

Critical Discourse Analysis on News Tribun Jabar about Thousands of Workers Slide the Palace

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Abstract

The quantity and quality of strikes and labor demonstrations has increased since the fall of the Suharto regime. This is not only because of the increasingly oppressed conditions of workers, but also because the space for freedom of organization is increasingly wide open. Almost every day the mass media reported on strikes and demonstrations of workers. However, until now, not much is known about how the workers' actions are represented by the mass media. Therefore, it is necessary to investigate this issue. This study aims to determine how strikes and labor demonstrations are represented by the mass media. This research uses content analysis method. The object of the research is the news on strikes and labor demonstrations published in Tribun Jabar, during 2000. The unit of analysis that is coded is the physical position of the news, the format of the news, the nature of the news, the source of the news, the news frame, and the orientation of the news. The findings of this study are that the newspapers that are the subject of this research, the layout of the pages rarely places the news of the labor strike on pages other than page one such as page 2, page 19, page 24, and so on. This study also found that they like to choose straight news news format and the nature of hard news news. The media tend to use labor as the main source of their news. Then, the frame used to report the news of the labor strike is an anarchic frame that is usually used by employers in responding to various issues surrounding labor strikes and the frame for violations of labor rights which is usually used by workers in interpreting various industrial conflict events. Finally, the orientation is on events rather than issues in telling the actions of workers' strikes.

Keywords

critical discourse analysis;
inclusion; news



I. Introduction

Discourse analysis as one of the disciplines with an explicit methodology can be said to be a new science because its development was only seen in the early 70s and is based on the Western scientific tradition. The term discourse analysis emerged as an attempt to produce a more complete description of language because there are elements of language that are not enough when analyzed using aspects of structure and meaning alone. So that through discourse analysis can be obtained an explanation of the correlation between what is said, what is meant and what is understood in a particular context.

Today, the mass media has a very important role in the life of modern society. The mass media currently acts as a bridge of information to the public, so that the role of the mass

media as a source of information can influence the public's view of a problem. News construction in the mass media can affect public trust, for example the title displayed by the mass media is always the main discourse in drawing conclusions. This will be a problem that is quite serious, because the conclusion of a problem based on a news with incomplete information, will produce the wrong conclusion. Wrong conclusions will lead to wrong attitudes. The wrong attitude again will result in wrong information and so on.

The ability of the mass media to mix and process news has a major impact on society. Mass media is able to create the image of a group or institution and individuals through the news that is displayed. The presentation of a news, of course, cannot be separated from the ideology of the media and journalists. The choice of words used by journalists in a news text is not merely a coincidence, but ideologically is the meaning of reality. In general, the selection of news and the emphasis on the content or theme of the news displayed in the mass media is a reflection of the ideology of journalists based on the relevant press institution.

Since the 1997 monetary crisis that preceded the collapse of the New Order regime, the frequency of a number of social events in the form of group behavior, such as labor demonstrations, has increased. Data from the Ministry of Manpower (2001) states that since 1995-2000 there have been 1,419 cases of demonstrations or labor strikes. The largest number of demonstrations was in 1996, which was 350 cases. Allegedly this is caused by the economic crisis that began to hit the country of Indonesia.

Labor demonstrations are nothing new in the history of the labor movement in Indonesia. Long before, in 1882 around 10 thousand farm workers from 30 sugar factories and plantations in Yogyakarta staged a bloody strike and protest in three waves for nearly three months (Geertz in Sudjana, 2002). The trigger, apart from low wages and heavy workloads, was also due to other feudal and capitalist exploitation factors.

Up to now, the workers' protests are still raising the same issue, namely the low level of labor wages and high workloads. Labor demonstrations also raised questions about inadequate working conditions (Komalasari in Dialina, 1998), such as the work environment and job evaluation. Then, the demands for basic workers' rights (fundamental rights), such as the right to establish labor unions and demands for employers to implement various provisions of labor law (Uwiyono, 2001) also marked the occurrence of labor demonstrations. For example, in 1990 the workers of PT. PR in Tangerang went on strike because they demanded the formation of a labor union in the company where they worked.

