

A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS TOWARD THE JAKARTA POST NEWS SPECIAL REPORT: HONG KONG LEADER SAYS SHE WOULD 'QUIT' IF SHE COULD, FEARS HER ABILITY TO RESOLVE CRISIS NOW 'VERY LIMITED'

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Abstract

This research has a goal to apply the theory of 3 dimensional framework from Norman Fairclough with the data a news from The Jakarta Post. The thory used in this research first are Textual Analysis with the following types: Experiential Value Relational Value, and Expressive Value. The second is Discursive Practice Analysis with the following types: Production, Distribution, Consumption. The third is Social Practice Analysis with the folowing types: Situational Level, Institutional Level, Social Level. The method used in this research is descriptive qualitative study. The data taken from website news The Jakarta Post entitled: Special Report: Hong Kong leader says she would 'quit' if she could, fears her ability to resolve crisis now 'very limited.'". Based on the theory applied, it has result that the use of CDA will explain how the text could give impact in many ways such as sociocultural and also to reveal the textual, discursive and also sosial practice of the news.

Key words: CDA, Norman Fairclough

INTRODUCTION

Discourse studies is a field of an interdisciplinary between linguistic, psychology, poetics and social sciences (Chavez, 2000), (Rido, 2015), (Al Falaq & Puspita, 2021), (Kuswoyo & Rido, 2019), (Evayani & Rido, 2019). It has the focused on the analysis of discourse, the systematic theory and then various context (Sari & Pranoto, 2021), (Rido et al., 2017), (Pradana & Suprayogi, 2021), (Cahyaningsih & Pranoto, 2021), (Ivana & Suprayogi, 2020). It has developed from similar problem and interest and become an extension in these disciplines (Kuswoyo et al., 2020), (Ekleisia & Rido, 2020), (Rido & Sari, 2018), (Suprayogi et al., 2021), (Qodriani & Wijana, 2021). So, discourse studies will make relation to the basic similarity on discourse, object, forms in use of language and the communicative context (Febriantini et al., 2021), (Hidayati et al., 2020), (Tiono & Sylvia, 2004), (Lubis et al., 2019), (Lorandel et al., 2016). Besides, one of influence researcher is Teun Van Dijk as the author of "The Handbook of Discourse Analysis (1985)" and as a Dutch linguist and generally believed as the "founding father" from the contemporary of the study of discourse.

Actually "Discourse Studies" has already talked as a field of study in the 1970s. It has been developed until this period with many kinds and branch of it. As the explanation in "A Glossary of Literary Terms", from Harpham and Abrams tell that discourse is focused on language that used in a sentences and the interaction between speaker and hearer or between writer and reader, in a certain situation. Discourse Analysis provide a basic methodology to describes and analyze how the structure and content of the text (Pahdi et al., 2020), (Khasanah et al., 2017), (Novian et al., 2019). Convey ideas and the relation

among the ideas itself that become a representation in the text, systematically (Saputra & Pasha, 2021), (Nurmalasari & Samanik, 2018).

CDA differs from other forms of discourse analysis in much because of its 'critical'. "Critical" implies connections and causes which are hidden, it is also implies intervention, for example providing resources for those who may be disadvantaged through change (Anugerahwati et al., 2021), (Choirunnisa & Sari, 2021), (Shi et al., 2021), (Samanik, 2018), (Fitri, Chen, et al., 2021). The exposure of the hidden things is important, as they are not obvious for the people involved and therefore cannot be fought against.

Generally, Discourse analysis concerns on language that used between a group of people (Endang Woro Kasih, 2018), (Kusniyati, 2016), (Heaverly & EWK, 2020), (Agustina & Utami, 2021), (Yulianti et al., 2021), (Fauzi et al., 2021). It will analyze based on the writing from many other to specify the usage. Discourse has two key component of the news media, such as the news story and process when producing text (Putri & Sari, 2020), (Kuswanto et al., 2021), (Susanto et al., 2021), (Technology et al., 2017), (Nani & Ali, 2020). Accordingly, Fairclough's see on the language media analysis as "We need to analyze the media language as discourse, then the linguistic analysis of media should be part of the discourse analysis of media. (Erya & Pustika, 2021) has stated about discourse is in electronic distribution for the future of written text.

