

Symbolic Domination of the *Belt and Road Initiative Program* on the Speech Text by Chinese President Xi Jinping

Subandi Subandi¹, Muhammad Farhan Masrur¹, Yogi Bagus Adimas¹, Cicik Arista¹,
Hans Yosef Tandra Dasion¹, Masilva Raynox Mael¹
¹Universitas Negeri Surabaya, Indonesia

Abstract:- The Belt and Road Initiative Program (BRI) program is one of the Chinese propaganda strategy that is inseparable from the ideological load in order to influence dominance, and hegemony motifs to the countries in the region, making its economic and technological power a capital to place China as a dominant party. Granting aid loans, became a binding tool to unleash dominance and influence on the countries of the region. Ideological content is percolated through to the heads of the countries in the region through the language of speech texts placed as written discourse texts which can be studied with Bourdieu's concept of symbolic dominance using the method of critical discourse analysis. Based on the results of the analysis, the use of language that represents symbolic dominance behind the speech text is packaged in the form; 1) Making himself part of the interlocutor, 2) Making the interlocutor the owner of the concept, 3) Making the interlocutor an active participator, 4) Making the equality of the two parties, 5) Bias to the interlocutor, 6) Making oneself the superior party, and 7) Entering aesthetic values through figurative languages.

Keywords:- Symbolic Domination, Speech Text, Discourse, Representation, Power

I. INTRODUCTION

The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is considered to be a spectacular idea of Chinese President Xi Jinping directed at global economic development, by prioritizing the development of infrastructure and transportation routes of world trade, land, and sea routes as a means of connectivity of the world economy (Brona, 2018: 58). As a matter of fact, the concept of BRI is delivered by the President of China, Xi Jinping. In order to succeed the idea of BRI, President Xi Jinping as the speaker has to be able to deconstruct all the heads of regional countries way of thinking. It is done in such a way to successfully convince all the heads of regional countries that the offered concept of BRI later can be accepted as a legitimate truth so that a trust is built towards them as the interlocutors. Therefore, Xi Jinping's skill of constructing his language in a speech text is considered as one of the determining factors to covertly and subtly insert the content of ideology without causing social resistance.

Speech text is being positioned as a form of social interaction as well as a means of expression of ideological

practices that are transformed through language within the frame of discourse text (Swartz, 1996; Subandi, 2022; Haryatmoko, 2010). Language is an ideological practice to instill influence and domination through symbolic media (Smith, 2007; Wacquant, 2013; Haryatmoko, 2003; Subandi 2022). Thus, it is safe to assume that there is a hidden ideological practice Xi Jinping's speech text that is being transformed through language and it is used to influence and convince the interlocutor. As a result of the speaker's existing ideology, the use of language within the speech text turns out to be unneutral. For example, the following is an excerpt from President Xi Jinping's speech during a phone conversation with Indonesia President Jokowi.

- (1) “双方要共同发展·树立务实合作标杆·要把共建“①一带一路”，同中国构建新发展格局、印尼国家中长期发展规划结合起来 ②只要是有助于促进印尼发展、深化中印尼合作的事情·中方都会积极参与、全力而为 ③” (①China will continue to cooperate with Indonesia in all fields And ②asking for relations between the Republic of Indonesia and China to be a role model for other practical cooperations, ③especially related to financing China, Belt and Road Initiative” (Xinhuanet, 11 January 2022 edition and CNBC, 12 January 2022 edition).

It is clear from the above quote, the ① statement, China has ulterior motives/modes towards Indonesia, namely promoting the growth of trust in Indonesia's President since establishing a cooperative relationship with China is important, indispensable, and profitable. As a result, China hopes to successfully persuade and gain the support of Indonesia. Therefore, Xi Jinping emphasized on the certainty aspect by using the diction “长期发展规划结合”/will continue to cooperate/ in order to build Indonesia's trust in China. Furthermore, the ② statement indicates the existence of a hegemony in which China has a tendency to show that what is conveyed and done by China is an acceptable truth. This is enshrined in the use of the phrase“深化”/being a role model/ that reflects on the meaning of truth, goodness, and something that needs to be guided by other parties. Moreover, through the ③ statement, it obviously indicates China's desire to show domination through its economic power. With the ③ statement, China wants to show strength in the field of

economy by providing guarantees on the aspect of funding to the regional countries as the target countries. The ③ statement represents Xi Jinping's efforts to turn China into a powerful country because its economic aspect makes it step up to the more dominant position.

On the other hand, other countries becoming competitors of China economically and politically criticize and accuse China of practicing its domination towards the regional countries. Through the BRI propaganda, a strategy which is full of assistance programs and funding loans, it is considered as a trap for the regional countries to not have the power resisting China's wishes. The absence of rejection from the regional countries is considered as a form of consent and recognition or acceptance that indirectly becomes a form of legitimacy of China's domination towards those countries (dominance and hegemony see also Schmitz et al., 2018; Reich & Lebow, 2014; Hurrell, 2006). Although these allegations can be interpreted only as a form of concern, but with the entrance of China into the regional countries through the BRI program, it causes an advantageous logical guarantee for the regional countries. Consequently, the speech text of President Xi Jinping is assumed to have an ideological content that is being inserted as an effort to convince as well as instill its influence in order to be accepted and followed by regional countries. The efforts of China, transformed through language within the frame of speech text, represent social practices that have ideological values and are used for the purpose of symbolic domination practices as the final goal of social practices (Zhang, 2015 Carroll, 2006; ;Holland, 2005;Thomas, 2013). Therefore, through the theoretical concept of Bourdieu's symbolic domination, Xi Jinping's speech text is studied to reveal the forms of language that represent symbolic domination.

