



APPRAISAL ANALYSIS IN MEDIA CONFERENCE BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDONESIA AND AUSTRALIA TOWARDS BILATERAL RELATIONS NORMALIZATION

Rosaria Mita Amalia¹, Fauzia Zahira Munirul Hakim²

¹Departemen Linguistik, Fakultas Ilmu Budaya, Universitas Padjadjaran;
e-mail: rosaria.mita.amalia@unpad.ac.id

²Mahasiswa Pascasarjana Linguistik, Fakultas Ilmu Budaya, Universitas Padjadjaran;
e-mail: zhrfauzia@gmail.com

Abstrak

Penelitian deskriptif ini bertujuan untuk mengidentifikasi dan menganalisis macam-macam *appraisal* yang ditemukan dalam konferensi media antara pemerintah Indonesia dan pemerintah Australia pada tahun 2013. *Appraisal* merupakan evaluasi dari jenis-jenis sikap yang disampaikan dalam sebuah wacana. Terdapat tiga jenis sikap dalam *appraisal*, yaitu: *affect*, *judgment*, dan *appreciation*. *Affect* adalah cara bagaimana individu mengungkapkan perasaan mereka dalam wacana. *Judgment* terbagi menjadi *personal judgment* dan *moral judgment*. *Personal judgment* berupa kekaguman atau kritik seseorang, sedangkan *moral judgment* berupa pujian dan hukuman seseorang. *Appreciation* menyangkut sikap individu mengenai hal terkait. Hasil studi menunjukkan bahwa tidak ada *appraisal negative* yang diusulkan oleh perwakilan dari kedua negara. Keduanya sepakat untuk melanjutkan dan memulihkan hubungan bilateral yang hampir rusak setelah skandal penyadapan yang dilakukan oleh Pemerintahan Australia terhadap Presiden Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono.

Kata kunci: *appraisal, analisis wacana kritis, hubungan bilateral, skandal penyadapan*

Abstract

This descriptive study aims to identify and analyze the types of appraisal found in the media conference between the Indonesian government and the Australian government in 2013. Appraisal is the evaluation of available types of attitudes delivered within a discourse. There are three types of attitudes in appraisal: affect, judgment, and appreciation. Affect is a means of how individuals express their feelings in discourse. Judgment is divided into personal judgment and moral judgment. Personal judgment includes individual's admiration or criticism, while moral judgment includes individual's praise or condemnation. Appreciation concerns individual's attitudes towards surrounding things. The result shows that there is no negative appraisal proposed by the representatives of both governments. Both representatives agreed to continue and restore the almost damaged bilateral relations after the surveillance scandal conducted by the Australian government to President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono.

Keywords: *appraisal, bilateral relations, critical discourse analysis, surveillance scandal*

Introduction

Sharp in Melissen (2005: 11) discusses public diplomacy as the strategy of achieving direct relations involving people in a particular country to advance nation's interests and to extend nation's values. According to Melissen (2005: 13), public diplomacy is directed to foreign nations, thus the strategy should be distinguished from the common domestic diplomacy. Such strategy is applied by the government of Indonesia in developing their foreign diplomacy. The strategy includes their aims to engage with other nation's domestic constituency and to build nation's external identity (Melissen, 2005: 13).

During the ten-year presidential term of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, Indonesia's foreign diplomacy strategy was intended to create 'a million friends and zero enemies'¹. The strategy was plainly established based on Soekarno's pursued 'free and active' foreign policy. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's foreign diplomacy strategy was appointed in his 2009 inaugural address "Indonesia is facing a strategic environment where no country perceives Indonesia as an enemy and there is no country which Indonesia considers an enemy. Thus, Indonesia can exercise its foreign policy freely in all directions, having a million and zero enemies."²

The 'million friends and zero enemies' policy did help Indonesia in establishing impressive growth in foreign trade and investment and initiating strong commitment to uphold human rights at the international level, despite the internal struggles encountered by the nation. The struggles, which Indonesian government encounters, such as terrorism, religious intolerance, and government infringement on civil rights and liberties, pose serious threats to other nations.

