CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF PRABOWO'S SPEECH IN THE DIALOGUE FORUM OF THE 20th ASEAN SUMMIT REGARDING PROPOSALS FOR RUSSIAN-UKRAINE PEACE

A Thesis

Submitted as a Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for S1-Degree

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ABSTRACT

Critical Discourse Analysis is an analysis that attempts to reveal the hidden meaning of the subject who makes a statement. In the point of view of critical discourse analysis, speech was not only determined by the person who produced them, but was also determined by the social structures of the speech producers. in June 2023, prabowo's speech at the shangri laa singapore dialogue, reaped controversy from several parties, prabowo delivered a peace proposal between russia and ukraine which was broadcast on KompasTv youtube channel. This researcher aims to find out the text structure, discursive practices, and social practices of Prabowo's speech at the Shangri Laa Singapore dialogue.

The research method used in this study is a qualitative descriptive method by Norman Fairclough elements theory as the instrument. The data sources for this study are theprabowo's speech that was broadcast on KompasTv youtube channel. In collecting data, the researcher use the reading and hearing technique. researcher analyze the data explicitly use Fairclough's and Halliday's critical discourse analysis theory.

This study found that Prabowo Subianto's speech is characterized by a structured and thoughtful approach to conflict resolution, emphasizing empathy, proactive problem-solving, and the importance of international collaboration. The use of language, the recognition of global interconnectedness, and the commitment to shared social responsibilities collectively contribute to a comprehensive understanding of the speech's implications in the realm of international political discourse.

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Keyword : *Critical Discourse Analysis, Speech, Transitivity*

DECLARATION

I hereby declare this thesis entitled "Critical Discourse Analysis of Prabowo's Speech in the Dialogue Forum of the 20th Asean Summit Regarding Proposal for Russia-Ukrine Peace" is definitely my own work that the best my knowledge and belief. No material previously published or written by another person or material which to substantial extent has been accepted for the award of any other degree of diploma from the university of other institute of higher learning and I'm fully aware that i have quoted some statement and theories from various source and they are properly acknowledge in the text.

Bandar Lampung,   2024
Declaration by,

Dewi Insiadah
NPM : 1911040305

APPROVAL

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ADMISSION

A thesis entitled: **"CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF PRABOWO'S SPEECH IN THE DIALOGUE FORUM OF THE 20th ASEAN SUMMIT REGARDING PROPOSAL FOR RUSSIA – UKRAINE PEACE"**, by: **DEWI INSIADAH, NPM: 1911040305**, Study Program: **English Education**, was tested and defended in the examination session held on: **Thursday, Januari 4th 2024.**

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MOTTO

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فَسَتَذْكُرُونَ مَآ أَقُولُ لَكُمْ ۚ وَأُفَوِّضُ أَمْرِىٓ إِلَى ٱللَّهِ ۚ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ بَصِيرٌۢ بِٱلْعِبَادِ

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Later you will remember what I said to you. And I leave my affairs to
Allah. Verily, Allah is All-Seeing of His servants.[1]

(Q.S Al-Mu'min: 44)

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[1] Muhammad Taqi-ud Din Al-Hilali & Muhammad Muhsin Khan, The
Noble Qur'an: Arabic-Indonesia-English of the Holy Qur'an and Transliteration by
DEPAG RI, (Depok: Al-Huda Kelompok GEMA INSANI, 2014), pp. 1126.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to the following:

1. My God Allah SWT, whose blessing and mercy have been very crucial to the completion of my thesis.
2. My beloved parents, Mr. Mataly Erwan and Mrs. Sihni Khoiriah who has provided me with unconditional love and never-ending support, not only for the completion of my study but also for the success of my life. I am grateful for having you by my side, and this thesis is absolutely yours.
3. My beloved sister, brother, and nephew, Nur Hidayah, Rio Ginanjar, and Thalita Senja Pawina who have been very supportive, caring and generous during many difficult stages of my study at the University.
4. My beloved lecturer in English Education Study Program and Almamater UIN Raden Intan Lampung, who made me grow up and contributed much for myself development.

CURRICULUM VITAE

The writer of this thesis is Dewi Insiadah, or famously called by her friends as Dewi. She was born on January 17th, 2001 in the Waykanan. Dewi Insiadah is the second daughter of Mr. Mataly Erwan and Mrs. Sihni Khoiriah. She has one older sister, she is Nur Hidayah.

She went to elementary school at SDN 1 Donomulyo, Waykanan, Lampung and graduated in 2013. Her junior high school was completed in SMP N 2 Banjit, Waykanan, Lampung and her senior high school was completed in SMA N 1 Banjit, Waykanan, Lampung. In between 2019 and 2023, she went to Raden Intan State Islamic University of Lampung in Sukarame, to pursue her bachelor's degree in the department of English Education.

ACKNOWLEGDEMENT

Firstly, I would like to express my sincerest praises to the God Allah Ta'ala, who has lent me His blessing and mercy for the completion of my study at the State Islamic University of Raden Intan Lampung. I also would like to send my best prayer and salutation to the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), the best lover of the god Allah, who hwas to us to enlighten the path of humanity and divine salvation.

Secondly, my study in Raden Intan State Islamic University of Lampung is not an individual journey. I have recieved invaluable help and supports from various individuals, whose numbers are impossible to mention one by one here, due to space limits, I decided to give my recognition to a few of them who have helped me in specific ways. They are:

1. Prof. Dr. Hj. Nirva Diana, M.Pd, Dean of the Faculty of Tarbiyah and Teaching Training State Islamic University of Raden Intan Lampung.
2. Mr. M Ridho Kholid, S.S, M.Pd , as the head of English Departement for her patience in signing all her documents of work experience and her suport.
3. Prof.Dr. Moh. Muhassin, M. Hum my advisor, for his guidance and help during my study in the university and the completion of my bachelor thesis.
4. Mr. Hasanul Misbah, M.Pd my co-advisor, who has spent countless hours correcting my bachelor thesis.
5. All lectures in the Department of English Education of Raden Intan State Islamic University of Lampung, who have taught the researcher since the first year of her study.
6. All fellow students in the Department of English Education Raden Intan State Islamic University of Lampung, especially for all members of Class D, whom i cannot mention all their names here, but who are always in my thoughts and daily prayers. I am thankful for your supports and for our friendship.

7. My beloved and supportive friends, Mauli Febrianti, Nevrita Wulanda, Helen Laila Ulfarida, Febri Nugraini, Dian Putri Maharani, Siska Andini, Khafid Wahyu, who have cheered me up and listen to my laments while working on this thesis.
8. All friends of PPL and KKN 2022 of Raden Intan State Islamic University Lampung.
9. My beloved partner Dodi Armandikawho always suports me both in prayer and material suport.

Finally, since nothing is perfect and despite all the meaninful names I have mentioned above, every mistakes in this bachelor thesis remains exclusively mine and thus I am welcome to any form of critical feedback for the betterment of this thesis.

Bandar Lampung,   2024
The Researcher

Dewi Insiadah
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

A. Title Affirmation

To avoid misunderstandings and interpretations, it is important to ascertain the meaning of some of the terms that make up the title of this research. The title of the research is "Critical Discourse Analysis of Prabowo's Speech in the Dialogue Forum of the 20th Asean Summit Regarding Proposal for Russia-Ukrine Peace".

