

## CRITICAL DISCOURSE: APPLYING NORMAN FAIRCLOUGH THEORY IN RECEP TAYYIP ERDOĞAN'S BALCONY SPEECH

Rika Wahyuni Tambunan<sup>1</sup>, Dr. H. Muhizar Muchtar<sup>2</sup>, Putri Agustian<sup>3</sup>, Agus Salim<sup>4</sup>, Laili Aisyah<sup>5</sup>, Budi Awan Marpaung<sup>6</sup>, Muhammad Muslim Nasution<sup>7</sup>  
University of Sumatera Utara<sup>1-6</sup>, State University of Medan<sup>7</sup>  
[rickatambunan7@ymail.com](mailto:ricketambunan7@ymail.com)<sup>1</sup>, [muhizarm@yahoo.com](mailto:muhizarm@yahoo.com)

### *Abstract*

*This research aimed to apply Norman Fairclough theory in the Recep Tayyip Erdogan's balcony speech in front of the party's headquarters, Arkan, Turkey. This research used Norman Fairclough theory of the textual analysis, analysis of the practice of discourse, and analysis of sociocultural. The method used in this study is a qualitative research method to approach critical discourse analysis. This study used observation techniques. The results obtained are as follows: (1) The textual analysis in his official greeting speech of Erdogan consist of three parts: the text structure, grammar and coherence. (2) Analysis of the practice of three stages: namely the process of earning a discourse, process deployment, and the use of discourse. (3) Analysis of sociocultural practices in his official speech of Erdogan consist of three levels, namely the level of: situational, institutional, and social.*

**Keyword:** *Critical Discourse Analysis, Qualitative Research Method, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's Balcony Speech, Norman Fairclough Theory*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The basic understanding of discourse analysis is that discourse is not understood solely as an object of language study. Language is exactly used to analyze the text. In this research, the researcher used Erdogan's balcony speech to be analyzed by Faircloth Critical Discourse Analysis Model. The content of Erdogan's speech text had an interesting language to analyze. The figure of Erdogan as a President of Turkey made this analysis has its own value.

Norman Fairclough's analysis is based on the big question, how to link the micro text with the macro community context. Fairclough seeks to build a model of discourse analysis that contributes to the social and cultural analysis, thus combining a tradition of textual analysis that always sees in a confined space with a broader community context. Fairclough's point of interest is to see how language users carry the certain ideological values. In this case, a thorough analysis is needed. Social and critical language is a form of action, in a dialectical relationship with the social structure. Therefore, the analysis must be separated in a part of the language formed and shaped from a social relations and specific social contexts (Fairclough, 1998: 131-132).

### 2. METHOD

This research used Norman Fairclough approach and qualitative research type. The Fairclough approach in analyzing texts seeks to unite three dimensions, namely (Fairclough 1992: 73, 1995: 59):

1. Textual or textual analysis (micro level), that is a description about text;
2. Analysis of discourse practice (meso level), ie interpretation of the process of generating, distributing, and using discourse, including intertextuality and interdiscursivity;
3. Analysis of sociocultural practice (macro level), ie explanation of social processes hidden in the discourse.

The source of the data in this critical discourse analysis research is the text of a President of Turkey's speech, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in Ankara on March 30, 2014. The speech text was obtained from the balcony speech's transcription of his post-election in the Presidential Election of Turkey in 2014. In analyzing the text of Erdogan's speech, the researcher came through 2 stages. Firstly, the researcher translated Erdogan's speech text which was written in English to then be translated to the Indonesian language, aiming to facilitate the researcher in going deep into the content of the speech text. Secondly, the researcher began to analyze the content of the speech text and wrote the small notes about important points.

The researcher also read the other materials and related literature, to obtain some additional informations that support the research objectives. This research also used the background of knowledge and the researcher's assumptions with a trust that there is no absolute truth in interpreting qualitative data in every research. Nevertheless, this research still used the Critical Discourse Analysis rule. Through this analysis, the power relations established by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in his balcony speech, will be known and the language used with the function can also be explained in more detail.

