

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Research

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a study that chooses language as the main unit in the analysis. This study analyzes language by describing the linguistic aspects and connecting language with the context (Badara, 2012, p. 26). Context means that language is seen as a tool to achieve certain goals and practices. The element of critics in CDA is based on the idea that words are not always unbiased but have a positive or negative connotation. CDA views language use as a subjective phenomenon (Sawirman, 2016). In other words, CDA can be understood as research that focuses on looking at language representation, how a person, group, or everything is presented through language. Thus, Hamad (2004, p. 38) stated that CDA could uncover the power practices hidden behind every language, include the language used by mass media.

In the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) study, representations made by the media, whether through news, journals, headlines, and so on, are seen as social practices that will promote certain groups' ideology to marginalize the ideologies of other groups. In short, critical discourse analysis considers the text of media as a products to gain power for certain groups. It is assumed that there are interested parties behind the media text. Hidayat (1999) explains that CDA is able to transcend boundaries in media analysis using positivist and constructivist paradigms. CDA exists to complement the shortcomings that exist in conventional media content analysis. Consequently, the use of the CDA framework has been

widely used in the social-community field, including by choosing the mass media as the subject (Jorgensen and Philips, 2007).

Although many experts agree that CDA is an improvement to media analysis studies from a conventional perspective, it does not necessarily make CDA stand alone in its analysis. Even, according to Wodak and Meyer (2001, p. 6), it is essential to emphasize that CDA has never attempted to provide a single, specific theory. The CDA approach developed by Fairclough (1989) explains that CDA cannot be carried out on one dimension only. Fairclough's (1989) approach explains that analysis cannot be done only at the textual level to understand a text. In order to understand the text as a whole, discursive practice and socio-historical practice also needs to be described. This framework of CDA also explained that the textual analysis could be done by combining several different theories depend on the form of the text. Thus, related to media representation, CDA at the textual level will be more appropriate to do with framing theory from a constructivist perspective.

The Framing Analysis Theory is a theory that considers media representation as an incidental process in which a journalist acts as an unconscious agent to promote a particular ideology that automatically marginalizes other ideologies. Media representation or reality construction created by the media is a complex product that is not as simple as a critical view where it occurs solely at the demands of the interests of the dominant party (Hall et al., 1978, p. 74). An event presented and disseminated by the media is a temporary, vulnerable, and sometimes impossible construction of meaning. Baker,

Gabrielatos, and McEnery (2013, p. 3) stated that it is impossible for the media to present an entirely impartial, accurate, and complete account of an event; instead, the media offers representations of events through the use of language (spoken or written) and/or images (still or moving). Therefore, it is important to discuss news texts with framing theory in order to stimulate readers' awareness that news texts are just an interpretive packaging that gives meaning to the issue at hand. Framing analysis can reveal what meaning is given to an issue, who gives it or what the interests of the people involved in the issue are.

Talking about the representation produced by mass media, one of the interesting topics to highlight is the Ratification of The *Omnibus* Law on Job Creation in online news. The Ratification of The *Omnibus* Law on Job Creation was carried out in October 2020 in Jakarta. The *Omnibus* Law or *Omnibus* Bill is an approach or effort that can be used to make new laws (O' Brien, 2009, p. 76). This approach can change, revoke, or enforce several laws at once. This *Omnibus* Law is synonymous with the fact that the law consists of a number of related sections but was originally regulated in several separate laws. The *Omnibus* Law is commonly applied in countries that adhere to Common Law systems such as the United States, the Philippines, Australia, the United Kingdom and several other countries (Setiadi, 2020, p. 45).

In Indonesia, the *Omnibus* Law is being used for the first time and considered by many to be less compatible with the civil law legal system adopted by Indonesia. Many parties argue that the *Omnibus* Law is used in Indonesia as a tool to legalize things that can benefit certain parties. One of the things that sticks

out the most is about workers' rights. The public views that the Omnibus Law has changed the provisions related to workers' rights in accordance with the interests of employers. One of them is reflected in the provision on the amount of severance pay that has been reduced from what is stated in Law Number 13 of 2003 concerning Manpower. Therefore, the ratification of this law has been opposed by many social circles, from laborers to legal and environmental experts. Students have also carried out massive demonstrations to refuse the passing of this law. The demonstration that took place also caused chaos and injured many victims. In connection with this fact, what should be questioned is how the media cover this incident? Does the media play an important role in regulating people's understanding of what is happening in their environment? (Rifa'i, 2017, p.1). So, it is necessary to conduct a linguistic study that discusses how the media cover this incident.

