

Representation of Indonesian women workers: a critical discourse analysis on the newspapers of nationalist-secular and Islamic ideological perspectives

By Aris Badara

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to reveal the representation of women workers in newspaper news discourse that follow the nationalist-secular ideology and the Islamic ideology perspectives. The method of this research is a qualitative content analysis that views the text as a symbolic message and it requires interpretation according to the context. Complementing the research method, a critical discourse analysis approach is also used. The subjects of this research are female workers found in newspaper news discourse that carries the values of Islamic ideology and newspapers that carry nationalist-secular ideology. Data were analyzed through critical discourse analysis techniques in the following steps: (a) description; (b) interpretation; and (c) explanation. This research still considers checking the reliability and the validity. Data analysis is also complemented by confirmation of linguists and peers (triangulation of sources). The main findings of this study show that the practice of discourse in the RM newspaper which follows the nationalist-secular ideology perspective represents marginal women. By the RM newspaper, the representation is used as a plea for the actions and trait of male actors or employers. The motive revealed from this phenomenon is to follow the demand of the market. On the other hand, the newspaper R, which tends to follow Islamic ideology perspective, represents the motive of advocacy for women workers. This is the implication of the values of Islamic ideology carried out by the R newspaper as mentioned in its vision and mission. The findings are also the antithesis of the view that Islam isolates women in the social sphere of society.

Keywords: *critical discourse analysis; women representation; discourse of news on newspapers*

Tujuan penelitian ini ialah mengungkap representasi pekerja perempuan pada wacana berita surat kabar yang berprektif ideologi nasionalis-sekuler dan surat kabar yang berperspektif ideologi Islam. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini ialah analisis isi kualitatif yang memandang teks sebagai suatu pesan simbolik yang perlu diinterpretasi sesuai dengan konteks. Melengkapi metode penelitian tersebut, digunakan pula pendekatan analisis wacana kritis. Adapun latar penelitian ini ialah

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pekerja perempuan yang terdapat pada wacana berita surat kabar yang megusung nilai-nilai ideologi Islam dan surat kabar yang mengusung ideologi nasionalis-sekuler. Data dianalisis melalui teknik analisis wacana kritis dengan langkah: (a) deskripsi; (b) interpretasi; dan (c) eksplanasi. Penelitian ini tetap mempertimbangkan *checking the reliability* dan *checking the validity*. Analisis data juga dilengkapi dengan *confirmability* dengan pakar ilmu bahasa dan teman sejawat (triangulasi sumber). Temuan utama penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa praktik wacana pada berita Surat kabar RM yang berideologi nasionalis-sekuler merepresentasi perempuan secara marjinal. Oleh surat kabar RM, representasi tersebut dijadikan sebagai pleidoi atas perbuatan dan perlakuan aktor laki-laki atau majikan. Motif yang diungkap dari hal tersebut ialah mengikuti permintaan 'pasar'. Adapun Surat Kabar R, yang cenderung ke ideologi Islam merepresentasi pekerja perempuan secara apa adanya dengan motif untuk melakukan advokasi. Hal tersebut merupakan implikasi dari nilai-nilai ideologi Islam yang diemban oleh surat Kabar yang tercermin pada visi dan misi Surat Kabar R. Temuan tersebut juga menjadi antitesis dari pandangan yang menyatakan Islam melakukan pengucilan terhadap perempuan dalam bidang sosial kemasyarakatan.

Kata Kunci: analisis wacana kritis; representasi perempuan; strategi wacana; wacana berita surat kabar

Introduction

Discourse analysis considers language can be utilized for certain purposes, both for ideological and political interests. In line with that, Munawar said that basically language is a social process that is socially produced and conditioned¹. It includes language in the discourse of news on newspaper, as stated by Tebba who agreed with the news delivered by the media at the time of ideological, political, and business complaints². The ideology of the mass media is determined by the background of the owner, both the religious background and the values he lives with.

