REVEALING POWER AND SOLIDARITY REFLECTED IN THE USE OF LEXICALIZATION IN HYBRID POLITICAL DISCOURSE: A CASE STUDY IN PRESIDENT OBAMA'S SPEECH AT THE UNIVERSITY OF INDONESIA

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Abstract

Keywords: critical discourse analysis, power and solidarity, lexicalization, social relations

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap bagaimana Presiden Obama melakukan leksikalisasi sebagai bagian dari strategi untuk menunjukkan kekuasaan dan solidaritas yang dia tunjukkan dalam pidatonya di Universitas Indonesia dalam rangka mempertahankan hubungan sosialnya yang baik dengan Indonesia. Studi ini menggunakan penelitian kualitatif dengan mengadopsi teori analisis wacana kritis untuk membangun bagaimana Presiden Obama membangun kekuasaan dan solidaritasnya kepada Indonesia dengan menggunakan leksikalisasi dalam pidatonya. Penelitian ini, selanjutnya, terkait dengan penggunaan leksikalisasi dan analisis sosial untuk mendapatkan analisis data penelitian yang sebenarnya. Sehingga penelitian berhasil menggambarkan hubungan sosial antara Presiden Obama dan audiens. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bagaimana Presiden Obama membangun kekuasaannya kepada audiens dengan memilih leksis positif untuk kelompoknya dan leksis negatif untuk

kelompok luarnya. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa hubungan Presiden Obama tidak setara dengan dengan kelompok yang berada di luar kelompok Presiden Obama. Lebih lanjut, ia membangun solidaritasnya kepada hadirin dengan menggunakan pengalaman pribadinya dan mengungkapkan perasaan sedihnya kepada para audiens tentang bencana yang terjadi di Indonesia. Sehingga hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa hubungan antara Presiden Obama dengan para audien adalah setara.

Kata kunci: analisis wacana kritis, kekuasaan dan solidaritas, leksikalisasi, hubungan sosial

Introduction

There is a sharp-contradictory opinion toward President Obama's arrival in Indonesia, mainly when he delivered his speech at the University of Indonesia on November 10th, 2010. The University of Indonesia is one of the points he visited in Indonesia where he delivered a speech that was broadcast live. President Obama delivered his speech both by directly speaking and using text and the audience can see the way of his speaking and listen to the content and impression he made. He uttered expressions in the form of phrases such as; '*Assalamualaikum, pulang kampung nih*', and terms like '*Bhineka Tunggal Ika, unity in diversity*', and utterances, like; 'America has a stake in an Indonesia that plays its rightful role in shaping the global economy, I made clear that America is not, and never will be, at war with Islam, Indonesia has made progress in rooting out extremists and combating such violence'.

The content of the speech stimulated the people of Indonesia to give their opinions differently as can be seen from many comments from religious leaders, public as well as the government whether they agreed with the content of the speech or disagreed. The comments and responses can be seen by the Indonesian people from both printed and electronic media. An example of electronic media, the responses from the figures of Indonesia, like Dewi Fortuna

Anwar and Ichsanudin Noorsy, could be seen in http://english.peopledaily.com. It was published on November 11th, 2010 that wrote, "Some people said that the visit would increase Indonesia's profile before the world's eye, while others said that Obama's visit has provided no good for Indonesia". Moreover, it wrote two opposing statements from many figures, like Dewi Fortuna Anwar, an expert on foreign policy and Ichsanuddin Noorsy, a figure of public policy. She said," Obama's visit was 'short and sweet' as he stayed only about 20 hours, and with all the main objectives secured, including delivering cornerstone speeches on democracy and development". She added that, "Obama highlighted key roles which Indonesia could contribute at regional and global levels". On the contrary, he said, "They must remember what the U.S. government's foreign policy, among others on Afghanistan, Iraq and others. Sorry, but I am one of people who was not impressed by his visit or his speech". He added that Indonesia should position itself equal with the United States by stating "Meanwhile, the way we received Obama, among people or in the presidential palace, it still showed that we were subordinate".

The comments from the two figures attracted the researcher to note two words that described different opinion; 'highlighted' and 'subordinate'. The two words reflected that what President Obama said in his speech at the University of Indonesia stimulated the people of Indonesia to give a different opinion based on their own knowledge. The researcher noted that the word 'highlighted' in the sentence, "Obama highlighted key roles which Indonesia could contribute at regional and global levels" showing that she concluded President Obama's speech at UI denoted his solidarity to Indonesia. On the contrary, his word 'subordinate' in the sentence, "Meanwhile, the way we received Obama, among people or in the presidential palace, it still showed that we were subordinate,"

created an impression that there was inequality position between Indonesia and America showing President Obama's power to Indonesia.