The basic understanding of discourse analysis is that discourse is not understood clearly as an object of language study. Language is used to analyze the text. Norman Fairclough's analysis is based on the very big question, it is how to link the micro text or the meaning inside the text with the macro community context or social. Fairclough seeks to build a model of discourse analysis that could contributes to both social and cultural analysis, and combining a tradition of textual analysis that always sees in a confined space with a broader community context. Fairclough's point of interest is to see how language users carry the certain ideological values. In this case, a clear analysis is needed. Social and critical language is a form of action, in a dialectical relationship with the social structure. Therefore, the analysis must be separated in a part of the language formed and shaped from a social relations and specific social contexts. So it can be concluded that "Discourse Analysis" is a field on applied linguistic that analyze the language use of between the interaction with speaker and listener or writer and reader.

Extreme political bias is relatively easy to be identified, perhaps because of it's sound and fury, but there is a much more sinister and intangible form of politically tainted language which is potentially more dangerous for people in a society. It is stated sinister because it is generally undetected and comes from those people who have power and obligation. It has the effect of conditioning recipients' attitudes and expectations, furthering social inequality and keeping us in our proper stations. Stubbs (1990: 8) comments on this phenomenon: 'if people and things are repeatedly talked about in certain ways, then there is a good chance that this will affect how they are thought of'. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was developed to identify this hidden sociopolitical control which proponents of CDA believe actively constructs society on some levels. This may be one reason the highly politicised media has so much influence on the views of society.

The data used in this research is a news obtained from one of the most well known news website The Jakarta Post with the news entitled Special Report: Hong Kong leader says she

would 'quit' if she could, fears her ability to resolve political crisis now 'very limited', concerning about recent political situation about China extradition that happening in Hongkong.

The goal of this research is to know the role of CDA and also to discover the hidden ideologies in the media of discourse studies. This research use ten different journal articles to clarify several things like methods, ways, and finding in which CDA has found in our phenomenon of social and also education. It was found that CDA has been applied to presenting a positive drawing for a group of people in their communication.

From the explanation above it resulted some questions as follow:

1. What are the Textual analysis inside the news which is concerned with formal properties of the text.
2. What are the Discursive practice that can be seen inside the news concerned with the relationship between text and interaction, seeing the text as a product of a process of production.
3. What are the Social practice concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context and their social effects.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The three-dimensional framework was created by Fairclough (1989; 1992; 2003). Each communicative activity, in his perspective, includes three dimensions: firstly, it is a text (speech, writing, visual pictures or a mixture of these). Second, it is a discursive practice involving texts being produced and consumed. Third, it's a social exercise. Fairclough created three phases of CDA, description, interpretation and explanation, corresponding to the three levels of discourse. discourse is a kind of social practice, which is the embodiment of social structure.

Textual Analysis

There are three approaches in analyzing textual analysis, they are Experiential, Relational and Expressive approach.

Experiential in Textual

Experiential is the meaning of language that functions to describe user experience. By looking at experiential values, CDA attempts to show how 'the text producer's experience of the natural or social world's effects and is shown in a text.

The example of experiential could be found on a letter from Sir Norman Fowler to expatriates:

He is the chairman of conservative party in United Kingdom and created a letter to their voters aimed to decrease the apathy of them. The reason why the party disrespected by its's voters, because of the leader substitution of Margaret to John Major who is considered as less capable for the position.

The example of experiential in the letter:

"Britain under the conservatives party has been transformed"

The sentence shows the experience of him and his party in making Britain the number one during their leadership period, for fifteen years in a row. The sentence was used by Fowler

to influence voters who had doubted their party to return to trusting their party, because in the past they had given many changes for Britain.

Relational in Textual

Relational values may identify the perceived social relationship between the producer of the text and its recipient (Zuhud, 2014), (Aldino et al., 2021).

Example :

The letter and its vocabulary are targeted towards the expatriate with a typically Conservative viewpoint. It makes many assumptions about what will be perceived as good. There are a number of issues, which although good for ‘the pound in your pocket’ and the individual, have negative consequences for society as a whole.

‘Socialist(s)’ also has a relational aspect, it assumes that the expatriate reader is antisocialist. Perhaps a fair assumption to make.

Expressive in Textual

Expressive value, provides an insight into ‘the producer’s evaluation (in the widest sense) of the bit of the reality it relates to (Putri, 2022), (Qodriani, 2021).

Example :

Words with expressive values can be classified in two main ways, those that are positive and associated with the Conservatives and those which are negative and used in conjunction with Labour.