Indonesia and Australia 'Fragile' Bilateral Relations

Indonesia's status as the largest Muslim population in the world has inflicted superficial fears not only to their own nation but also to the surrounding nations. Even in the early decade of their independence, Indonesian government depicted Islam as the source of

¹ Piccone, T. and B. Yusman. (2014). Indonesia Foreign Policy: "A Million Friends and Zero Enemies." Retrieved at May 3, 2017: <http://thediplomat.com/2014/02/indonesian-foreign-policy-a-million-friends-and-zero-enemies/>

² Piccone, T. and B. Yusman. (2014). *Ibid*

disunion (Leifer, 1989: 199). Similar depiction had the New Order, under Soeharto term, marginalized and suppressed any developing Islamic political organizations (Mackie, 2007: 69). The authoritarian regime was apprehensive regarding the eventuality for these Islamic political organizations to develop and even to take over the nation's military after the fall of the regime. Under General Soeharto's leadership, particular action was taken not to involve Indonesia in certain foreign affairs that might provide political ambition to nation's Muslim groups in order to gather international supports as much as possible (Leifer, 1989: 199). However, in foreign politics, such action had put Indonesia as audience instead of an actor. The fall of New Order had the previously suppressed Islamic political organizations revive and once again develop through the country's first general election during the reformation era, which later in 2004 would lead to the country's first general presidential election. This resulted the involvement of Islamic political ambition in the nation's politics as well as international politics.

Since the early of 2000s, Indonesia had survived various terrorism attacks coming from the internal radical Islamic groups, for instance, *Jama'ah Islamiah* (JI). The incident of Bali Bombing in 2002 was probably the most severe terrorist attack, which the nation's ever got through. The incident killed 202 innocent civilians and injured 209. Most of them were from the country's on and off neighbor, Australia. The incident left a great impact on the bilateral relation between both countries, after the East Timor intervention. Moreover, the already-fragile bilateral relation between two countries was worsened through the incident of Australian Embassy Bombing in Jakarta, which was later referred as 2004 Jakarta Bombing. Australia senses serious threats coming from Indonesia ever since.

Heryanto (2005: 161) emphasized the misuse of the term 'terrorism'. Such misuse is the result of unequal power relations. He proposed that the incident of Bali Bombing should be referred as the case of political violence, since the term terror and terrorism refer more to the long-lasting bitterness and fear (Heryanto, 2005: 161). Mackie (2007: 5) also proposes similar idea by referring to the incident as the politics of fear. Consequently, the politics of fear between both nations are emphasized by each country's local news, portraying the misleading stereotypes of each nation. The Australians are afraid of possible radical Islamic attack coming from Indonesia, while

the Indonesians are afraid of any future intervention from Australia regarding the nation's affair (Mackie, 2007). Despite the political constraints, both nations engage, Indonesia and Australia actually have developed quite bilateral cooperation in any range of fields, since both nations share similar interests (Mackie, 2007: 7). The 60-year-old bilateral relationship between both countries includes: Lombok Treaty, Jakarta Centre for Law Enforcement Cooperation, Bali Process, Indonesia-Australia Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement, Australia's Aid Investment Plan, Australia Awards, etc.³. To Australia, Indonesia is still matter. Mackie states that Australia must always remember that the bilateral relation with Indonesia is not a direct two-way bilateral relation between one nation with another, instead it is a well-associated relation involving the broader relation with the rest of ASEAN region and the East Asian international order (2007: 8).

Australia's Spying Scandal

In December 2013, Australian news, such as The Guardian and Australian Broadcasting Company (ABC), revealed the top-secret operation conducted by the US National Security Agency to 'listen in' President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's personal mobile phone⁴. The surveillance targets also include other Indonesia politicians, including the President's wife, Kristiani Herawati (Ani Yudhoyono). The reports were based on the documents leaked by Edward Snowden, former USA intelligence contractor, from Australia's electronic intelligence agency, namely the Defense Signals Directorate. The documents showed that the surveillance had been going since 2009, right after the JW Marriott and Ritz-Carlton Bombing in Jakarta. The DSD claimed that the surveillance was aimed to monitor the President's mobile phone activity. The surveillance clearly had damaged the bilateral ties between both nations. President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono with dismay instructed his foreign Minister, Marty Natalegawa, to recall Indonesia's ambassador to Canberra the following day, claiming the move as a serious

³ Australian Government: Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. Retrieved May 3, 2017: <http://dfat.gov.au/geo/indonesia/Pages/indonesia-country-brief.aspx>

⁴ Cochrane, J. (2013). "N.S.A Spying Scandal Hurts Close Ties Between Australia and Indonesia." Retrieved May 3, 2017, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/11/20/world/asia/nsa-spying-scandal-tarnishes-relations-between-indonesia-and-australia.html>

diplomatic step “Foreign Minister & government officials have taken effective diplomatic measures, while demanding clarification from the US & Australia”⁵.