This phenomenon attracted the researcher to conduct a research of what President Obama said in his speech referred to power or solidarity. It is not easy job to determine whether President Obama's utterances are power or solidarity, or both. To explore this, it is better to cite what Fiske in Nahrkalaji (2009, 496) said, "Our words are never neutral". It means that words can be manipulated according to the speaker's interest. The manipulation here means that the speaker can control or influence the hearers by employing language use. This also applies to President Obama when he delivered his speech at the University of Indonesia. He employed language use to denote power and create solidarity. Power means to control or influence others, but solidarity means to impress others. The impression and influence have relation to power and solidarity. Power makes inequality position between speaker and hearer, but solidarity makes equality position between speaker and hearer.

There are some stages in studying power and solidarity. They are "how power and solidarity can be measured, what processes underline the formation of power and solidarity, and how these processes are related to speech features" (Ng: 1993:5).

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Critical discourse analysis is a contemporary approach to the research of language and discourses in social institutions. It focuses on how social relations, identity, knowledge and power are constructed through written and spoken texts in communities, schools and classrooms.as Fairclough (1989) states that critical discourse analysis refers to the use of an ensemble of techniques for the research of textual practice and language use as social and cultural practices. It

means that critical discourse analysis can be applied to analyze language use to reveal the hidden meaning of communication event in social life.

Thus, CDA is a field of research which has paved the ways for the linguists to find out the hidden ideologies behind seemingly simple and plain words. Language is no longer seen as merely reflecting out reality, but as central to creating reality. Critical discourse analysis uses analytic tools from these fields to address persistent questions about larger, systemic relations of class, gender and culture. Critical discourse analysis begins from the assumption that systematic asymmetries of power and resources between speakers and listeners, readers and writers can be linked to their unequal access to lingcampusstic and social resources.

CDA aims primarily to identify socio-political inequalities that exist in society. Fairclough (1989) defines CDA as the following:

> "CDA is the research of often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a)discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power."
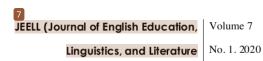
Furthermore, He (ibid: 24-6) describes his views on what discourse and text analysis are. He identifies three levels of discourse, these being *firstly*, social conditions of production and interpretation, i.e. the factors in society that have lead to the production of a text and how these factors effect interpretation. *Secondly*, the process of production and interpretation, i.e. how the text has

been produced and this effects interpretation. *Thirdly*, the product of the first two stages, the text.

POWER AND SOLIDARITY

Power and solidarity are like two sides of a coin. There will be an ambiguity of determing power or solidarity used by one participant to another in delivering utterances. The utterance of participants in a communication event could account for the particular variety that are related each other. Holmes (2001) states, "there are four factors influencing the particular context existed in the communication events". They are the participants, the setting, the topic and the function. The participants relate to the users of language, reflecting the identity of the participants both as who is speaking to whom; the setting relates to the social context of the communication accounting for the place they are speaking; the topic or the purpose of the communication relate to what is being talked about and the function of the communication relate to why they are talking about. Each of the participants will use the strategies reflected in the use of linguistic choices as well as the speaker delivered his lecture in the monological paradigm in which the message directed from the speaker to the hearer as stated by Ng (1993). The four factors will account for in describing and analyzing the communication events and the factor of participants hold on important roles as well as other factors. By analyzing the participants, we will know the identity of the participants influencing the linguistic choices he or she applied to show his power and solidarity. Of course, what he or she says in the interaction will reflect their status or identity influencing the relation between participants whether they are equal (showing solidarity) or unequal (showing power). Equal status relates to the same position between the participants but the unequal position show that they are not in the same position.

LEXICALIZATION

Lexicalization or choice of words is very important for someone who wants to express their opinions through speech. Using the appropriate wording, it is expected that the hearers or audience could capture the interests of the speech or utterances. Thus, the speaker must prepare the appropriate words before utters his or her speech in accordance with the objectives and the word choices that are strongly influenced by his ideology. The choice of words will represent someone's identity both personal and group. By knowing someone's ideology, the research will be able to analyze that the choice of words whether they have a negative or positive meaning to the person or group that is intended. Van Dijk (2017, p. 26-27) states that lexicalization can be managed by giving certain attribution to the persons both in and out groups. Thus, lexicalization can construct person's identity and polarize participants involved in the communication event. If the speaker has a motive to give 'bad' attribution to the opponents, he will choose 'bad' lexis and vice versa. One phenomenon can be viewed differently dependent upon the membership of the speakers or the participants. War in Iraq and Afghanistan as examples can raise different lexicalization. The US and the west will give attribution 'the terrorists' to the people of Iraq and Afghanistan who fight against them, but the people of Iraq and Afghanistan will call themselves as the 'freedom-fighters'.