Consider the following news quote from *ANTARA* and *TEMPO* media about Ratification Of The *Omnibus* Law On Job Creation:

“Jakarta (ANTARA) - Rapat Paripurna DPR RI, Senin, menyetujui Rancangan Undang-Undang Cipta Kerja (RUU Ciptaker) menjadi UU.

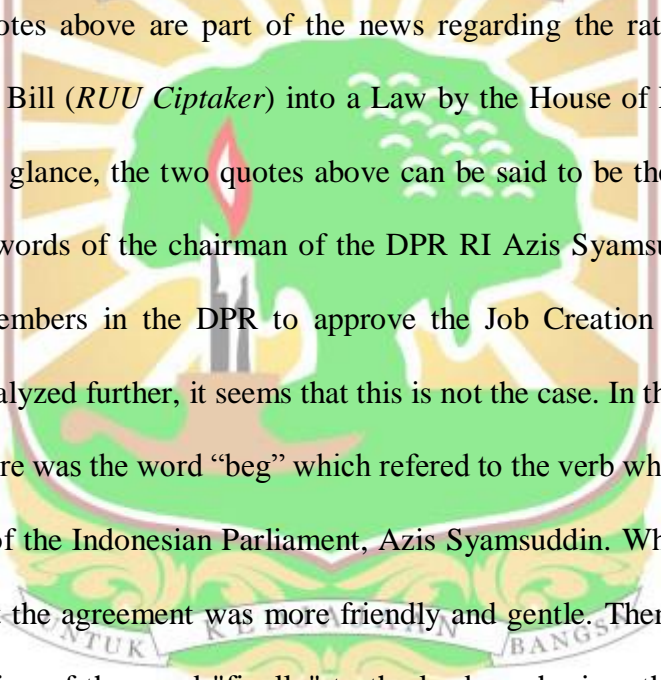
*"Perlu kami sampaikan, berdasarkan yang kita simak dan dengar bersama maka sekali lagi saya **memohon** persetujuan di forum rapat paripurna ini, bisa disepakati?" kata Wakil Ketua DPR RI Azis Syamsuddin dalam rapat paripurna di kompleks DPR RI, Jakarta, Senin."*

*("Jakarta (ANTARA) - The DPR RI Plenary Meeting on Monday approved the Work Creation Bill (RUU Ciptaker) into law. "We need to convey, based on what we have seen and heard together, so once again I **beg** for approval at this plenary meeting forum, can it be agreed?" Deputy Chairman of the Indonesian Parliament Azis Syamsuddin said in a plenary session at the DPR RI complex, Jakarta, Monday.")*

“TEMPO.CO, Jakarta - DPR akhirnya menyetujui Rancangan Undang-undang Omnibus Law Cipta Kerja atau RUU Cipta Kerja menjadi Undang-undang.

"Sehingga berdasarkan mekanisme tata terbit, pimpinan dapat mengambil berdasarkan pandangan-pandangan fraksi di dalam forum rapat paripurna, bisa disepakati?" tanya Wakil Ketua DPR Azis Syamsuddin yang memimpin sidang di gedung DPR, Jakarta."

("TEMPO.CO, Jakarta - The DPR finally approved the Work Creation Omnibus Law Bill or the Job Creation Bill to become a Law. "So that based on the publication order mechanism, the leadership can take based on the views of the factions in the plenary meeting forum, can it be agreed?" asked Deputy Speaker of the DPR, Azis Syamsuddin, who chaired the session at the DPR building, Jakarta.")



The quotes above are part of the news regarding the ratification of the Work Creation Bill (*RUU Ciptaker*) into a Law by the House of Representatives (DPR). At first glance, the two quotes above can be said to be the same because they were the words of the chairman of the DPR RI Azis Syamsuddin in asking the fraction members in the DPR to approve the Job Creation Bill into Law. However, if analyzed further, it seems that this is not the case. In the first quote, in the content, there was the word “beg” which referred to the verb whose subject was the Chairman of the Indonesian Parliament, Azis Syamsuddin. Which, it gave the impression that the agreement was more friendly and gentle. Then, in the second quote the affixing of the word "finally" to the lead emphasizes the meaning that the formation of the *Omnibus* Law has gone through a long process. The use of this word has indirectly reminded readers that the *Omnibus* Law has generated polemics in society and there was no word “beg”. The sentence asking for approval conveyed in this second quote was more straightforward and firm that used the question tag, the only answer option either yes or no.

From the description above, it can be seen that the two media have different ways of conveying facts and information. The two media picked different quotations in the news which actually will affect the readers' interpretation. From the first quotation, readers will understand that the approval of the Work Creation Bill has been carried out in a friendly atmosphere without coercion and intimidation. On the other hand, from the second quotation, readers will interpret that the approval obtained by the Representative of the DPR RI, Azis Syamsuddin, from a member of the fraction in the DPR was absolute and cannot be contested or seems coercive. In addition, the lead sentence of the second news quote has emphasized that the formation process of the *Omnibus* Law reaps pros and cons in society.