While the Indonesian government demanding detail explanation and of course apology, Tony Abbott, on the other hand, claimed that the Australian government should not apologize or to provide detailed explanations regarding the surveillance⁶. The Prime Minister believed that such action was required to ensure the national security of Australian citizens. He further explained that it was normal for a government to gather information of other governments, since every other government gather information. This claim was later opposed by the Indonesian foreign minister, Marty Natalegawa, declaring that Indonesia never spies on other governments, especially to a friend. He added that such action was dangerous and untrustworthy.

Taking a different view, Bob Carr believed that the Australian government should apologize for the surveillance and set out the limits of intelligence gathering in following future. He thought that the surveillance had created catastrophe to the bilateral relations of both governments. In result, a joint understanding on a code of conduct was established to temper the catastrophic impact.

Marty Natalegawa and Julie Bishop’s Attempt to ‘Normalize’

In December 2013, media conference was held in Indonesia to discuss, restore, and normalize the fallout impact of the surveillance⁷. The Indonesian government was represented by the current foreign minister, Marty Natalegawa, and the Australian government was represented by Julie Bishop. The conference resulted joint understanding on a code of conduct to prevent similar incidents happening in the future. Following the media conference, Tony Abbott personally sent President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono a letter, promising his government would not take actions that might loose the bilateral ties between the neighbors.

⁵ President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono Personal Twitter Account. Retrieved May 3, 2017, from <https://twitter.com/SBYudhoyono/status/402619640150364161>

⁶ Taylor. L. (2013). “Tony Abbot: No Explanation, No Apology to Indonesia for Spying.” Retrieved May 3, 2017, from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/nov/19/tony-abbott-no-apology-explanation-indonesia-spying>

⁷ Hurst. D. (2014). “Australia and Indonesia Sign Spying Code of Conduct.” Retrieved May 3, 2017, from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/aug/28/australia-and-indonesia-sign-spying-code-of-conduct>

During the media conference, both representations discuss as well as interact with the present journalist regarding the established code conduct in spoken discourse. Thus, this study aims to identify and analyze the types of appraisal found in the media conference using critical discourse analysis. This study applies a qualitative method. Qualitative method is research method based on empirical findings, which results descriptive interpretations of these findings.

Appraisal Analysis in Media Conference between Indonesia and Australia

Theoretical Outline

Discourse analysis, according to Jorgensen and Phillips (2002: 1), is the analysis of social text patterns. In more complete term, discourse analysis is a sequence of interdisciplinary approaches applied to explore various social domains in many different types of studies. Fairclough (2003: 3) defines critical discourse analysis discusses the continuity and change at more abstract and structural level of particular text as well as what the text attempts to convey. Critical discourse analysis requires text analysis as the essential part of unfolding particular text. Fairclough considers text analysis not only as an independent linguistic analysis, but also an interdiscursive analysis, which perceives a text in terms of discourse, genres, and styles (2003: 3).

The term text here refers to the actual use of language. The term language includes verbal languages, such as words, sentences, and etc., as well as particular languages, such as Bahasa Indonesia, English, and etc. Similar to Jorgensen and Phillips, Fairclough defines discourse as the particular analysis of language use as a subject of social life interconnected with other subjects (2003: 3).

Martin and Rose (2007: 1) argue that discourse analysis treats discourse more than just words in clauses, since it focuses more on the meaning conveyed by the clauses at the semantic level, and more than a manifestation of social activity, since a discourse is usually constructed through texts through social contexts which develop a series of meanings. In other words, discourse analysis interprets the manifestation of meaning within the interaction of text involving individuals. There are six resources of meaning manifestation within a discourse (Martin and Rose, 2007: 17):

1. Appraisal : evaluation of discourse
2. Ideation : content of discourse

3. Conjunction : interconnection within discourse
4. Identification : participants of discourse
5. Periodicity : rhythm of discourse
6. Negotiation : interaction within discourse

Appraisal

Within the scope of Halliday's metafunction, appraisal is part of the interpersonal system. Appraisal is the evaluation of available types of attitudes delivered within a discourse (Martin and Rose, 2007: 25). Attitudes concerns of how individuals evaluate things, characters, and feelings. There are three types of attitudes:

1. Affect

Affect is means of how individuals express their feelings in discourse. Affect can be either positive or negative based on the lexical choice. Affect can also be addressed explicitly or implicitly.

2. Judgment

Similar to affect, judgment can be either positive or negative. Judgment is divided into two: personal judgment and moral judgment. Personal judgment includes admiring (positive) and criticizing (negative). Moral judgment includes praising (positive) and condemning (negative).

3. Appreciation:

Appreciation concerns individual's attitudes towards surrounding things. Appreciation can be delivered positively or negatively.