### 3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Erdogan's balcony speech has been looked forward to the journalists and his supporters to know his further movement after being elected as the president of Turkey. This balcony speech has a power in it. As one of the world leaders who have power in leading the country, Erdogan's balcony speech has important points that can be analyzed through the textual analysis, discourse practice and sociocultural practices in Norman Fairclough theory.

#### THE TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

Textual Analysis of Turkish President's balcony speech, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in front of the party's headquarters in Ankara is divided into text structure, grammar and coherence.

##### Text Structure

###### *The Opening of the Speech Text*

Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan greets his citizens with a polite language and is accompanied by his gratitude to Allah and his supporters. In the opening of his balcony speech. This greeting form can be observed in this following quotation.

I wholeheartedly greet our 81 provinces as well as sister and friendly capitals and cities of the world from Ankara, from the AK Party headquarters. I've just addressed via teleconference thousands of people who gathered in Skopje Square. They were sharing the joy you have here in freezing weather. I first want to express my absolute gratitude to my God for such a victory and a meaningful result.

(Erdogan, 30 Maret 2014)

The speech was delivered after the victory of Erdogan in Turkey's presidential election in 2014. This speech was delivered in front of AK Parti's headquarters (Justice and Development Party in English). In the opening section, Erdogan did not specify who the certain persons were at the time. Erdogan only expressed his warm greetings in general, without mentioning the position or name. Erdogan also greeted the countries that had supported him in the Presidential Election and some praise and care he gave as an opening in his speech. This can be seen in the following quotation.

I thank my friends and brothers all over the world who prayed for our victory. I thank my brothers in Palestine who saw our victory as their victory. I thank my brothers in

Egypt who are struggling for democracy and who understand our struggle very well. I thank my brothers in the Balkans, in Bosnia, in Macedonia, in Kosovo and in all cities in Europe who celebrate our victory with the same joy we have here. I thank my suffering brothers in Syria who pray for our victory although in a great pain, facing starvation and under bombs and bullets. I express the gratitude of my people to all our brothers and friends who gave a support to Turkey's independence struggle just like before the Independence War of Turkey. Of course, this precious people deserve the greatest appreciation. My brothers; I thank you very much because you have protected the new Turkey's struggle for independence. I thank each of you because you have protected the ideal of a great Turkey and the targets of a great Turkey. You have supported your prime minister, your party, the politics, your own future with your own will.

(Erdogan, 30 Maret 2014)

The delivery of this speech is done in outside the room. This shows the level of formality is not high, so that Erdogan did not need to be too formal in delivering his speech but he was still firm and authoritative. Speechless balcony spaces in open spaces and a high level of formalism can mean that Erdogan did not want to create distance to his supporters.

#### *The Content of the Speech Text*

The content of the speech raised the main issues that Erdogan wanted to address. In this section, Erdogan conveyed on the issues that Turkey and some other eastern countries were experiencing, and publicly announced what Erdogan will soon be doing in the near future. In the content, there were some words that have been pronounced before but it was repeated in the next paragraph. In the opening, Erdogan immediately discussed about the turmoil that is being experienced by Turkey.

Well, today is March 30. What did they say? They said "Chaos after March 25." Correct. We saw the chaos. What was this chaos? This country found the opportunity to see the traitors who eavesdropped on the Foreign Ministry and committed treachery by interfering in the national security of this state and people. That was their chaos plan. I've been saying for months that "We'll walk into their dens."

(Erdogan, 30 Maret 2014)

The use of repetition of this sentence occurred in the certain sentences that contained the important meanings. It is like emphasizing, affirming and reassuring the listeners that Erdogan is very serious about what he said.