To reveal the ideology and representation behind the discourse of news in newspapers, one of the models of analysis used is pentad analysis³. The analysis has elements of act, scene, agent, agency, and purpose. In the application of this research, the act is categorized as the use of words, terms. Scene is categorized as the reason of the editor/agent use certain words/symbols in his communication. Media or agency and the purpose are categorized as the use of a symbol or several symbols

Since this research also tracks ideology or values followed by newspapers, the context is used and also analyzed. The reason is that a word/symbol can change its meaning according to the context including sentence, time, place and culture. Van Zoest also has the same opinion that a context is relatively the same but in a different cultural context, it will have different meanings⁴.

¹ Bushra Munawar, 'Discourse in Matrix of Power : The Textual Analysis of First Presidential Speech by Donald . J . Trump at White House in the Context of Norman Fairclough ' s Modal of Three Levels of Discourse', In *International Journal of Applied Linguistics & English Literature*, 7.7 (2018), 80-89 <[26](https://doi.org/10.7575/aiac.ijalel.v.7n.7p.80) s://doi.org/ttp://dx.doi.org/10.7575/aiac.ijalel.v.7n.7p.80>.

² Sudirman Tebba, *Jumalistik Baru* (Jakarta, Indonesia: Kalam Indonesia, 2005).

³ [20](#) s K. Sonja, *Contemporary Perspectives on Rethoric* (Illionis: Waveland, 1985).

⁴ Arthur Asa Berger, *Media Analysis Techniques* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publication, 1982).

Besides ideology, this research also analyzes aspects of language as a whole. This is based on the view that there are three central things correlated to the notion of discourse, namely: text, context, and discourse⁵. Texts are all forms of language. They are not only words that are located on a sheet of paper, but also all types of expressions of communication, speech, images, and so on⁶. Therefore, the discourse of news on newspapers analyzed on this research is always associated with the context, as the view that there is not action for communication with³⁹ participants, interactions, and situations⁷.

Based on the above description, the purpose of this study is formulated, namely to reveal the representation of women workers in the perspectives of nationalist-secular ideology and Islamic ideology.

Critical Discourse Analysis

In this research context, discourse refers to understanding the language used in communication⁸. Therefore, critical discourse analysis evaluates language not only from linguistic aspects but also from the context⁹. This view can also be interpreted, 'the discourse is intertwined with the facts that occur in the community'¹⁰. In line with that, Fairclough suggests that discourse is a social practice in a certain context. Fairclough's concept can be divided into three dimensions: text, discourse practice, and social practice¹¹. If they are related to the discourse of news in newspapers, the texts relate to the language aspects.

Based on the above description, the definition of discourse analysis in the context of this study was formulated as an in-depth study uncovers activities, views, and identities based on the language used in discourse. Based on those definitions, the analysis and interpretation of this research data integrate: text analysis, analysis of the process, production, consumption, and distribution of text, and sociocultural analysis that develop around the discourse¹². The method of this research replicates the method used in the critical paradigm of multilevel met¹³¹³ which considers a sociocultural context and the background of a text-making actor. One of the characteristics of critical discourse analysis is

⁵ Guy Cook, *The Discourse of Advertising* (London and new York: Routledge, 1994).

⁶ Peter Garret and Bell Allan, 'Media and Discourse: A Critical Overview', in *Approach to Media Discourse*, ed. by Garret Peter and Bell Allan (Oxford: Blackwell Publisher, 1998), p. 3.

⁷ Cook. ⁴

⁸ Aris Badara, 'Stand-up Comedy Humor Discourse in Local Perspective in Indonesia', *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* ¹⁸ *English Literature*, 7.7 (2018), 222-28
<³⁵ [s://doi.org/https://www.journals.aiac.org.au/index.php/IJALEL/article/view/5055/3787](https://doi.org/https://www.journals.aiac.org.au/index.php/IJALEL/article/view/5055/3787)>.

⁹ Marianne Jorgensen and Louise Phillips, *Discourse Analysis: As Theory and Method* (London: sage Publication, 2002).

¹⁰ Per Ledin and David Machin, 'Doing Critical Discourse Studies with Multimodality: From Multifunctions to Materiality', *Critical Discourse Studies*, 16.5 (2019), 497-153
<<https://doi.org/10.1080/17405904.2018.1468789>>.