II. SYMBOLIC DOMINATION

Domination is a strategic area, where unequal or asymmetrical relationships occur between the dominant party (strong) and the dominated party (weak). Asymmetrical relationship between text producers (dominant parties) and text consumers or dominated parties (Husu, 2013 Mayr, 2008; Sutikno, 2020). Meanwhile, (Bourdieu, 2007: 86; Pellandini-Simányi, 2014; Loos, 2000) mentions, domination does not always refer to a condition of riel and concreteness, but can also refer to an abstract and subtle condition, debased, intellectual, as well as opinion formation through consensus that makes voluntary acceptance through public awareness. As supported by Gramsci (2013: 224) who stated that the system of relationships is formed due to the existence of parties who have the authority/power, they become parties that dominate and exercise power as well as have the ability to control over the lower classes as the dominated parties. This happens through the creation of an awareness based on intellectual and moral traits in which it emphasizes the nature of volunteerism and approval of the lower class towards the upper class which is persuasive and ideological (see also Bourdieu, 2006; Harrits, 2011; Muzairi, 2014; Boothman, 2008; Hutagalung, 2004). Through this mechanism, the dominated party does not happen to feel or is unaware of the dominance. The internalization of ideology is conducted by building systems

such as culture, education, cooperation and others that are considered to strengthen the dominance (Gramsci, 2013; Barret, 1994; Macedo et al., 2015; Lee, 2016). The dominant party must be able to represent the public interest so that the consensus runs well and is able to organize the mutual agreement and there is no need for the use of force and or physical pressure, since it is reasonable and is conducted voluntarily (Wacquant, 2013; Wacquant & Akçaoğlu, 2017; Patria, 2015).

Language is highly possible to function as an instrument of dominance within the system of power even as an instrument to achieve and maintain *power* (Tang & Yang, 2011; Subandi, 2018). Supported by Fairclough's (2003), the use of language is always simultaneously composed of (i) social identity, (ii) social relations, and (iii) knowledge and belief systems (see also Fairclough, 1993; Titscher et al, 2000; Bourdieu, 2010). The life of society's way of thinking and the world is shaped by domination through language manipulation as a tool of power to instill ideas and views in order to form a dominant class attitude. This attitude of acceptance and recognition is a symbolic representation of domination (Edwards, 2009; Ernesto, 2001; Mouffe (1979).

Symbolic domination does not appear in the form of physical force but it works subtly, unrecognizably even when people do not feel any objection upon getting into it and it comes up with more of symbolic forms (Bourdieu, 2007; Loos, 2000; Siisiäinen, 2008). Furthermore, Bourdieu (2006) stated that symbolic power is "*invisible power*" (see also Kim, 2004; Kim, 2009). Symbolic power uses symbols as instruments to influence and instill a view in accordance with the wishes of the dominant party as the dominant party who also plays a role in reproducing social reality which is an element forming the discourse text. Bourdieu (2007:37) mentioned that language exchange is always related to symbolic power. Symbolic system is understood as an instrument of dominance in which it means the connection of symbol production with the interests of the dominant class where the ideology of certain groups is disseminated to the wider community (see also Goke, 1993; May, 2002). In this concept, Bourdieu gave an example by explaining a case about providing assistance, loans (debt) in which the owner of capital to parties does not have capital. In this case, Bourdieu saw it as a mechanism by which domination is happening as well as being disguised. Giving loans, assistance, and gifts is a form of dominance that enables the other parties undergoing the domination of the giver and they will be bound to it. Thus, they are unable to conduct ideology transformation of their social class due to being tied through the obligation to pay debt and indebted feeling (Bourdieu, 2007; Subandi, 2022).

There must be parties in a fight for power that want to gain legitimacy for their dominance as the ruling party and will further infiltrate their ideological views and influence on the dominated party as a form of symbolic domination practice because the symbolic battle is essentially a competition between social actors with the primary goal of gaining power. Furthermore, there are parties who dominate and are dominated in every social communication (Bourdieu, 2007; Barret, 1994). It is also explained that through domination, the

dominant party will be able to exert control or control over the dominated party's perception, vision, and perspective, because it is interpreted as an effort to produce and display the most recognized, most correct and the most legitimate "worldview," (Bourdieu, 2007).

III. DATA AND METHODS

The research data are presented in language forms that represent the meaning of power/domination within the Chinese President Xi Jinping's speech text related to the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) program being offered as the object of research. Xi Jinping's speech texts were taken from the mass media (People's Daily 人民日报) and the media (Xinhuanet 新华网) in the period 2013-2022 and downloaded online via the link <http://jhsjk.people.cn/article/26001014>. Overall, there were at least 196 citation texts obtained, namely from Peole's Daily (人民日报) it obtained 103 citations and from Xinhuanet (新华网) it obtained 93 citations. To collect the data, document analysis was used as the technique as it is also applied to analyze the contents of documents related to the focus of the problem. Once the data had been identified, all of them were encoded (such as Y2014M11D9P2Pr3L2). Y denoted the year, M denoted the month, D denoted the date, P denoted the page, Pr denoted the paragraph and L denoted the line. Furthermore, the data were classified as in table 1 below and analyzed using a type of qualitative research approach. In order to provide a detailed, concrete, and comprehensive picture, the results of the analysis were presented using descriptive methods.