Findings

1. Affect

Speaker	Appraisal	Statement
Julie Bishop	Positive	<p><i>"Thank you Foreign Minister Natalegawa. I'm absolutely delighted to have this opportunity to be back in Jakarta to meet with you." (directly)</i></p> <p><i>"And we are pleased that our cooperation will continue in areas such as economic and financial fields, in education, in trade, and investment." (directly)</i></p>

		<p><i>“Obviously, we regret the events that led to this situation. We regret the hurt caused to President Yudhoyono and to the Indonesian people.” (directly)</i></p> <p><i>“I am pleased that we have reached a good understanding about the next steps.” (directly)</i></p>
	Negative	-

In terms of expressing her feelings regarding the media conference as well as the surveillance, Julie Bishop expressed her feelings mostly in direct positive manner. She was pleased to finally discuss the matter that almost damaged the bilateral ties between both countries. She also represented her country (‘we’), Australia; to tell how the government apologized for the issue Indonesian public had to get through.

Speaker	Appraisal	Statement
<p>Marty Natalegawa</p>	Positive	<p><i>“But let me just by way of very brief opening remarks mention how pleased we are to be able to welcome Minister Bishop to Jakarta today for what has been a very constructive and very productive discussion.” (directly)</i></p>
		<p><i>“How pleased we are with being able to welcome once again Minister Bishop to Indonesia, to Jakarta.” (directly)</i></p>
		<p><i>“I look forward to continuing on our constant communication so that we can move forward the implementation of the pursuit of the six point road map as I have just now mentioned.” (implicitly)</i></p>
	Negative	-

Marty Natalegawa, in general, was using similar direct positive manner. He was pleased to welcome Julie Bishop who was willing to come to Jakarta to discuss the related

matter as well as the present journalists. He emphasized his feeling to move forward into the implementation of code conduct.

2. Judgment

Speaker	Appraisal	Statement
Julie Bishop	Positive	<p><i>“And I believe that’s an appropriate way forward and I’m grateful to Foreign Minister Natalegawa for that suggestion.” (directly)</i></p> <p><i>“I thank the Foreign Minister for his hospitality today.” (directly)</i></p>
	Negative	-

Julie Bishop did not negotiate her personal or moral judgment as much as Marty Natalegawa did. Julie Bishop only delivered her personal praising towards Marty Natalegawa who had initiated the joint understanding on code of conduct and who had welcomed her in Jakarta.

Speaker	Appraisal	Statement
Marty Natalegawa	Positive	<i>“Thank you very much Minister Bishop,” (directly)</i>
		<i>“Our meeting today reflects the very strong bilateral relations which Indonesia and Australia clearly enjoy, even when we are encountering some challenges and difficulties.”(implicitly)</i>
		<i>“And essentially, the President expresses his pleasure that we have been able to communicate today and he is pleased by the progress which has been made...” (directly)</i>
		<i>“I would like to thank you very, very much for being here with us for much of today. I know you have a very busy schedule ahead of you for further trips elsewhere.” (directly)</i>
		<i>“What is important is going forward, as directed by the President, who welcomed the development of today’s meeting.” (directly)</i>

		<p>“So basically this is the beginning of an effort which I’m sure will continue good cooperation in communication in the next few days.” (directly)</p> <p>“Once again Minister Bishop thank you very much for being with me in Jakarta for today and I look forward to seeing you again soon.” (directly).</p>
	Negative	-

Marty Natalegawa mostly praised Julie Bishop for being able to come to Jakarta in order to resolve the catastrophic issue between both governments. He also admired the well-established bilateral relation between Indonesia and Australia as well as the effort initiated by both governments to continue the already established bilateral relations.

3. Appreciation

Speaker	Appraisal	Statement
Julie Bishop	Positive	<p>“So this is probably our eight or ninth meeting and on each occasion, today included, our meetings have been productive and fruitful and always exceedingly cordial.” (directly)</p> <p>“And we’re particularly keen to enhance the people-to-people links that underpin our comprehensive bilateral relationship.” (directly)</p> <p>“In relation to the areas of cooperation that are temporarily suspended, as set out by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, we have agreed to establish a special communication channel, a hotline if you like, to ensure that we can resolve any issues in implementation, that we can avoid any unintended consequences.” (directly)</p> <p>“It is now up to Foreign Minister Natalegawa and me to report back to our respective leaders which will do.” (directly)</p> <p>“A treaty that sets out our focus and respect for each other’s sovereignty and sets out the shared vision that we</p>

		<i>have for our relationship.</i> ” (directly) <i>“To focus on the broad range of areas of cooperation, on the importance of this bilateral relationship, the significance of it to both countries.”</i> (directly)
	Negative	-

Overall, both representatives delivered more appreciation towards the Joint Understanding on Code of Conduct, instead of to discuss more details on the surveillance. This shows the commitment from both governments to continue the bilateral cooperation that was temporarily suspended by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono.