¹¹ Jorgensen and Phillips. ²⁸

¹² Norman Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language* (London-New York: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1987). ³⁴

¹³ Ibnu Hamad, *Konstruksi Realitas Politik Dalam Media Massa* (Jakarta, Indonesia: Granit, 2004).

that there is an ideology point of view that is a system of ideas expressed in communication¹⁴. According to Larrain, ideology positively can be perceived as a worldview that states the social value of a particular group to defend certain interests. From the negative side, ideology is seen as a false awareness to distort the understanding of people or groups about a reality¹⁵. In this study, the discourse of news on the newspapers is indispensable from the background of ideology to direct the reader towards a particular ideology¹⁶. The discourse analysis model is introduced by van Leeuwen, namely a discourse analysis model to detect and process a person or group in a discourse¹⁷.

Indonesian Women Workers in the Perspective of News Discourse

During June to December 2019, newspaper news discourse in Indonesia discusses about chaotic of Indonesia's legislative and presidential elections. From the perspective of discourse analysis, the news illustrates the condition of the nation which tends to be unstable in terms of social, political, economic, and security. These conditions have implications that must be confronted by women workers, namely: (a) increasingly excluded, (b) limited space for movement, and (c) experiencing violence. This is the basis for selecting news discourse in the period of June to December 2019 as the unit of analysis for this research. The data were 6 RM news discourse as RM newspaper follows the perspective of nationalist-secular ideology and 6 news discourse from R newspaper as an Islamic ideological perspective newspaper¹⁸. The number of 6 news discourse in each newspaper as a unit of analysis is considered sufficient because it is based on the view of Stempel who said that 6 samples can produce accurate analysis results as long as it is used in similar newspapers¹⁹. The news discourse is related to women workers who experienced acts of violence from their employers. Newspaper ideology is used as a basis for analysis because it is based on the view that a text or discourse is not free from ideology and can direct the reader towards a particular mission²⁰.

In the context of this study, the intended female workers are domestic servants, factory workers, prostitute, and seasonal workers abroad²¹. The physical and sexual violence refers to the opinion of J.M.D. Kremer and J. Marks namely verbal temptations and

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¹⁴ Alex Sobur, *Analisis Teks Media: Suatu Pengantar Untuk Analisis Wacana, Analisis Semiotik, Dan Analisis Framing* (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2004).

¹⁵ Sobur.

¹⁶ van Zoest, *Semiotika* (Jakarta, Indonesia: Yayasan Sumber Agung, 1993).

¹⁷ Norman Fairclough and Wodak, 'Critical Discourse Analysis', in *Discourse Studies a Multidisciplinary Introduction*, ed. by Teun A. van Dijk (London: Sage Publication, 1997), p. 258.

¹⁸ Hamad.

¹⁹ Klaus Krippendorff, *Content Analysis, An Introduction to Its Methodology* (London: Sage Publication, 1980).

²⁰ van Zoest.

²¹ Yoyori Matsui, *Perempuan Asia: Dari Penderitaan Menjadi Kekuatan* (Jakarta, Indonesia: Obor Indonesia, 2002).

physical disorders²². The accuracy of this research is also maintained because it uses oral sources in the form of interviews with mass communicators who work on RM and R newspapers, as well as with newspaper practitioners. Oral sources are also derived from in-depth interviews with the readers who seemingly understand the phenomena and concerned with women. The data is analyzed through a discourse analysis approach in the following steps: (a) description; the researcher outlines the discourse strategy used by the newspapers, (b) interpretation; the researcher interprets the results of data analysis, (c) explanation; the researcher explains the results of the interpretation.

Discourse Analysis of News on RM Newspaper

1st News Discourse Analysis

Data below used the identification discourse strategy

- (1) *The obscene event began with a mouth quarrel that occurred because Nn refused to fulfill Y sex appeal. The next day, Saturday, when Nn was not at home.*

Data (1) above showed identification because Nn refused to fulfill Y sex appeal. Such identification can be interpreted as Y raped Yn because his sex invitation was rejected by Nn. From the perspective of critical discourse analysis, 'the woman was seen as a sex object which was obligated to serve sexual needs of the man. Such identification showed that Y immorality as an actor was hidden by the newspaper in the text. The alignment of the newspaper to Y and the Yn marginalization was also reflected in the vocabulary used, namely event. The word means 'indecent acts carried out together'.