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Based on the results of data analysis, the forms of domination in the speech text are classified as table of contents. Sequential numbers 1-7 represent the forms of domination as in the order of presentation of the results of the analysis.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
34	38	29	2-6	26	19	24

Table 1. Classification and amount of data

The speaker used three types of capital to legitimize their dominance, namely economic capital represented through financial ownership as a result of economic growth and infrastructure development, especially the interconnection transportation system. Both modalities are symbolic, namely the speaker's ability to produce ideas and concepts of BRI as a world-scale program, making the speaker more trusted, accepted and recognized by the interlocutor. The three social capitals, namely the social network and the approach strategy of the speaker with the interlocutor made it easier to be accepted in the social arena. The three types of capital played a role in shaping the symbolic dominance of the speaker as the following description.

➤ Making oneself as the part of the interlocutor

Incorporating oneself/himself (Xi Jinping) into the territory of the interlocutor is an attempt to make him as a part of the social arena of the interlocutor, as the data below show.

- (1) “①萨拉姆 —阿莱孔 ! 大家好 ! 今天, 有机会同阿拉伯②朋友 欢聚一堂, 共商中阿合作论坛建设和中阿关系发展大计, 感到十分高兴” (① Assalamualaikum! Hello, everybody! Today, I am very happy to have the opportunity ② to gather with Arab friends to discuss the development of the China-Arab cooperation Forum and the development of China-Arab relations) (Y2016M6D22P2Pr2L7)
- (2) “同阿拉伯③朋友 见面, ④总有一见如故的感觉” (③ When meeting with Arab friends, ④ there is always a feeling like an old friend) (Y2017M11D10P5Pr2L3)

Data ① within the quoted text extraction (1) showed that the speaker's efforts to equate himself with the interlocutor with the strategy of incorporating himself into the interlocutor's territory/social arena. The use of data ① proved the speaker's efforts to bring himself into the arena of the interlocutor, to image himself as part of the interlocutor. The use of data ① was manifested into a form of expression that represents the basic characteristic of the identity of the interlocutor, but the speaker intentionally used it to show that the speaker owned the data ①. Although in fact, the speaker was the party outside the social arena as opposed to the speaker, this action was considered as a form of speaker strategy. It was because with this strategy, the speaker broke the distance between his social arena and the interlocutor's social arena. Likewise, the data ②, ③, and ④ above, were actualized through the use of 'friend' diction in which those were representations of the proximity relationship towards the social arena between the two. Through the use of diction 'friend', it was considered as a form of consensus that seeks to emphasize the aspect of closeness and to eliminate the impression of distance/barriers between them. Although in fact, the speaker as the dominant party, but the selection of data ②, ③, and ④ by the speaker, did not represent the presence of the superior party and the upper-class party or dominance. On the other hand, the speaker was more positioned as a party equal to the interlocutor. With the cutoff distance of the social arena, it got easier for the speaker to be accepted into the social arena of the interlocutor. Thus, the next speaker would be a lot easier to start the action of cultivating his interests, views, and ideological influences. Thus, through the element of proximity, it was likely to become more profitable for the speaker, because it would be easier to be accepted as a charge of interests, interests, and/or ideology by the interlocutor.

➤ Making the interlocutor as the owner of the concept

Making the interlocutor as the owner of the concept initiated by the speaker is an indication of the speaker's efforts to build awareness, a sense of shared ownership, and the same role in the interlocutor, as in the example of the following data.

(3) “建设承载着①一带一路”我们②对共同发展的追求。

我相信“我们的事业 会像古丝绸之路一样流传久远、泽被后代 Belt and Road Initiative” leads us①② towards joint development. I believe that ③ our goal will be to inherit along the ancient Silk Road and the legacy will be passed on/bequeathed by ④ our future generation.

(Y2015M11D7P1Pr2L6)

(4) “一带一路”合作倡议契合中国、⑤沿线国家和本地区

发展需要，符合有关各方共同利益。一带一路不是推动沿线国家实现发展 战略相互对接、优势互补 “” (Belt and Road Initiative” to meet China's development needs, “to meet the needs of the countries of the region along the path in accordance with the common interests of all parties concerned. The Belt and Road Initiative is not a solo show by the Chinese family, but a chorus of countries along the path of the region)

(Y2018M3D20P1Pr1L4)

Making the interlocutor getting into the social arena of the speaker was one of the strategies initiated by the speaker, to make the interlocutor feel ownership over the idea. This strategy built awareness, consensus and responsibility on the part of the interlocutor as a result of the ownership position. This strategy, first, was actualized on the use of the diction persona pronoun ① /我们/ (us) on chunks of the data (3). Through diction/我们/ (we) the interlocutor blended and engaged in the social arena of the speaker. The concept/idea /一带一路/ (Belt and Road Initiative) which actually belonged to the speaker, but with the use of diction /我们/(us), it formed a legitimacy of the entry of the existence of the interlocutor into the realm of the ‘ownership’ arena of the speaker. Likewise, the data ②, ③, and ④ within the text (3) that emphasizes the aspect of ‘purpose’, the speaker situated the form of language that makes the interlocutor seemed to have the same interests and objectives as the speaker towards the idea /一带一路/ (Belt and Road Initiative), although factually the idea belonged to the speaker. However, the data ②, ③, and ④ above represented the ideological content of the speaker to drive awareness of recognition, acceptance, and awareness of engagement towards the interlocutor through the status of the speaker’s ownership built by the speaker. This interpretation was reinforced by the data ⑤ and data ⑥ within the chunks of data (4), the speaker placed /一带一路/ (Belt and Road Initiative) as an idea required or desired by the regional countries (data ⑤), despite the fact that the regional countries occupied a position as the recipient of the speaker’s idea. The speaker also placed the interlocutor as the impeacher of ideas (data ⑥), not only by China (China's leader as the speaker) but should be implemented together with all the regional countries (the leaders of regional countries as the interlocutors). The use of diction /战略相互对接/ (choir) represented the meaning of actions that must be carried out together and emphasized aspects of coherence, suitability and harmony. Through the

strategy of building mutual understanding and ownership, the speaker would be easier to raise understanding and awareness of the interlocutor, in order to realize the idea /一带一路/ (Belt and Road Initiative) which had been seen as a common need between the speaker (the Chinese government) and the interlocutor (the governments of the regional countries).

