Positive Discourse Analysis of the Presidential Rhetoric at the G20 Summit 2022 in Bali, Indonesia

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Abstract. This study aims to uncover the utilization of positive discourse in presidential rhetoric during the G20 Summit 2022. This qualitative study employs a dataset of speeches delivered by the President of Indonesia, obtained from the official website of The Secretary of the Cabinet of the Republic of Indonesia. The speeches were published online between November 14 and 16, 2022. The procedures involve examining the speeches, identifying positive language, categorizing the data into three main themes (i.e., uniting, being optimistic, and maintaining world peace), analyzing rhetorical strategies and interpreting the data using the Positive Discourse Analysis approach. The results show that the President of Indonesia encourages all countries to unite to achieve common goals. Despite a severe toll on the world economy after the pandemic, he spreads optimism to the summit. He also persuades everyone to maintain world peace. These three focal points are conveyed by utilizing personal pronouns 'we' to strengthen the sense of collectivity and build unity and 'I' to highlight his good leadership quality. Justification for the negative impacts of war is expressed through conditional clauses. Other discursive strategies in his rhetoric include using lexical choices, parallel structures, modals, metaphors, rhetorical questions, and repetitive phrases. The encouragement and uplifting messages in the speeches may boost positive vibes in the meeting. The use of rhetorical techniques can impact international relations, economic cooperation, and how people worldwide work together to address common issues.

Keywords: *Positive Discourse Analysis, president, indonesia, G20, summit*

INTRODUCTION

The shared collective challenges, such as poverty, climate change, food insecurity, healthcare, mental health, children's rights, gender equality, cybersecurity, disinformation, and debt crises, cannot be dealt with by a country alone (Rome Declaration on World Food Security, 1996; The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2023; Unicef, n.d.; United Nations Development Programme, 2023; United Nations, 2009; WHO, 2022, 2023, among others). The global challenges faced by every country are very complex. Collective action as a global community is needed to solve the world's problems and shape a sustainable future.

Increased awareness of global issues has led to the establishment of international organizations. Cooperation among countries worldwide has grown since the second half of the 20th century (d'Argent, 2017). Nowadays, international cooperation occurs between two neighboring countries and among countries universally. International organizations are established to serve a purpose, achieve shared goals and solve common problems (Paulo, 2014). International organizations promote their unique purposes, culture, and spirit.

Mackenzie (2010) points out that international organizations share characteristics and functions; *first*, they have their purpose, rules, and goals that can be modified over time; *second*, they serve as arenas to encourage negotiations among their members; *third*, they serve as clearing houses for information. There are hundreds of international organizations in the world today, such as United Nations (UN), Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), World Trade Organization (WTO), European Union (EU), International Monetary Fund (IMF), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), and The Group of Twenty (G20).

Established in 1999, the G20 is a global cooperation forum comprised of 19 leading nations, including the European Union (EU). More than 60% of the world's population, 75% of international trade, and 80% of the world's GDP are represented by the G20. Indonesia, the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Italy, Australia, Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, Canada, the Republic of Korea, Turkey, Japan, India, South Africa, China, Saudi Arabia, and the European Union are G20 countries (Bank Indonesia, 2020). The G-20 aims to enhance global financial stability by promoting collaboration among countries and reforming the global financial governance framework (Jokela, 2011).

G20 has three types of meetings (Bank Indonesia, 2020). *First*, Working Groups. This meeting is attended by experts from G20 member nations who address particular issues related to the G20's program for inclusion in the ministerial segment and the summit. *Second*, Ministerial and Deputies Meetings. These meetings focus on a variety of subjects. Finance ministers and central bank governors attend the Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors Meeting (FMCBG). Additionally, the Deputies attend the Finance and Central Bank Deputies Meeting (FCBD). *Third*, the G20 Summit. Heads of state of the G20 countries attend the G20 Summit.

The G20 Summit is held yearly and is led by a rotating Presidency. The G20 does not own a permanent secretariat. Therefore, its programs are determined by the rotating Presidency (G20 Secretariat, 2023). Indonesia was the G20 Presidency in 2022. Under the theme of "Recover Together, Recover Stronger", the G20 was held in Bali, Indonesia, on 15-16 November 2022.

Some key takeaways from the G20 Summit on 15-16 November 2022 in Bali are; *first*, condemning Russian aggression. Most members strongly urged Russia to stop the war in Ukraine; *second*, U.S.-China ties on better footing. Despite the lack of real outcomes, the two superpower countries resolved to maintain open dialogue and avoid conflict; *third*, focus on the global economy. The G20 agreed to enhance global financial stability by accomplishing several agenda in their declaration; *fourth*, food security. The G20 members agreed to take concrete steps in stopping starvation; *fifth*, climate change. Some plans to address climate change will be implemented. Some developed countries will donate $20 billion to it (Gopalakrishnan, 2022).

