

**LGBT ISSUE AS HUMAN RIGHTS IN HILLARY CLINTON'S SPEECH
ON HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATION: A CRITICAL
DISCOURSE ANALYSIS**

THESIS

Submitted as Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for Bachelor Degree of
English Department Faculty of Arts and Humanities

UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya



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Declares that the thesis under the title *LGBT Issue as Human Rights in Hillary Clinton Speech on Human Rights Campaign Organization: A Critical Discourse Analysis* is my original scientific work which has been conducted as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Bachelor Degree and submitted to the English Department, Arts and Humanities Faculty of Sunan Ampel State Islamic University. Additionally, it does not incorporate any other text from the previous experts except the quotations and theories itself. If the thesis later is found as a plagiarism work, the writer is truthfully responsible with any kind of suitable rules and consequences.

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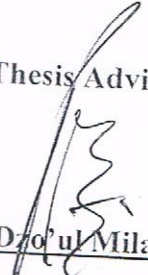
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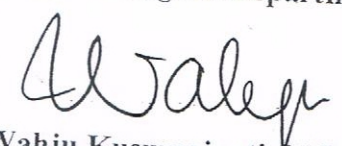
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ideologies used such as whiteness, racism, blackness that change evidently on his two speech. Or in other research by Alemayehu Negash under the title “*A Critical Discourse Analysis of Psychologic Gender-Based Violence against Women and Girls in Jimma Zone of Oromia National Regional State, Ethiopia*” as the result there are some effect that affects the society; stress, fear, anxiety, self-hate, and depression. Those previous studies above indicate that there are so many researches were talking about human rights in racism and gender discrimination. Instead of taking the same topics as the others, this research tried to look into another focus perspective to do the analysis on Critical Discourse Analysis in LGBT (*Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender*) case.

The issues of LGBT (*Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender*) become a case which is interesting to discuss in this era. Besides, if we talk about LGBT and human rights, there is a case where everyone around the world fights for human rights by doing socialization campaign to support LGBT people who still cannot live their life freely. In this case, the campaigns that people do to fight the LGBT discrimination above the name of human rights is interesting to discuss. For example, there is LGBT campaign which held by Human Rights Campaign Organization or in another short name HRCO, is the biggest organization in the world which talks about human rights in LGBT issue. They support the LGBT people and persuade the non-LGBT person to receive them as who they really are, without any discrimination. In other cases, HRCO is utilizing internet as their media information in LGBT campaign such as official website and youtube in case to share their thought about LGBT as human rights. According to O'Brien

(2003) Internet is a rapidly growing computer network of millions of education, government networks, and business that are interconnected by the number of users more than 200 countries in the worldwide. It means that using the internet as HRCO's strategies in LGBT Campaign affects people around the world and it is wider than using old media information such as television and radio.

Using internet as HRCO media information in their campaign surely has a big effect for LGBT and non-LGBT people. They also write some articles on their websites as one of their campaign projects. As we know that, language is not only a communication tools but also can be the device to spread and defend someone or group ideology(Nugraha, 2014) that can manipulate and control people mind. Besides, they also create their own youtube channel to post some video which pro in LGBT. In this case, the researcher interests to analyze one video in HRCO youtube channel which is consists of Hillary Clinton speech toward the LGBT issue as human rights. The researcher picks the video because it reaps a lot of response when Hillary Clinton who known as the politicians person,shows the public that she cares enough in humanity especially in LGBT rights. Not only that, Hillary Clinton also one of American politicians who agree on marriage equality of the same-sex gender in her country.

The researcher began this research by looking at some previous study. The first previous study comes from Anggi Dinda Pratiwi under the title "*The Portrayal of The LGBT Community in The Jakarta Post Through the Use of Discourse Structure*" which is published in 2017. This study aimed to reveal the portrayal of Indonesian LGBT community in The Jakarta Post. Pratiwi

applies qualitative approach to describe how language is produced to portray the LGBT community, the data of this study were obtained from the official website of The Jakarta Post. As the result, LGBT Community in Jakarta is portrayed as the victim, the minority, they are also being in unsecured and need protection. The newspaper tended to represent the voice of the minority of LGBT community. Unfortunately, Pratiwi just focused on two articles which oppress the LGBT community in Jakarta and she did not relate the result to any other terms that makes the LGBT community can be portrayed as the victim such as in religion perspective, or in another kind of perspective that make the LGBT people in Jakarta seen as a victim.