➤ *Making the interlocutor as an active participant*

The placement of the interlocutor as an active participant is marked by the use of diction which semantically referred to the meaning of activities and actions conducted by the interlocutor, as in the following example of data.

(5) “尽管有时会遭遇惊涛骇浪和逆流险滩，但①，只要

我们齐心协力、把准航向 人类社会发展的巨轮必将行稳致远，驶向更加美好的未来” (Although sometimes the sea is bumpy and has to fight the rafting currents, but ① as long as we overcome it by working together, arranging to stay on track, the giant wheels of the development of human society will continue to progress steadily to the far end, towards a better future).

(Y2019M3D26P1Pr1L12)

(6) “②双方共建“一带一路”，加紧国家战略对接，创新

合作驱动，近年来，双方在互。③ 中方坚定支持乌兹别克斯坦根据本国国情自主选择的发展道路，理解和尊重乌兹别克斯坦政府为保持国内稳定” (② Both parties together build “One Belt One Road”, improve alignment of national strategies, drive innovation, have made new progress in cooperation. ③ China firmly supports the development path chosen by Uzbekistan in accordance with its own national conditions, understanding and respecting the measures taken by the government of Uzbekistan).

(Y2021M3D17P1Pr1L14).

The placement of the interlocutor as an active participant was an effort by the speaker to build a sense of responsibility, feel respected and appreciated while acting as a moral responsibility on the opposing side. Thus, an understanding, awareness and the need to accept, following and implementing the ideas conveyed by the speaker without any pressure or compulsion. This active participatory role was represented through data ① with text (5). It began with the form of both parties being placed in difficult conditions. The difficult conditions would be overcome and could arrive at the point of destination if both parties played active roles. This was interpreted as parties who did not play an active role were not able to reach the intended point, namely the trade improvement and refinement as well as the economy of the country. Through this strategy, the implanted views by the speaker would be able to be accepted and recognized as a correct and logical thought that could turn into a driving element of interlocutor consciousness and intuition. This interpretation was reinforced by the data ② and ③ within text (6). The speaker explicitly emphasized the active role and real work of the interlocutors in realizing the BRI program. This proved that the regional countries were given full authority and

responsibility to realize the BRI program through real work in their respective countries. This assumption was realized within data ③, where the speaker gave appreciation as a form of respect to the interlocutor (in this case referring to the government of Uzbekistan) who had realized his active participation through development policies adapted to the local socio-cultural conditions. Support and appreciation as a form of respect given by the speaker, would be able to increase his level of trust and acceptance by the interviewee. The implementation of the BRI program in the form of the development of trade and economic transport routes by the government of Uzbekistan was a representation of the acceptance of the ideological content of the speaker wrapped through the views and ideas of the BRI program. The views and ideas should be followed and implemented with awareness of the need for the program in order to improve the condition of the country without feeling any orders, coercion or pressure from the speaker. Thus, the act of dominance of the speaker incorporated through the strategy of social interaction with language as a symbolic media could situate the speaker as the dominant party.

➤ *Creating equality between both parties*

Equality is a positive action and a form of equalization in the social arena between the speaker and the interlocutor as a representation of a form of respect and respect that are able to build positive perceptions towards the interlocutor. This form of equalization is reflected through the following text quotation.

(7) “①我们同舟共济扬帆起，乘风破浪万里航。尽管有时会遇到惊涛骇浪和逆流险滩，但只要我们齐心协力、把准航向，②，驶向更加美好的未来” (①) We sail on the same ship, sailing the wind and waves for thousands of miles. Although sometimes the sea is bumpy and has to fight the rafting currents, ② but as long as we overcome it by working together, set to stay on track, towards a better future). (Y2020M6D12P1Pr1L4)

(8) “我们要摒弃冷战思维，反对任何形式的“新冷战”和意识形态对抗。③ 国与国相处，要把平等相待、互尊互信挺在前面” (We must abandon the cold war mentality, oppose any form of "new cold war" and ideological confrontation. ③ Relations between countries must be conducted on an equal basis, with mutual respect and mutual trust). (Y2015M6D20P2Pr1L3)

Equalization is a process to make a state/condition equal and eliminate the element of disparity. The equivalent element used by the speaker was implied through data ① and ② within text (7) and data ③ within text (8). Through the form of figurative language in data ① and data ③, the speaker wanted to build a positive opinion by eliminating social class differences between them in order to build a sense of equality towards the interlocutor. The series of dictions