The next explanatory sentence which showed the identification of newspaper tended to marginalize Yn position as follows.

- (2) *Without asking many questions, Yn just obeyed. When she was in the room, without further ado, Y immediately hugged Yn.*

Identification data (2) was in the form of a sentence without asking many questions, Yn just agreed. The sentence was the explanation of the previous proposition. The context of the sentence showed that it was impossible for Yn to not know her employer's intension who told her to enter the bedroom. Therefore, explanatory sentences of without many questions, Yn just obeyed, was a sentence that marginalized Yn position as a woman. The identification discourse strategy was also found in the data below.

- (3) *Because of losing power, Yn was immediately weakened. Quickly, Y striped the woman so that not a single thread closed her beautiful body. In a moment, he kissed and touched Yn, then he raped her until satisfied.*

²² Ana Nadhya, 12, 'Pemberitaan Isu Pelecehan Dan Kekerasan Seksual Dalam Surat Kabar Indonesia', in *Wanita Dan Media: Konstruksi Ideologi Gender Dalam Ruang Publik Orde Baru*, ed. by Idi Ibrahim Subandy and Hanif Suranto (Bandung: Rosda Karya, 1988), p. 164.

Identification in the form of a sentence, because of losing power, Yn was immediately weakened, described that Yn was an actor who was physically weak and did not have the power to defend herself. Even, it was shown that she did not give any resistances when Y stripped her. The marginalization of Yn by using identification discourse strategy was also reflected in the sentence, ... striped the woman so that not a single thread closed her beautiful body. The sentence was very sensational and the event was dramatized. Moreover, the newspaper used the word choice Yn beautiful body, as if the audience was invited to "enjoy" Yn's body. Kissing vocabulary used in data (3) also marginalized Yn. The choice of words in the context of the sentence illustrated the passivity of Yn which means she was kissed many times without resistance.

2nd News Discourse Analysis

Some data related to the implementation of the identification discourse strategy can be seen in the following discourse data.

(4) ... *Unable to stem libido, this man allegedly had raped his servant in his bathroom ...*

Data (4) affirmed the meaning, 'the employer raped his servant not because of his moral depravity, but because of his libido drive. The subordinate clause, unable to stem libido, covered the moral depravity of the employer. The newspaper which was on the side of the actor/employer was also marked by the use of vocabulary "strongly supposed" which means 'the rape had not been proven to be done' by the employer.

(5) *While taking a bath, Ef saw Nr who was washing something in the bathroom, which might be the time when bad thoughts emerged to taste the body of a bright sexy girl.*

The identification given by the newspaper on data (5) was in the form of a sentence 'which might be the time when bad thoughts emerged in to taste the body of a bright sexy girl'. It means that 'Ef as the real actor did not have intention of raping Nr'. His willingness emerged after seeing the sexiness of Nr in a bathroom. Such thing can be interpreted by the reader that the rape carried out by the employer due to Nr sexy body instead of libido and unsatisfactory wife services.

Nr position was increasingly marginalized by the "to taste" vocabulary used by the newspaper because the word was only used as a verb in recognizing the flavor of food. Thus, the meaning of data (5) transform Nr as a portion of food that can be tried as desired.

Further identification provided by the newspaper which tended to place victims as one of the causes of sexual violence was due to their limitations. This can be seen in the following data.

(6) ..., *Ef pulled Nr into the bathroom, Nr was suddenly shocked to find herself naked with Ef in the bathroom.*

It was impossible if Nr did not realize that she was suddenly naked in the bathroom. Therefore, the readers capture that Nr wanted to be raped. This was confirmed by identification because of fear, ... in the following data (7).

(7) ... because of fear, even though she was treated indecently, Nr did not resist.