In connection to the differences between the two media in framing the chronology of the passage of the *Omnibus* Law as seen above, the most plausible assumption that can explain why this happened was because the two media have different backgrounds and ideologies. Media *ANTARA* is one of the oldest media in Indonesia founded by Adam Malik, Soemanang, A.M. Sipahoetar, and Pandoe Kartawigoena when the spirit of the struggle for national independence surged and was driven by young fighters on December 13, 1937 (<https://korporat.antaranews.com/tentang/sejarah-singkat>). Then, this media joined or was affiliated with the government, became part of the Ministry of BUMN on July 17, 2007, and was referred to as the Perum Institution of the National News Agency, *ANTARA*. As a result, it is assumed that the quotation was chosen because *ANTARA* is dependent and funded by the government. It is possible that

ANTARA can take sides with the government to construct issues in Indonesia (Romano and Seinor, 2005).

On the other hand, the *TEMPO* media is not affiliated with the Indonesian government. *TEMPO* media is a private media founded by six journalists, Goenawan Mohamad, Harjoko Trisnadi, Fikri Jufri, Lukman Setiawan, Usamah, and Christianto Wibisono financed by the Jaya Raya Foundation in 1971 (Basuki, B., Wasesa, R., & Purnamasari, N. M., 2017). In 2001, this media managed to develop into a public company, a public company under the name PT. *TEMPO* Inti Media, Tbk. (Company). So, it can be said that these two media are very different. One is media that is under government finance and supervision, and the other is independent media that is free from government intervention.

In addition, based on statistics from an international web analytics service provider company, alexa.com, online news sites *TEMPO* and *ANTARA* are among the 100 most visited websites in Indonesia. Websites *TEMPO.com* is ranked 35th and *ANTARANEWS.com* is ranked 80th. From global statistics, 94.75% of *TEMPO.com*'s audience and 88.84% of *ANTARANEWS.com*'s audience are from Indonesia (<https://www.alexac.com/siteinfo>). Online media *TEMPO* and *ANTARA* also have been verified by the Indonesian Press Council as the official press media in Indonesia since 4 September 2018 (<https://dewanpers.or.id/data/perusahapers>). It showed that these two local media are credible and trusted media in Indonesia.

Therefore, there are several reasons that can be used as the basis for the study of online media representation on the ratification of the Job Creation

Omnibus Law on the online media *TEMPO* and *ANTARA* using Critical Discourse analysis combined with framing analysis model. The first reason is the meaning of language cannot possibly be neutral and every word will always have a negative or positive connotation. Second, Critical Discourse Analysis and Framing Analysis can reveal what the media give meaning to issues circulating in society, which gives them, or the interests of the people involved in the issue. Third, the ratification of the *Omnibus* Law on Job Creation has been opposed by many circles of society. Lastly, *TEMPO*'s online media are private and independent media and *ANTARA* online media are under government supervision which is perfect to be compared and also have been trusted by Indonesian society.

This study tries to explore how the *TEMPO* and *ANTARA* media frame the incidence of the ratification of the *Omnibus* Law on Job Creation. In analyzing the data, the study used the three-dimensional theory of Critical Discourse Analysis by Fairclough combined with the Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki's Framing Analysis model. The research data are ten news texts on online media, five news from *TEMPO* media and five news more from *ANTARA* media which discuss the ratification of the *Omnibus* Law. The findings of this study are expected to increase public awareness in consuming information produced by certain media. With this research, the public can think more critically before believing in an issue. This research also can be used as an input to media in framing the issue better.

1.2 Scope of the Research

This research focused on revealing and comparing the two media, *TEMPO* and *ANTARA*, in framing the issue of the ratification of the *Omnibus* Law. The

analysis was done by using the theory of Critical Discourse Analysis by Fairclough (1993) combined with the Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki's Framing Analysis model (1993). This research data was limited to ten online news texts on the ratification of the *Omnibus* Law produced by *ANTARA* and *TEMPO* media released on 5 until 6 October 2020. The author carried out the data limitation because this study wants to reveal how the representation of the Omnibus Law ratification in local Indonesian media led to rejection among the public. In other words, the data of the study must be most recent and most intensively news discussing the ratification of The *Omnibus* Law, which was published after the *Omnibus* Law is passed. This *Omnibus* Law was passed on 5 October 2020 at 17.52 WIB. Thus, according to that time, the news selected were news that started publishing a while after the ratification until three days after the ratification. The selection of the timeframe for the publication of the news also aims to limit the amount of data to be analyzed. It is feared that too much data will reduce the quality of the data analysis results. The title of the news that were analyzed are presented in the table below:

