

A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Special Report from The Jakarta Post: Leader of Hong Kong says she would "quit" if she could because she worries that her ability to deal with crises is now "very limited"

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to combine information from The Jakarta Post with Norman Fairclough's theory of a three-dimensional framework. The first technique used in this study is textual analysis, which includes the following types: Relational Value, Expressive Value, and Experiential Value. The second type is Discursive Practice Analysis, which includes the following categories: Consumption, Distribution, and Production. The following types of social practice analysis make up the third category: Social, institutional, and situational levels. This study employs a descriptive qualitative study method. The information is from The Jakarta Post, a news website, and is titled: Special Analysis: The leader of Hong Kong says she would "quit" if she could, and she worries that her ability to deal with crises is now "very limited." According to the theory that was used, the use of CDA will explain how the text could have an impact in a variety of ways, including socioculturally, and it will also show the textual, discursive, and social practice of news.

Key words: *CDA, Norman Fairclough*

INTRODUCTION

Language, psychology, poetry, and the social sciences are all part of the interdisciplinary discipline known as discourse studies. It has emphasized discourse analysis, systematic theory, and various contexts (Kardiansyah & Salam, 2021). It has expanded into these fields as a result of a similar problem and interest (Puspita & Amelia, 2020). Therefore, discourse studies will relate the fundamental similarities between discourse, object, language usage forms (Kardiansyah & Salam, 2020), and the communicative context. In addition, Teun Van Dijk, a Dutch linguist who wrote "The Handbook of Discourse Analysis (1985)" and is widely regarded as the "founding father" of the contemporary study of discourse, is one of the influential researchers (Amelia, 2021b).

Actually, "Discourse Studies" was already studied in the 1970s as a field. It has evolved into numerous varieties and branches up until this point (Kasih, 2018). According to Harpham and Abrams' explanation in "A Glossary of Literary Terms," discourse is focused on the language used in sentences, and the interaction between speaker and

listener or writer and reader in a given situation (Amelia, 2021a). Talk Investigation give a fundamental system to depicts and break down how the construction and content of the text cobnvey thoughts and the connection among the actual thoughts that become a portrayal in the text (Qodriani & Wijana, 2021), methodicallly. The fact that CDA is "critical" sets it apart from other forms of discourse analysis in many ways (Mandasari & Wahyudin, 2021). The term "critical" refers to connections and hidden causes as well as intervention(Samanik, 2018), such as providing resources to those who may be disadvantaged by change (Oktaviani et al., 2020). Discourse analysis typically focuses on the language used by a group of people (Afrianto et al., 2021). To specify the usage, it will analyze using writing from numerous others. Colleen Cotter (1995:16) says that the news story and the process of writing the text are two important parts of discourse in the news media (Candra & Qodriani, 2019). As a result, Fairclough's perspective on language media analysis states that "We need to analyze the media language as discourse," and that "the linguistic analysis of media should be part of the discourse analysis of media."Bell (2005:45) has stated that the future of written text lies in electronic distribution of discourse.

Discourse cannot be clearly understood as a subject for language study (Puspita, 2021), as this is the fundamental understanding of discourse analysis (Istiani & Puspita, 2020). The text is analyzed with the aid of language (Novanti & Suprayogi, 2021). The fundamental question that underpins Norman Fairclough's analysis is how to connect the microtext (Ngestirosa et al., 2020), or the meaning contained within the text, to the macrocommunity context, or social (Pranoto, 2021). Fairclough sets out to develop a model of discourse analysis that can be used for both social and cultural analysis. He does this by combining the traditional method of textual analysis (Kardiansyah, 2019), which always looks at texts in a narrow space, with a more general community context (EWK, 2018). Fairclough is interested in determining how individuals who use language carry particular ideological values (Fithratullah, 2021). For this situation, a reasonable investigation is required (Gulö & Nainggolan, 2021). In a dialectical relationship with the social structure, social and critical language is a form of action. As a result, the analysis must be separated from the social relationships and particular social contexts in which the language is formed and shaped (Kardiansyah, 2021). Therefore, it is possible to draw the conclusion that "Discourse Analysis" is a branch of applied linguistics that looks at how language is used

in interactions between speakers and listeners or writers and readers (Aminatun et al., 2021).