The next identification given to the actor/employer was to have power, and strength as in the data below.

(8) At that time, Nr could not do anything. The woman could not maintain her virginity which was forcibly taken away by her employer.

Data (8) above illustrated the powerlessness of Nr which was under the arbitrariness of Ef. She did not have the power to be able to maintain a very worth thing on her. It was described that she lost her virginity very tragically and painfully as the identification words of forcibly taken away.

3rd News Discourse Analysis

(9) ... the old man often committed indecent acts to her, by trying to rape herself who was indeed sexy.

The discourse strategy used to marginalize Ek as a victim was an identification discourse strategy. The identification provided by the newspaper is indeed sexy. This identification can lead the reader to the meaning that what triggered indecent behavior was Ek sexiness. The following data (10) also identified Ek as an actor in the text that was not alert in anticipating events that would happen to her.

(10) Without further ado, he immediately hugged Ek and peppered her face. Even though she was sleeping, Ek woke up, then pushed Ak body which was already above her body ...

4th News Discourse Analysis

(11) When confused, Sp met Ad. He realized that Sp was a migrant worker who had just returned from abroad. He thought that Sp brought a lot of money and he could use it.

The identification discourse strategy used in data above was indicated by identification when confused. This indication placed Sp as the main cause of mistakes and

as a sex object. The use of the identification discourse strategy was also shown in the data below.

- (12) *Without suspicion, Sp immediately agreed to get the tantalizing offer. But instead of delivering home to Kendal,*

Without suspicion, an identification given by a newspaper showed that Sp did not have good cognitive abilities. The identification marginalized Sp. Likewise, the tantalizing vocabulary used gave a bombastic impression and marginalized victims.

- (13) *Because of exhaustion, this innocent woman finally obeyed Ad's wishes*

Data (13) used categorization discourse strategies. The categorization used was an innocent woman who could be interpreted because of her innocence. Sp wanted to obey Ad's request to stay in his house. The following data was the implementation of identification discourse strategy.

- (14) *Once tried, Ad turned out to be addicted to 'taste' the beauty of the body of a young mother from Kendal*

The identification used by the newspaper was once tried creating a sensational impression. Likewise, the vocabulary used was 'to taste' which could be interpreted as a sacrifice of delicious food. Rape - the excess of lust - for the victim was a form of sexual abuse that was very painful physically and psychologically.

5th News Discourse Analysis

- (15) *The two foreigners knew that the house was only guarded by a woman servant.*

The identification of data (15) was the text of only maintained by a woman servant. The robbery may be triggered by other things, not only the surveillance by a female servant. In fact, the adverbs clearly contained marginalization as if the robbery happened due to the surveillance by a female servant.

The following data was the implementation of the categorization discourse strategy.

- (16) *Petite Gy suddenly could not do anything. A moment later*

Petite categorization was not too important for the reader because it would not affect the meaning of the text above. However, it indirectly provided an association because Gy was petite. So that she could not do anything to the robber. The marginalization of Gy was also illustrated in the following text.

(17) *When in the kitchen, a robber who led Gy was tempted by the beauty of Gy's body. At that moment, the robber raped her in the kitchen.*

The newspaper provided identification that the robber initially did not intend to rape Gy. Because he was tempted by Gy's body, he intended to rape her. Such identification could affect the public's perception that rape occurred because of Gy's body.

Conclusion of Discourse Analysis of News on RM Newspaper

As one of the newspapers that considered itself "The fire of Indonesian democracy", RM represented women actors as weak, sexy, seductive, often feeling guilty, innocent, and easily seduced. Although these events were sometimes casuistic, RM newspapers often generalized them. Conversely, the actor/employer represented in the text tended to be positive, intelligent, strong and gave justification for his actions. It seemed to be covered with moral depravity.

Based on the above issue, it can be concluded that the RM newspaper has made a misrepresentation of woman actors in the news discourse. The misrepresentation was done by ex-communication, a strategy that raised woman actors in news discourse, but the "voice" was not heard. The storytelling point of view was generally from the editor and the perspective of the actor.