Critical Discourse Analysis is an analysis that attempts to reveal the hidden meaning of the subject who makes a statement. Discosure is done by placing one self in the speaker's position with the interpretation following the speaker's meaning structure. In linguistics, discourse is understood as a linguistic unit that is larger than words or sentences which canin volve one or more people.So a speech, dialogue, debate, conversationor conversation can be categorized as adiscourse. [1]

Fairclough said that critical discourse analysis studies and analyzes all types of discourse (written text, speech, gesture, symbols, signs posters, electronic and printed advertisement andanytype of communication) that systematically communicate withus. Fairclough says that critical discourse analysis helps by analyzing certain discourse about the hidden issues of problems of society. The word critical in critical discourse analysis here is not meant to be interpreted negative lyasopposing or showing the ugliness of the subject being examined. According to Wodak, critical is self-reflection through a process, and makes the structure of power relations and ideologies which at first

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[1] Vidya Mandarani,*Critical Discourse Analysis*, ed (Jl. Mojopahit 666 B Sidoarjo)2018

appearcloudy, fuzzy and unclear become clear. Critical also means being skeptical and opento alternative thoughts.[2]

Speech is an activity that is carried out in public by means of delivery, use of language and clear purposes. By giving a speech one can convey a message to the party to be addressed. Basically, a good speech is a speech that can give a positive impression to the people who hear it. Wrage stated that speech communicates ideas and feelings using visible and audible symbols derived from the speaker So, it can be concluded speech is a process. The concept of giving information or change affects the audience's mindset.[3]

Prabowo Subianto Djojohadikusumo is an Indonesian politician, businessman, and high-ranking military officer. He spent 28 years in education and military career before moving into the worlds of business, politics and government. On October 23, 2019, Prabowo was appointed as the 26th Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia in the Advanced Indonesia Cabinet for the 2019 to 2024 period. On this occasion, Minister of Defense Prabowo conveyed his message at the third session on Resolving Regional Tensions with South Korean Defense Minister Mr. Lee Jong-Sup and European Commission-EU Vice President Josep Borrell Fontelles. The context of dialog which presented by Prabowo in The IISS Shangri-La Dialogue was about Asia's premier defence summit. He proposed regarding the truce between Ukraine and Russia. Beside that, this was a unique meeting where ministers debate the regions most pressing security challenges, engage in important bilateral talks and come up with fresh approaches together. The event took place in Singapore on June, 2-4 2023. It were attended by national leaders, ministers and policymakers from across the Asia-Pacific, North America, Europe and the Middle East to gather and discuss

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[2] Fairclough, N., & Wodak, R. (2000). Análisis crítico del discurso. *El discurso como interacción social*, *2*, 367-404.
[3] Rustica Carpio, Anacleta M. Encarnacion, *Private and PublicSpeaking*, 23-24.

the most pressing regional security issues and to share policy responses. It features plenary debates led by ministers of defence, as well as important opportunities for bilateral discussions among delegations. The Indonesian Minister of Defense Prabowo Subianto was a speaker at the 20th International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) Shangri-La Dialogue, at the Shangri-La Hotel.

According to the explanation above, the researcher decided to take this research title "Critical Discourse Analysis of Prabow's Speech in the Dialogue Forum of the 20th Asean Summit IIS Shangri-laa 2023 Regarding Proposal for Russia-Ukrine Peace" related to the topic above.

B. Background of the Problem

Critical Discourse Analysis is an analysis that attempts to reveal the hidden meaning of the subject who makes a statement. Discosure is done by placing one self in the speaker's position with the interpretation following the speaker's meaning structure. In linguistics, discourse is understood as a linguistic unit that is larger than words or sentences which canin volve one or more people.So a speech, dialogue, debate, conversationor conversation can be categorized as adiscourse. Fairclough said that critical discourse analysis studies and analyzes all types of discourse (written text, speech, gesture, symbols, signs posters, electronic and printed advertisement and any type of communication) that systematically communicate with us.[4]

Communication is an important part that cannot be separated from human life as a social language use in communication is very important in everyday life because communication is fundamental need. For instance in the fields of education, economics, politics, culture, society, and so on. Communication devided into two, namely verbal communication and non-verbal

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[4] Fairclough, N., & Wodak, R. (2000). Análisis crítico del discurso. *El discurso como interacción social*, *2*, 367-404.

communication direct communication is a form of communication.[5] Non-verbal communication or indirect communication communication hat does not use words but actions or gestures. For example, making eye contact, gestures, facial expressions, and speakingusing intonation, emphasis or even involving emotional styles.[6]

One form of verbal communication is speech. Speech can be used when creating a discourse. Speeches are often used by many people ranging from students to state officials. Speech is an activity that is delivered in front of a general audience or in front of a large crowd. Speeches are delivered using good,polite, and acceptable language to the listener. Speech is generally used to express an opinion or explain a thing. Speech communicates ideas and feelings using visible and audible symbols derived from the speaker. The purpose of the speech is to provide information, invite, motivate listeners, etc.[7]

In conveying information through speeches, most students who still have high spirits usually do not immediately accept the information well, in other words, students accept information raw without first analyzing it at a glance or critically. in some cases the information conveyed through speeches also causes controversy. to overcome the phenomenon of students who do not immediately accept information well, it is necessary to critically analyze it using critical discourse analysis. to introduce critical discourse analysis can be started by analyzing speeches that have controversy. This phenomenon can be found in Prabowo's speech at the 20th Asean Summit Dialogue Forum when he stated that he intended to use this opportunity to encourage brothers in Ukraine and Russia to immediately end hostilities. As he stated, there will always be two points of view

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[5]Andrea Rocci and Louis de Saussure *'Verbal Communication '*(Germany:University of Lugano,2016).p.2

[6] Sitti Rabiah,'' Language As a Tool For Communication And Cultural Reality Disclore'', *Universitas Muslim Indonesia, Makassar,* Corresponding author: sitti.rabiah@umi.ac.id / sittirabiah25@gmail.com.

[7] Ibid.

in any dispute between two opposing groups, both of which will feel right. However, for the sake of global security and the safety of innocent people, Defense Minister Prabowo highlighted the need to end hostilities as soon as possible. In the speech, there are two different points of view, the difference in opinion means that the speech is controversial and needs to be critically analyzed by English language education students using CDA.

From the above phenomenon, as a researcher and student, we aim to change and help students in the scope of critical thinking. The way to achieve these expectations, researchers use CDA research as a tool in analyzing speeches critically. Then, to find out the implicit and explicit meanings of Prabowo's Speech in the 20th Asean Summit Dialogue Forum IIS Shangri-laa 2023, the researcher decided to use Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis concept which is a relatively new method for systematic knowledge derived from social theory and critical language analysis traditions. Critical discourse analysis can be done with a variety of methods, but they all have the same goals and assumptions. In relation to critical discourse analysis, attempts at social power, abuse, domination, and inequality are reproduced and maintained through texts whose discussion is related to the social and political context.

Therefore, the researcher decided to use Prabowo's speech in the 20th Asean Summit IIS Shangri-laa 2023 Dialogue Forum uploaded by Kompas TV Youtube channel, because the researcher believes that Prabowo's speech will show the purpose of CDA in political texts. Based on the controversy above, it is hoped that students, especially English education students, must be more critical and cannot take the existing text for granted because as readers, students may find disagreement with the existing text. The text can also express a group of people for better or worse and can indirectly provide hidden meanings and become a marginalized debate, this is the urgency of this research. based on these reasons, the researcher conducted this research with the title "Critical Discourse Analysis of Prabowo's

Speech at the 20th Asean Summit Dialogue Forum Regarding the Proposal for Peace between Russia and Ukraine".

C. Focus and Sub-focus of the Problem

Based on the background of the research above, this research focus to analyze Prabowo's Speech in the Dialogue Forum of The 20th Asean Summit.

Sub-focus of this study, the researcher was analyzed the text, discursive practice and social practice to find out meaning of persuasion, criticism, constructive participants, power, authority, satire, claims, which are implicitly contained in the speech, and activities of the speech according to Fairclough's three-dimensional CDA.

D. Formulation of the Problem

Based on the background that has been written, the researcher makes some formulations of the problem related to the research as follows :

1. How was the text structure of Prabowo's Speech in the Dialogue Forum of the 20th Asean Summit?
2. How was the discursive practice of Prabowo's Speech in the Dialogue Forum of the 20th Asean Summit?
3. How was the social practice of Prabowo's Speech in the Dialogue Forum of the 20th Asean Summit?

E. Objective of the Research

Based on formulation of problem above, the objective of this research are:

1. To know the text structure of Prabowo's Speech in the Dialogue Forum of The 20th Asean Summit.
2. To know the the discursive practice of Prabowo's Speech in the Dialogue Forum of The 20th Asean Summit.

3. To know the social practice of Prabowo's Speech in the Dialogue Forum of The 20th Asean Summit.

F. Significance of the Research

This research hopefully could give worth signifances in theoritical and practical.

1. Theoretical
   The researcher hopes this research was contribute to the development of Fairclough's theory of critical discourse analysis concepts and serve as a reference for future critical discourse analysis research at UIN Raden Intan Lampung.