Extreme political bias is easy to spot because of its ferocity, but there is another type of politically tainted language that is much more sinister and hard to see that could be more harmful to society's members. It is referred to as sinister because it typically goes unnoticed and originates from those with authority and responsibilities (Aminatun, 2021). It has the effect of conditioning the expectations and attitudes of recipients, increasing social inequality, and maintaining our proper positions. Stubbs (in 1990:8) discusses this phenomenon: 'There is a good chance that the way people and things are thought of will change if they are talked about repeatedly in certain ways.' Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), as its proponents contend, actively constructs society on some levels by identifying this hidden sociopolitical control (Nuraziza et al., 2021). This may be one reason why the highly politicized media has such a significant impact on society's perceptions (Sartika & Pranoto, 2021).

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.

There are several studies that conducted in revealing and analyze the language and also the interaction between the speaker and hearer or between writer and reader (Kuswoyo, Sujatna, Rido, et al., 2020), The first research come from Tambunan, Muchtar, Agustian, Salim, Aisyah, Marpaung, Nasution (2018) entitled "Critical Discourse: Applying Norman Fairclough theory in Recep Tayyip Erdogan's Balcony Speech" this research trying to apply the theory into the speech in front of the headquarter of the party in Arkan, Turkey. This research use the theory from Norman Fairclough to do textual analysis, analysis of the practice of discourse and also to do the analysis of sociocultural. Qualitative research method used as a method in this study to approach critical discourse analysis, this study also use observation techniques and the result are found as follow: (1) The textual analysis in his official greeting speech of Erdogan consist of three parts: the text structure, grammar and coherence. (2) Analysis of the practice of three stages: namely the process of earning a discourse, process deployment, and the use of discourse. (3) Analysis of sociocultural

practices in his official speech of Erdogan consist of three levels, namely the level of: situational, institutional, and social.

Another research come from Handayani, Heriyanto and Soemantri (2018) entitled Fairclough's three dimensional framework used on trump's political speech: a critical discourse analysis (a case study of historic speech related to jerusalem as israel's capital) this research based on Fairclough's 3 dimensional frameworks. Descriptive Qualitative method is applied in this research. The data obtained by transcription by Trump's statement about city of Jerussalem being the capital city of Israel. The research use Fairclough's three dimensional frameworks of critical discourse analysis with the first data which are: speech, writing, visual image or combination of it (Agustina et al., 2021). Second, a discursive practice and interpretation which contain the production and consumption of the related text. Third, a social practice or explanation of the discourse (Kuswoyo et al., 2021). The result of this research is that: the way how he delivering the speech were involving vocabulary, voice, mood and transivity. The speech of him also convey meaning as persuading, criticism, constractive participant, power, authority, allusion, claim that were implicitly used in the speech (Suprayogi et al., 2021).

The last study come from Laraswati and Ridhani (2018) their research examine the field of discourse analysis which contain popularity in the field of media and study of communication. The focus is on the application in 1990s era of Indonesia in critical discourse that examining the approach of it.

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.

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 (Fithratullah, 2019).

Experiential in Textual

Experiential is the meaning of language that functions to describe user experience (Kuswoyo, Sujatna, Indrayani, et al., 2020). 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 (Fakhrurozi & Puspita, 2021).

Relational values may identify the perceived social relationship between the producer of the text and its recipient (Pranoto & Afrilita, 2019).

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.

Example :

Words with expressive values can be classified in two main ways (Al Falaq & Puspita, 2021), 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, Fairclough (1992). 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 (Al Falaq & Puspita, 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 (Pranoto & Suprayogi, 2020).

Distribution

At this stage, how and what media are used in the distribution of previously produced texts are analyzed (Asia & Samanik, 2018). 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 (Oktaviani & Mandasari, 2020).

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 (Oktaviani & Sari, 2020).

Social Practice Analysis

Analysis of socio-cultural practices (explanations) is an analysis of the relationship between discursive practices and social context (Risdianto, Sumarlam, and Malihah, 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 (Fithratullah, 2021). 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 (Heaverly & EWK, 2020).

Situational level

is related to the situation when a text is produced (Risdianto, et al., 2018; Putra & Triyono, 2018). 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 Tanjung Balai 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

is the influence of institutions on the text produced (Risdianto, et al., 2018; Putra & Triyono, 2018). 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 Tanjung Balai. 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).*

METHOD

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 becace 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 exprience for Lam, she did banning the party and disqualification of pro-democracy party and still praised by Xi jinping as stated in the text prduced “*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 harrasing 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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