From the perspective of marginalization practices, the RM newspaper described women actors in their news discourse improperly such as the use of vocabulary, completing lust, obscene events, tasting bright girls, venting lust, desire to have intercourse, tempting body elegance, and curvaceous. The practice of marginalization was classified into the discourse strategy of dysphemism. It is the use of language which resulted in the reality of becoming abusive. Besides dysphemism, the RM newspapers also used stereotyping strategies that showed negative traits towards women actors such as weak, quick to surrender, timid, innocent, like to tease employers, and so on. This shows that in Indonesia there is still gender inequality as Koo said that the dominance of men over women is an illustration of understanding excessive gender inequality²³.

From the whole description above, it can be concluded that the RM newspapers marginalized women's position in the news discourse and tended to be patriarchal.

Discourse Analysis of News on the R Newspaper

1st News Discourse Analysis

Overall contents of news discourse "TKW Killed, One still being held hostage" ("TKW Tewas, Satu Masih Disandera") was the version of the victim. The discourse strategy used was nominations discourse strategy as in the following data.

² Eunjung Koo, 'Women's Subordination in Confucian Culture: Shifting Breadwinner Practices', *Asian Journal Women's Studies*, 25.3 (2019), 417-36 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/12259276.2019.1648065>>.

- (18) *The victim's father, A (55 years), revealed that the news of her first child death was received from M (18 years), his second daughter who also became migrant workers in the employer's family C. According to M, C drowned at sea behind their employer's home while dumping garbage.*

Although data existed on the news discourse "TKW Killed, One still being held hostage" did not marginalize C and N as the victims, the newspaper tended to hide the actor in the text. It was visible in the data (22) below.

- (19) *... A said that he and his wife, Dk (40 years), did not know the name of the Labor Services Recruitment Company of Indonesia (PJTKI) which dispatched his two children out of the country,*

The actor in the aforementioned issues was just mentioned their status as an employer so that the audiences did not know his/her identity. Similarly, the recruitment company which sent C and N, were unknown. Perhaps, it was due to the laziness of journalists or editors to browse information related to the events experienced by C. The results showed that there was no information about the actors in the text.

2nd News Discourse Analysis

The following data used nomination discourse strategy and it did not marginalize the victims. However, the actor only mentioned his/her status as an employer so that the audiences did not know his/her identity. Similarly, the agency was also only mentioned by name, as well as a fellow housemaid who raped K was unknown. It might be due to the laziness of journalists to explore the actor's information.

- (20) *K also reported experiencing sexual abuse from a man worker of Jordanian citizens. When complaining to her employer, she was accused of doing slander. K escaped and finally went back to the agency which brought her to the City of Amman.*

3rd News Discourse Analysis

The following data generally displayed Kasem, so the data were categorized into nominations discourse strategy.

- (21) *My employer told me that I would be on the fence, " K said while demonstrating a hand to her neck like a scene cut. "I mean, the death penalty was from the ninth employers who threatened to kill and throw me to Palestina" said Kasem who still looked shocked.*

It was found a datum that marginalized the victims are as in the following data. Two data marginalized the position of K as a victim of violence of her employer. Marginalization was conducted by the R newspaper by using a categorization discourse strategy as in the following data.

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- (22) *The innocent woman could only surrender and seek refuge in Allah. Surprisingly, when K was reading Al Qur'an, she was accused of enchanting the employer.*

The above data used categorization discourse strategy through the use of the innocent women category. Such categorization provided an opportunity for employers to do physical violence beyond the limits of humanity towards K. The reporting category of innocent women to the victim did not provide additional information on who K was. The result of research to the editor showed that there was no intention to show the innocent nature of K. However, indirectly, it might create an impression of marginalization against K.

Another identification discourse strategy was found in the following data.

- (23) *K also suffered sexual harassment from the male worker of Jordanian citizens in the employer's house. "He had raped me," she said.*

The identification "He had raped me" led the news received by audiences to be bad. The bad impression of the audience was captured from the victim who was not uncomfortable to reveal the rape of her employer. A direct statement of the victim cited by the newspaper, actually intended to invite sympathetic to the treatment suffered by her. However, educated audiences could leave a negative impression.