There are three contexts to reveal the meanings of lexicalization; personal context, social context and sociocultural context (Van Djik, 2017, p. 26-27). Personal context can be mood, opinion and perspective. Social context can be formality, familiarity, group membership and dominance relations. Formality shows that there is a distance among the participants in the communication

event. Familiarity shows a closeness and intimacy among interlocutors. Sociocultural context can be language variants, norms and values.
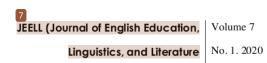
Research Method

Since the study aims at revealing power and solidarity in President Obama's speech at the University of Indonesia to the audience through lexalization, thus, the researcher employed qualitative method that is suitable with the characteristics of the qualitative one. The data of this research was taken from the observation of lexicalization performed by President Obama in his speech at theUniversity of Indonesia November 10th, 2010. He applied qualitative content analysis in analyzing the data. In collecting data of the research, some stages were employed by referring to the three research questions as listed in chapter 1 by adopting a model by Litosseliti (2010). The procedures as the followings; lexicalization performed by President Obama in his speech were documented and classified into positive lexis and negative lexis, then, the data will be coded that enabled the research to recognize and interpret the data well.

After collecting the data, the next step is analyzing them that are related to the problem statements of the research. In doing the analysis to explore the real meaning of lexicalization related to the strategy of power and solidarity in and out of the classroom as suggested by Litosseliti (2010). Power and solidarity in classroom discourse can be explored by analyzing language usage in the context. Furthermore, the analysis of language usage to examine power and solidarity has a close relation to the speakers' ideology. The workings of language reflected and in part constructed particular social ideas, values, and meanings.

The next step is the researcher will answer research questions to explore and elaborate the use of lexicalization performed by the lecturers and the students' ideologies as suggested by Van Djik's ideological model (2004) to apply

a theory of critical discourse analysis. The analysis of his ideologies was very important in this research because it influenced how the participants manipulated their language use to maintain their social. From the perspective of ideology analysis, the researcher can determine construction of power and solidarity among the participants.

Finding and Discussion

The CDA approach permitted the observation of data in three different stages: descriptive, interpretative, and explanation. The stages of analysis contributed to in-depth knowledge about the research process and the understanding of the way power and solidarity relationships man- ifest themselves when students interact in the classroom.

According to Fairclough (2003), description constitutes the analysis of the linguistic properties of the text, the first stage. Text is organized in different components: grammatical rules, meaning, lexical features (vocabulary, words, jargon, slang, among others), and phonological relations. The second stage is interpretation; in this step the discourse events that happened were analyzed and understood within their context. Thus, President Obama's utterances related the use of lexicalization were analyzed while taking into account what factors influenced the production of those communicative events. The third stage is explanation. President Obama's discursive exchanges were compared with the social context to observe and report how his dynamics in producing utterances were a reflection of society and how those external factors shape his' actions, thoughts, and behaviors.

President Obama in his speech at the University of Indonesia employed lexicalization both polarize the opponents (out-group members) to show his power and align the supporters (in-group members) to show his solidarity. As explained in Introduction about the structure of power and solidarity in his
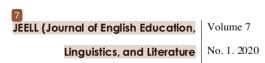
speech at the University of Indonesia, thus, the research examined the utterances in his speech to determine whether they referred to power or solidarity. Of this reason, he was determined to divide this sub-chapter into two sections. The first referred to positive lexis to show his solidarity to the addressees and negative lexis to show his power as Van Djik (2017: 26-27) stated that lexicalization could construct the addressees' identity to include in or out of groups of the speaker.

a. **Positive lexis**

The solidarity as his discursive structure in his speech at the University of Indonesia influenced President Obama's positive lexicalization to the addressees. The Indonesia people and the moderate Muslims were assumed to include his in-group, thus, he employed lexicalization having 'good' attribution to the addressees. The positive lexicalization showed high presence of Indonesian mottoes, language and culture. The division of his lexicalization in English into two parts was intended to measure the degree of solidarity to the Indonesian people. There are two meanings of this division, they are fair and strong meaning. Fair meaning was intended to show the degree of solidarity is fair, and strong meaning showed the high solidarity meaning. The high solidarity could be exercised through the use of adverb with the meaning of comparative and most.

Furthermore, the table showed that President Obama repeated a clause, 'America has a stake in Indonesia' four times as found in the data U 070, U 072, U 076 and U 078. It could be meant that the progress of Indonesia can't be separated from America. In other words, Indonesia is dependent of America. Although in grammar, the repeated clauses have fair meaning in surface structure because there is not supporting another part of speech, such as adverb and comparative having the meaning to emphasize. Thus the repeated clause is used to raise emphasis and clarity that America is very important toward the Indonesia's progress in all fields, as suggested by Olajoke (2015, p 263).