Whatever the form and variety of demands of the workers, demonstrations are believed by the workers as a strategic choice that is collective and effective as a means to strengthen the bargaining position of workers against companies and the government. Although stopping work and demonstrating (strikes) are not the only means, they are a powerful weapon for workers, and are feared if they are mass, collective and organized (Sudjana, 2002). It is not surprising then that many trade unions have been established. The Indonesian Ministry of Manpower (2001) said that currently there are 40 national labor unions. A number of these trade unions tend to use demonstrations as a method of their struggle, because their organization is simple, but effective. However, although simple, it still requires the ability to mobilize the masses of workers effectively. Because if carried out haphazardly, demonstrations can become a weapon for workers, such as being subject to termination of employment (PHK).

Even though it has a negative impact, it is difficult to avoid these labor demonstrations, because for workers a labor demonstration or strike is a fundamental right inherent in the workers' right to negotiate (Uwiyono, 2001). This situation also occurs in other parts of the country, namely in the United States, Britain, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Japan, and China. However, unlike these countries, labor demonstrations in Indonesia are often followed

by destructive actions, such as demonstrations by workers at PT. M in Surabaya in 1999 which ended in riots and PT. KPC in Sangatta in 2000 which ended with the destruction of machinery and other important equipment. Research to understand how the process of the behavior of labor demonstrations in Indonesia is very much needed. With this research, it is hoped that it can obtain input to anticipate labor demonstrations which are often destructive. From this explanation, it can be seen how the framing of the West Java Tribune's news regarding the Thousands of Workers in the Ring 1 Palace.

II. Research Method

This research is included in the ranks of qualitative research. Qualitative research is research that is descriptive and tends to use an inductive approach to analysis. Process and meaning (subject perspective) are more highlighted in qualitative research. The theoretical basis is used as a guide so that the research focus is in accordance with the facts on the ground. In addition, the theoretical basis is also useful for providing an overview of the background of the research and as a material for discussing research results.

Framing analysis is one method that allows to view the actual construction media. Framing is a distorted realization of reality, emphasizing certain aspects, using terms with certain meanings, and using photography, cartoons and other illustration tools to completely refute the facts, it is a method of expressing in a sophisticated and sophisticated way.

Research Subjects and Objects the research subject is the editor of Tribun Jabar Wednesday, November 21, 2012. In this study, the researcher used 1 instrument, namely the Document Study in a method of collecting facts or data about an object of study in the form of technical research notes, brush notes, books, or journal. In this case, the data was taken from the online media Tribun Jabar in November 2012.

After collecting the required data. Therefore, the researchers continued the analysis stage to find answers to the existing problem formulations, the authors used the framing paradigm analysis method by Robert N. Entman.

III. Discussion

Social Movement, which, when translated into Indonesian, is a social movement, is a consequence of drastic changes in society. Bonner (1953) calls it a reflection and condition of social change that stems from dissatisfaction with the status quo. When people are dissatisfied with existing institutions because these institutions no longer meet their needs, people want to change their living conditions. Social movements reflect an attempt to search in the dark to create a new social order (new social order) and change the institutions that are considered the source of their dissatisfaction (Bonner, 1953).

Social movements, as collective efforts to achieve new ways of life, are widespread in societies undergoing rapid change and innovation. These changes tend to make people live in confusion because humans are not always or forever able to adapt quickly as well. Moreover, if coupled with anxiety, anxiety, and discomfort due to layoffs or unemployment, political tensions in the country and various other things, then facing such conditions, someone will quickly open his 'ears' to promises about a better life, how even the promise is in the form of quixotic (hallucinations) or utopian (fantasy) only (Bonner, 1953).

Psychologically, social movements are defined as the efforts of a large number of people to solve problems collectively against problems that they feel the same (Toch in Milgram & Toch, 1975). This effort tends to be carried out as long as there is no solution or

improvement to the problems faced by the individuals involved, then social movements offer solutions or improvements. Therefore, individuals who are in a society that does not experience progress or improvement which is a source of dissatisfaction, are likely to join social movements that promise hope, both physically and psychologically. Thus, a social movement is a large group that spontaneously supports a number of goals and beliefs held by its members.

