ELT IN A GLOBALIZED WORLD: THE BOUNDARIES AND BEYOND

Ideology of MP Tom Tugendhat in His Political Speech:
Appraisal Critical Discourse Analysis

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Abstract

This study describes the ideology represented by MP Tom Tugendhat in his political speech about Afghanistan. The speech transcript was obtained from the online newspaper called Spectator. Meanwhile, this study employs purposive sampling data with descriptive qualitative as the model of the research. In analyzing the data, the researchers use systemic functional linguistics specifically the Appraisal theory purposed by Martin and White (2005) to classify and to describe the ideology of the speaker in his speech. However, the focus of this study is mainly in the attitude appraisal including affect, judgment, and appreciation as well as its gradability of attitudinal meanings. The result shows that types of attitude appraisal mostly produced by the speaker is affect, judgment, and appreciation simultaneously. While, the realization of the ideology can be seen through his emotion which is reflected by his affect toward Afghanistan. In addition, the use of appreciation and judgment also influence his ideology since he considers that some events occurred in Afghanistan.

Keywords: appraisal, attitude, ideology, political speech

Introduction

Recently, the issue of Afghanistan has become a hot topic on every social media platform. The current issue about Afghanistan and Taliban is getting more attention not only from the people of Afghanistan but also from the people outside Afghanistan. Many people, even the innocent ones, are suffering and got hurt because of this issue. MP Tom Tugendhat, an ex-soldier, and now served as the Member of Parliament for Tonbridge and Malling and Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Select Committee, gives a speech regarding the issue of Afghanistan. He got applaud for his emotional speech towards Afghanistan. In his speech, he praised the efforts of the military, aid workers, journalists, as the repercussions from the abrupt withdrawal of allied forces continue.

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Speech is a sort of deliberate communication. A good communicator is someone who can motivate a group of people. When communicating, it indicates that motivation is more significant than age, gender, religion, socioeconomic status, and other factors (McCarty, 2007). Speech is one of speech acts activity through speech someone may express and spread ideas, in addition, it also cultivates influence even it gives thinking direction systematically (Agustin, 2008). Meanwhile, Sellnow (2005) in (Ghasani & Sofwan, 2017) argues that speech is a formal presentation from a speaker with the goal of entertaining, informing, or persuading the audience over time. Therefore, Megah (2018) stated that the purpose of speech is to persuade listeners to accept and obey thoughts, facts, and ideas through delivering a message.

The scripted speech of MP Tom Tugendhat towards Afghanistan can be analyzed through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to unmask the hidden ideology of the scripted speech. Critical discourse analysis (hence referred to as CDA) encompasses a number of approaches to the social study of discourse (Fairclough & Wodak 1997, Pêcheux M 1982, Wodak & Meyer 2001) that range in theory, methodology, and the types of research topics they emphasize. Moreover, Fairclough (1995) stated that Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is considered a method of exploring ideologies in the text in a social context. CDA critically analyzes the micro-events as in the existing study of online media text and macro structures, including the media influences that got their shape from context (Thomas & Selimovic, 2015). Besides CDA, this study will also use one of the Systemic Functional Linguistics approaches, which is the Attitude system of Appraisal before revealing the ideology of the scripted speech.

Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) itself is part of linguistics that focuses on the function and relationship between languages in our daily life. Martin and White (2005) explained that the center of Systemic Functional Linguistics is being a model that is multi-perspectival for the analysts to interpret the language by using its complementary lenses. These complementarities are the basis of ideational meaning, interpersonal meaning, and textual meaning, mapped by the language as the resources. Furthermore, ideational meaning refers to a theory of human experience. It contains the process of how people express their experiences ad logical functions which set up a logical-semantic relationship from one unit to another. Interpersonal meaning concerns the relationship between people. It can be seen from people's attitudes and judgment. The last is the textual meaning which refers to the distinct from both the experiential and interpersonal since its object is language.