Positive connotations: ‘dramatically down’ ‘successfully weathered’ ‘fallen steadily’

Negative connotations: ‘bitterly opposed’ ‘over-regulation’ ‘threatened by Labour’

Discursive Practice Analysis

Discursive is a form of social practice and focuses on the processes of text production, distribution and consumption (Suprayogi et al., 2021), (EWK, 2018). This dimension is related to how process of text production until consumption for example, work patterns, work charts, and routines when producing news. According to Fairclough, it refers to the procedures of editors involved in the production of media texts. An example is the practice of discourse covers how the media journalist produces the text, so this is related to the journalist himself, which by covering the news, writing news, and making news in the media. Therefore, Fairclough argues that the analysis of speech functions to determine the process of production, distribution, and use of text. Thus, the three stages must be done in analyzing the dimensions of discourse.

Production

At this stage, the parties involved in the production process of the text are analyzed, namely who produces the text (Kardiansyah & Salam, 2020), (Ahmad et al., 2015), (Nurkholis et al., 2021). This stage, it relates to producers who carry their ideological, knowledge and belief side. Therefore, they make texts which explain the position of the author to the text in terms of their beliefs.

Distribution

At this stage, how and what media are used in the distribution of previously produced texts are analyzed (Fitri, Maulud, et al., 2021), (Purwarianti, 2014). Either it is using print or electronic media like newspaper print media. Another hand, this stage see producer side toward characteristics media and intension from media site that they were chosen.

Consumption

This stage relates to the parties who are the target of the recipient or the consuming of the text as in the case of media discourse it is necessary to carry out in-depth analysis of who consumes the media itself (Shi et al., 2021), (Michael, 2018).

Social Practice Analysis

Analysis of socio-cultural practices (explanations) is an analysis of the relationship between discursive practices and social context (Setri & Setiawan, 2020), (Gita & Setyaningrum, 2018). In this level, analysis must be done by looking at what was or what is happening in the society the time when text is conveyed by speaker to public. Social practice analysis is done by referring to sociocultural condition when the text is produced to reveal the implication and effect of the text. The discussion of social practice is divided into three levels; situational level, institutional level, and social level.

Situational level

Situational level is related to the situation when a text is produced (Defia Riski Anggarini, 2020). This level of analysis describes the sociocultural practices which consists of economics, politics (power and ideology), and culture (values and identities) with the effect of the practices to the society. Take an example, *There has been a process of change in the situation in TanjungBalai since the Complaints About the sound of the mosque's call to prayer is too loud by Meilana, a Buddhist woman. Relations between religions were disturbed by the incident. Described by a Buddhist religious leader named Leo Lopulisa that tolerance among people religion in the city of Tanjungbalai, so far has been running well, not as alleged by various media by cornering one of the religions, both before the riots until the court ruling against Meliana* (Risdianto, et al., 2018, p. 10).

Institutional level

Institutional level is the influence of institutions on the text produced (Robertson, 2020). Example of institutional level, *Two groups of dissenting opinions: Some mass organizations, NGOs, community leaders condemned the judge's verdict against Meilana who was considered unfair but on the other hand was a religious figure and community figure from TanjungBalai. represented by FKUB / Ummat Religious Harmony Forum, Tanjungbalai considered that the sentence was fair. This case is a test case like what is the picture of the pattern of tolerance among religious communities* (Risdianto, et al., 2018, p. 10).

Social level

Social level is the macro matters in society, such as the political system, economic system, or community culture as a whole (Febria Lina & Setiyanto, 2021). This level is a wrap of

the social practice analysis in Fairclough's sociocultural approach as it refers to the system in an organization or society and assessed a pointed event or situation by referring to its system. Hence, it would give a final conclusion on the text produced towards the sociocultural condition. The example of social level is, What is the root of the problem? the apparatus never tried to find the root of the problem that was the cause of the conflict and solved it. All concentrated on stopping the conflict and looking for the perpetrator who triggered the conflict and punished the perpetrator. Consequently, there is a perception in the community that the authorities always protect minority groups who are targeted by the masses. Therefore, in dealing with the "SARA" conflict case in TanjungBalai, North Sumatra, the government and apparatus should, after successfully stopping the continuation of the conflict, also look for the root causes of conflict and try to solve the root causes of the "SARA" conflict (Risdianto, et al., 2018, p. 10).

METHOD

The method that used in this research is qualitative research with descriptive approach into the study, since this research will have a result as descriptive summary related to the social and cultural phenomenon that occurs in the society. Qualitative method examines social and cultural phenomenon based on following question: what, why, and how (Baker & Edwards, 2012).