Today, unethical politics has lost. Tape politics, montage politics, slander and denigration politics has lost. Politics without building something, politics without plans and projects, without goals, has lost. O, General Manager [referring to the main opposition CHP leader Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu], o, so-called party chair! What would you speak of during your election campaign if you didn't have those tapes? We spoke of plans, projects. They spoke of lies, dissimulation, slander, sedition and intrigue. The status quo has taken a huge blow today. Dirty relations and unnamed alliances have lost today. Every kind of tutelage and to all kinds of tutelage-dictating centers has been hit with a full Ottoman slap by the nation. Arrogance has lost today. Pride has lost today. The arrogance that looks down on its nation, belittling it and making light of its choices has lost in the ballot box one again.

(11th paragraph, Erdogan 2014)

The politics of lies, slander, blackmail and montage has been destroyed today. The solution method of all problems in Turkey is politics and democracy unquestionably.

Whatever problem one has, politics should be used for the solution. Whatever problem one has, it should be solved at the ballot box.

(13th Paragraph, Erdogan 2014)

The worthless opposition, the status quo, coup attempts and tutelage have lost. Immoral and indecent politics have lost. I am thanking once more my nation.

(20th Paragraph, Erdogan 2014)

Erdogan did the repetition in the words that contained the same meaning, which means that Erdogan with the turkish who supported him will remove the status quo, immoral politics, coups that threaten the peace, dirty relationships, lies, simulation, slander, sedition and intrigue. Through some repetition words that Erdogan delivered in his balcony speech, it can be interpreted that Erdogan had mastered the content of the speech and was not totally focused on the prepared text of the speech. Erdogan also certainly had an important role to the speech, such as writing the speech himself. Then, Erdogan also several times offended his opposition party, the CH Party (Republican People's Party in English) and its leader Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, as follows:

Second, why don't you ask the same to the leaders of the opposition parties? But they [opposition leaders] have no such target. They will keep silent but will claim their win. Regardless of whether he receives 26, 27 or 28 percent, the general directorate [CHP leader] will say he won the elections. The other [MHP] will claim his win although he gets 13, 14 or 15 percent. Why? Because they have spent their lives this way. But what did your brother say? "I'll quit party leadership if we cannot be the first party." Politics requires honor. Politics requires nobility. If you cannot enrich your positions, quit. This general directorate [CHP leader] once said he would quit politics if he remains below 40 percent. He got 26, did he go? No. He won't go this time either. The other oen has occupied this seat for the last 16 or 17 years. Will he go? No.

(7th Paragraph, Erdogan 2014)

Politics without building something, politics without plans and projects, without goals, has lost. O, General Manager [referring to the main opposition CHP leader Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu], o, so-called party chair!

(11th Paragraph, Erdogan 2014)

But is the opposition occupied with such an issue? No. They have always caught unprepared in the elections. We will wholeheartedly evaluate the feelings of people who have voted for us and my citizens who have not voted for us. The opposition should read the message people have given in the ballot in the correct way. The opposition should do healthy self-criticism.

(14th Paragraph, Erdogan 2014)

One group is making political Kurdishness, one group is making political Turkishness. The CHP says 'I am a party of the coasts.' One nation, one country, one flag, one state.

(18th Paragraph, Erdogan 2014)

They have entered our institutions over in 35-40 years. They infiltrated wherever. We became the victim of our good intentions. Now it is time to comb them out, within the law.

(19th Paragraph, Erdogan 2014)

Not only criticizing the immoral politics that were happening in Turkey that day, Erdogan also boldly mentioned his opposition party which was also part of such immoral politics. Erdogan's bravery was seen by his language that mentioned the name of CH Party involved in that matter along with the party's leader, Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu. Then, in that speech also uplifted the Turkish people and gave new hope to them. After various bad things happened in Turkey, This sentence can cause a confidence for the

Turkish because of a promising for a new life is expressed directly by the President of Turkey, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.

The people gave a clear message to Turkey and to the world: What did they say? They said “We are here.” They said, “The Turkish people are impassable.” “We are the owners of this country. the people will not bow and Turkey is invincible.”