Diving further into the interpersonal meaning, in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), there is a theory about giving evaluation that can be found in interpersonal meanings, which is the Appraisal system. The appraisal framework is a method for investigating, describing, and explaining how language is used to assess, take positions, develop textual narratives, and regulate interpersonal positioning and relationships. It focuses on how speakers express feelings, magnify them, and include more voices in their discourses (Martin & Rose, 2003). And as (Martin & Rose, 2003) said, Appraisal

is used to explain how the writer approves and disapprove something, criticize and applaud how the writer is positioned as an informer of the news and how the readers are positioned since Appraisal is dealing with evaluation (Fatmawati & Cahyono, 2018). (Martin & Rose, 2003) also argues that Appraisal can be used to negotiate. Moreover, Appraisal becomes one of the famous approaches to examine both spoken and written text. Hence, many researchers use this approach to analyze their studies.

According to (White & Martin, 2005), Appraisal is divided into three board semantics domains. There are Attitude, Engagement, and Graduation. Affect deals with how people express their feelings about certain things occurred around them. Those things can be expressed in positive and negative forms in direct and indirect ways. Affect has three major aspects, those are un/happiness (dealing with affairs of the heart), in/security (dealing with eco-social well-being), and dis/satisfaction (dealing with the pursuit of a goal. Then, judgment is concerned with how people evaluate their character and behavior to others. There are two elements in judgment, social esteem, and social sanction. The last is an appreciation which refers to construing evaluation of things. There are three kinds of appreciation. Those are how people's reactions to a phenomenon, people's compositions, and people's values.

The advancement of Appraisal can be seen through the previous researchers that have been conducted. Cahyono et al (2021) observed the ideology and power in political news text by employing Appraisal. Using the same Appraisal system, Fatmawati and Cahyono (2018) conducted a study to analyze the power through the Attitudinal Appraisal entitled: Power of Sakdiyah Ma'ruf in Stand-Up Comedy through Appraisal Approach. Then, Setyaningsih and Respati (2011) used Engagement, another item of the Appraisal system, to investigate the power of Barack Obama's speech. A different Appraisal system, which is Graduation, was used by C Fan (2020) to analyze and to reveal the ideology of news reports from China Daily. Another study using the Appraisal system in the form of the journal entitled: Attitude realization in news reports: An interpretation through an appraisal analysis. Asad et al (2021) using the Attitudinal Appraisal to know the ideology of newspapers. It can be seen from the previous studies, the Appraisal systems help the researchers to make clear both the power and ideology of the speaker try to tell towards the audiences through the speech.

As briefly explained above, this study aims to reveal the ideology of MP Tom Tugendhat's political speech using the Appraisal system purposed by Martin and White (2005). However, the researchers limit the study by focusing only on the Attitude system of Appraisal. As Martin and White (2005) said, Attitude deals with the resources to interpret people's feelings as well as the judgment of behavior, emotional reactions, and evaluation of things. In doing so, the researchers decided to use Tom Tugendhat's speech because he was applauded for his emotion in which he recalled his own experiences in Afghanistan.

Research Methodology

This study employs descriptive qualitative method with the goal to analyze the Attitudinal Appraisal pattern in MP Tom Tugendhat's political speech about Afghanistan. Descriptive qualitative is a method that used a data in the form of sentence or picture or the result of field studies that cannot be calculated. Bogdan and Taylor (1975) explained that qualitative method produces descriptive data in the form of speech or writing and the attitude of the observed object as well as this research that will be carried out. Moreover, this study also sets the goal to know the ideology of the speaker that can be seen by analyzing the Attitude used in his political speech.

The data of this study were gained from political speech of MP Tom Tugendhat that talking about the current issue in Afghanistan purposively. This data has been chosen because his emotion toward Afghanistan in this speech became a trending topic in every social media platform. The link of MP Tom Tugendhat's speech transcript can be accessed on https://www.spectator.co.uk/article/full-speech-tom-tugendhat-on-afghanistan. The speech transcript was downloaded by the researchers on August 19th, 2021.