Under Indonesia's presidency in 2022, Jokowi, the President of Indonesia, gave several speeches in front of the world's leaders at the G20 summit. Speeches delivered by a country leader as a form of discourse are not neutral. It is "eminently ideological" (Van Dijk, 2002). Van Dijk (2002) elaborates that political discourse is "the institutionally bound text and talk of politicians." Political discourse exhibits political ideologies. Hence by observing discourses, the ideologies expressed in discourses can be reconstructed (Van Dijk, 2006).

One of the approaches that can be used in reconstructing discourses is Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth, CDA). Fairclough (2010) determines the characteristics of CDA as follows: *first*, the analysis is transdisciplinary and involves the relations between discourse and other elements of the social process; *second*, it analyzes texts systematically; *third*, it is normative or in other words, it observes social wrongs in discourses and feasible approaches of making it right. CDA analyzes power, control, dominance, and discrimination in discourse. CDA critically examines the use of language that expresses social inequality in discourse (Wodak, 2001).

As a subdiscipline of CDA, Positive Discourse Analysis (henceforth, PDA), however, focuses on "celebrating counter-discourses" (Bartlett, 2012) and is concerned with how discourse can make the world a better place to achieve progressive social change (Hughes, 2018). As mentioned by Martin (2004), "We do need to move beyond a preoccupation with demonology, beyond a singular focus on semiosis in the service of abusive power — and reconsider power communally as well, as it circulates through communities, as they realign around values, and renovate discourses that enact a better world."

Martin (1999) shows a constructive approach to discourse analysis that emphasizes hope, optimism, and transformation in his work. Within PDA, the text is considered to be"...inspirational – with no tinge of bitterness or betrayal; rather a message of hope and wisdom – grace personified." PDA is an approach that provides a way to examine positive uses of language that may function as substitutes for dominant discourses that the analyst regards as being destructive or negative (Stibbe, 2017).

PDA is not an opposing side of CDA. It is a complementary perspective that provides 'positive' critiques (Hughes, 2018). With PDA, we can enrich "our understanding of how change happens, for the better, across a range of sites — how feminists re-make gender relations in our world, how Indigenous people overcome their colonial heritage, how migrants renovate their new environs and so on" (Martin, 2004). Hence, PDA was never meant to replace CDA but to facilitate broadening CDA's focus beyond texts involved in oppression, exploitation, and abusive power relationships.

CDA and PDA are different in some ways. According to Stibe (2017), CDA challenges hegemonic mainstream discourses that form an unfair and unsustainable civilization. The emphasis is not so much on single texts but on large numbers of texts that structure the mainstream discourses of society. In contrast, a PDA examines positive discourses outside the mainstream that are not prevalent yet but could deliver something beneficial if they were developed to be even more pervasive. Therefore, PDA can concentrate on a more in-depth investigation of a smaller number of texts to discover positive qualities without needing to determine the current prevalence of these features. In PDA, resistance is not merely a reaction to injustice; it is social action that enables progressive social transformation.

The analysis of resistance discourse is a generative endeavor, seeing objects of study as resources for conceptualizing and pursuing emancipatory goals (Hughes, 2018). According to Bartlett (2012), CDA primarily focuses on how discourse is either exploited by dominant groups or reveals a hegemonic and socially destructive ideology. On the other hand, PDA glorifies counter-discourses without clearly examining how these might be capable of contesting the position of hegemonic discourses. CDA and PDA perceive power as a unified and opposing phenomenon, concentrating on distinct poles of this opposition. Stibe (2014) indicates that PDA differs from CDA not so much in terms of their approach to analysis but rather their practical application.

Scholars have applied PDA as an approach to analyzing discourses. Using PDA, Kong (2022) describes the political metaphors reflected in The Analects, the masterpiece of Confucianism. Through metaphors, the analects convey the positive meanings of Confucian political thoughts. Ponton (2022) explores the relationship between Ecolinguistics and PDA. He investigates an eco-friendly farm in Norfolk which features in a BBC program, 'The Countryside Hour.' This study found positive ideologies: 'deep knowledge of the habits of animals and birds, respect for the environment, and a care for living creatures.' Luo et al. (2022) describe the journalistic discourses about 'the ASEAN-China Special Summit to Commemorate the 30th Anniversary of ASEAN-China Dialogue Relations' in China Daily. Utilizing PDA, this study found that positive words and contexts are used to present China's positive image. A study focusing on presidential speech using PDA has been conducted by Nartey & Ernanda (2020). They analyze the speech of the first president of Indonesia, Sukarno, at the opening of the First Asia-Africa Conference. This study concludes that presidential rhetoric can convey a message of hope, strength, and inspiration while playing the role of a unifier.