Furthermore, the clause '*America has a stake* in Indonesia' in the table also showed a parallelism realized in President Obama's speech as fund in the datum 12, as written 'the United States *stands with* Indonesia'. President Obama realized this lexicalization to generate a strong feeling to the audience that America and Indonesia have a strong bond socially and politically.

b. Negative Lexis

The data indicated that President Obama felt to have responsibility of keeping peace in the world. He used the bad labeling 'extremist' in his speech in Indonesia for three times, in data U 142, U 145 and U 147. The datum U 142 'Innocent civilians in America, in Indonesia and across the world are still targeted by violent extremism' showed President Obama reminded the Indonesian people and the people of America become their target to attack. It was meant that the extremist are groups who are brutal people. This labeling is to deemphasize the extremists by giving bad attribute and give negative image for this group. This idea continued to the following datum U 145. The data explained that fighting against the extremists is not American's task, but he asked the audience to join together to combat the group by praising the Indonesian army's achievements. To support his idea of combating the extremists, President Obama proposed that America and Indonesia have shared interest to achieve peace in the world, like in the datum U 147 'Our shared interest is in building peace in a war-torn land -- a peace that provides no safe haven for violent extremists, and that provide hope for the Afghan people'.

The lexicalization of 'extremists' were aimed at softening the language that there are some 'bad' Muslims that should be defeated by the 'good' Muslims and he persuaded that the violent extremist were not only the enemy of America and the West but also the enemy for the 'good' Muslims. The labeling of 'extremists' is to show followers of radical Islam in his speech at Cairo University

can be explained that he blamed the radicals from the certain religion followers of what they did in making terrorism throughout the world.

The discursive structure of President Obama's power to the person or group who disagreed with the policy of America and the West, as explained in the sub-chapter 1 in chapter 4, has been demonstrated using lexicalization or the choice of words 'terror' in his inauguration speech in 2009. His lexicalization of giving 'bad labeling', such 'terror' was aimed at de-emphasizing the negative image to any person or group who disagreed with the policy of America and the West. The labeling of 'terror' was changed into 'extremist' in his speech in Cairo for seven times in utterance U 009 and U 010. The data showed America's identification that 'the extremists' as common enemy for all people throughout the world. He thought that the attacks on September 11th 2001 were not only addressed to America, but also all countries in this world. This is an important starting point of exploring idea to invite all people and countries in the world to fight against the terrorists. The lexicalization of 'extremists' in these utterances is created to inform that a part of Muslim in the world gave contribution to the tension. He blamed the minority of Muslim and gave 'bad labeling' to them because of his suspect that they are the actors of attacking 911. Furthermore, he gave informed that the extremist stretched around the world both in ocean and land, like in the datum U 059, 'When violent extremists operate in one stretch of mountains, people are endangered across an ocean'. Because of the danger of the extremists' presence, he, then asked the audience to confront together, like in the datum U 077, 'We will, however, relentlessly confront violent extremists who pose a grave threat to our security'.

President Obama showed his proudness of being a President of the US as well as the leader of coalition that the presence of their troops are important in the countries are conflicting, like in the datum U 090 'We would gladly bring every single one of our troops home if we could be confident that there were not

violent extremists in Afghanistan and Pakistan determined to kill as many Americans as they possibly can'. Besides, he also asked the audience as the Muslim to disconnect the extremists, like in the datum U 119, 'The sooner the extremists are isolated and unwelcome in Muslim communities, the sooner we will all be safer'. Finally, he persuaded the audience join together in fighting against the extremists, like in the datum U 263.

CONCLUSION

Based on the analysis, the researcher could conclude power and solidarity reflected in the use of lexicalization in President Obama's speech at UI can be explored by applying critical discourse analysis. The use of lexicalization has the meaning of *positive lexis* or *negative lexis* to show America's hegemony toward Indonesia and solidarity to minimize the gab between America and Indonesia. President Obama used power and solidarity in order that Indonesian people will accept him (America) as friend, to show that there is no fight between America (western people/christian) and Indonsia (moslem world). Moreover, Obama applied the expressions are to secure the America's politics against for terrorism, America want that Indonesia will be its friend to fight terrorism and moslem radicals, and Indonesia will be a big new markets for the American's goods. Thus, the phenomenon of solidarity, in this sense, cannot be meant only that President Barrack Obama was familiar and close with Indonesia people, but he has another agenda in order that the US interests in Indonesia will be accepted by The Indonesian People.

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