

Dismantling the Ideology about News of Expatriate Workers towards the 2019 Presidential Election in Indonesia (Study Critical Discourse Analysis Teun A. Van Dijk on Online Media RMOL.co and Tempo.co)

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Abstract. Expatriate Workers coverage has become an interesting commodity and is closely related to the political situation ahead of the presidential elections in Indonesia. Nowadays the media is not only a tool to convey information but also as a tool to master the political, economic and ideological systems. The purpose of this study is to uncover the meaning of the news of the Regulation of the President of Foreign Workers and the practice of global capitalist ideology through news in the online media RMOL.id and Tempo.co from April to May 2018. The methodology used in this study is a critical paradigm through critical analysis of Teun A. Van Dijk. The unit of analysis of this research is the news about the Regulation of the President of Foreign Workers produced by the online media RMOL.id and Tempo.co during April to May 2018. The results of this study indicate that there are ideological, political, economic, and other interests carried out by RMOL.id, and the same thing was done by Tempo.co which has the same ideological alignments with the government, and tends to be more balanced in terms of news to maintain its relationship with the government. This Expatriate Workers News also contains other ideologies that reinforce the legality of investors in Indonesia, alignments with the Chinese industry, management legality, product legality, competency standard or profession, benefit the government and foreign investors.

Keywords: Media, Expatriate Workers, Critical Discourse Analysis.

1 Introduction

Nowadays the media is not only a tool to convey information but also as a tool to master the political, economic and ideological systems [1][2]. The existence of mass media in this case the online media, is used as a means to influence and control people's perceptions of the discourse that develops in the community about Foreign Workers. This Foreign Workforce news discourse was then made into an issue that dominated the national media in Indonesia, and was linked to the political situation towards the 2019 Presidential Election. Online or online media such as RMOL.co (now renamed RMOL.id), or Tempo.co also began to use diction that impressed the arrival of immigrants. The viewpoint provided by the media gives a negative sentiment and is not open to the existence of Foreign Workers, but instead there is an implied bias in favor of the existence of Foreign Workers in Indonesia.

The ownership of Rmol.id's online media which is a media that is in the Jawa Pos Group Holding, which is known to belong to Dahlan Iskan, and Tempo led by Goenawan Moehamad,

is very interesting to be investigated. The two leaders' alignments in the 2019 presidential election contestation, have different support. Dahlan Iskan as the leader of the Jawa Pos Group with confidence in supporting Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno, while Goenawan Moehamad also convincingly since the start of the nomination, has supported the presidential candidate pair Joko Widodo-Maruf Amin. The two sides' bias in the different presidential elections, allegedly by researchers, influenced the results of the news published by the two online media. Expatriate Workers News at RMOL.id is very contradictory and contradictory to the government, while Tempo.co reports on the issue of Foreign Workers with partiality to the government.

The issue of Expatriate Workers was even revisited and played before the presidential election in Indonesia. During the debates of the vice-presidential candidates, last March 2019, the issue of Foreign Workers re-emerged. The two vice presidential candidates attacked each other related to the topic of employment at the 2019 vice presidential debate. Candidate vice presidential candidate number 02, Sandiaga Uno said the issue of Foreign Workers has been complained by the public. Sandiaga considers regulation of Foreign Workers to be a problem, if employment is provided to Expatriate Workers, and there are no opportunities for local workers. The issue of Expatriate Workers which was raised again in the vice-presidential debate even had an influence on the results of the electability survey of the two pairs of presidential candidates.

This research seeks to dismantle the interests behind the reporting, both media interests or interests related to the capitalist system represented by RMOL.id and Tempo.co. News written by RMOL.id and Tempo.co actually have a hidden purpose that cannot be seen through the news text as it is. To know and understand the meaning or meaning hidden behind the news texts, critical discourse analysis needs to be done. Therefore, the news discourse regarding the Regulation of Foreign Workers needs to be examined using critical discourse analysis.

2 Literature Review

Analysis of Van Dijk's critical discourse not only analyzes text, but also looks at how social structures, domination and power groups exist in society, and how cognition or thought and consciousness shape and influence the analyzed text. Van Dijk describes discourse in three dimensions or buildings, namely: text, social cognition, and social context. Teun Van Dijk's analysis combines the three dimensions of the discourse into one analysis unit. In the dimensions of the text examined how the structure of the text and discourse strategies are used to emphasize a particular theme. At the level of social cognition studied the process of producing news texts, which involve individual cognition from journalists or editors. While the third aspect of studying the building of discourse that develops in society will be a problem that affects the cognition of journalists or editors [3].

3 Research Method

The method used in this study is a research method using critical analysis of Teun A. Van Dijk's discourse. This research is a qualitative study using the method of documenting and analyzing the contents of media texts. The documentation method is used to find data about things or variables in the form of notes, transcripts, magazines, agendas and others [4]. The documentation process is directed at the online news discourse with the theme Perpres Foreign

Workers. The data contained in the discourse about online news can be used as evidence in conducting research. The study began with identification, classification, and interpretation [4].