Speaker	Appraisal	Statement
Marty Natalegawa	Positive	<i>“But let me just by way of very brief opening remarks mention how pleased we are to be able to welcome Minister Bishop to Jakarta today for what has been a very constructive and very productive discussion.”</i> (directly) <i>“Our meeting today reflects the very strong bilateral relations which Indonesia and Australia clearly enjoy, even when we are encountering some challenges and difficulties.”</i> (directly) <i>“I wish to express as well our cooperation for the very important reaffirmation just now.”</i> (directly) <i>“Such a commitment is very important and no doubt will be reflected in the Joint Understanding, or in the Code of Conduct...”</i> (directly) <i>“Indonesia welcomed the commitment of the government of Prime Minister Abbott for not doing anything that would disadvantage or interfere with Indonesia’s interests.”</i> (directly)
	Negative	-

Conclusion

The 60-year-old well established bilateral relations between the government of Indonesia and the government of Australia is frequently challenged. The most recent challenging case encountered by both governments is the surveillance of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono conducted by the N.S.A and the Australian government. Such issue is actually the result the already fragile bilateral relations. Indonesia's status as the largest Muslim country in world has posed serious threats towards the Australian government. They are apprehensive for any possible radical Islamic attacks coming from Indonesia. This idea later was used by Tony Abbott to claim that the related surveillance towards President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono was normal. He believed such action was required to ensure the national safety of Australian citizens. However, the Indonesian government was not on the same page. Indonesian government expressed their disappointment and disagreement by declaring such action as dangerous and untrustworthy. Moreover, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono himself instructed his foreign minister, Marty Natalegawa, to recall Indonesia's ambassador to Canberra and to temporarily suspend the bilateral cooperation between both countries. To resolve this, both governments agree to meet and to establish the joint understanding on code of conduct.

The media conference between the government of Indonesia and Australia shows that both representatives proposed similar positive appraisal. The result shows that there is no negative appraisal found within the media conference. It is parallel with the purpose of the media conference itself, namely to discuss, restore, and normalize the bilateral relations between both countries. Both representatives use more appreciation to show their commitment to continue the bilateral relations by moving forward to implement the joint understanding on code of conduct.

Bibliography

Australian Government: Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. *Indonesia Country Brief*. Retrieved May 3, 2017 from <http://dfat.gov.au/geo/indonesia/Pages/indonesia-country-brief.aspx>

- Cochrane, J. (2013). *N.S.A Spying Scandal Hurts Close Ties Between Australia and Indonesia*. Retrieved May 3, 2017, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/11/20/world/asia/nsa-spying-scandal-tarnishes-relations-between-indonesia-and-australia.html>
- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*. London: Routledge.
- Heryanto, A. (2005). *State Terrorism and Political Identity in Indonesia: Fatally Belonging*. Oxon: Routledge.
- Hurst, D. (2014). *Australia and Indonesia Sign Spying Code of Conduct*. Retrieved May 3, 2017 from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/aug/28/australia-and-indonesia-signspying-code-of-conduct>
- Jorgensen, M., & Phillips, L. J. (2002). *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Leifer, M. (1989). *Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia*. Jakarta: Gramedia.
- Mackie, J. (2007). *Australia and Indonesia: Current Problems, Future Prospects*. New South Wales: Lowy Institute for International Policy 2007.
- Martin, J. R., & Rose, D. (2007). *Working with Discourse: Meaning Beyond the Clause*. London: Continuum.
- Melissen, J. (2005). *The New Public Diplomacy*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Piccone, T., & Yusman, B. (2014). A Million Friends and Zero Enemies. *Indonesia Foreign Policy*. Retrieved May 3, 2017 from <http://thediplomat.com/2014/02/indonesian-foreign-policy-a-million-friends-and-zero-enemies/>
- President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono Personal Twitter Account. Retrieved May 3, 2017 from <https://twitter.com/SBYudhoyono/status/402619640150364161>
- Taylor. L. (2013). *Tony Abbot: No Explanation, No Apology to Indonesia for Spying*. Retrieved May 3, 2017, from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/nov/19/tony-abbott-no-apology-explanation-indonesia-spying>