In other previous research comes from Rifki Nugraha under the title "*A Critical Discourse Analysis on Hillary Clinton's Speech: American For Marriage Equality*". This research aimed to find the text structure and the ideology that described on Hillary Clintons Speech. The analysis focused on the Critical Discourse Analysis of Hillary Clinton speech. Unfortunately, Nugraha's research just focused to analyze the meaning of the speech without combine the result with any other approach to support the main theory. It involves the investigation of ideological manipulation, hegemony and power relations (Rahimi & Sahragard, 2007). Critical Discourse Analysis aims to explore issues related to gender, ideology, identity as well as how the issue is reflected in a text (Clark, 1995)

However, two previous studies above have concentrated on the LGBT case that happened in the society. All of them were talking about LGBT but they just focused to analyze the meaning of the text without combine the result with

is known as the main point of the discourse. To indicate the main point, macrostructure formed using three macrorules. There are generalization rule, deleting rule, construction rule.

Jan rankema (2004) explains generalization rule in discourse structure means converting the several topics or macroproposition to be the general topics or main idea of the discourse. While deleting rule means to eliminate the irrelevant proposition to make a better interpretation for the structure of the discourse itself. The last role is called construction rule. In case, doing the construction rule means we replace or construct several situations and denoter the main act by combining or take summarize all of the situations become a whole.

2.1.2 Superstructure

The second category of discourse structure by Van Dijk is superstructure. Superstructure is a schematic form which organizes the general meaning of the text. It starts from the introduction, main content, conclusion, and ended with closing. In introduction, the speakers are able to explain their ideas to be given to the audience. It consists of a short preview of their main idea, speaks about several points of the discourse before it is continued with the main content. In main content, the speakers explain the detail of their main idea. It consists of several arguments and example to reach the purpose of the speech (kurtus, 2013). Then, the main content follows with conclusion. This part allows the speakers to summarize all of the statements and give a strong argument to reach the goals of the speech. This part ended with closing part which builds up by several

2.1.3.2.2 **Impression Management**

Impression Management has the deals to presence the positive self-description of the speakers. It indicates through verbal acts in communication, such as greetings or self-disclosure (Schneider, 1981). Impression management also can be identified when the speakers avoid to speak about some issues that they are not mastering.

2.1.3.2.3 **Attribution**

Attribution is a positive self-presentation to get the conversation of minorities. It also can indicate by shows some negative perception of another individual or groups. An attribution usually delivers toward recalling the past that related to another group based on the speaker's background knowledge and perspective (Hewstone, 1983)

2.1.3.2.4 **Cohesion**

Cohesion is a linked words to make one sentence become coherent one to another. Cohesion also has a function to see the correlation between each sentence in paragraph. The term of cohesion indicates by using conjunction in the text. Critical Discourse Analysis shows that each conjunction has a function. '*but*', '*and*', '*yet*', '*nor*', '*or*' is the common coordinating conjunction. In other hand, '*as*' '*whereas*' '*because*' it establishes the relationship between dependent and clause called subordinating conjunction.

2.1.3.2.5 Pronoun

Pronoun used to manipulate language that has been delivered by the speaker. Pronoun refers to the speakers, someone, or community that has implicit meaning. For the example, pronoun '*our*' and '*us*' are the positive representation of the of the speaker community. In the other hand, pronoun '*I*' indicates as the personal attribute to shows the speaker's intention.

2.1.3.3 Stylistic

Stylistic focuses to the words which are selected and arranged by the speakers to express their idea, theme, experience, and emotion. Stylistic can indicate what are the speakers thought about something through their chosen words to explain their idea for the audience. The lexical choice of the speakers influences the meaning of their speech.