“在同一条船上” (existing on one and the same ship) on data ① and “互尊互信挺在前面” (relations between countries must be equal and respectful) in data ③ represented a similar situation, there was no difference in social position between them. Through this form of expression, it reflected an effort on the speaker to pay tribute to the opposing party which was actualized in the form of equalization or aligning between the speaker and the opposing party. Since with this alignment, a more comfortable psychiatric condition could be formed marked by an intimate atmosphere and the loss of awkward feelings. During this situation, the opportunity of the speaker getting accepted into the social fields/social arena of the interlocutor was getting higher, and a positive perception would be formed in which it became the initial capital of building a trust in the speaker. Likewise, the data ② within (1), described the effort of the speaker to prove that he was not a superior/strong part in which the speaker put himself in a social position that needs help and cooperation from the opposing party. In that case, there were two forms of action conducted by the speaker as a strategy, namely the speaker degraded/weakened his/her position and the speaker exalted/strengthened the position of the interlocutor to make the two positions equal/aligned. Although in real terms the speaker was a capitalist/owner of capital, the aspects of the capital and capital elements were hidden so that they did not appear on the surface of the arena of ideological battle. The speaker positioned himself as a party that needs help and cooperation from the interlocutor and the interlocutor was placed in a position as the party needed by the speaker. The formation of such a position greatly supported the speaker's efforts to build trust in the opposing party, because the opposing party would interpret that his existence had been appreciated and his social position had also been elevated. With the formation of the conditions as above, the views, ideas, and influences instilled by the speaker on the interlocutor would be accepted and recognized as something true, so that the concept /一带一路/ (*Belt and Road Initiative*) initiated by the speaker would be used as a thought to follow.

➤ *Causing bias towards the interlocutor*

Bias is a condition that describes a tendency of partiality by one party towards another that is characterized by giving an advantage to another. Here is an example of data that represents bias.

(9) “一带一路建设不是空洞的口号，而是看得见、摸得着的实际举措 ① 将给地区国家带来实实在在的利益” (The “Belt and Road Initiative” development is not an empty slogan, but a real and tangible step ① that will bring tangible benefits to the countries of the region). (Y2021M12D1P1Pr1L7)

(10) “中国愿同沿线国家一道，“一带一路”构建“携手打造绿色丝绸之路”、“健康丝绸之路”、“智力丝绸之路”，和平丝绸之路 ② 造福沿线国家和人民” (China is willing to cooperate with the countries of the region to build the cooperation network of the “Belt and Road Initiative” so as to jointly build the “Green Silk Road”, the “Healthy Silk Road”, the “Intelligence Silk Road”, and the “Silk Road for Peace”, which ② is

beneficial to the country and the community along the path of the country of the region. (Y2020M11D5P1Pr1L5)

Bias towards interlocutor was used by the speaker via promise of an advantage, benefit and/or other positive impact that would be received by the interlocutor of the BRI program. The use of diction /将给地区国家带来利益/ (brings benefits to the countries of the region) within data ① in text (9) and /造福国家和人民/ (benefits to the countries and communities of the region) within data ② in text (10), explicitly indicated the advantages and benefits to be obtained by the regional countries from the BRI program offered by the speaker. The discourse of positive benefits was wrapped through dictions that represent the bias of BRI program performance towards the interlocutor. This was a strategy used to seize victory (sympathy, trust, recognition and other similar things) in the arena of social battles as a symbol of the speaker's dominance of the interlocutor. The partisanship that offers advantages were able to help the speaker smoothly sending his actions in the arena of social battles, namely the action of influencing and instilling his views and ideas so that through his understanding and awareness the speaker could acquire recognition and acceptance from the interlocutor. Since the aspect of partiality was adopted, the social system would work to fulfill its function/role as a binding element of psychic/psychiatric and intuition of the interlocutor. With strategies and approaches like this, this would become a factor that can cut the interlocutor's social freedom arena, so that the interlocutor's position got weaker and the power to resist also got smaller. Therefore, the bias given by the speaker was a representation of the dominant practice of the speaker through language as a symbol.

➤ *Making oneself as the superior party*

Superiority refers to the reference meaning of the existence of power due to the capital of the owner who occupies the position, thus it makes oneself as a party who has influence and power in the social arena/fields. The following is an excerpt of the use of language by the speaker that represents the meaning of superiority in the text.

- (11) “① 中国出资 400 亿美元成立丝路基金，以支持“一带一路沿线国家有关合作项目”” (① China invested 40 billion US dollars to establish Silk Road Fund to support relevant cooperation projects in countries along the “Belt and Road Initiative”). (Y2021M7D14P1Pr1L3)
- (12) “中方在铁路、电力、通信、工程机械、冶金、建材等领域优势明显、竞争力强” (② China has clear advantages and strong competitiveness in railways, power, communications, construction machinery, metallurgy, and building materials). (Y2019M3D16P1Pr2L2)

When China announced the BRI program, China's economic condition was very good with its national economic growth factors being the highest in the world. The power of economic factors to be the capital enabled China to occupy the position of a dominant class above the interlocutor class as a partner in the BRI social arena, as represented through diction