There are various types of social movements, involving various groups with various dimensions. There are movements that are formed from educated groups with clear goals and agendas, some are manifestations of great enthusiasm with various emotional demands. There are also movements that are carefully organized by establishing rights and obligations, as well as clear roles, but there are also movements that are forms of democracy or anarchy. Blumer (in Bonner, 1953) distinguishes social movements into three types, namely: 1) General Social Movements, namely forms of social movements characterized by the absence of special coordination and direction, as well as clear leadership. This type of social movement takes place naturally, often appearing in various literatures and irregular conversations. Bonner (1953) categorizes the emancipation movement or feminism as a social movement of this type. 2) Specific Social Movements, namely forms of mass behavior. The individuals in it have clear goals, organization and leadership. As an organized movement, members have responsibilities, detailed tasks, clearly defined group morale and a clear plan of action (Blumer in Bonner, 1953), whose membership is characterized by 'we-consciousness' (Blumer in Brown, 1953). 1954), and have values and expectations and the division of labor (Brown, 1954). Examples for this type of social movement are the reform movement and the revolutionary movement (Blumer in Bonner, 1953; Brown, 1954; Lyman, 1995). 3) Expressive Social Movements, is a form of social movement whose members do not wish to build a new social order but merely express their own needs as the main motivation. Although not trying to build a new social order, this type of social movement has a great influence on the existing social order. Included in this type of social movement are religious movements (Blumer in Brown, 1954; Lyman, 1995), fashion movements (Blumer in Lyman, 1995).

The labor demonstrations that are the main concern of this research are a collective effort of a number of workers to collectively solve problems that they feel are the same and collectively support the same goals and beliefs. It can be said that the labor demonstrations in this study are a form of social movement. With clear goals, organization, leadership, and growing membership characterized by 'awareness of us', as well as values and expectations, labor demonstrations in this study can be categorized as specific social movements.

The use of the term labor in this study compared to the term worker or employee does not have a political tendency, but is more due to the nuances that are considered harmonious. For example, the term 'labour movement' is compared to 'workers/employees movement', or the term 'labour demonstrations' is compared to 'worker/employee demonstrations', or also the term 'Labor Union' is compared to 'Union of Workers/Employees'. , etc.

In addition, the use of the term labor in this study is considered to be able to describe the vertical relationship between workers and employers (labor groups and company management groups), and that in that relationship there are different conflicts of interest. By using the term labor, laborers can be connoted as a group of lower class workers who rely on physical energy to work.

What is meant by the term labor according to Law Number 22 of 1957 is a person who works for other people and earns wages. Based on Government Regulation Number 8 of 1981 it is stated that workers are workers who work for companies by receiving wages. Referring to the two meanings of the term labor, anyone who works for a company for wages and then participates in labor demonstrations is the subject of this research.

Theory of Social Identity was first proposed by Tajfel (1972), which was later developed by Turner (1982). This theory can be used to explain various social phenomena and research related to inter-group relations and social change. According to Social Identity theory, a person's social identity is very important in understanding group behavior. Social identity here is defined as a person's knowledge about himself, that he is part of a particular social group and as a member of the group, he holds values and emotions that are meaningful to that group (Tajfel in Hogg & Abrams, 1990). Therefore, the role of collective identification in relation to social identity needs attention in the process of group behavior, such as social movements, especially labor demonstrations.

Tajfel (1981) reformulated the definition of social movement from Toch (1965) by adding a component of collective identification. According to Tajfel (1981), social movements must be understood at the level of social psychology, namely "the efforts made by a number of people, who define themselves and are also defined by other members as a group, to collectively solve problems that are felt together, and these problems arise as a result of relationships with other groups". The italicized words are in addition to Tajfel. Turner et.al (in Simon et.al, 1998) asserts that participation in social movements is a shared behavior of group members so that collective identification is a socio-psychological process that underlies the behavior.

Kelly & Breinlinger (1995) investigated the role of collective identification in fostering motivation to participate in collective action. They found that women's willingness to participate in collective action increased with increasing collective identification as women. Furthermore, Kelly & Breinlinger measured collective identification as feminist activists and found that this variable was a stronger predictor of willingness to participate in collective action. Based on the research, collective identification proved to be a unique predictor of a person's willingness to participate in collective action. Therefore, this study also hopes for a positive collective identification role for workers who participate in demonstrations.