2.1.3.4 Rhetoric

Rhetoric has a persuasive function in language used. The elements of rhetoric that created persuasive function are metaphor and graphic. In metaphor, the sentence should support the main idea of the discourse. It also consists of some particular ideas of the speakers to be delivered to the audience. In other, graphic is a form of writing that the author used to explain their idea, such as lowercase, italic, underline, bold, capital letter and etc. (Eriyanto. 2001) also in conversation form, graphic emphasized delivered by using the intonation of the speakers when they deliver their ideas in front of their audience (Nugraha, 2014)

To achieve the effectiveness of communication, the discourse is constructed in persuasive manner (Pratiwi, 2017). In persuasive manner, the speaker can add some quotation and sources from other media, news or etc to make the discourse become more reliable. In other, the speakers are able to add some precise of number by inserting some exact number of the participant in time event age or the value of the participant.

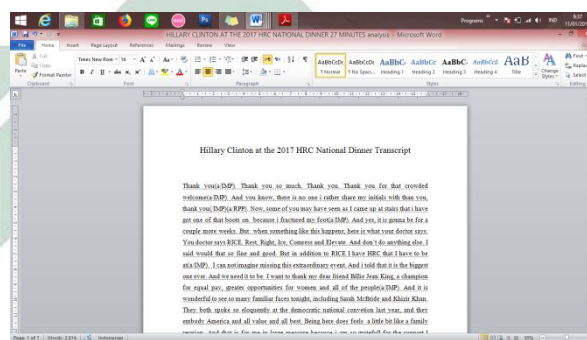
2.2 Ideologies

In global meaning, ideology is any group ideas or thought of something, and also known as a set of beliefs that they believed as an individual person or in a group (Van Dijk, 1988). In short, ideology is the basics belief of knowledge and attitude which shared by group of people. According to William, ideology classified in 3 domains idea. First, ideology is known as a term which used by people to describe the meaning of production. In this case, capital power is regarded as the greater role in society. Second, A set of ideas that made by the dominant group to dominate the society also known as ideology. Third, ideologies are determined by society around personal and related to the social position.

2.3 Socio Cognitive Approach

Socio Cognitive Approach aimed to show the relationship between power and discourse (Van Dijk, 1993). In Socio Cognitive Approach, knowledge, ideologies, attitudes, and social factor take a role to create the social mind about individual. (Memon, 2014). The Socio Cognitive Approach follows two levels in analysis, there are macrostructure and microstructure. In macrostructure analysis

- Underline to indicate the main content of the speech. It consists of several arguments and examples to reach the purpose of the speech
- Underline to indicate the conclusion of the speech. It consists of strong argument to reach the goals of the speech
- Underline to indicate the closing of the speech. It is summarizing the goals of the speech



3.5 Data Analysis

After getting the data and collecting the sources, the researcher analyzed the data through the following levels of Critical Discourse Analysis using microstructure, superstructure and macrostructure by Van Dijk (1988). The researcher did some steps to analyze the data as follows:

1. Classifying the data that have been collected.

In microstructure, the researcher found some linguistics element of the speech such as in semantics, syntaxes, rhetoric, and stylistic. The researcher made the table to classify all of the linguistics element which is found in

Microanalysis of Hillary Clinton from each section of her speech.

No	Speech/ minutes	Syntaxes					Rhetoric				Stylistic	
		PERS	ATT	IMP	CH	PRO	HP	QT	MP	RP	LC	F
	03:39 – 07:50	-	2	12	✓	2	-	-	-	-	1	-
	07:50 – 23:36	18	16	11	✓	23	4	1	-	3	16	-
	23:36 – 25:57	8	1	-	✓	5	-	-	-	-	2	-
	26:03 – 27:13	1	-	1	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

4.1.1.1 Microstructure

As the researcher stated earlier, microstructure focuses on the text which consists of several linguistics features, there are syntax structure, stylistic structure, semantic structure, and rhetoric structure. So in this subchapter, the researcher elaborated those aspects to indicate the ideology of Hillary Clinton by analyzed her speech. The researcher found that Hillary Clinton manipulates her language in her speech to persuade the listener that actually the rights of LGBT is same as the immigrant's rights, civil rights, women's rights, or religious freedom. Through her speech, Hillary Clinton also mentioned several cases of abuse against the LGBT rights, such as there is 100 gays in Chechnya who were taken from their homes and families and detained in secret prisons, She also mentioned that six men were arrested for promoting sexual deviancy after waving a pride flag at concert in Cairo Egypt. Hillary Clinton mentioned those abuses to make the listener realize that actually there is some discrimination which against the LGBT rights. Hillary Clinton also persuades people minds toward her speech that she wants all of the people to start coming out and speaking up about what they are and whom they love to resisting the injustice which the other people think about LGBT. She also mentioned that no human being ever gets to complete the work of liberation. It means that Hillary Clinton persuades people mind through her manipulates words to make people joining her action to support the liberation of LGBT. It shows through the pronoun that Hillary Clinton chooses in her speech. She used pronoun which represents unity, such as "*we*", "*us*", "*America*", "*our*".