2. The practical
   a. For student :
      This research is expected to raise critical awareness among students and speech listeners to be more careful in accepting discourse obtained through speech. This research is also expected to encourage all language users, especially students to accept and understand the explanation of the discourse in a speech, one of which is about the Russian invasion of Ukraine. In addition, through critical literacy and critical discourse analysis, it is expected to help in students' reading skills.
   a. For english education lecturers:
      This research provides real awareness of their role as English lecturers. Because they have to know how the discourse that emerges in society is related to power and domination in society. English lecturers can also use Prabowo's Speech as teaching material or authentic text which will then educate their students to think critically and be able to introduce them to how to conduct critical research using CDA.

G. Relevant Studies

The relevance studies is intended as a review that aims to avoid any similarities from previous research and also to review the results of previous research and will be used as a research reference. Some of the studies found and related to this research include below.

The thesis written by Diah Merrita from Sekolah Tinggi Bahasa Asing LIA, Indonesia entitled Nationalism Ideology: Critical Discourse Analysis of Joko Widodo's Speech in Indonesian Presidential Election. This study analyze a number of propositions in Joko Widodo's victory speech as the chosen president during 2019-2024 taken from online news media. Proposition analyses are conducted in order to gain a number of macro propositions and nationalism ideology. This research uses proposition theory proposed by Teun van Dijk and critical discourse analysis from Norman Fairclough. The result of this qualitative research reveals 18 macro propositions and six nationalism ideologies such as leadership attitude which prioritizes citizen welfare, reflection as a visionary leader, competitive attitude towards other countries, focus on unity of nation, a leader carrying out improvement in several sectors, and a proud leader towards Indonesia. The result also reveals that the prepositions uttered are in line with the nationalism concept proposed by Smith, such as self-awareness as a part of a nation, a part of nation development, social and political movements for the sake of nation, and put nation's necessities as the main attention and promote well-being.[8]

The next research was by Ni Putu Santhi Widiastuti from Ganesha University of Education, Jalan Udayana No. 11, Singaraja, Indonesia entitled A Critical Discoure Analysis of

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[8]Diah Merrita, "Nationalism Ideology: Critical Discourse Analysis of Joko Widodo's Speech in Indonesian Presidential Election", *A Journal of Culture, English Language Teaching, Literature and Linguistics*, 8(1), 112–125. https://doi.org/10.22219/celtic.v8i1.16474

Mohamad Nasir's Speech. This study analyzed an educational speech in May 2nd, 2016 delivered by the Indonesian Ministry of Research, Technology, and Higher Education, Mohamad Nasir in the celebration of the National Education Day of Indonesia. The result of the analysis showed how the speech was constructed in form of macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure revealed how the social power was used by symbolic elites to invite all parties in educational field to join together in reforming educational system of Indonesia to be better than what had been conducted by previous partisans in the past.[9]

The next research was by UswatunHasana from State Islamic University (UIN) Syarif Hidayatullah, entitled A Critical Discourse Analysis Of Kim Namjoon's (Rm's) Speech. This study analyzed This CDA study was employed to reveal the language, ideology and power. The data was collected from a six-minute speech by RM and analyzed qualitatively. The speech consisted of 784 words. The result showed that all processes types of transitivity system found in the speech with relational process as the most dominant process, followed by mental and behavioral process respectively. In addition, modality analysis result showed that the general tense use in the speech were simple present and simple past with the first and second pronoun as the participants, none of singular third person used in the speech. Last, May and Will took more often used in the speech compare with other modal auxiliaries.[10]

The next research was byMuhamad Marwan from State Islamic University (UIN) Syarif Hidayatullah, entitled A Critical Discourse Analysis on Marty Natalegawa's Speech on Meeting of 'The 5th Global Forum of United Nations Alliance of Civilizations'. It is a qualitative research. The theory applied to

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[9]Ni Putu SanthiWidiastuti, "A Critical Discourse Analysis of Mohamad Nasir's Speech*", Bahtera: Jurnal Pendidikan Bahasa Dan Sastra*, 19(2), 251-282. https://doi.org/10.21009/bahtera.192.05.

[10]Uswatun Hasanah, "A Critical Discourse Analysis of Kim Namjoon's (RM's) Speech", *Journal of Technology and Humaniora,* 5(2), 16-26, https://doi.org/10.34128/jht.v5i2.60.

this research is based on Norman Fairclough"s critical discourse analysis framework. The Fairclough"s CDA consists of three elements: text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice. This research is aimed to describe and reveal the discourse of the minister"s speech on human civilization through describing its representation, relation and identity, and interpreting the production and the consumption of the text through discourse practice analysis and to explain the sociocultural that exists beyond of the text. By applying the theory, it can be known the dictions used by the minister involves the use of word classification in the political field, and sentence structure such as, sentences modes, metaphors, climax and repetition. Besides, it can be known that consumption of the text delivered by the minister is not only as ceremonial speech moment, but also as a tool in running the political goal to persuade the audience understanding from the minister"s speech. The linguistic study can be linked to the social analysis by the last element of CDA, it is sociocultural analysis. The sociocultural analysis explain the situational, institutional and social form of background of the emerging text. The text, mostly describes the achievement of Indonesia in various interfaith, and cultural dialogue either national or international level. But, on the other hand the world has the different fact about what is going on in the reality.

The last research was by Yulia Fernandita from Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Antasari, entitled Critical Discourse Analysis On Jacinda Ardern's Christchurch Speech. To explore the discourse better, this study attempts to investigate the ideologies and powers struggled through Jacinda Ardern's Christchurch speech. Fairclough's three dimensions of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) are chosen as the basic theory for a more comprehensive analysis of the linguistic features and the social processes. The three dimensions consist of text analysis (description), discourse practices (interpretation) and social analysis (explanation). The results indicate that the ideologies struggled are socialism and patriotism marked by the values of collectivism, equality and some linguistic features. There are at

least 7 powers shown by the Prime Minister: Depicting New Zealand local cultures as their identity; projecting the close relationship amongst New Zealanders; maintaining the compassion and welcoming qualities of the people of New Zealand; expressing deep condolence both as an individual and as the government; representing the victims' humility and modesty; excluding and calling out violence and extremism practices in the country; and urging the people and the world leaders to end violence and extremism practices.

H. Research Method

1. Research Design

In this research, the reasearcher used qualitative descriptive method.Qualitative is a research method which can produce descriptive data in the form of written or spoken words of people and observed respondents.Inqualitative research,the writer uses descriptive research.Aqualitative descriptive method is a method used in social inquiry science and knowledgeabout humanity and understanding phenomenon,facts, reality, and experienced by humans.The nature of the data displayed by object matches the characteristics specified by this method. In this study, the data is in the form of spoken words.

By using this qualitative research, the researcher can analyze text, discursive practice and social practiceand get answer about the question in analyzing critical discourse analysis of Prabowo's Speech in the Dialogue Forum of The 20th Asean Summit.

2. Data Source

Data source is anything that produces digital information, from the point of view of the system that consumes that information. Data is the most significant aspect of a study because data will be proces and analyze later to provide research findings. In this research, the data source of this research are the spoken text of Prabowo's Speech in the Dialogue Forum of The 20th Asean Summit which published by KompasTV Youtube Channel on June, 4 2023.

Another references also from written and spoken reference by some other figure associated with the object at discuss in this research and from books, journals, article, and several studies related to the research topic.

3. Research Instrument

The instrument in this study is the researcher herself as the main instrument for obtaining data. Some of the support instruments include, laptops/cellphones, and transcripts of Prabowo's speech video.

Researcher read and understand texts, discursive practices, and social practices using Fairlough's Critical Discourse Analysis table then clarify the results of the analysis using the table with a broader explanation of each point.

4. Data Collection

Data collection is the process of gathering and measuring information on variables of interest in an established systematic fashion that enables one to answer stated research questions, test hypotheses, and evaluate outcomes. In collecting data, the researcher use the reading and hearing technique. reading and hearing is

used to collect data from source such as internet. Which some steps is mentioned and explaines as follows:[11]

a. Searching the Video

The first step of collecting the data, the researcher will use video observation. It was look for the script Prabowo speech from the internet network.

b. Download the video

After the the video found, the researcher downloads them on KompasTV Youtube Channel.

c. Watch, Listen and Write the Script

The next step is watch, listen, and write the script from Prabowo's speech.

d. Finding data

After write the script, the research will find the data from Prabowo's speech.

e. Categorize data

The final step is categorize the data to make some classified kind of Fairclough Critical Discourse Analysis. After describes all the data, categorizing divided into three types there are text, discursive practice, and social practice.