As described earlier, Social Identity theory also suggests that if an individual or subordinate member believes that the boundaries between groups are impermeable so that individuals cannot move from one group to another, then the individual will be stuck in a position of low group status and can only move from one group to another trying to use strategies aimed at improving or increasing the social status of the group. In this case, he will use collective strategies (Simon et.al, 1998) or group-oriented strategies (Lalonde & Silverman, 1994). Collective strategies are used when individuals believe or believe that "the only way to change this disadvantaged situation is to join together as a unified group" (Tajfel, 1981).

The effect of the permeability of group boundaries on the willingness to seek individual or collective action has been investigated by Wright, Taylor & Moghaddam (1990). This study found a significant effect with respect to the degree of openness between groups or the permeability of groups to willingness to use non-normative collective actions, such as protest writing. It is also known that only when the advantaged group is very closed, does the willingness to use collective action increase. Ellemers & van Knippenberg (1990) also investigated in the laboratory the effect of the permeability of group boundaries on collective action in relation to the advantaged and disadvantaged groups. Under permeable conditions, social mobility from a low status position to a high status position allows, but mobility is not possible under impermeable conditions. The study concluded that when group boundaries are permeable, individuals tend to act selfishly in their attempts to move to a higher group status. If personal ambition cannot be realized due to impermeable conditions, then the individual will act together with his group to improve his status. Even though it is proven, research in the laboratory is considered insufficient to describe the role of subjective beliefs about group permeability on individual action choices in the real world. It is hoped that by conducting

research in the field, the role of workers' subjective beliefs about group permeability to the choice of collective action, namely labor demonstrations, can be clearly described. The study concluded that when group boundaries are permeable, individuals tend to act selfishly in their attempts to move to a higher group status.

This chapter will describe the analysis of framing in news texts related to the issue of the Omnibus Law Draft in the West Java Tribune online media in the March-May 2020 period. Of all the news related to Social Security Transparency, only a few news related to the theme were selected. problems in this research. The news selected from the media is news that has the same content and discussion substance and is in the same research period.

Research with the framing analysis method is included in the constructionist research paradigm. This paradigm sees reality as something that has been built or constructed by someone, not a natural reality that is accepted by others. The focus in the constructionist approach is how political messages are created by communicators and how these messages are actively interpreted by individuals as recipients (Eriyanto, 2011:47). Messages and language in the news conveyed by the media are part of the messages in the communication process. According to Barton (1990) in Eriyanto, in the study of communication, the message is what is said, written, or described.

In this study, the news taken to analyze how the media constructs with the framing analysis method is news related to the issue of the Omnibus Law on Job Creation. The framing analysis of the issue of Social Security Transparency was chosen, with the reason that since the beginning of the promulgation of this Law by the government, there were many demonstrations by the public that caused controversy and the writing of opinions that accepted and rejected it on social media as well as in print, electronic and mass media on line. However, the existence of the Internet public sphere tends to be seen as a contestation space where corporate and state forces try with various ways to control and dominate it (Bo'do, 2019). In social media, individuals and groups interact with each other online through the internet network (Indriyani, 2020). With the internet, citizen media is able to disseminate information in the form of text, audio, video, photos, comments and analysis (Saragih, 2020). The emergence of transparency hashtags on social media carried out by the public also illustrates the chaos and importance of this issue in its impact on society. Therefore, how the attitude of the media in reporting this news is very interesting to analyze.

The framing analysis model used by researchers in the news about Social Security Transparency is the analytical model of Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki. In the Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki framing analysis model, the analysis is carried out using four elements, including: syntax, namely how journalists organize reality in their news by observing headlines, leads, background information, quotes, sources, statements, closings. The script is how journalists tell the facts into their news by observing the elements of what, when, where, who, why, and how. Thematic is the way journalists write facts with paragraphs, propositions, sentences, and relationships between sentences. Rhetoric, how journalists emphasize the facts in their news with the choice of words taken, idioms, and pictures or graphics used as support. (Eriyanto, 2011:295). With this model the researcher chose news with the issue of Social Security Transparency with the same problem theme in the West Java Tribune media in the March-April 2020 period. The selection of the news period published in this media was determined by the reason, in that period the controversy regarding the Omnibus Law Bill was the most frequently discussed in Indonesian social media and online media, as well as the rise of popular demonstrations against the transparency of Social Security during this period.

