influence all of the people especially his followers to hate Muslim. It can be seen from the illocutionary act element and Critical Discourse Analysis element.

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