Table 1 1 The News Title from *TEMPO* and *ANTARA*

NO	ANTARA NEWS	DATE RELEASE	TEMPO NEWS	DATE RELEASE
1	<i>Rapat Paripurna DPR setuju RUU Ciptaker menjadi UU</i> (The DPR Plenary Meeting approved the Ciptaker Bill to become Law)	Monday, 5 October 2020 18:31 WIB	<i>Tok! DPR Setujui Omnibus Law RUU Cipta Kerja Menjadi UU</i> (Knock! DPR Approves the <i>Omnibus</i> Law on the Job Creation Bill into Law)	Monday, 5 October 2020 17:52 WIB
2	<i>F-Demokrat "walk out" dari Paripurna DPR tolak RUU Ciptaker</i> (The F-Democrat "walked out" from the	Monday, 5 October 2020 17:57 WIB	<i>Anggota DPR Tak Diberi Salinan Fisik RUU Cipta Kerja saat Paripurna.</i> (DPR Members Not Provided Physical Copies	Monday, 5 October 2020 23:13 WIB

	DPR Plenary against the Ciptaker Bill)		of the Job Creation Bill during Plenary Day.)	
3	<i>F-Demokrat tegaskan tolak RUU Ciptaker disetujui jadi UU (F-Democrat emphasized that the Ciptaker Bill was rejected as a law)</i>	Monday, 5 October 2020 17:25 WIB	<i>Sahkan RUU Cipta Kerja Hari ini, DPR: Banyak yang Kena Covid-19(Confirm the Job Creation Bill Today, DPR: Many Affected by Covid-19)</i>	Monday, 5 October 2020 19:50 WIB
4	<i>MUI sayangkan pengesahan UU Cipta Kerja (MUI is concerned about the ratification of the Copyright Act)</i>	Monday, 5 October 2020 21:09 WIB	<i>Omnibus Law Disahkan, DPR: Syarat PHK, Cuti Haid Ikuti UU Ketenagakerjaan (Omnibus Law Ratified, DPR: Requirements for Termination of Employment, Menstrual Leave Follow the Manpower Law)</i>	Monday, 5 October 2020 20:17 WIB
5	<i>HIPMI Jaya Apresiasi Pengesahan RUU Omnibus Law Ciptaker (HIPMI Jaya Appreciates the Ratification of the Ciptaker Omnibus Law Bill)</i>	Tuesday, 6 October 2020 19:50 WIB	<i>Omnibus Law RUU Cipta Kerja Disahkan, Buruh Tetap Akan Mogok (The Omnibus Law of the Job Creation Bill is Passed, Workers Will Still Strike)</i>	Monday, 5 October 2020 21:36 WIB

1.3 Identification of Problems

In relation to the object of research, according to Litosseti (2010) the formulation of the problem is a set of questions designed to assist the identification process and further investigation in a study that has an impact on the clarity of the direction of the research. So, here is a set of questions that will be used as a benchmark for the flow of this research analysis.

1. What are the representations of the Ratification of the *Omnibus* Law on Job Creation in the Media Online News *TEMPO* and *ANTARA*?
2. How do the *ANTARA* and *TEMPO* media use the framing strategies in framing the issue of the ratification of the *Omnibus* Law Bill?

1.4 Objective of the Research

The purpose of the study was made to indicate a series of answers to the questions “why research needs to be done and what researchers will find through the research” (Silverman et al., 2013). Therefore, as a whole, this study aims to explore how the *TEMPO* and *ANTARA* media frame the incidence of the ratification of the *Omnibus* Law on Job Creation. Specifically, this research achieves purposes below:

1. To identify the representation of the Ratification of the *Omnibus* Law on Job Creation in the Online Media News, *TEMPO*, and *ANTARA*.
2. To explain and compare the framing strategy used by the *ANTARA* and *TEMPO* media in framing the issue of the ratification of the *Omnibus* Law on Job Creation.

1.5 Significance of the Research

Theoretically, this research is expected to contribute to the study of critical discourse analysis (CDA) by enlarging the area of this study in media discourse that focuses on framing analysis. This study tries to reveal how media covered the ratification of the *Omnibus* Law on Job Creation and its effect on the interpretation of the reader. In other words, this study defines how the media language can be used to steer public opinion.

Practically, this study is also expected to increase readers' awareness when consuming information produced by certain media. This study is also expected to make journalists use a better way in framing such issues. This study can also be used as a reference to the next researcher who wants to research the media

language. So, indirectly, through this study, the research on critical discourse analysis in media language can be wider in any perspective and area.