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[11]Axinn, W. G., & Pearce, L. D. (2006). *Mixed method data collection strategies*. Cambridge University Press.

5. Data Analysis

Data analysis is a way to process the data from research into new information that can used in making conclusion.[12] After collecting the data, researcher analyze the data explicitly use Fairclough's critical discourse analysis theory.

Theresearcher did some step to analyze the data, theseare the steps conducted during the research:

a. Identifying the data

The researcher identify the texts discourse using Fairclough's concepts such as text, dicourse practice and sociocultural practice.

b. Analyzing, describing and explaining the data

The researcher will analyze, describe and explain the data use the text, dicourse practice and sociocultural practice of Fairclough's theory in the form of table from each text.

c. Concluding the data

After all the data have been analyzed, described and explained in the research.Thewriter will provide the conclusion of the research.

6. Trustworthiness of Data

In this research, the researcher used "Triangulation" technique to valide the data.Beside, it is important to note that qualitative analysis relies heavily on aprocess of triangulation.

In this qualitative applied various methodologies for keeping validity of data in order to have more accurate results. Qualitative validity refers to the researcher's use of certain

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[12] Thorne, "Data analysis in qualitative research", *Evidence-based nursing*, 3(3), 68-70.

methodologies to verify all correctness discovered.[13] In these cases, triangulation is the process to increase the validity in various view points, approach ormethod. Triangulation also assist for eliminating bias then can identifysome errors or inconsistencies in studies. As stated by Gary and Nancyassumed that a triangulation utilize the multiple data sources, datacollection approach then some theories for validating the result findings.[14]In qualitative research, triangulation is highest priority method in determininginternal validity.

In this research, the researcher used investigator triangulation, to check validity of the data. The source of the data refered to the text of Prabowo's speech that would be used in the research. The data will be checked by asking the expert. Thus, the researcher will ask Mr. Susanto, S.S, M.Hum, M.A, Ph.D from Bandar Lampung University as forensic linguistic to be investigator or validator this research.

I. Systematic Discussion

The discussion of this research would be organized into five related chapters. These are the systematic discussion as follows:

Chapter I : Introduction, is the first chapter of the discussion at it contains an explanation of the title affirmation, background of the problem, Focus and Sub Focus of the Research, Formulation of the Problem, Objective of the Research, significance of the research, relevance studies, research method, systematic discussion.

Chapter II : literature review, is a discussion chapter on theoritical studies that aims to analyze research, which includes an explanation of discourse analysis theory and theory of critical

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[13]Garry Anderson & Nancy Arsenalt, Fundamental Of the Educational Research, (London: Falmer Press, 2005),190.

[14] Ibid., 139.

discourse analysis by Norman Fairclough and discusses the definition and structure of speech.

Chapter III : a description of the research object, the chapter that discusses the general description of the object and the presentation of the facts and research data. Discuss the profileof the media which published the speech video.

Chapter IV : Research Analysis, ''Prabowo Subianto's speech at the Asean Summit dialogue forum'', they analyzed the text using critical discourse analysis of Norman Fairlough's dimension of discourse analysis. These three dimension are text, discursive practice, and sosial practice.

Chapter V : Final , in this chapter the writer concluded this study by providing a conclusion intended to give a general answer contained in the formulation of the problem and provide a basis for futher writer and also provided helpful suggestion.

CHAPTER II
LITERATURE REVIEW

A. Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis examinesat terms of language a cross texts and considers the relationship between language and the social and cultural contexts in which it is used. Discourse analysis also considers the ways that the use of language presents different views of the world and different understandings. It examines how the use of language is influenced by relationships between participants as well as the effects the use of language has upon social identities andrelations.It also considers how views of the world, and identities, are constructed through the use of discourse.

The term discourse analysis was first introduced by Zellig Harris as a way of analysing connected speech and writing. Harris had two main interests: the examination of language be yond the level of the sentence and the relationship between linguistic and non-linguistic behaviour. He eximined the first of these in most detail, aiming to provide a way for describing how language feature are distributed within texts and the ways in wich they are combined inparticular kind and stylesof text.

The term discourse has various meanings depending on the context used to talk about. Discourse also contains different meanings in various fields. Discourse is a linguistic unit largerthan a word or sentence, which can involve one or more people. Speeches, dialogues, debates, conversations can be categorized as studying. Crystaland Cook define discourse is one unit of language that is larger sentences, are often coherent and have a specific purpose and context.[15]Coherence as what is important to score is the course. Meanwhile, Lubis defines a course as acollection of written or oral statements or communicated using signs Discourse analysis is a wayor method to examine the discourse contained there in communication message. Nunan stated that discourse analysis is the study of the use

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[15] Fitri Budi Suryani & Ahmad Hilal Madjdi, *Introduction to Critical Discourse Analysis,* 1 ed (Kudus: Muria Kudus University Press, 2015), 11.

of language that aims to show and interpret theserelationships between orders or patterns with goals expressed through linguistic units. Discourse analysis in agreement with Nunanis done through dissection and caution study of linguistic elements such as scohesion, ellipsis, conjunctions, informationstructure, theme toshow meaning that is not visible on the surface lecture.[16]

While the discourse analysis of man there describes the sentence rules, language. Afterseeing the theme of the discourse, it can be said of the discourse analysis is understanding thevarious (pragmatic) functions of language. Discourse analysisis an analysis of language use outside of it sentence.[17]In addition, Nunan also argues that discourseanalysis is a study of im using language that has shown and interpreted relationships between theorderorpattern with thepurposeexpressed through linguisticunits.

Discourse analysis generally leads to the language use din everyday life,both at home and abroad in the form of spoken and written texts, as objects of study or research study orresearch in discourse analysis is the language unit above the sentence or utterances that havenature and context, can be in the form of speech texts, recorded conversations that have been written down, live conversations, meetings, notes, debates, lecturers orreligiouspreaching. Which is not contrived and does not exist in everyday life. Discourse analysis allows us to seehow messages are put together,used and understood. In addition, discourse analysis allows us totrack variations in the manner used by the communicator (writer, speaker, or director) in anattempt to achieve certain aims or objectives through messages that contain certain discourses bedelivered.[18]

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[16]Ibid.,

[17]Gullian Brown & Gorge Yule, *Discourse Analysis,* 1 ed (Australia: The Batch Press, 1983), 71-73.

[18]James Paul Gee, *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis*, ed., (London and New York; Taylor & Francs e-Library,2001),18.

By looking at the position of researchers in a critical perspective,discourse analysis can be classified in to each section.The followingis an explanation from types of discourse analysis:

a. Discourse of representation (positivistic modernism)
   There searcher is separated from the object under study and perceives the object and makes are presentation of reality in the form of language expression and is not critical.

b. Discourse of understanding (interpretive modernism)
   Between the researcher and the object is not separate. Realityis defined by the researcher through the interaction between the research subject and knowledge. The researcher structures observations which therefore structure what is known (reality) and is not critical.

c. Discourse of suspicion:
   This discourse is structural and critical modern is. The researcher constructs reality based on the frame social arrange mentan discritical.

d. Discourse of post modernism
   This discourse is post structural by rejecting all social arrangements and is critical.

From the definitions above,it can be concluded that discourse is the study of the higher level organization of sentence correleted to the other linguistic units, such coherence relations, overall topics, schematics forms, stylistic and rhetorical dimensions, in order to find the textual and contextual meaning of texts.[19]

In the field of discourse, there is another branch of discourse analysis,which is called Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and which combine linguistic analysis, ideological critiqueand cognitive

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[19] Forough Rahimi, ''Critical Discourse Analysis : Scrutinizing Ideologically-Driven Discourse'',*International Journal of Hummanities and Social Science*,Vol. 1 No. 16; November 2011 : 107-110.

psychology. Critical discourse analysis has now become one of the most widely used discourse analysis models in modern linguistic, its aimis to uncover ideological and power.

B. Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis is an analysis that attempts to reveal the hidden meaning of the subject who makes a statement. Discosure is done by placing one self in the speaker's position with the interpretation following the speaker's meaning structure. In linguistics, discourse is understood as a linguistic unit that is larger than words or sentences which canin volve one or more people.So a speech, dialogue, debate, conversationor conversation can be categorized as adiscourse. Crystaland Cook defines discourse as a language unit larger than as entence, of ten a unit that is coherent or coherentand has apurpose from aparticular context, such as alecture, argument, or story.

Language is also an important factor in critical discourse analysis,because with language we can know how the language can beused to determine the phenomen on that is happening in society. Fairclough and Wodak explain that incritical discourse analysis trying to explore how the language used by social groups.To be able to understand fundamentally about critical discourse analysis, discourse is not to be understood only as an object of language study. Because with critical discourse analysis can find out social practices through the use of language and writing used.[20]

Therefore, critical discourse analysis addresses broader and social issues pay attention toexternal factors, including ideology, power, inequality, etc social and philosophical theory toanalyze and interpret written and spoken texts Fairlough puts it critical discourse analysis toanalyze text sand interactions, butitis does not start from text and interaction. But starting from social issues and problems that people

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[20]Forough Rahimi, ''Critical Discourse Analysis : Scrutinizing Ideologically-Driven Discourse'',*International Journal of Hummanities and Social Science*,Vol. 1 No. 16; November 2011 : 107-113

face in their social life, problems tha tare taken in sociology, political science and cultural studies.

Critical discourse analysis has an agenda to uncover hidden politics or behind socially dominant discourse in society, for example in belief systems, health, politics, religion, customry regulations and people's interpretations or perspective on the world. The purpose of critical discourse analysis can be said to be no only to describe the structure of the discourse but also toreveal the specific meaning of sin discursive events that are primarily about social and political issues of society. It was said by Norman Fairclough, that critical discourse analysis is not an analysis of the top discourse it self may be assumed to exist,but a dialectical relationship between the two discourse and objects, elements of moments and internal analysis discourserelations.[21]

CDA typically studies how context features (such as the properties of language users of powerful groups) influence the ways members of dominated groups define the communicative situation in "preferred context models". CDA also focuses on how discourse structures influence mental representations. At the global level of discourse, topics may influence what people see as the most important information of text or talk, and thus correspond to the top levels of their mental models. For example, expressing such a topic in a headline in news may powerfully influence how an event is defined in terms of a "preferred" mental model.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is required to understand the textual and societal practices of a news discourse presented by media. CDA observes the use of spoken and written language as the form of social practices. Furthermore, Darma maintains that there are various models for introducing CDA, but van Dijk's model is the most widely used and developed by experts because it describes the detail elements of discourse so that they can be practically utilized. The model used by van Dijk can also be called social cognition. This term is taken

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[21] Encarnacion Hidalgo Tenorio, "*Critical Discourse Analysis: An Overview*", University of Granada, (2017): 187.

from a social psychology approach, especially to describe the structure and process of text production by using the journalist's mental cognition.[22]

Critical research on discourse needs to satisfy a number of requirements in order to effectively realize its aims:

a) As is often the case for more marginal research traditions, CDA research has to be "better" than other research in order to be accepted.

b) It focuses primarily on social problems and political issues, rather than on current paradigms and fashions.

c) Empirically adequate critical analysis of social problems is usually multidisciplinary.

d) Rather than merely describe discourse structures, it tries to explain them in terms of properties of social interaction and especially social structure.

e) More specifically, CDA focuses on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society.

Those four aims of CDA can be said it is not only to describe the structure of discourse but also to uncover certain meaning in a discursive event which primarily about the social problem and political issues in society.[23]

C. Critical Discourse Analysis Based on Fairclough's Model
1. Definition of CDA based on Fairclough's Model

Norman Fairclough is one of the most influential researchers in the domain of CDA taking a specific middle

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[22]Mohammad Muhassin, "A Critical Discourse Analysis Of A Political Talk Show On The 2019 Indonesian Presidental Election", *Jurnal Tadris Bahasa Inggris* 14, no 2 (2021): 206-237, https://doi.org/10.24042/ee-jtbi.v14i2.10604.

[23]Franck Amoussou, Ayodele A. Allagbe,'' Principles, Theories and Approaches to Critical Discourse Analysis'', *Département d'Anglais, Faculté des Lettres, Langues, Arts et Communication (FLLAC) Université d'AbomeyCalavi (UAC) Benin,* 18.Volume 6, Issue 1, January 2018, PP 11-18, doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.20431/2347-3134.0601002

range theory based on Halliady's systemic functional linguistics theory which denotes a pragmatic, problem-oriented approach.

Based on Fairclough, Fairclough analysis emphasizes on social conflict in the Marxist tradition and tries to detectits linguistic manifestations in discourse in particular elements of dominance, difference and resistanc. Fairclough assumes asemiotic element for every social practice that is composed of dialectically related elements ofproductive activity, the means of production, social relations, social identities, cultural values,consciousness and semiosis.In Fairclough's view, CDA is the analysis of the dialectical relationships between semiosis(includinglanguage) and other elements of social practices.Genres and styles are the constituted elements composed of "these semiotic aspects of socialpractice.[24]

Fairclough focusing discourse on language. Fairclough uses discourse to refer to the use of language as a social practice, more than an individual activity or to reflect something. Discourse is a form of action, someone uses language as an action on the world/reality. Several characteristics of CDA were put forward by Fairclough which combined linguistic studies on socio-political thoughts that were relevant to the development of social theory and language. To realize this, Fairclough proposed a three-dimensional approach, in which a discourse emergence is viewed simultaneously as a text, discursive practice and social practice.

The CDA Norman Fairclough model basically analyzes discourse in three dimensions, namely text, discursive

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[24]Majid Amerian,'' A Brief Overview of Critical Discourse Analysis in Relation to Gender Studies in English Language Textbooks'', *Department of English Language and Literature, Arak University, Arak, Iran*, Journal of Language Teaching and Research, Vol. 6, No. 5, pp. 1033-1043, September 2015, DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17507/jltr.0605.16

practice, and sociocultural practice. In texts, texts are analyzed linguistically by looking at vocabulary, semantics, and sentence structure, including coherence and cohesiveness, how words or sentences are combined to form meanings. Discursive practice relates to the process of text production and consumption. Sociocultural practice relates to the context outside the text and context.

Critical Discourse Analysis in relation to power, according to Fairclough, can be used to analyze a number of things, including the text's position in the issue under discussion, the social actors it benefits or harms, whether it is used to criticize specific individuals, and the text's own consequences. It is mentioned in the linguistic dimension that Fairclough was influenced by Halliday, who took up this aspect of Fairclough's work for his concept of transitivity. The examination of vocabulary, syntax, and text structure is the focus of this step. However, the researcher in this study only used experience values based on the transitivity approach to determine grammatical qualities.

Therefore, Systemic Function Researchers utilized Halliday's Linguistics (SFL) to identify a transitivity structure in Prabowo Subianto's speech. Since transitivity is a component of the ideational metafunction, it can be utilized to disclose an ideology. The meaning of experience, which is about how someone sees the world, experiences the world, and perceives it, can be examined by applying transitivity. Transitivity is made up of three parts: processes, conditions, and participants.
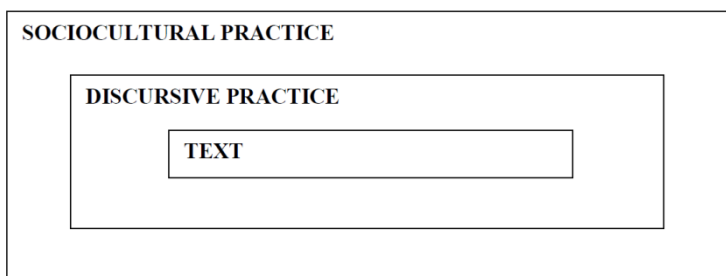
The transitivity process, on the other hand, can be divided into six categories according to the verb phrase that is

employed: material, mental, relational, verbal, existential, and behavioral processes.[25]

2. Dimensions of CDA based on Fairclough's Model

The three dimensions are shown below**:**

2.1 Table of Norman Fairclough's Model

a. Text

The text in the community involves the influence of a social structure. Text is not something free of values and describes reality as it is. In the point of view of critical discourse analysis, texts was not only determined by the person who produced them, but was also determined by the social structures of the text producers. The objective of the study was to know the use of transitivity of the speech text .