The aforementioned studies apply PDA as the analytical framework to uncover positive aspects within discourses across various themes, focuses, and data sources. However, research using the PDA framework, particularly in the context of presidential rhetoric within international forums, remains limited. Thus, the primary objective of this study is to address this research gap by examining the utilization of inspiring and constructive messages in presidential rhetoric during the G20 Summit, a prominent international forum. This study contributes to the existing literature on presidential rhetoric in international forums by applying the PDA framework to analyze the utilization of inspiring and constructive messages during the G20 Summit, an area that has been previously underexplored. Additionally, it aims to provide valuable insights into the speeches delivered by world leaders, with the potential to enhance global cooperation for a brighter future.

RESEARCH METHOD

The dataset employed in this study comprises speeches delivered by the President of Indonesia during the G20 Summit in Bali. These speeches were obtained from the official website of The Secretary of the Cabinet of the Republic of Indonesia (https://setkab.go.id). The speeches primarily consist of content in the Indonesian language and were published online between November 14th and November 16th, 2022.

This research adopts a qualitative approach to extract meaningful insights from the speeches. Initially, the speeches were examined to understand their structure and identify the main ideas they conveyed. The analysis involved identifying positive language and other linguistic or textual features that conveyed a positive tone. Next, the data was categorized into three main themes: uniting, being optimistic, and maintaining world peace. These themes represent the key messages that the President aimed to deliver to the G20 Summit audience. The analysis of rhetorical strategies and data interpretation were conducted using the Positive Discourse Analysis (PDA) approach. The PDA framework is utilized because it aligns with the objective of the study, to reveal the utilization of inspiring and constructive messages in presidential rhetoric during the G20 Summit.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The President of Indonesia conveys positive messages in his speeches to encourage the audience at the G20 Summit 2022 in Bali. Three themes discovered from the speeches are uniting, being optimistic, and maintaining world peace.

Uniting

Unity holds significant importance in a world characterized by diversity and interconnectedness. Moreover, unity gives strength. Despite the diversity in the world, countries are interdependent and interconnected. A change made by one country may affect the whole world as interdependent and as one entity (Chew, 1998). Therefore, the spirit of unity is essential for G20 countries. The G20 Presidency aims to unite the G20 countries to achieve their goals. The following extracts encapsulate the theme of unity.

1.   **We** have no other option. The paradigm of collaboration **is badly needed** to save the world. **We** all have a responsibility, **not only** for our people **but also** for the people of the world.

2.   *Mari kita bekerja, dan mari kita bekerja sama untuk dunia. Recover together, recover stronger.*
     Let's work, and **let's** work together for the world. Recover together, recover stronger.

3.   *Darurat kesehatan berikutnya dapat muncul kapan saja. Kali ini dunia harus lebih siap. Kesiapsiagaan kita akan menyelamatkan nyawa dan perekonomian kita. G20 harus mengambil langkah-langkah nyata dan segera.*
     Health emergencies can arise at any time. This time **the world** should be more prepared. **Our** preparedness will save lives and **our** economy. **The G20 must** take real and immediate steps.

4.   *Presidensi **kami** dimulai dengan harapan untuk menyatukan niat bersama dalam mewujudkan pemulihan dunia yang inklusif dari pandemi.*
     Our presidency began with the hope of **uniting** the common will in realizing an inclusive world recovery from the pandemic.

Several discursive strategies are employed to strengthen the unity of the G20 countries, such as the use of personal pronouns. In political discourse, the selection of personal pronouns, whether the speaker includes or excludes the audience, may influence the relationship between the speaker and the audience (Achugar, 2004; Fairclough, 1989; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; van Dijk, 1991). The first inclusive plural pronoun, 'we' in extract 1, involves the summit participants and impacts the sense of belonging of the G20 members. The first inclusive plural pronoun, 'we', maintains a sense of collectivity and a shared responsibility (Håkansson, 2012; Johnson, 1994; Pennycook, 1994). The adverb of manner 'badly needed' is used to emphasize how essential collaboration is. Extract 1 also points out how huge the impact of the collaboration and the unity of the G20 members is by using a correlative conjunction not only/but also. In extract 2, the lexical choice 'let's' as the first person plural imperative suggests a collaboration. The speaker aims to gain support from the audience to work together. The parallel structure 'recover together' and 'recover stronger' emphasize that the situation has to get better for every party by working together. Besides, it was also the Indonesian G20 presidency's theme in 2022. Extract 3 contains rationalization and justification of the importance of preparedness for all countries' health emergencies. The lexicon 'the world' is used to show the message's inclusivity. It refers not only to the audience of the summit but inclusively points out the other countries outside the G20. The modality 'must' depicts the urgency of quick action by the audience, the G20. In the spirit of uniting the G20 members for the world's better future, the lexicon 'uniting' is explicitly mentioned in extract 4. The use of 'our presidency' explicitly refers to the Indonesian presidency, demonstrating the commitment to uniting the countries for a better future.