In collecting the data, the researchers accessed the website www.spectator.co.uk to get the full political speech transcript of MP Tom Tugendhat. Then, to start the analysis, the researchers read the full speech transcript to recall the highlight contents. Afterwards, researchers segmented the sentences from the speech into several clauses to make it easier to analyze. Then, display the appraisal data into table and appraisal categories. Moreover, this study focused on the attitude system of appraisal to understand the ideology of the political speech.

Result and Discussion

This part shows the result and discussion of MP Tom Tugendhat's speech about Afghanistan using the Attitude system of Appraisal. The researchers attempted to find out the attitude in his speech also reveal the ideology after seeing how he use the overall attitude system.

Table 1. The result of Appraisal Attitude Analysis in MP Tom Tugendhat's Political Speech

No.	Types of Attitude	+	-	Total (∑)	Total (%)
1.	Affect	29	23	52	60
2.	Judgment	12	9	21	26
3.	Appreciation	12	2	14	14
	Total	53	34	87	100

According to the table above, it can be seen that there are 87 occurrences of Attitudinal Appraisal system found in MP Tom Tugendhat's political speech. The highest number of Attitudinal Appraisal system is Affect with 52 (60%). Then, there is Judgment with 21 (26%) as the second most used item and Appreciation as the least used item with 14 (14%). With this analysis, the audience can

see the sincere in MP Tom Tugendhat's political speech. And the fact that the most used item is Affect shows that MP Tom Tugendhat really poured his emotion in his speech towards the current issue happened in Afghanistan. In the data taken for this study, MP Tom Tugendhat spent almost 8 minutes of speech.

Affect

Affect concerns with what people's feelings including emotions, behavior, phenomena, and text/process. The finding of affects can be seen in the following examples below:

Table 2. An example of Affect

Affect Classification	Realization of Lexis	Kinds of Feeling	Descriptive Information
Security	We know that *patience* wins.	Positive	Positive feeling is felt by MP Tom Tugendhat that he knows if patience always wins.

It can be seen in Table 2 that the italic word refers to positive affect. It informs that MP Tom Tugendhat thinks that patience brought war into win and peace knowing that some countries like Cyprus and South Korea have won the war with patience. Strategic patience is somehow essential to victory. As everyone knows, South Korea used "strategic patience" in dealing with a nuclear-armed North Korea. They are waiting until North Korea gives up on its nuclear program and eventually South wins the war. This strategy makes him believe that Afghanistan will win the case if they have patience, waiting for the Taliban to gives up on Afghanistan. Even though he wants to convince the people of Afghanistan, his statement still got a lot of criticism due to the fact that everything cannot be done only with patience. Another example of affect can be seen in the table below

Table 3. An example of Affect

Affect Classification	Realization of Lexis	Kinds of Feeling	Descriptive Information
Security	…with partners large and small, and make sure we hold the line *together*.	Positive	Positive feeling is felt by MP Tom Tugendhat because he wants to make sure that they all hold the line together.

Based on Table 3, it can be said that MP Tugendhat covers the feeling of anxiety by convincing the audiences that they all hold the line together to make the case of Afghanistan better. He

believed that those words could reinforce Japan, Australia, France, and Germany, also large and small partners to work together with Afghanistan. He will make sure that he can hug and make the people of Afghanistan know that they are not alone. Many will help them to end the suffering they have been through even though it takes time. Like what he said in The New Statesman, winning wars also means having the endurance to sustain and prove the resolve that brings people together. As the result, the audiences feel safe and believe in what MP Tugendhat has said. The table below is also an example of affect.