The element of the text in this study carried out using Halliday's system transitivity theory adopted by Fairclough in the analysis of the critical discourse theory framework. [26] Fairclough states that transitivity is a good tool in doing CDA. Here are 6 (six)types of transitivity process a from Halliday's theory:

[25]Octavia Chandra Dewi, ''TRANSITIVITY SYSTEM ON PRABOWO'S REPRESENTATION IN BRITISH ONLINE ARTICLE: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS APPROACH'', *Linguistics Department octavia19001@mail.unpad.ac.id,* Volume 11 Nomor 2, September 2021 Halaman 236 - 246

[26]Eriyanto, ''Analisis Wacana Pengantar Analisi Teks Media'', ed, (*Yogyakarta: PT. LkiS Printing Cemerlang*, 2001), 288.

1) Material Process

   Material processes show events that occur or take place.Participants who appear are usually called Actors.The main elements in the clause are process and participant as doer (called actor or agent). Meanwhile, the circumstances and other participants (which are called goal, beneficiary, and scope) are optional. In this material process there are additional elements, namely initiator as the cause of the action and resulting attribute as the result of the process.Here's an example of a material process:

   Material process: doing with goals and recipients/clients

President	make	wisdom	for his people
Aktor	Process: Materials	goal	resipein/klien

2) Relational Process

   Relational processes consist of attributive relational processes and relational processes Identifiable. Attributive relational processes are processes used toexpresses the relationship between participants who become subjects, called people, and complement, called support. Ordinary props are in the form of traits, characteristics, orphysical description of the person.Here's an example of a Realtional process:

   a) Attributive Relational Process

      Participants in this process are called carriers, namely participants who are given attributes. Attributes can be participants and states or traits. In Indonesian, the process of becoming one with attributes.

The official is Mr Burhan	very wise of a policeman
Carrier	Process/Attributive

b) Attributive Identification Process

The attributive process of identification is used to represent identity. Participants in this process *token* 'something that *is given value' and value* 'the value of that something. In Indonesian, the realization is, is, is.

That thing	is	obstacle for him
Token	Process:	Value

3) Mental Process

Mental processes are used to express perception, cognition, or affection towards something. The accompanying participants are called Senser and Phenomenon.Sensers are people or objects that have perception, cognition, or affection. Meanwhile, elements of perception, cognition, or affection are called phenomena.[27]Here's an example of a Mental process:

Refugees Government Officials	would want to see comprehension	his new (micro) residence The automobile that burst represented (macro) popular will.
Senser	Process:Mental	Fenomena

[27]Umar Fauzan,'' Transitivitas Teks BeritaTvOne MengenaiKasus "Luapan Lumpu Sidoarjo"'' *IAIN Samarinda,* Jurnal PEDAGOGIK,, 2015, Vol. 8, No. 1.

4) Verbal Process

Verbal Process is the process of telling something. Participants whoin this process are the sayer (the person or thing that tells) and Verbiage (news that is told). The participants in this process are sayer, recipient, verbiage, quoted, and target. The sayer is the one who produces the utterance; the recipient is the one to whom the verbal process is addressed (as indirect object in the clause); the verbiage is what was said (as the direct object in the clause); the quoted is the representation of the utterance realized in the direct speech, and the target is someone or something that the sayer says something about. The target only includes certain verbs, namely criticizing, praising, insulting, slandering, flattering, and blaming[28].Here's an example of a Verbal process:

President	ask	that problem to the ministers
Sayer	Process:Verbal	Verbiage

5) Behavioral Process

Behavioral processes demonstrate behavior. This process consists of behavioral processesMental and Verbal behavior. Mental behavioral processes demonstrate behaviorpsychological. The process of verbal behavior shows physical behavior. In processVerbal behavior consists of behavioral participants (behaver) and targets (verbiage)[29].Here's an example of a Behavioral process:

[28]Octavia Chandra Dewi, ''TRANSITIVITY SYSTEM ON PRABOWO'S REPRESENTATION IN BRITISH ONLINE ARTICLE: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS APPROACH'',*Linguistics Department octavia19001@mail.unpad.ac.id,* Volume 11 Nomor 2, September 2021 Halaman 236 - 246

[29]Ibid,

The military	Recommend	back off	to the president
Behaver	Process: Behavior Verbal	Verbiage	Receiver

6) Existential Process

The existential process is a process that shows the existence of something. Participants in this process are called existents. Existential process is the process of exacting existence. The participant in this process is called existent, which is expressed by the 'real' subject of the clause and followed by locative circumstance. According to Bloor and Bloor, there are two types of existential processes, namely (1) with a copular verb and an empty there as subject; and (2) with a copular verb, the existent as subject, and completed by a circumstantial adjunct.Here's an example of aExistential Process:

There are	hundreds of people
Process: Existential	Existence

The element things to observe will explain below:

2.2 Table of Text

Element	Things to observe
Material Process	This process is easily identified by pointing on the verb that expresses areal action. It has two participants, actor and goal that become the subject and the object.

Mental Process	In transitivity, those things are arranged in mental clause. It characterized by the sense of perception, affection, or cognition.
Relational process	Relational process or process of beingis a process that signifies a relationship of one entity and another entity.
Verbal Process	Verbal process observes the process of telling something. Participants who in this process are the sayer (the person or thing that tells) andVerbiage (news that is told).
Behavioral Processes	Behavioral processes demonstrate behavior. This process consists of behavioral processes mental and verbal behavior. Mentalbehavioral processes demonstrate behavior psychological. The process of verbal behavior shows physical behavior[30].
Existential Process	The existential process observes process that shows the existence of something.

b. **Discursive Practice**

Interpretation is a discourse practice analysis, specifically a relationship analysis between text and discourse practice - by viewing text as a process of creation. All "sources" are used in the interpretation

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[30]Umar Fauzan,'' Transitivitas Teks BeritaTvOne Mengenai Kasus ''Luapan Lumpu Sidoarjo'''' *IAIN Samarinda,* Jurnal PEDAGOGIK,, 2015, Vol. 8, No. 1.

processinterpretation in order for it to create an interpretation.

Fairclough employed detailed text analysis to gain insight into how discursive processes operate linguistically in specific texts. Analysis of discursive practice concentrate in concerning about how is the production and consumption the text. The Text is formed through a discursive practice, which determine about how the text is produced. For instance, the discourse in a class.

The discourse formed by a discursive practice which involving about how is the relationship between teacher and students, how is the way of teacher deliver the lesson, what is the scheme of relationship and the position of students during they are in the class, and so on. The democratic relation scheme is happen the when students allows to propose their ideas freely, it sure would be different discourse in the end rather than the class condition is fully mastering by teacher and the students just listening what the teacher talking about to them.

All such practice is the discursive practice that forming a discourse. The same thing occurs in the media. The news text involving a complicated discursive practice. That discursive practice to determine how is the way the text formed. According to Fairclough's outlook, two sides of discourse practices are: text production and consumption text. Thus, if there is a text which humiliate and marginalize the position of woman, or marginalize the position of laborer, it needed to find out how is the text produced and consumpted.

The both sides of discursive practice correspond to the complex system which involving various aspects of discursive practice. The first factor from the formation of this discourse is the individual and the profession itself.