/出资/ (invest) within data ① in text (11). Diction /出资/ (investing) conceptually has a lexical reference to meaning that relates to ‘possession of financial power and/or funding’. Due to that, the speaker explicitly displayed the financial power factor possessed to the surface of the social arena, as a strategy to convince and dispel the doubts of the interlocutor. By displaying itself as the superior party of capital owners, it was an important point in which it could be a strategy to exemplify the opposing party. In that case, the speaker (China) really did have economic power and it was appropriate to occupy a position as the dominant party. Therefore, the dominant party, namely the interlocutor, no longer needed to feel doubt and or worry about the ability of capital power owned by the dominant party. Furthermore, in order to realize the BRI program, factually the type of capital owned by the speaker was a type of capital where it was also required by the dominant party which was almost entirely as a party who did not have the strength of this type of capital. Through the use of speech forms such as data ① in text (11), it became the victory point of the speaker in the arena of the battle in order to fight for symbolic domination. The superior position of the speaker turned into something more robust and resilient because it was strengthened by the ownership of other types of capital, namely in the form of the strength of the technological field, which was actualized through diction /力强/ (strong excellence and competitiveness) within data ② in text (12). The diction represented the meaning of strength or power in the field of technology owned by the speaker and was used as a capital to achieve the highest position in the arena of social battle, namely an effort to gain trust and to convince the interlocutor. The explicit delivery of technology capital to the interlocutor turn to have positive frequency on the part of the speaker. This could be interpreted as a prove that the speaker had provided examples and real evidence that needs to be acknowledged and followed by the opposing party based on a full sense of awareness and confidence and eliminating concerns and doubts. Through the use of diction /力强/ (strong excellence and competitiveness) the speaker hoped to be an element of strength that can help to facilitate the speaker's efforts to instill his understanding or views and influences, so that it can be understood and acknowledged as a truth and ultimately followed by the interlocutors.

➤ *Incorporating aesthetic values through figurative language*

Aesthetics in language is the emphasizing of beauty aspect as one of the language rhetorical forms. The use of aesthetics in language has a function, one of them is to attract sympathy and attention of interlocutors through beauty as well as to insert influence (hidden) beyond the explicit meaning of language. Here is an example of a text with a language aesthetic value that is actualized through the form of abstraction.

- (13) “不协调、不可持续问题，① 使中国经济凤凰涅槃、浴火重生，保持强劲发展动力” (...makes the Chinese economy ① like a phoenix bird of nirvana reborn from its ashes of a fire and maintains the momentum to grow stronger). (Y2015M09D22P5Pr2L4)

- (14) “② 非尽百家之美，不能成一人之奇” (② If you do not learn to blend the various beauties of the various streams, then it will be difficult to give a miracle to one person). (Y2021M10D25P4Pr1L3)
- (15) “但我们坚信·寒冬阻挡不了春天的脚步，黑夜遮蔽不住黎明的曙光” (However, we strongly believe that winter cannot stop the spring pace, and the dark night cannot cover the dawn). (Y2021M1D25P1Pr2L2)

The Data ① in text (13) is a form of figurative language used to express the condition "③ the revival of the Chinese economy after experiencing a downturn" and data ② in on text (14) is used to express the meaning of advice, namely "④ the need to learn from the achievements of others, so that we can achieve superior results". Speakers sought to play their dominance through a language aesthetic value depicted in the form of figurative speech. Like a speech text in general, the strong use of rhetorical elements in Xi Jinping's speech text was also a marker and identifier of his existence. The strength of aesthetic values possessed by rhetorical elements was used to hypnotize and influence interlocutors to take sympathy or entice interlocutors. As a matter of fact, social actors or speakers who have good technical skills found it easy for them to be accepted in the social arena and is far from the risk of social resistance. This can be proven when data ① in text (13) was delivered with structure ③ and data ② in text (14) was delivered with structure ④. Linguistically, the semantic message or information could be conveyed, but whether the structure of data ③ and the structure of data ④ could have the ability to play a role in enticing and attracting the sympathy of the interlocutors, it could not yet be guaranteed. If the structure of data ③ and the structure of data ④ were unable to entice and attract the sympathy of interlocutors, then the speaker was deprived of the opportunity to enter the social arena of the interlocutor and as a result, the speaker did not have the opportunity to permeate his ideological motives into the social arena of the interlocutor. Acceptance that is not accompanied by resistance is a representation of legitimacy to the dominance of the speaker over the interlocutor. Since the rhetorical game produces the language aesthetics values, the speaker has the opportunity to permeate his ideological motives. This is the result of using aesthetic value of figurative language as a disguise which resulted in the interlocutor not feeling any coercion and is unaware of the speaker's motives which have infiltrated the social ideological arena. In such conditions, the interlocutor consciously acknowledges, accepts and carries out the ideological values that have been inserted by the speaker. Subsequently, the interlocutor cannot carry out an ideological transformation of his social class, because it has been entangled by the speaker's ideology which has pruned and erode his arena of social freedom. The interlocutor is unaware that he has been exploited for the sake of realizing the mission of the speaker as the dominating party. Insertion of the speaker's ideological motives through elements of rhetoric which produces the language aesthetic value is a representation of the speaker's symbolic domination practice over the interlocutor.

V. CONCLUSION

When language is used in social transactions, at the same time the arenas/fields are formed where there is a battle of interests to influence each other in order to fight for dominance as a symbol of power within the social system. Language as an instrument in the arena of social battle is wrapped into some sort of forms that represent the dominance of the speaker, which is obtained through recognizable, acceptable and followable strategies that the interlocutor can fully be aware of and comprehend without feeling any pressure or coercion.