Firstly, looking for related news from The Jakarta Post, after that reading the news, classifying the finding and analyzing the data using the related theory.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This research apply the theory from Norman Fairclough. The discussion are written down as follow:

Textual Analysis

Experiential

In applying the Textual Analysis from Fairclough, experiential will have a function to describe user experience in a text. Producer of the text explain that the Chief Executive of Hongkong Ms. Carrie Lam is responsible for what is happening in Hongkong, Hongkong now experiencing political crisis and Lam especially experiencing of what is really like to be a cause of chaos that happen everywhere because of her obligation concerning extradition to China, this experience supported by the audio recording from Carrie Lam "*If I have a choice, the first thing is to quit, having made a deep apology*".

Producer of the text also show what is actually happening now is the biggest political crisis that ever happen in Hongkong after the tragedy of Tiananmen Square Protest in 1989 supported by the text "*Lam's dramatic and at times anguished remarks offer the clearest view yet into the thinking of the Chinese leadership as it navigates the unrest in Hong Kong, the biggest political crisis to grip the country since the Tiananmen Square protests of 1989.*" This statement shows that Carrie Lam feeling about how she cause the biggest political crisis happening now and would do anything even to quit because of the situation.

The next experiential stated from Paragraph 6 shows that Lam thinking about how Beijing has not yet reach their limit to end this crisis by sending liberation army since national day celebration will be held on october 1. The producer of the text believe that Beijing does not want to experience the same bloody tragedy in Tinnamen Square because of what liberation army did toward the protester.

What is happening to Carrie Lam also the impact of the tragedy, from her experience now she cannot do an outside activity anymore because once she step aside into the outside, people will notice her and it would be very dangerous for her stated as she said *"Nowadays it is extremely difficult for me to go out," she said. "I have not been on the streets, not in shopping malls, can't go to a hair salon. I can't do anything because my whereabouts will be spread around social media."*

According to what she has experienced before, people who come and protest to her are mostly wearing black and it is stated as she said *"you could expect a big crowd of black T-shirts and black-masked young people waiting for me."*

Carrie Lam is trusted as Chief Executive of Hongkong because she sometimes push the controversial government policies and for her it has great impact into Hongkong, and because of that he draw attention from the society but getting praised by Chinese Leader Xi Jinping *"drawing public criticism in Hong Kong but winning praise from Chinese leader Xi Jinping."* She did the same thing as it is a good experience for Lam, she did banning the party and disqualification of pro-democracy party and still praised by Xi Jinping as stated in the text produced *"Xi praised Lam's leadership during a visit to Beijing in December 2018. "The central government fully endorses the work of Chief Executive Lam" and the Hong Kong government, Xi said, according to a report in the state news agency Xinhua."*

Relational

In applying the Textual Analysis from Fairclough, Relational will functioned to describe the perceived social relationship between the producer of the text and its recipient. Producer of the text show that the text is produced to have equal point of view toward the tragedy of Hongkong and also toward Lam Carrie as well about what she said in the audio recording when she attended private meeting with businesspeople. *"Responding to Reuters, a spokesman for Lam said she attended two events last week that included businesspeople, and that both were effectively private. "We are therefore not in a position to comment on what the Chief Executive has said at those events," the spokesman said."*

Expressive

In applying the Textual Analysis from Fairclough. Expressive have a function to describe text producer's sense of choice of words in his text or utterance. Stated by Carrie Lam *"If I have a choice," she said, speaking in English, "the first thing is to quit, having made a deep apology."* The choice of words *"If I have a choice"* stated that she feels really terrible about what is happening in Hongkong because of what she did. The choice of words *"deep apology"* and *"quit"* means that she will do anything even resign from her political position to restore the situation in Hongkong.

The choice of words from the text producer like *"Unforgiveable Havoc"* means what is happening in Hongkong is really awful with full of mass demonstrations and violent protest toward the bill of extradition to China.

The choice of words “THE PRICE WOULD BE TOO HUGE” stating about how Beijing and the government decided not to send liberation army to end the demonstration because they try to avoid bloody tragedy of Tinnamen square.

The choice of words “BIGGEST SADNESS” means that Hongkong now suffering because of the tragedy and the demonstration, with the impact like tourism drop, economic pain and others.