Being optimistic

Optimism correlates with positive life outcomes (Baranski et al., 2021). An optimistic attitude relates to good physical health, being more successful, having

self-efficacy and hope, having positive emotions, and life satisfaction (Carver & Scheier, 2014; Diener et al., 1999). Gallagher et al. (2013) argue that optimism is a universal phenomenon and potentially encourages psychological functioning worldwide. Although optimism cannot eliminate the challenges linked to the pandemic, it is crucial in empowering individuals and nations to navigate the crisis, preserve mental well-being, stimulate economic recovery, and enhance social cooperation. A prior study suggests that the psychological concept of optimism significantly impacts how people respond to adversity (Eva et al., 2020). The theme of being optimistic is captured by the extracts that follow.

5. *Saya optimis B20 akan semakin solid dan terus berkembang.*
    I am **optimistic** that B20 will be even more **solid** and **continue to grow**.

6. *Hari ini mata dunia tertuju pada pertemuan kita. Apakah kita akan mencetak keberhasilan? Atau akan menambah satu lagi angka kegagalan? Buat saya, G20 harus berhasil dan tidak boleh gagal.*
    Today **the eyes of the world** are on our meeting. **Are we going to score success? Or will it add one more failure**? **For me**, the G20 has to succeed, and it can't fail.

7. *Bulan Januari yang lalu saya berbicara di depan B20 pada awal masa tugasnya, masih pandemi berat saat itu, saya menyampaikan bahwa di setiap kesulitan, bahwa di setiap tantangan pasti ada peluang . Jangan pesimis. Titipan saya saat itu, saya ingat, jangan pesimis.*
    Last January, **I** spoke in front of B20 ….. There was still a severe pandemic at that time. **I** said that **in every difficulty**, **in every challenge, there must be an opportunity. Do not be pessimistic**. **I** said at that time, **I** remember, **do not be pessimistic**.

Extracts 5, 6, and 7 promote optimism among the summit's audience. In these three extracts, the president utilizes the first singular pronoun, 'I'. In extract 5, the first singular pronoun is used to express his voice and to show that he is a good and responsible leader with a strong character. As stated by Bramley (2001), 'I' highlights personal qualities as someone with positive character, such as having morals, power, and principles. The first singular pronoun is also shown in extract 6, where he expresses his belief and strong opinion ('for me') as a leader who has authority. He shows his optimism that the G20 has to succeed. Also, he frequently uses 'I' in extract 7, reminding the audience of the positive messages he delivered previously. It is one of the ways to make his statement and position himself above the shared responsibility of other audiences (Beard, 2000; Karapetjana, 2011).

As a leader of the G20, the president spreads positive messages to the members. In the current world situation, it is important to be optimistic. Extract 5 explicitly displays positive lexical choices 'optimistic', 'solid', and 'grow'. He shows that the leader of G20 is optimistic. Thus, other members should have the same attitude to continue growing. Extract 6 employs metaphor. A human being metaphor is used to emphasize that the summit is a very important meeting. THE WORLD is A HUMAN BEING. It has eyes, and those eyes are looking at the meeting. Therefore, the meeting members do not take it for granted. To boost optimism, the president uses two rhetorical questions; 'Are we going to score success? Or will it

add one more failure?'. Rhetorical questions do not invoke answers but serve other communicative functions (Caponigro & Sprouse, 2007; Špago, 2020). In extract 6, the answer choice is clear and becomes the shared knowledge between the speaker and the audience; the G20 wants to score success. The president encourages others to be optimistic by choice of words and phrases in extract 7. The G20 has to be able to see the silver lining in every challenging situation, 'in every difficulty, in every challenge, there must be an opportunity'. Whatever the situation is, he is positive that there always be an opportunity. Still, in the same extract, he repeats that the G20 should not be pessimistic.