These factors among others encompass the background of their education, professional development, the orientation of their politics and economies, and their skill in reporting the news accurately. Besides, it is also important to observe their behaviour, comprehension to their values and beliefs, it will put to the question whether they put their self as a part neutrally or active participants in evolving the text.[31]

This model of discursive practice analysis focuses on how text is created and received. Whether a text is made or produced is determined by the discourse practice. Discursive practice discusses how the individual side of journalists or authors by looking at their background, the profession carried out, discusses the news search process, the relationship between authors, editors, and publishers so that they can produce a text or work, and how critical the author is in producing a text so that they can present informative sentences that have the function of conveying to strengthen the reader's understanding so that the author can present informative sentences that have the function of conveying to strengthen the reader's understanding.[32]

Fairclough stated that the interpreter of the text comes at the conclusion to interpret (interpret) the discourse generated by the text after establishing the link between text and context, situation and context intertextuality. The fourth dimension is included in the interpretation, which is what happened (*what's going on*), who was involved (*who's involved*), what relationship with the problem

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[31]Muhamad Marhan, ''A critical Discourse Analysis Marty Natalegawa's on Meeting of the 5th Global Forum on United Nation Aliance of Civilization'' Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidyatullah, Januari 2015.
[32]Ibid.213.

highlighted (*what relationships are at issue*), and what role language plays (*what's the role of language*).[33]

2.3 Table of Discursive Practice

Element	Things to observe	Example
what's going on	That's what happened in the speech	Scarcity of cooking oil in Indonesia.The phenomenon of reporting on the scarcity of cooking oil in Indonesia is interesting because it can be seen from a linguistic perspective which reflects the camp's thinkingsociety, government and non-governmental organizations.
who's involved	who was involved	The community as oil distributors/agents fried, the community as cooking oil traders, the community as producers cooking oil, society as consumers of cooking oil, Government (especially the Ministry of Trade, DPR, President, Police), and several Non-governmental organizations.
what relationships are at issue	what relationship with the problem highlighted	Media Okezone's online news is one of the media that is active in tracing polemics policy and scarcity of cooking oil, in accordance with its function of always serving information in actual

		news. Since the emergence of this migrant shortage case, the mediaOnline Okezone effectively reports on the development of the incident chronologically.
what's the role of language	what role language plays	Use of language from text structure, choosing diction, using metaphorical expressions, etc. in news texts greatly determines the attitudes and opinions of readers. If certain parties are reportedwith negative sentences continuously, the image of that party in the eyessociety will also continue to be negative. Vice versa.

c. Sociocultural Practice

The analysis of sociocultural practice is based on assumption that social context which exist beyond the text is influences about how the discourse appears within the text. Then the news room, speech writer or speaker are not vacuous areas or boxs that sterile, however it very determined by the factor beyond of its self. The sociocultural practice indeed is not correspond directly with the text production, but it specify how is the text produced and understood. For instance, a text which lower or marginalize the position of woman. Such text may represents the ideology of patriarchy that present in society.

Hence, public ideology of patriarchy have a role in forming the text of patriarchy too. Such ideology spread in many places, in various field: in a workplace, in family, in school or university, and many more. And that

kind of patriarchal ideology regard and subordinate the woman that merge to how a text that present in the society lower the woman. Another example. A text that lower and marginalize the position of laborer. The text can not be separated from public ideology capitalistically. This ideology regard capitalist that drive the society, the capitalistic is everything. Such ideology is produced and reproduced in many fields of life, and speech of government official is one of them.

Sociocultural practice describes how is the powers that presents in society interpret and deploy the ideology dominantly to the society. According to Fairclough the sociocultural practice could determine the text is not because of the direct relation, but it mediated by the discursive practice. When the public ideology and belief is paternalistic, so it relationship to the text would be mediated by how is the text produced within one process and practice of discourse formation.

The mediation encompass two cases. First, about how the text is produced. The patriarchal ideology manifested to how text is produced in editorial working rooms or ministry room and determination the news that will generate specific of news text. The discursive practice directly decide the way that patriarchal text is produced. Second, public also will consume and receive the text in view point of patriarchy. for instance, The public likes to read about woman victim rape. By form of such consumption interpretation, the gender bias of text is not regarded as an odd thing by the society, yet it is regarded a normal condition and does not to be scrutinized. Likewise, the text which blame the laborers while they are balk and do demonstrate are not regarded as an odd thing because when the laborer balks cause some problems such as, jam, production is inhibited, and

so on. Here is then seen that the complex relation of shatter tangle.

Fairclough made three levels analysis of sociocultural practice: the level of Situational, Institutional, and Social. The detail explanation as follows.

1) Situational

Social context, how the text is produced including notice situational aspect while the text is produced. Text is produced in a special and typical condition and environment, hence the text can be different to the others. If discourse is realized as an action, then that action actually is an effort to respond the situation or social context particularly. For instance, reporting of Timor Timur before and after referendum might be different, and the discourse that appears is also diverse to each other, it is because of in every event covered with typical situational context, which involving emotion and nuance particularly. Or reportage and discourse regarding student demonstrations againts Soeharto is also engaging particular situation. A situation in which a demonstration going in peaceful and non-violent, meanwhile another demonstration going in clashes and resulted victims is probably produced the different discourse. [34]

The discourse that is developed may be changed from the first instead. The first discourse is highlights to the demonstration or the case of Soeharto which is not directly resolved by the Government, on the other hand probably more

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[34]Eriyanto, *Analisis Wacana Pengantar Analisi Teks Media,* ed, (*Yogyakarta: PT. LkiS Printing Cemerlang,* 2001), 290.

emphasize to the discourse of police violence in addressing demonstration.

2) Institutional

Institutional level see how is the influence institutional organization in practice of discourse production. This institution may come from media itself or the ministry (Government), also the external powers there out media which decide the process of news production. The significant Institutional factor is the institution that responsible to the economical factor.

For example, News production in media currently may not be released from the effect media economic, more or less it be able to the emerging discourse in reporting. First, absolutely, advertiser who determine the viability of the media. The news to be made in such a way to attract peoples to advertise in media that under its management. The second, is audience or readers which in modern industry shown with the data such circulation and rating. The benchmark is it feasible as reading and spectacle for many people. And because of it has pretension to attract the as many as public, Journalist who producing a news should create "good news" to be read and preffered by many people. The chosen theme is adapted to the needs and wishes of public. The third, the competition among media.

Basically, media compete the same reader and advertisers. Accordingly, the competition among media is also become the factors that determines how the news is produced. The fourth, intervention form of another economic institution or ownership of media. The media become not sensitive to the

news which relating to the owner. This ownership is also must be associated widely and including to what kind of field that include in it. Moreover, other institution factor which influences is political factor. First, political institution is also influences the sustainability and policy which implemented by the media. For instance, state institution who able to determine the extent to which condition and political limitation where media published is a bit much could effects to the discourse reported. [35]

The country where the government has the authority to take control and management, then emerging discourse in media is become different. It because of the selected news must adapted in order to not to be a threat for viability of the concerned media. In addition, political institution in term of how the media is used trough political powers within society. The media is able to be the tool powers dominantly in society to lower and marginalize other groups, one of them is using the power of media. The extreme form of this element is availability of partisan media, which deliberately is formed to support the thought or particular political forces by using media as its tool.[36]

3) Social

Social factor is very influential to the emerging discourse. Moreover Fairclough convinces that the emerging discourse is determined by the changes in society. In social level, for instance the culture take contribution to decide the developing of media discourse. If situational aspect concern to the time

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[35]Ibid.
[36]Ibid.

and micro situation (context of event when the text was being made), social aspect more highlight to macro aspect such as political system, economical system, or cultural system of community as a whole. Such system determine who is in power, what kind of values in society that more dominant. And how about the value and ruling group take influence and determining the media.

For instance, in community very popular to the patriarchal ideology that see the women as second class below the men, this value will include take influence in the contain of reporting. The news text that made by journalist of authoritarian political system definitely would be different with the text which produced by the journalist of liberal political system. The news text produced in capitalism economical system is marked with a competition and struggle of capital and it definitely will be different with the news text.

2.4 Table of Sociocultural Practice

Element	Things to observe	Example
Situational	Typical conditions or occasions in the delivered text.	Reporting of Timor Timur before and after referendum might be different, and the discourse that appears is also diverse to each other, it is because of in every event covered with typical situational context, which involving emotion and nuance particularly.

Institutional	institutional influence organization of the resulting text	State institution who able to determinethe extent to which condition and political limitation where media published is abit much could effects to the discourse reported.
Sosial	Focusingon societal macro issues such as the political system, economic system, or community culture.	In community very popular to the patriarchal ideology that see the women as second class below themen, this value will include take influence in the contain of reporting. The news text that made by journalist of authoritarian political system definitely would be different with the text which produced by the journalist of liberal political system.

3. **Stepof CDA based on Fairclough's Model**

   Fairclough suggests the following steps inconducting CDA:

   a. Focus upon a specific social problem which has semiotic a spect
   b. Identify the dominant styles, genres, discourses constituting this semiotic aspect.
   c. Consider the range of difference and diversity in styles, genres, discourses with in this aspect.
   d. Identify the resistance against the colonization processes executed by the dominant styles, genres and discourses.