Table 4. An example of Affect

Affect Classification	Realization of Lexis	Kinds of Feeling	Descriptive Information
Unhappiness	left them raw, left us all *hurting*	Negative	Negative feeling is felt by MP Tom Tugendhat that he feels sad seeing many people got hurt because of the issue of Afghanistan

In table 4, the italic word means the whole week has torn open the wound and makes MP Tom Tugendhat and peoples especially those who live in Afghanistan feel sad. This Afghanistan and Taliban case is getting worse. Almost everyone in Afghanistan is not getting enough to eat, needed health care, adults and children got killed, women lost their rights, and other cases that cannot be mentioned. The people only want justice and happily live in their country without interference from the United States military. If this case getting out of control, Afghanistan will once again become a failed state. The fact that everyone is hurting, not only the people of Afghanistan, makes him express his emotional response to the country. His words make people know that Afghanistan is still very much an open wound.

Judgment

Judgment deals with how people evaluate the way other people behave, including their characters and the measurement. Judgment is divided into 2, judgment of esteen and judgment of sanction.

Table 5. An example of Judgment

Judgment Classification	Realization of Lexis	Kinds of Feeling	Descriptive Information

Social sanction: propriety	It is *shameful*	Negative	Negative judgment given by MP Tom Tugendhat.

The table above shows that the word shameful is classified into the negative judgment of propriety. It refers to the way MP Tom Tugendhat talking about the commander chief of 82nd Airborne. The commander in chief, President Joe Biden took no responsibility for Afghanistan and said that the Afghanistan military gave up without trying. Earlier, Biden had announced that he decided to withdraw US forces from Afghanistan after 20 years of war. Addressing this, MP Tom Tugendhat expressed his disappointment towards Biden's remarks on Afghanistan. Biden's decision makes the Taliban were able to re-take the country. Therefore, MP Tom Tugendhat slams Joe Biden and the withdrawal of US forces from Afghanistan with shameful comments. Another example of judgment can be seen in the table below.

Table 6. An example of Judgment

Judgment Classification	Realization of Lexis	Kinds of Feeling	Descriptive Information
Social esteem: tenacity	Those who have never fought for the colours they fly should be *careful* about criticising those who have.	Positive	Positive judgment given by MP Tom Tugendhat to be careful before criticize something.

According to table 6, it can be seen that the italic word "careful" has a positive judgment. The lexis "careful" is used by MP Tom Tugendhat to warn those who have never fought to be careful before criticizing those who have fought. His words refer to Joe Biden and the forces who withdraw from Afghanistan. He slams Biden's crass criticism of the Afghanistan army. Many well-armed soldiers melted away by a shot that was being fired. It doesn't take combat to a veteran like Tugendhat to understand the current situation. Even though he gave positive judgment to Biden by saying 'careful', the context of the speech itself is negative. The table below also shows the example of judgment found in the speech.

Table 7. An example of Judgment

Judgment	Realization of	Kinds of Feeling	Descriptive Information

Classification	Lexis		
Social esteem: capacity	Armies *can* get tactical victories	Positive	Positive judgment given by MP Tom Tugendhat to the armies.

It is seen in table 7 that MP Tom Tugendhat uses the modality "can" which refers to Judgment of capacity. He said that the armies, in this case, is US force, can win the war. Armies can do anything to help Afghanistan to win the war. They also can make a room for peace. However, in reality, they refused and instead withdraw from Afghanistan after 20 years. Hence, in Tugendhat's speech, he said that it is not armies that win the war even though they can. He also gave critical comments to both armies and Joe Biden due to this situation.

Appreciation

Appreciation refers to the evaluation of things (that we do and make) as well as phenomena (the way we value things). Appreciation includes the reaction, composition, and value of the people.

Table 8. An example of Appreciation

Appreciation Classification	Realization of Lexis	Kinds of Feeling	Descriptive Information
Appreciation: valuation	not just of a country but of the *sacrifice* that my friends made	Positive	Positive appreciation produced by MP Tom Tugendhat to his friends.