Based on the results of data analysis, the dominance of the speaker is obtained by using elements of strength in the field of economics and technology as capital and is actualized through the use of language with the following form of language packaging; 1) making oneself as a part of the interlocutor was marked by the use of forms of expression/language that represent a close relationship then forms a unity, so that the impression of the speaker was built up as a part of the interlocutor. 2) making the interlocutor as the owner of the concepts or ideas offered by the speaker. The use of diction persona /我们/ (us) became a marker when the speaker conveyed about being in charge, continuity, and ownership of ideas. 3) making the interlocutor as an active participant was marked by the use of diction which referred to the meaning of active activity, cooperation, hard work as a representation of the real active role of the interlocutor. 4) creating equality between both parties, namely building opinions between the speaker and the other party occupied the same position in equality in the social arena in which no one dominated or was being dominated. It was characterized by the use of diction such as /平等/ "equal", /我们一样/ "we are the same", as well as expressions that describe both parties were being in the same place and position. 5) Causing bias towards the interlocutor. The idea of BRI was narrated as a program that would provide benefits and advantages to the interlocutor. The use of diction, /好处/ (benefit) and /利益/ and or /优势/ (advantage) for regional countries was used as a marker. 6) making oneself as the superior party. The speaker conveyed the capabilities and strengths in the financial, economic, and transportation technology fields. This strategy was used to provide examples and real evidence, in order to build trust and confidence as well as relieve what the other people were worried about and 7) incorporating the aesthetic value of language to display a charm that had the allure to win the sympathy of the interlocutor through the aesthetic elements of the language.

REFERENCES

- [1]. Barret, Michelle. 1994. *Ideology, Politics, Hegemony: From Gramsci to Laclau and Mouffe*. In Slavoj Zizek (Ed), *Mapping Ideology*. London: Verso.
- [2]. Boothman, D. 2008. The sources for Gramsci's concept of hegemony. *Rethinking Marxism*, 20 (2), 201-215.
- [3]. Bourdieu, Pierre. 2006. Forms of Capital. In H. Lauder, P. Brown, J.-A. Dillabough, & A. H. Halsey (Eds.), *Education, globalization and social change* (pp. 105-118). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- [4]. Bourdieu, Pierre. 2007. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Malden: Polity Press.
- [5]. Bourdieu, Pierre. 2010. *Arena of Cultural Production, A Study of Cultural Sociology*. translation, Discourse Creation, Bantul.
- [6]. Brona, Adrian. 2018. One Belt, One Road: New Framework for International Relations? *Polish Journal of Political Science*. Vol. 4, No. 2, pp.57-76.
- [7]. Carroll, W. K. 2006. Hegemony, counter-hegemony, anti-hegemony. *Socialist Studies/Études Socialistes*.
- [8]. Edwards, L. 2009. Symbolic power and public relations practice: Locating individual practitioners in their social context. *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 21 (3),251-272.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10627260802640674>.
- [9]. Ernesto, Laclau and Chantal Mouffe. 2001. *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards A Radical Democratic Politics*. London: Verso, 2001. pp. 105
- [10]. Fairclough, N. 1993. Critical Discourse Analysis and The Marketization of Public Discourse: *The Universities. Discourse & Society*. No. 4 (2). pp. 133-168.
- [11]. Fairclough, N. 2003. *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis in Social Research*. London: Routledge.
- [12]. Gramsci, Antonio. 2013. *Prison Note Books -Notes From Prison-* (Translated by Teguh Wahyu Utomo). Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- [13]. Goke, Pariola Abiodun. 1993. Language and Symbolic Power: Bourdieu and The Legacy of Uero-American Colonialism in an African Society. *Language & Communication*. Vol. 13 No. 3. Pp. 219-234. (Online): <https://doi.org/10.22146/poetik.v3i2.10437>.
- [14]. Harrits, G. S. 2011. Political power as symbolic capital and symbolic violence. *Journal of Political Power*, 4(2), 237-258. (online)
<https://doi.org/10.1080/2158379X.2011.589178>.
- [15]. Haryatmoko. Berbagai Macam Transaksi dalam Islam, Fiqih Muamalah. Revealing the False Culture of Rulers: The Theoretical Foundations of Social Movement According to Pierre Bourdieu, (BASE Magazine, Number 11-12 of 52nd Year, November-December, 2003).
- [16]. Haryatmoko. 2010. Habitat and Capital in Power Strategies. In Post-graduate Seminar Department of Sociology, University of Indonesia on August 26, 2010. Jakarta.
- [17]. Holland, T. 2005. The Symbolic Power of Gold. *SAIS Review of International Affairs*, 25 (2), 139-140.
<https://doi.org/10.1353/sais.2005.0036>.
- [18]. Hurrell, A. 2006. Hegemony, liberalism and global order: what space for would-be great powers? *International Affairs*, 82 (1), 1-19.
- [19]. Husu, H. M. 2013. Bourdieu and Social Movements: Considering Identity Movements in Terms of Field, Capital and Habitus. *Social Movement Studies*, 12 (3),264-279.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2012.704174>.
- [20]. Hutagalung, Daniel. 2004) Hegemony, Power and Ideology. Diponegoro 74: *Journal of Social Thought, Politics and Human Rights*. Number 12. October-December 2004. pp. 1:17
- [21]. Kim, K-M. 2004 Can Bourdieu's critical theory liberate us from the symbolic violence? *Cultural Studies-Critical Methodologies*. 4. Pp. 362-376.
- [22]. Kim,Kyung-Man. 2009. "Field Theory as a Vehicular Theory of Science: Pierre Bourdieu as a Sociologist of Scientific Validity." *Korean Journal of Sociology*, 43(3), 43-56.
- [23]. Lee, J.-Y. 2016. China's hegemony. In *China's Hegemony*. Columbia University Press, 1999).
- [24]. Littlejohn, W. S., & Foss, K. A. 2005. *Theories of Human Communication* (8th ed.). Belmont- California: Wadsworth Group.
- [25]. Loos, E. 2000. Language Choice, Linguistic Capital and Symbolic Domination in the European Union. *Language Problems and Language Planning*, 24 (1), 37-53.
<https://doi.org/10.1075/lplp.24.1.04loo>.
- [26]. Macedo, D., Dendrinos, B., & Gounari, P. (2015). *Hegemony of English*. Routledge.
- [27]. May, L. Jacob. 2002. Symbolic Domination and Postcolonial Contestation: Resources and Condition. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 34. pp. 285-330.
- [28]. Mayr, Andrea. 2008. "Introduction (Power, Discourse and Institutions)". In Andrea Mayr (ed). *Language and Power (An Introduction to Institutional Discourse)*. London: Continuum International Publishing Group.
- [29]. Mouffe, Chantal. 1979. *Hegemony and Ideology in Gramsci, In Chantal Mouffe (Ed), Gramsci and Marxist Theory*. London: Routledge.
- [30]. Muzairi. 2014. The Shift of the System of Power from Marxism to Political and Media Hegemony. *ESENSIA*, Vol. 2019 2. September 2014, pp. 213-227.
- [31]. Patria, Nezar and Andi Arief. 2015. Antonio Gramsci and the State of Hegemony. Yogyakarta. Student Library.Salvadori, Massimo. 1979. *Gramsci and The PCI: Two Conceptions of Hegemony In Chantal Mouffe (Ed), Gramsci and Marxist Theory*. London: Routledge.
- [32]. Pellandini-Simányi, L. 2014. Bourdieu, ethics and symbolic power. *Sociological Review*, 62 (4),651-674.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.12210>.
- [33]. Reich, S., & Lebow, R. N. 2014. *Good-ByeHegemony!* In *Good-ByeHegemony!* Princeton University Press.
- [34]. Schmitz, A., Flemmen, M., & Rosenlund, L. 2018. Social class, symbolic domination, and angst: The example of the Norwegian social space. *Sociological Review*, 66 (3),623-644.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0038026117738924>.
- [35]. Siisiäinen, Martti. (2008). Symbolic power as a critical concept. In *Cultural Contexts. Uncovering Social Reality*. Augustus 2008 Pp. 9:30 PM (Online): https://www.researchgate.net/publication/292994381_Symbolic_power_as_a_critical_concept.
- [36]. Smith, Katie. 2007. "*Pierre Bourdieu – Challenging Symbolic Violence and the Naturalisation of Power Relations*". (Online): <http://www.e-ir.info/2007/12/22/pierre-bourdieu-%E2%80%93-challenging-symbolic-violence-and-the-naturalisation-of-power-relations/>.
- [37]. Subandi Subandi Ali Mustofa. 2018. *Ideological and Hegemonic Implications of Japanese Male Registers Used by Japanese Young Women Speakers: Gender Based Analysis and Its Implication in Pedagogical*