The choice of words from Lam like “*her inability to offer a political situation in order to relieve the tension*” and “*biggest sadness*” is to show that what she really feels now is to end the demonstration and finish what she did that cause the chaos in Hongkong but she cannot do that because the protester are so angry with the government and with her especially

Discursive Practice Analysis

Production

In applying Discursive Practice Analysis from Fairclough. Production have a function like who produce the text. It relates to producers who carry their ideological, knowledge and also belief and also reveal the position of the author. The news “Special Report: Hong Kong leader says she would 'quit' if she could, fears her ability to resolve crisis now 'very limited’” was written by Greg Torode, James Pomfret, and Anne Maria Roantree which reveal how Carrie Lam struggling to solve the problem of now currently happening in Hongkong, as quoted from Reuters.com as well, the news stated that Carrie Lam is willing to resign from its position and apologize to the society of Hongkong because of what she did. The role of author in the text produced are seems to have neutral point of view toward this issue, can be seen from the choice of words which do not contain something like harrassing or even to trigger the society who receive and become the target of text produced.

Distribution

Distribution means the analyzation of how and what kind of media that used to distribute the text. Either using electronic or printed. The text produced is posted in the website news The Jakarta Post as one of trusted and relieable news site especially in Indonesia and it is also available in a form of printed version. According to Prayudi and Hendariningrum (2016) According to its 2006 media kit, total daily average paid circulation of The Jakarta Post is around 35,000 copies. Meanwhile, the educational background of its readers shows that it is dominated by readers with postgraduate (45.6%) and undergraduate (35.9%). As of 5 nationalities that read The Post, Indonesian occupies the first rank with 45.2 %, followed by European (21%); whereas Australian is the lowest with 4.2%.

Consumption

Consumption means whose the target or consumer of the text itself. In this text the producer tend to aim the reader of The Jakarta Post itself cited in Prayudi and Hendariningrum (2016) According to its 2006 media kit, total daily average paid circulation of The Jakarta Post is around 35,000 copies. Meanwhile, the educational background of its readers shows that it is dominated by readers with postgraduate (45.6%) and undergraduate (35.9%). As of 5 nationalities that read The Post, Indonesian occupies

the first rank with 45.2 %, followed by European (21%); whereas Australian is the lowest with 4.2%. From the data written, it can be concluded that The Jakarta Post is successfully become one of news website that accountable and highly trusted by the society in Indonesia and abroad country.

Social Practice Analysis

In applying Social Practice Analysis, it is focus on three different layer which are situational level, institutional level and social level.

Situational level

Described as the situation when the text is being produced by the producer of the text. In the text it is clearly show that what happening in Hongkong is caused by the bill of china extradition made by Carrie Lam as chief executive of Hongkong “Embattled Hong Kong leader Carrie Lam said she has caused *"unforgivable havoc" by igniting the political crisis engulfing the city and would quit if she had a choice*”, until this news published in The Jakarta Post, the situation still stated as “huge havoc” according to The Jakarta Post *"For a chief executive to have caused this huge havoc to Hong Kong is unforgivable,"*, luckily Beijing and the government of china still hold their liberation army in order to maintain the situation and avoid bloody tragedy back to 1989.

Institutional Level

Described as the situation when institutions involve as influence on the text produced, The production of the text involving more than one site, beside The Jakarta Post as main website, the source of the text produced is Reuters.com which have the audio recording of private meeting between Carrie Lam and some important group of people *"Responding to Reuters, a spokesman for Lam said she attended two events last week that included businesspeople, and that both were effectively private."*. The relation between Hongkong, Beijing, People’s Liberation Army, Macau affairs office, and China’s state council information office are the institutional that involve into the text produced as part of it. *"Macau Affairs Office, China's State Council Information Office, Beijing, Responding to Reuters,"*. But some responses are derived from the demonstrant and the protester saying that what Lam did to Hongkong is unforgiveable as stated *"For a chief executive to have caused this huge havoc to Hong Kong is unforgivable," she said."*

Social Level

Described as the condition of sociocultural toward the text produced, from the source itself which is The Jakarta Post, there are no particular respond after the publication of the text produced, society could receive the text very well without causing any problem or any intervention from any institution or the society of reader especially The Jakarta Post’s reader.

CONCLUSION

The study of three dimensional framework for analyzing the news from The Jakarta Post entitled “Special Report: Hong Kong leader says she would 'quit' if she could, fears her ability to resolve crisis now 'very limited'” has come to an end. In this study, researcher find out that the news can be analyze through the theory of three dimensional framework which can reveal the textual analysis, discursive practice and social practice as follow: Carrie Lam currently feeling terrible concerning the chaos in Hongkong, Beijing and the

government of China are looking for the best way to solve the mass demonstration and protest without causing any casualties using liberation army that ever happened in 1989, and also the world now waiting for the government of china for what will they do to solve the biggest political crisis ever after the tragedy of tynman square, concerning what Carrie Lam said to resign from its position as Chief Executive of Hongkong.

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