(8th Paragraph, Erdogan 2014)

I have filed criminal complaints about some of them; I said they can also flee. As I have said, from now on, we’ll walk into their dens. They will pay for this.

(9th Paragraph, Erdogan 2014)

Democracy has won at the ballot box today. The will has won at the ballot box.

(12th Paragraph, Erdogan 2014)

We will wholeheartedly evaluate the feelings of people who have voted for us and my citizens who have not voted for us.

(14th Paragraph, Erdogan 2014)

Come on, let’s turn over a new page

(17th Paragraph, Erdogan 2014)

Let’s raise Turkey together

(17th Paragraph, Erdogan 2014)

We have come [to power] to serve the people, not to be a master over them. We are only the porters of a big stone on the path. We were not here yesterday, but this path will continue. As long as the world stands, God willing, our flag will continue to wave in the highest bastions forever.

(18th Paragraph, Erdogan 2014)

Because from now on, neither the nation nor we will show tolerance to such networks. Look, thank God, we have been granted the proud and honor of being at the forefront of this path. Maybe tomorrow we will not be in these posts. We have tried to glorify whatever task my God has given us. After now, as long as this body has this life, God willing, we will try to loyally adopt whatever tasks are bestowed onto us. If God pleases, we will put in an effort to laud our flag and our land as the servants of this country and nation until our last breath. We are highly relieved. We feel the pride of carrying the great Turkish flag, which we took over from our predecessors, to high bastions.

(19th Paragraph, Erdogan 2014)

We are at joy to have strengthened politics. We have no doubt that the great AK Party family will behave with this consciousness. Today, nobody should be sad or sorry

(20th Paragraph, Erdogan 2014)

Confidently, Erdogan continued to convince the Turkish that they will bring Turkey better than ever, as written in his balcony speech above.

### *The Closing of the Speech Text*

In this section, everyone who was delivering a speech will end the contents of his speech with closing words. The words used to close a speech should be able to give the listener a deep impression. In this balcony speech, Erdogan expressed his gratitude to Allah and the Turkish for his victory, as follows:

I am thanking those grandmothers who have prayed non-stop for months, even children. I am thanking young people, my sisters and the gentlemen. I am thanking my brothers who have trusted us and who have believed in us. I am thanking those who have prayed for Turkey, for Turkey’s stability everywhere in the world. I am thanking my

organization, from my headquarters to provincial organizations, district organizations, small town organizations and polling-station observers. I am thanking one by one our women's branches, our youth branches, all of them one by one. I wish all the success to the elected mayors, city council members, metropolitan council members, village and neighborhood heads. I wish from God that these elections bring goodness to Turkey. May God protect my country, my nation.

(Erdogan 2014)

Then, Erdogan also slipped some eager words at the end of his speech and convinced the Turkish to unite so that no one could defeat them. Erdogan invited all Turkish to jointly face the cheats and unrest in Turkey.

The nation is invincible. I say happy victory; let our victory be blessed. I salute all of you from my heart and I am asking, "Are we ready?"

We walked together on these roads. We got wet together under the pouring rain. In all the songs I am listening to now, everything reminds me of you. Everything reminds me of Turkey.

(Erdogan 2014)

## **Grammar**

### *Transitivity*

The objective of transitivity is to see the prominent types of processes and actors in the text, the main voice (active or passive), and the significance of the nominalization process. The main concern is the agent or perpetrator, the expression of cause, and the consequences of the person responsible (Fairclough, 1992). There are several active and passive forms in Erdogan's balcony speech that affect the listener's mind to the sentence delivered.