   Fairclough called his particular method critical language study (CLS) and depicted it as a contribution to the general

raising of consciousness of exploitive social relations, through focusing upon language. Chuliaraki and Fairclough consider CDA as an analytical approach that brings social science and linguistics together within a single theoretical and analytical framework, setting up a dialogue between them. Systemic functional linguistics (SFL) is the baseformost CDA approaches including Fairclough's CLS.

Moreover, Foucault's concept of orders of discourse, Gramsci's concept of hegemony and Habermas concept of colonization of discourse are the theories that comprise the foundations of CLS. Based on Chouliaraki and Fairclough, CDA is an approach that may theorize transformations and create awareness of what is, how it has come to be, and what it mightbecome, on the basis of what people may be able to make and remake their lives. They argued that CDA of a communicative interaction setsout to show that the semiotic and linguisticfeatures of the interaction are systematically connected with what is going on what is going socially, and what is going on socially is indeed going on partly or wholly semiotically or linguistically.[37]

Put differently, CDA systematically charts relations of transformation between the symbolic and non-symbolic, between discourse and the non-discursive. In analyzing any communicative event, CLS considers three simultaneous focuses: text, discursive practice andsociocultural practice. Chouliaraki & Fairclough's method is similar to Van Dijk's model which is composed of three components of discourse, socio cognition and social analysis. The difference between Fairclough's and Van Dijk's models lies in the second part. In other words Van Dijk assumes social cognition and mental models as mediating between discourse and thesociety, but

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[37]Robyn Henderson,'' A Faircloughian approach to CDA: Principled eclecticism or a method searching for a theory?'' *Melbourne Studies in Education*, 46 (2), 9-24. ISSN 0076-6275

Fairclough considers discursive practice as the part which mediates between the other two parts.

D. Persuasive Value in Political Speech

Political speech as the communication model expressedby Shannon and Weaver, who assumes that sources ofinformation produce meaning to be communicated. Thetransmitter converts the meaning into the appropriate signalwith the channel used. Channel is the medium that sends asignal from the transmitter to the receiver. The channels arelanguage. Communication cannot be separated from languagecommunication is very close relation to language. Thecommunication process, language is used as a tool to conveymeaning, both verbally and verbally nonverbally. Inpersuasive communication, of course it is also very relatedwith language. Language is the key in carrying outcommunication persuasive. How the choice of language usedwill be very affect the success of communication.

Meanwhile, the main purpose of political speeches is forpersuasive purposes to the public, including certaininvitations. long term can be achieved through expertise communication skills, for example speech skills impressionmanagement that cumulatively can be used to achieve goalslong term in the form of success in a career, for example toobtain position, power, social respect, and wealth. In ancientart rhetoric teaches about how to speak elegantly andpersuasively. Even though the rhetorical rules used in AncientGreece are no longer appropriate for politicians to use today,they remain certain habits that can amplify the impact causedby their speech or writing.

E. Prabowo Subianto

H. Prabowo Subianto Djojohadikusumo is a businessman, politician, and former Indonesian Army officer. He had 28 years of education and military history before venturing into business and politics.Prabowo Subianto was born in Jakarta on October 17, 1951. He was the third child and first son of his father Soemitro Djojohadikusumo who came from Kebumen, Central Java and his mother Dora Marie Sigar, better known as Dora Soemitro, a Protestant Christian woman of Minahasa descent, who came from from the Maengkom family in Langowan, North Sulawesi. His father was an economist and politician from the Indonesian Socialist Party who at that time had just finished serving as Minister of Industry in the Natsir Cabinet; in April 1952, shortly after Prabowo's birth, Soemitro was reappointed as Minister of Finance in the Wilopo Cabinet. Prabowo has two older sisters, Biantiningsih Miderawati and Maryani Ekowati; and a younger brother, Hashim Djojohadikusumo.[38]

Prabowo began his military career in the Indonesian Army in 1974 as a Second Lieutenant after graduating from the Indonesian Military Academy in Magelang, then Prabowo joined the Government in 2019 as Minister of Defense of Indonesia in the Advanced Indonesia Cabinet led by President Joko Widodo. Prabowo was chosen as Minister of Defense because he had great experience thereas well as becoming a firm and smart defense minister.

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[38]*https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shannon%E2803Weaver_model*

CHAPTER V
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

A. Conclusion

In conclusion, the research analysis of Prabowo Subianto's speech at the 20th ASEAN Summit's Dialogue Forum, conducted through the lens of Fairclough's three-dimensional Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), has yielded significant insights into the text structure, discursive practice, and social practice of the speech. This research collected some important information from the Prabowo's speech based on finding and interpretation, and it could be concluded that :

1. In terms of the structure of the speech text, the most dominant is shown in the material, mental, verbal, and existential processes. Material processes reveal Prabowo's proposed actions and goals regarding the Ukraine-Russia conflict, emphasizing a diplomatic and strategic approach to conflict resolution. Mental processes explain Prabowo's thoughts and proposals, revealing a nuanced cognitive perspective that underscores empathy, proactive problem solving, and commitment to peace efforts. On the other hand, the verbal process emphasizes Prabowo's active engagement in the issues at hand, outlining specific actions and initiatives to address the conflict. The speech structure is characterized by propositional language, declarations, and collective statements, which emphasize the active participation of various entities in diplomatic and peacekeeping efforts.

So in the text structure, the structure of the speech text that has been analyzed using CDA is most dominantly shown in the material, mental, verbal, and existential processes because in the process it is found a verb followed by a goal that describes the material process, it is also found a verb followed by phenomena after it which describes a mental process, then it is also found a verb followed by verbiege which describes a

verbal process, and finally it is found a verb followed by existent which describes the existential process. The discursive practice analysis reveals the role of YouTube as a global information platform and highlights Prabowo Subianto's use of language to shape his identity as Indonesia's Defense Minister. The choice of language becomes pivotal in conveying intent and purpose, with a clear emphasis on promoting understanding and peace between Russia and Ukraine. The discursive practice is intricately linked to the global interconnectedness of nations, acknowledging the impact of regional conflicts on a worldwide scale.

2. The result of social practice as observed in the speech, underscores the shared responsibility of nations in addressing conflicts that transcend borders. The voluntary participation of various countries in the proposed peace plan signifies a commitment to collaborative action and a recognition of the interconnectedness of global events. The acknowledgment of diverse perspectives in conflicts fosters dialogue and negotiation, reflecting an understanding of the complexity inherent in social conflicts.

Therefore, the research findings indicate that Prabowo Subianto's speech is characterized by a structured and thoughtful approach to conflict resolution, emphasizing empathy, proactive problem-solving, and the importance of international collaboration. The use of language, the recognition of global interconnectedness, and the commitment to shared social responsibilities collectively contribute to a comprehensive understanding of the speech's implications in the realm of international political discourse. These insights contribute to a broader understanding of the linguistic and socio-political dimensions of political speeches in international forums, providing a foundation for future research in discourse analysis and political communication. The findings underscore the importance of language in shaping diplomatic relations and fostering global cooperation for conflict resolution and peacekeeping. Based on those elements of Fairclough's CDA, it is possible to conclude that

Prabowo Subianto's speech is characterized by a structured and thoughtful approach to conflict resolution, emphasizing empathy, proactive problem-solving, and and ideological texts in speech production.

B. Recommendation

The researcher would like to provide some recomendation for some sides based on the findings of the study. The rekomendation is as follows :

1. The readers.
   The writer hopes that this research will aid readers who wish to know the evolution and stucture of Prabowo's speech regarding proposal peace for rusia and ukraine. Every media outlet has its own reason for publishing speech and readers should be more skeptical of what they read.

2. The next writer.
   For future academics who want to do study using critical discourse analysis as a paradigm, maybe this research will be avaluable resourch. Also, when the next research wants to pick the media or speech, the writer should thing about what they will choose because it will have a large influence. The writer propose analyzing the news that has simple access to the writer.

3. The English teacher.
   As a consequence of this study, the writer recommanded to all all English teacher that critical discourse analysis be more consider in the teaching process, because it may helps students be more critical in their reading and thinking, allowing them to be more critical in all aspects of their lifes.

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