that she wants to make LGBT rights become more equal as same as the rights of immigrants and refugees, civil rights and women's rights. It indicates the reason of why she started the movement to began the LGBT rights become more equal through building grassroots organizations to protect LGBT people as the minority from any certain abuses such as being executed or prisoned. It is related to the theory of liberalism progressive. In progressive-liberal aspiration the fundamental rights and shared values are essential, it can be seen towards the rights to life, the rights to have equal treatment, the rights to choose religion (Offerein, 2015). Liberalism progressive not only focus on the equality and injustice in each of individual, but also focuses on the progress or the movement of how the goals can be reached.

Deal with the previous discussion, the second result of how the liberalism progressive represented in Hillary Clinton speech is answered through microstructure and macrostructure of the speech. Hillary Clinton represented her ideology by using her persuasion sentences to persuade people that she is doing something to LGBT equal rights and she hopes her listener will do the same. Hillary Clinton mentioned about the movement that she did to reach LGBT equal rights, such as she went to Geneva to fight for human rights abuses, she also announced that US government strategy dedicated to combating human rights abuses against LGBT people abroad. Hillary also creates the other individual negative images to shows her ideology. Hillary Clinton mentioned in her speech that Donald Trump as the president starts to ban transgender to serve the military.

And she also asked her listener to start to do something about that case instead of just give some critics towards him in the form of words.

The next discussion is about the socio cognitive approach which elaborated by the researcher. As the result, there are several elements that exist in Hillary Clinton speech such as impression management strategy, mind control, and create other individual images. Hillary Clinton also used rhetoric art of speaking to impress her audience and show her sympathies in LGBT abuses.

4.2.1 LGBT as Human Right in Indonesia

Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender or as well known as LGBT is described the people's sexual orientation or gender identity in the society nowadays. LGBT become an issue since there are a lot of cases which indicate the discrimination that happened over the LGBT people around the world especially in Indonesia. As the fact in 2017, there is one University in Indonesia which make the requirement for their new students to sign the petition that the students who want to register in the university are not the part of LGBT people. In 2015, students or lecturers who identify as LGBT must be kicking out from the university. LGBT people in Indonesia often gets verbal abuses in any kind of social media. According to Kadir (2007) the discrimination of LGBT people in Indonesia happens because of the Heteronormavitas term which focuses on heterosexual society. It makes the homosexual people get the discrimination in their daily life because of the heterosexual society does not want to accept them as whom they love and what the identity they really are. Because of the

discrimination, LGBT people built some organizations to defend their rights. The organizations exist to fight the LGBT discrimination in the name of humanity. According to Rosidah (2012) the first LGBT organization in Indonesia rose on March 01, 1982 in Solo. The organization named "*Gaya Nusantara*" also exists in Surabaya and Pasuruan. They started the LGBT organizations to stand for LGBT rights because they represented their sexual desire as God's creation who are not different from the heterosexual. In their perspective, being an LGBT is the variation of their sexual orientation and there is nothing wrong with that. In this case, they declared themselves that they are also a part of human beings who must be respected by the others heterosexual (Stephen, McMullin, 1982)

Surabaya as well known as a metropolitan city also began to emerge the homosexual communities. The establishment of various communities is colored by different backgrounds. But all of them were similar one to another. The communities want to organize themselves to make them be able to develop their potential. They are currently struggling to raise the equality of rights between homosexuals and their gender identity. There are several communities in Surabaya which support the LGBT equal rights, such as *GAYa Nusantara* and *arus pelangi*. In the other hand, some LGBT activists and women's movements dared to speak up on the public towards the discrimination of LGBT rights in Yogyakarta principle in 2006. There has been established international human rights standards to address human rights abuses against LGBT. Yogyakarta principle refers to forms of human rights violations that against the LGBT rights

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