In this analysis, the news text of the West Java Tribune is primary data with news about the Social Security Transparency controversy in that time span in the form of 7 news from the West Java Tribune. The process of data analysis begins with the identification and analysis of

news with discourse elements. Furthermore, the researchers divided the news into three sub-themes. The researcher determines the sub-themes that can represent what is meant as a form of reality construction carried out by the mass media on Social Security Transparency reporting.

From the descriptive lead analysis above, the description of the direction of the news that will be highlighted by the news writers is that community demonstration activities and labor unions are given a negative response by the government. The negative response in question is Mahfud MD's statement in the second sentence of the lead which responds to the demonstration with the words "no problem" and "will accommodate", the sentence tends to ignore the first sentence which contains demands for transparency of Social Security.

The frame taken by the Tribune to strengthen the title statement and the actions taken by the government in ignoring the demands of the public is illustrated by the way journalists tell facts that highlight the What (what) and How (how) elements. As has been stated in the title and lead sentences, the What element also dominates the whole news theme. Journalists aim to emphasize the actions and objectives of the demonstration in Gejayan to defend the interests of the people and reject undemocratic government actions. Furthermore, the striking element in this text and contained in the headline is how the government responds to the action of the Labor Union Again. The government's response to the How element is supported by quotes from state ministers who seem not to take the people's demands seriously.

From the thematic structure, there are two themes contained in this news text. First, the media constructed statements from two government representatives in response to the Social Security Transparency action. In the text, this theme is supported by quotes from the ministers and sentence construction from Tribune journalists. Second, the Tribune provides a description of the purpose and reasons for the demonstration. In the text, the Tribune provides a smaller portion in explaining the activities carried out by students and community organizations (ormas) in carrying out the action, but provides a sufficient explanation of the objectives proposed in the demonstration at the end of the sentence to provide confirmation.

For the portion used to explain the two themes, the media gave the first seven paragraphs in the text to the first theme which contained the opinion of the minister who ignored the trade union demonstrations. Then in the final three paragraphs of the news text, the journalists gave an affirmation of the intent and purpose of the Labor Union demonstration written by the journalist. With this different portion, the media emphasizes the opinion of the government which contains the neglect by the ministers regarding the lawsuit in action.

Emphasis is on the rhetorical element, the media uses a lot of sentences and words that can be judged to degrade the integrity of the government in responding to demonstrations. The sentence "we accommodate first" in the title, the use of the word first which means time delay, leeway to think and so on. To respond to the issue of Social Security transparency which at that time was very worried by the public and students, the use of this sentence was a certain idiom that was able to invalidate the citizens' assessment of the government regarding government policies, especially in the legal field because the statement was conveyed by the Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs. , in response to citizen demands.

IV. Conclusion

Critical discourse analysis emphasizes that discourse is also a form of interaction. Norman Fairclough argues that discourse analysis sees the use of spoken and written language as a social practice. Social practice in discourse analysis is seen as causing an interrelated relationship between events that are detached from reality, and social structures. Of the various linguistic tools used by the West Java Tribune in reporting on "Thousands of Workers Kepung Ring 1 Istana" there are three tools that mark the representation of the themes and figures involved. Namely through diction, the use of broad sentences of cause and effect, and the selection of sources in direct quotations. The series of text productions at Tribun Jabar is also an institutional series involving journalists, editors, editors, and others.

The realization of the text produced by Tribun Jabar in the news is also considered to be in line with its mission, namely to produce multimedia products that are independent and free from all pressures by accommodating and distributing different voices fairly. There is a certain motivation in the news in the imaging of the West Java Tribune. Readers' opinions are led to give a positive image to Tribun Jabar as an active and existing media in voicing justice for the inequality that occurs in various systems in society.

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