The study uses a discourse analysis of the Teun van Dijk model which in practice looks at social phenomena in society [3]. The paradigm used in this study is a critical paradigm, critical theory are theories that openly support certain values and use these values to evaluate and criticize the status quo, providing substitute ways to interpret the role of social media in mass media [5].

The subjects in this study are the online media RMOL.id and Tempo.co, while the object of this study is the discourses on foreign labor that are being discussed hotly in Indonesia ahead of the Presidential Election in April to May 2018. Analysis is carried out on the Macro Structure (thematic themes/topic), Superstructure (schematic), Micro Structure (semantics: background, details, intent, presupposition), Micro Structure (syntax: sentence form, coherence, pronouns), Micro Structure (stylistic: lexicon), Micro Structure (rhetorical: graphics, metaphors, expressions) on each discourse.

The type of research method used is a non-participatory observation method. Nonparticipant observation method is the method the researcher chose in conducting this research. Researchers only become observers and are not directly involved in the process of writing the observed news. The observation method is used to critically observe news about Foreign Workers to obtain data in the form of discourses that appear during the news published. This method serves to clarify any data taken by searching and studying various types of reading references both books, journals, etc., in this case the study of literature to find various references related to discourse analysis.

4 Results and Discussion

The analysis was carried out from the news chosen by the researcher, which was in the TKA coverage on RMOL.id and Tempo.co. From all the news about foreign workers, I chose two of them. One sourced from RMOL.id and the other from tempo.co, I chose these two news stories because they were different from other news that were released.

4.1 Macro Structure Analysis (Thematic)

- a) Tempo.co on May 2nd, 2018 at 10.48 WIB, with the title "*Minister Yasonna Called Their Politicization of Expatriate Workers Regulation*"

This news uses the source of Justice and Human Rights Minister Yasonna Hamonangan Laoly. The theme contained in the main report "Minister Yasonna Mentioned There Is a Politicization of Expatriate Workers Regulation" is that there is an alleged effort to politicize the issue of using expatriate workers. The emergence of Presidential Regulation Number 20 of 2018 regarding the Use of Foreign Workers has caused polemics. The theme raised by the author in the news is based on calls made by several labor organizations that reject presidential regulations regarding foreign workers, with concern that it will reduce the space for local workers. Through this theme, the author reiterates to the reader that the efforts made by the government through the presidential regulation will make investment in Indonesia better, without reducing supervision of expatriate workers. So, there is no hoax issue, as if foreign investment is only for foreigners, which is carried out by individuals to be politicized.

- b) RMOL.id on April 13th, 2018 with the title "*Fadli Zon Called Presidential Regulation Number 20 of 2018 was dangerous*"

The news "Fadli Zon Called Presidential Regulation Number 20 of 2018 was dangerous", with the speaker representing Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Indonesia. Representatives Fadli Zon was clearly on the contra side. Fadli Zon firmly stated that Presidential Regulation Number 20 of 2018 was dangerous. The theme highlighted in this news is the existence of a dangerous situation if made into a policy, of course this is what the news writer sees. So, this news is important to be appointed and published.

Speech from resource person, namely Fadli Zon who is a cadre of the Gerindra party and also as the opposition party of the government, of course expressed a stance against this policy. So, he stated that Presidential Regulation Number 20 of 2018 was dangerous, and that was not released to public.

4.2 Super Structure Analysis (Schematic)

- a) Tempo.co on May 2nd, 2018 at 10.48 WIB, with the title "*Minister Yasonna Called Their Politicization of Expatriate Workers Regulation*"

The news published by Tempo.co was to answer the polemic regarding the issuance of Presidential Regulation Number 20 of 2018 by using Minister of Law and Human Rights Yasona as a guest speaker. In this headline, Tempo.co uses the opinion of journalists to describe Yasona's statement regarding the politicization related to the Presidential Regulation. Tempo.co uses the word 'there is politicization' to reinforce Yasona's statement. In the Big Indonesian Dictionary that called of KBBI, the word 'exist' itself means to be present, available, possessing, correct, truly and others. While 'politicization' means actions, ideas that are political in nature. This means that the Presidential Regulation on Expatriate Workers was declared by Menkumham Yasona to have the political intent behind the polemics. In the first paragraph, Tempo.co provides an overview related to Yasona's statement which acknowledges, if Presidential Regulation Number 20 of 2018 precisely tightens supervision of foreign investment.

Overall, the contents of the news displayed by Tempo.co is to explain to the public about the misunderstanding received by the public. Tempo.co would like to say that Presidential Regulation Number 20 of 2018 is rightly applied in Indonesia.

- b) RMOL.id on April 13th, 2018 with the title "*Fadli Zon Called Presidential Regulation Number 20 of 2018 was dangerous*"

The coverage of RMOL.id is more indicative if their position is strongly opposed to Presidential Regulation No. 20/2018. News released by RMOL.id more criticized or attacked the Government's policy regarding the issuance of the presidential regulation. RMOL.id through the statement of the Deputy Chairman of Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Indonesia. Fadli Zon agree the Government was too privileged for foreign workers in Indonesia, and seemed to ignore local workers. In the news paragraphs, the resource person (Fadli Zon-ed) is not in line with Government policy. Fadli Zon is the Deputy Chairperson of the Gerindra Party who is known to be contra and becomes an opposition party with the Government. The content in this news also implicitly has a specific purpose, which is written in the next paragraph, which is then reinforced by Fadli Zon's statement saying the presidential regulation is very dangerous. This news

was even released twice a day, on the same date, but at a different time. The contents of the news displayed, there was no change, but the title was changed by adding the word "very" dangerous. According to researchers, of course this contains a specific purpose to be conveyed, through news titles that have been changed more critically.