In table 8, it can be seen that the italic word refers to a positive appreciation of valuation. MP Tom Tugendhat apprised the people of Afghanistan because of the sacrifice they have made. He felt anger and grief watched good men go into the earth, taking with them a part of everyone. He touched on the efforts of the military, aid workers, journalists, and others before noting that everyone has been struggling. He also said that he has been to funerals from Poole to Dunblane because of this chaotic situation that made people sacrifice themselves to save people from the most horrific fates. In this part, even though the positive appreciation of valuation forms positively, the meaning itself is negative because a lot of people sacrifice themselves to end the war. Another example of appreciation can be seen in the table below.

Table 9. An example of Appreciation

Appreciation Classification	Realization of Lexis	Kinds of Feeling	Descriptive Information
Appreciation: reaction	Because I was *never prouder* than when I was decorated by the 82nd Airborne after the capture of Musa Qala	Negative	Negative appreciation is produced by MP Tom Tugendhat.

Based on the table above, it can be concluded that the italic words refer to the negative appreciation of reaction. The word "never" in here relates to negative appreciation. In his speech, he recalled the pride he had felt at being recognized by the 82nd Airborne Division following the capture of an important Afghan town in a British-led battle in Helmand. Moreover, in this context, MP Tom Tugendhat evaluates himself as a former soldier. Even though it is considered as negative appreciation, the context itself is positive for MP Tom Tugendhat because he was proud after being decorated by the 82nd Airborne division.

Table 10. An example of Appreciation

Appreciation Classification	Realization of Lexis	Kinds of Feeling	Descriptive Information
Appreciation: valuation	We know it because we have *achieved* it	Positive	Positive appreciation produced by MP Tom Tugendhat.

According to the table above, the italic word indicates a positive appreciation of valuation. MP Tom Tugendhat appraised the country that won the war with patience. In The Newsateman, he stated that battles are noisy, rushed, confusing, and complex. It is only about action and speed, not patience which is an essential point to victory in war. The country won the war with patience, he knew because some countries have achieved it. He also stated that the tragedy of Afghanistan is that while they won every battle. They have achieved it with patience and without patience, those victories do not matter.

Ideology

The ideology of this study can be done by seeing the analysis of Appraisal Attitude which includes affect, judgment, and appreciation. It can be seen from the result of the table above, the ideology of the speech is realized in 87 occurrences of 52 affect, 21 judgment, and 14 appreciations.

For affect, he expresses most of his positive feelings and emotion towards those who have fought for Afghanistan and appraised the workers. Whereas for negative Affect, most of the items he used are to express his emotion to those who have to go to the higher place after sacrifice themselves to make this chaotic situation come to an end, also to express his disappointment to Joe Biden and US forces. Positively, he predominantly uses judgment to the people of Afghanistan and the armies. Meanwhile, he used the judgment system negatively to evaluate Joe Biden and the US force. In addition, for the appreciation, MP Tom Tugendhat value everything related to Afghanistan. He used negative appreciation mostly to values and evaluates himself.

Conclusion

Attitude is an Appraisal system that concerns human emotion. Therefore, it is possible to describe a speaker's personal feelings toward other people or objects based on how they appraised or evaluate them. In this study, the researcher analyzed MP Tom Tugendhat's political speech using the Appraisal system of Attitude. He delivered his speech to express his feelings and emotion towards the current situation happened in Afghanistan. He even brought Joe Biden and US forces due to his decision towards Afghanistan.

And based on the findings and discussion above, it can be concluded that there are 87 occurrences of the Appraisal Attitude system found in the scripted speech. With the number of 52 (60%), Affect becomes the most used Appraisal item. Then, Judgment with the number of 21 (26%) becomes the second most used Appraisal item. And it makes the least used Appraisal item is Appreciation with 14 (14%). In addition, the Appraisal Attitude system can define MP Tom Tugendhat's ideology. And based on the analysis, it can be seen that the ideology in MP Tom' Tugendhat's political speech realizes his emotion and feelings towards Afghanistan.

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