Moreover, being optimistic is essential for sustaining mental and emotional health during a pandemic. According to Conversano et al. (2010), optimism has been connected to greater coping mechanisms and adaptability in stressful circumstances. As a result, this optimistic approach contributes to lowering stress levels and negative emotions.

Maintaining world peace

Peace can be defined as the absence of war and conflict (Bellamy, 2020). Voukelatou et al. (2022) define 'peace' as "… a principal dimension of well-being and is the way out of inequity and violence." World peace can be achieved by building unity among countries (Chew, 1998). All countries in the world have to realize that they are interdependent. Maintaining world peace is crucial for all countries' well-being, progress, and prosperity. It not only ensures stability and security but also creates opportunities for economic growth, social development, collaboration on global challenges, and the protection of human rights. The extracts below encompass messages that encourage the commitment to upholding world peace.

8. Being responsible here also means that we must end the war. **If the war does not end, it will be difficult for the world to move forward. If the war does not end, it will be difficult for us to take responsibility for the future of the current generation and future generations**.

9. We **should** not **divide the world into parts**. We **must** not **allow the world to fall into** another cold war.

10. *Mengawali sesi ketiga ini, izinkan saya mengulangi pesan yang saya sampaikan dalam pembukaan KTT kemarin. Stop the war. I repeat, stop the war. Lot is at stake. Banyak hal yang dipertaruhkan. Perang hanya akan menyengsarakan rakyat. Pemulihan ekonomi dunia tidak akan terjadi jika situasi tidak membaik. Sebagai pemimpin, kita semua memiliki tanggung jawab untuk memastikan situasi global yang kondusif bagi masa depan dunia.*
    To start this third session, let **me** repeat the message **I** conveyed at the opening of the summit yesterday. **Stop the war**. I repeat, **stop the war**. A lot is at stake. War will only torment the people. World economic recovery will only occur if the situation improves. As leaders, we are all responsible for ensuring a conducive global situation for the world's future.

The president encourages the world to end the war by giving justification for why it should be ended and the negative impact of the war. The reasons are made using conditional clauses, which can be seen in extract 8. By using conditional clauses, the speaker expresses the likely outcome that may happen in the future if a certain condition occurs. Modalities are used to convey a message for maintaining world peace. In extract 9, he uses modals 'should' and 'must' to suggest what actions are best not to do (not divide the world into parts) and to suggest what actions are strongly not allowed to do (not allow the world to fall into another cold war) respectively. The first-person plural pronoun is used to involve everyone, encouraging collective responsibility. A strong message with full hope for world peace is portrayed in extract 10. The repetitive phrase 'stop the war' emphasizes the urgency. It is highlighted by using the English words on the phrase 'stop the war'. Then, it is followed by a justification of why world peace is important. The presidential message conveyed during the G20 Summit reminds world leaders of the importance of preserving world peace and the concept of "true peace" (Mayor, 1992) that encompasses establishing a fair and democratic global order fostered through mutual understanding and cooperation among nations.

Moreover, positive rhetoric by the President of Indonesia during the G20 Summit 2022 holds global implications. The emphasis on uniting countries fosters international cooperation while spreading optimism influences economic confidence. Prioritizing world peace signals a commitment to global stability. The uplifting speeches enhance positive diplomacy and the summit's constructive atmosphere.

CONCLUSION

In summary, the President's speeches at the G20 Summit 2022 demonstrated his commitment to fostering unity, optimism and maintaining world peace. As a leader of the Republic of Indonesia and the presidency, he tries to unite all countries, spread optimism, and stop the war. His words reflect hope and encouragement for a better future. Leaders often deliver speeches containing positive and uplifting messages in meetings since whatever vibes they bring into the meeting may reflect on the audience. His messages resonated with the audience, conveying a sense of shared responsibility and inspiring hope for a better future. By focusing on these themes, the President shaped a positive and constructive agenda for the G20 countries, encouraging collaboration, resilience, and a peaceful global environment.

This research brings valuable insights by examining how the President of Indonesia utilized positive language in his speeches during the G20 Summit 2022. The study sheds light on the significance of positive rhetoric in political communication, especially in international settings. It highlights how uplifting messages and persuasive language can impact diplomatic efforts and shape public perception on a global stage.

This study reconstructed the speeches of the President of Indonesia at the G20 Summit in Bali in 2022. The presidential rhetoric revealed in the speeches attempts to encourage other summit members. Regardless of all the positive attitudes he tries to demonstrate, this study only focuses on seven speeches

delivered by the President of Indonesia at the summit. Future research may take a closer look at more speeches to examine presidential rhetoric patterns.

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