4.3 Micro Structure Analysis

- a) Tempo.co on May 2nd, 2018 at 10.48 WIB, with the title "*Minister Yasonna Called Their Politicization of Expatriate Workers Regulation*"

The news published by Tempo.co is to answer the polemic related to requesting presidential regulation number 20 by using Minister of Law and Human Rights Yasona as a guest speaker. In this headline, Tempo.co uses opinion to confirm Yasona's statement regarding politicization related to the presidential regulation. He said most workers refused, because it would reduce space for local workers. Two factions in the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat RI, the Gerindra Party and the Keadilan Sejahtera Party, began rolling out the special committee's (pansus) discourse to get foreign labor assistance. However, Yasonna agreed that the agreement was against tightening oversight of foreign investment. This effort was carried out by calling for a boycott of Israel products.

- b) RMOL.id on April 13th, 2018 with the title "*Fadli Zon Called Presidential Regulation Number 20 of 2018 was dangerous*"

If you look at the micro, we will photograph the ideology of global capitalism that was built by Fadli Zon through the news at RMOL.id. Why is this news related to global capitalists? Because international politics Fadli Zon and the Gerindra Party had from the beginning had no significant closeness to China, especially the Gerindra Party which was Fadli Zon's political vehicle to occupy the position of Deputy Speaker of the Indonesian Parliament. So far the global capitalists brought by Jokowi through Presidential Regulation No. 20/2018 have not been accepted by Fadli Zon and the Gerindra Party. In fact, the General Chairperson of the Gerindra Party Prabowo Subianto himself has a stronger pro track record to America, both when he was still in school and his current business partners. Prabowo Subianto's younger brother, Hasim Djodjokusumo, who is also the board of trustees of the Gerindra Party, has a business in the United States. In addition, Prabowo Subianto also advanced as a Presidential Candidate in the 2019 Presidential Election to face Jokowi, so that the move to criticize Jokowi's policy on the issuance of Presidential Regulation No. 20/2018 was used as a weapon to attack the Government.

While RMOL.id itself is in the Rakyat Merdeka's group which is directly led by Margiono. Margiono also has a strategic position of Harian Rakyat Merdeka Group (Jawa Pos Group), the president director. In the 2018 elections, Margiono took part in nominating himself as a candidate for the Regent of Tulungagung and was promoted by nine political parties.

In the 2018 elections, Margiono took part in nominating himself as a candidate for the Regent of Tulungagung and was promoted by nine political parties. Of the nine parties, the Adil Makmur coalition in the 2019 presidential election brought Margiono, namely the Gerindra Party, the Democratic Party, Amanat Nasional Party, and Keadilan Sejahtera Party. In addition to these four parties, Margiono was also carried by the Golkar Party, Kebangkitan Bangsa Party, Persatuan Pembangunan Party, Hanura Party and Bulan Bintang Party. That is, the news

published by RMOL.id also cannot be separated from the political interests of its owner, Margiono.

5 Conclusion

The results of the analysis of Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis in the reporting of RMOL.id and Tempo.co can be concluded three things. The first relates to the analysis of macro structures. This analysis is related to major themes raised in news writing. Macro structure refers to the overall meaning that can be observed from the themes or topics raised by the use of language in a discourse.

Expatriate Workers News at RMOL.id is already very clear in terms of contra-writing, because the political interests of RMOL.id and selected sources (such as Fadli Zon) are not in line with Government policy. While Tempo.co is more supportive of the government in the interests of owners and media companies. RMOL.id tends to be critical and implied impartiality, because clearly, the production of Foreign Workers' news conducted by RMOL.id certainly cannot be separated from the political interests of media owners. Second is super structure analysis. The super structure in this study analyzes the introduction, content, conclusion and conclusions in the discourse of the whole language. RMOL.id News opens with an introduction which directly tests the Foreign Workers policy. It is different from Tempo.co which still uses straightforward and normative narratives in its choice of words. Third is related to microstructure analysis. By showing there are several discourses that have implicit meanings. The contents of this implicit message are, of course, to instill political ideology, convey intentions subtly, and influence people's mindsets. Emphasis is given on the choice of words used also to convince readers of the content of the news that has been produced.

From the whole text Tempo.co tends to take sides to support the presidential regulation, because presidential regulation number 20 as a way for the government to increase investment. While RMOL.id emphasizes words that do not agree with the government, RMOL.id also tends to use words that can describe certain purposes. The tendency of RMOL.id to position itself impartially towards the government reflects a variety of possibilities, which are not in line with certain capitalist or political ideologies.

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