This can be observed in a balcony speech delivered by Erdogan after his victory in the Presidential Election for Turkey. Using the active form on the speech is to suppress the culprit. All elements in the community do active things together. The use of active form with the subject "we" is followed by giving hope, being calm and inviting the listener to contribute together in performing a particular purpose. The quotation of speech is as follows:

We have come [to power] to serve the people, not to be a master over them  
(18th Paragraph, Erdogan 2014)

We are at joy to have strengthened politics. We have no doubt that the great AK Party family will behave with this consciousness

(20th Paragraph, Erdogan 2014)

We have stomached most of them; we have taken many of them to court  
(21st Paragraph, Erdogan 2014)

We walked together on these roads. We got wet together under the pouring rain

(24th Paragraph, Erdogan 2014)

These sentences used the active form by placing the subject in front. This placement makes the subject be a major theme in the sentence. This made the subject get more attention than the other phrases of this sentence. Through this form, Erdogan gained a great attention for listeners.

### *Theme*

An analysis of the intended theme is to see the thematic structure of a text. In this analysis, the researcher analyzed what theme often appeared. The theme of the speech raised by Erdogan, depend on the circumstances and places of this speech delivered. This speech was delivered right after the voting



result in the election for the President of Turkey which stated that Erdogan managed to win the voting result. This speech was also delivered in front of party's headquarters in Ankara on March 30, 2014. For that, Erdogan chose the theme about his gratitude to the Turkish who have supported him so that he can achieve his victory.

Then, Erdogan also revealed about everything that caused the decline and loss for Turkey will be eliminated. This theme arised as a result of the many unrest and turmoil occurred in Turkey so far. Therefore, Erdogan's victory is a weapon to eliminate it. In some parts, Erdogan mentioned some of them. This can be seen in the following quote:

I am thanking my brothers who have trusted us and who have believed in us. I am thanking those who have prayed for Turkey, for Turkey's stability everywhere in the world. I am thanking my organization, from my headquarters to provincial organizations, district organizations, small town organizations and polling-station observers. I am thanking one by one our women's branches, our youth branches, all of them one by one.

This quote was a part of Erdogan's speech content about his gratitude for his victory in the election for the President of Turkey for 2014 to 2019.

The politics of lies, slander, blackmail and montage has been destroyed today. The solution method of all problems in Turkey is politics and democracy unquestionably. Whatever problem one has, politics should be used for the solution. Whatever problem one has, it should be solved at the ballot box.

This quote was a part of what Erdogan did to the cause of the decline and loss for Turkey.

### *Modality*

Modality is used to indicate the knowledge or power level of an utterance. Fairclough sees the modalities as a social fabricator capable of interpreting attitude and power. The use of modalities in discourse generally will find the majority of modalities that have the meaning of command and demand, such as *must, should, need, let..*

The modalities used by Erdogan were very few, ie there was only the use of "*should*", as follows:

Today, nobody should be sad or sorry. The 77 million people should know that Turkey won today. Every single individual in the 77 million people should know that the new Turkey won today

This quote contained an explanation that Erdogan convinced and told the Turkish to show to the world that Turkish has begun a better new life. The word "*should*" belonged to a modality because it was an explicit command that directed to the listener to do what Erdogan wanted. This commandment was a representation of the power possessed by Erdogan as the new President. Erdogan had the power of instructing listeners to become a new Turkey.

### **Coherence**

#### *Conjunction*

In Critical Discourse Analysis, connecting the words was one component that supported the delivery of ideological messages from the speaker to the audience. The connecting words in Erdogan's speech can be seen in the following quotation:

Now, from time to time, journalists ask me whether I will make a balcony speech this year. Ok, first, what are you expecting out of a balcony speech? Second, why don't you ask the same to the leaders of the opposition parties? But they [opposition leaders] have no such target.

In this speech, Erdogan explained that he had been frequently questioned by some journalists about the balcony speech, seen from the word "*from time to time*". Then, Erdogan also asked a question

why only he was asked to make a balcony speech. Erdogan also directed the journalists to ask the opposition party the same thing.

Then, the use of ordinal number, ie *'first'* and *'second'* also found in this sentence. Erdogan asked two things that should also be done by others. However, the question that Erdogan delivered in his speech was actually not to be answered, because it is merely a matter of curiosity.