- Domain*. Atlantis Press. 2018. Vol. 227. pp. 93-97.
<https://dx.doi.org/10.2991/steach-18.2019.21>.
- [38]. Subandi, S. Educated Nurhadi. Lina Purwaning Hartanti. Masilva Raynox Mael *The Ideological Resistance of Japan's Kamikaze Pilots in A Book Entitled Kike Wadatsumi no Koe*. Routledge Taylor & Francis Group. 1. 2022. pp. 224-232.
<https://doi.org/10.1201/9781003265061>. (Accessed June 7, 2022).
- [39]. Subandi, S. Muhammad Farhan Masrur. Cicik Arista Hans Yosef Tandra Dasion LANGUAGE CRIME AS A SYMBOLIC POWER PRACTICE IN DEREK TSANG 《少年的你》'S BETTER DAYS. "Paraphrasing" *Journal of Language and Literature*. Vol 22 No. 1 2022. pp. 50-63. <http://jurnal.untag-sby.ac.id/index.php/arafrase/article/view/6237>. (Accessed June 7, 2022).
- [40]. Sutikno, Eka Ugi. 2020. The Identity Conflict of The Symbolic Domination Discourse in The Short Stories of Modern Civilization. *Globish (An English-Indonesian journal for English, Education and Culture)* Vol. 9, No. July 2, 2020 Pp. 12-26. (Online): <http://dx.doi.org/10.31000/globish.v7i2>.
- [41]. Swartz, D. 1996. Bridging the study of culture and religion: pierre bourdieu's political economy of symbolic power. *Sociology of Religion: A Quarterly Review*, 57 (1), 71-85. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3712005>.
- [42]. Tang, L., & Yang, P. (2011). Symbolic power and the internet: The power of a "horse." *Media, Culture and Society*, 33 (5), 675-691.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443711404462>.
- [43]. Thomas, P. D. 2013. Hegemony, passive revolution and the modern Prince. *Thesis Eleven*, 117 (1), 20-39.
- [44]. Titscher, Stefan. Michael Meyer. Ruth Wodak and Eva Vetter. 2000. *Methods of Texts and Discourse Analysis*. London: Sage Publications.
- [45]. Wacquant, L. 2013. Symbolic power and group-making: On Pierre Bourdieu's reframing of class. *Journal of Classical Sociology*, 13 (2), 274-291.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1468795X12468737>.
- [46]. Wacquant, L., & Akçaoğlu, A. (2017). Practice and symbolic power in Bourdieu: The view from Berkeley. *Journal of Classical Sociology*, 17 (1), 37-51.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1468795X16682145>.
- [47]. Zhang, F. 2015. Chinese hegemony. In *Chinese Hegemony*. Stanford University Press.