#### *Reference word (Pronoun)*

The Reference word that Erdogan used in his speech was a pronoun. Erdogan alluded to Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu who was the leader of the AC Party, as one of the immoral political actor. However, Erdogan did not use the real name of the intended person. Erdogan only used the name of the party led by the person. This can be observed in the following quotation:

They will keep silent but will claim their win. Regardless of whether he receives 26, 27 or 28 percent, the general directorate [CHP leader] will say he won the elections. The other [MHP] will claim his win although he gets 13, 14 or 15 percent. Why? Because they have spent their lives this way.

(7th Paragraph, Erdogan 2014)

General Manager [referring to the main opposition CHP leader Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu], o, so-called party chair! What would you speak of during your election campaign if you didn't have those tapes? We spoke of plans, projects. They spoke of lies, dissimulation, slander, sedition and intrigue.

(11th Paragraph, Erdogan 2014)

### **DISCOURSE PRACTICES**

In analyzing the dimensions of discourse practice, included the aspects of producing, spreading / publishing, and consuming.

For the producing the discourse performed by Turkish President or the head of the party, but the listener never knew who made the speech. Certainly, in delivering his speech, the Erdogan played a part in making the process.

While in spreading the discourse, what is needed is to affirm other texts that interpreted the mind, as follows:

We walked together on these roads. We got wet together under the pouring rain. In all the songs I am listening to now, everything reminds me of you. Everything reminds me of Turkey.

(24th Paragraph, Erdogan 2014)

The quotation of speech above means that Erdogan will not achieve his goal to advance Turkey by himself. Together with the Turkish, Erdogan will undergo the distress and pleasure with them. Therefore, it can be said that as a Turkish, all parties, all elements of the nation must unite and work together to create a better Turkey.

For the process of spreading the discourse, as a whole and the overall speech delivered in the party officers, volunteers and Turkish who had an important role on his victory. In addition, the speech was also widely broadcasted by electronic media in the form of fragments. Hurriyet daily new which was one of the mass media in Turkey, also contained the contents of Erdogan's balcony speech into its official website.

For the use of this discourse / speech, as it was available in various media, it can be expected that this speech can be used by some politicians as a source for their speeches in the future and this speech can also be used by students or researchers to analyze the content of Erdogan's balcony speech.

### **Dimensions of Social Practice**

In his speech, Erdogan revealed the things he would do to overcome allegations of cheating in every election, as follows:



As the AK Party, we will analyze the election results, as we have done in all other elections. [Analyzing the reasons] why we got 46-47-48 [percent of votes all over Turkey] and we could not increase this [rate] to 55 or 60 [percent]. We will sit and discuss this now. And after discussing these and coming up with results we will continue on our path after working on our flaws.

(14th Paragraph, Erdogan 2014)

In this sentence, AK Party led by Erdogan has been monitoring the voting result in every election in order to get pure and original result.

### **Power Relation**

The power relations in Erdogan's balcony speech were shaped through the language used. As he opened his speech and greeted the audience, Erdogan delivered a speech using a polite and friendly expression, like *I wholeheartedly greet, I thank, I express the gratitude*. When using those words, Erdogan placed himself equal to the listeners. Another quotation of Erdogan's balcony speech showed the power relations as below:

I have filed criminal complaints about some of them; I said they can also flee. As I have said, from now on, we'll walk into their dens. They will pay for this.

(9th Paragraph, Erdogan 2014)

The use of the word "I" indicated that Erdogan is a superior.

The media who support them from here, o, the capital that supported them... Weren't you positioned against democracy? Democracy has won at the ballot box today.

(12th Paragraph, Erdogan 2014)

Now it is time to comb them out, within the law. Why? Because from now on, neither the nation nor we will show tolerance to such networks

(19th Paragraph, Erdogan 2014)

The quotation from Erdogan's questions on his balcony speech showed Erdogan's power in questioning it. The power built by Erdogan was not constant. It was not always superior even though Erdogan was legally higher than the listeners. But in social relation was formed through the use of language, was not neutral, it turned the power relation into liquid, adjusted the intent and what purpose to be conveyed

## **ANALYSIS OF SOCIOCULTURAL PRACTICE**

### **Situational**

The Speech delivered by Erdogan was very contextual with the circumstances when this speech was delivered. The issues discussed were strongly influenced by what was going on when this speech is delivered. This can be observed in the following quotation.

Well, today is March 30. What did they say? They said "Chaos after March 25." Correct. We saw the chaos. What was this chaos? This country found the opportunity to see the traitors who eavesdropped on the Foreign Ministry and committed treachery by interfering in the national security of this state and people. That was their chaos plan. I've been saying for months that "We'll walk into their dens."

In the text, Erdogan explained about the current situation. He conveyed that the chaos that happened in Turkey that day. Erdogan also mentioned that the chaos was caused by the traitors who eavesdropped on the Foreign Ministry. The situation was a matter deeply felt by the audience who were listening to the speech at the time. Erdogan raised the issue in his speech.

### **Institutional**

As the new President of Turkey, Erdogan had a great power to control government-owned institutions. This power is indicated by providing direction to the relevant official to perform an action in accordance with his or her authority. One of the speech quotes that show this is as follows.

Syria is in a state of war with us. They are harassing our planes. They have martyred our 74 brothers and the Süleyman Şah Tomb is our lands. An attack against there is an attack against 780,000 square kilometers. Can we remain silent about such a thing? But these traitors wiretapped this meeting and leaked it to the world.

This quote explained that Erdogan wanted to open the minds of listeners that Turkey ought to rise up. The speech delivered in the AK Party's headquarter to provide some criminal acts committed by immoral politicians, so that the listeners can feel the pain felt by others

### **Social**

Erdogan delivered his speech after winning the voting result in the general election. this speech is about his gratitude for the victory he achieved. In addition, Erdogan wants to strengthen the citizens of Turkey and all the problems that have occurred so far.

We are at joy to have strengthened politics. We have no doubt that the great AK Party family will behave with this consciousness.

This quotation explained that all the immoral politics in Turkey will be eliminated and Turkey will become a strong country. Erdogan only raised the problems that have occurred in Turkey and the eastern countries. Erdogan delivered his speech more firmly and eagerly to give motivation for his audience.

## **4. CONCLUSION**

From the findings and discussions above can be concluded that Erdogan has a burning spirit in motivating and increasing confidence and passion to the listeners, especially for Turkish. Then, Erdogan bravely said that his political opponent did not deserve to win is to illustrate that a strong power to confront the unscrupulous doers who want to harm and destroy Turkey. For this victory, erdogan has compiled some points to protect the turkey from decline and fight for the independence of turkey. In analysing this balcony speech, the using of Critical Discourse in Norman Fairclough theory is to show the speech text delivered by Erdogan has utilized the linguistic features: text structure (the opening of the speech text, the content of the speech text and the closing of the speech text), grammar (transitivity, theme, modality) and coherence (conjunction and reference word) through micro (textual analysis). Then, the process of producing, spreading / publishing, and consuming in dimensions of social practice and power relation through meso (discourse practice), and the level of situational, institutional, and social through macro (social practice).

## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

- Fairclough, Norman. 1992. *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Fairclough, Norman. 1995. *Media Discourse*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Fairclough, Norman. 1998. "Political Discourse in the Media: An Analytical Framework". In Allan Bell and Peter Garrett (ed.), *Approaches to Media Discourse*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Fairclough, Norman. 2000. *Critical Analysis of Media Discourse*. Dalam Paul Marris and Sue Thornham (peny.). *Media Studies A Reader*, hlm. 308 - 328. Washington: New York University Press