4th News Discourse Analysis

Discourse strategy used was nominations discourse strategy and it did not find any texts that marginalized Sinta as a victim. However, Sinta became the object of news.

- (24) *Sinta, from Cigadog village, Sukajaya village, District Tanggeung, southern Cianjur, West Java, lost her eyesight because of being too often tortured by her employer, Hisham Munawar Ma'sum.*

Other data can be expressed as follows.

- (25) *... Todung assessed the UCI (United Corporation Insurance) should be responsible for such cases because PJTKI PT DGU had appointed such protection agencies to protect Sinta, by paying insurance premiums.*

Although the data (30) did not marginalize the victim, it more likely showed another actor whose presence defended the interests of PT DGU – not Sinta's interests. Such data pattern also appeared in the following data.

- (26) *President Director of PT DGU, Yus Umar Assegaf, said that Sinta went to Saudi Arabia in January 2005 and in November 2005, she went back intragenic condition. "We had spent a lot of money to repatriate and treat Sinta, he said.*

5th News Discourse Analysis

In general, the content of news discourse, "Rohana maid sentenced to 10 years in Singapore" did not marginalize Rohana's position as the victim of violence of her employer. However, Rohana became the object of the news. Therefore, news content was categorized into nomination discourse strategy.

(27) *Rohana herself, during the trial, pleaded guilty to the act that caused the death of Tan Chiang Eng at the residence of her employer. Preceded by a fight between the accused and the victim It was also revealed that, since there was employment, Rohana was used to be treated poorly by her employer, according to the Indonesian Embassy in Singapore.*

Although women were as one of the actors who had experienced violence displayed by using objectivation discourse strategy on the analysis of the data, there was no impression of marginalization. Similarly, although the content of the news was not shown on the news content of Indonesian woman workers, it was not marginalized. The cause was that their voices were represented by other actors.

Conclusion of Discourse Analysis of News on R Newspaper

With the visions of nation intellectual development, cultural development, and an increase in faith and piety in new Indonesian life, R newspaper represented women actors as they were exactly. It even invited audiences to have solidarity with women workers who experienced violence from their employers. It was reflected in the language used which tended to be neutral and it did not contain sensational meaning.

In the analysis of news discourse data, there was no misrepresentation. Women actors were generally invited to speak in the news discourses. The actors in the R newspaper were generally represented through the use of exclusion discourse strategies. However, it was not impressive if the actors were protected. It was only journalists who cannot trace its existence, so the actors' identity tended to be unknown.

Based on the aforementioned ideas, it can be concluded that R Newspaper has defended women's rights. It is in accordance with the vision and mission followed by the owners of the R newspapers, namely nationality, democracy, and Islamic. The vision was to be a nationally integrated printed media company and professional management based on Islamic belief, so it influenced the nation's intellectual development, cultural development, and an increase in faith and piety in new Indonesian life.

Discussion

The newspaper used as the object of this research has characteristics in representing women in the news discourse. However, similarities were found in displaying women actors, namely by using inclusion discourse strategies, in which it featured actors in the text. Regarding the actors of violence, the RM newspapers used inclusion discourse strategies, while the R newspapers did not display actors because their journalists cannot

trace the existence of the actors. Due to these characteristics, each research finding is described one by one.

Women Representation in News Discourse on the RM Newspaper

As a newspaper that develops nationalist-secular ideology, the RM newspaper represented women in a marginal position²⁴. It could be seen in the negative identification given to women as victims. Identification given to women as victims of employer violence was negative, such as sexy, without any questions, the body of a bright-skin girl, because of silence, an innocent woman can do nothing, a curvaceous backing. On the contrary, the actor (employer) was represented smart, dissatisfied with the wife's service, unable to resist libido, aroused by the plump buttocks, has a strategy, because of being jazzed. Such representation seemed to be a defense to the employer's depraved actions against his servants. The vocabularies used also tended to be sensational and often dramatized such as rape, obscenity, kissing, tasting, naked, seductive, and so on. The use of such vocabulary can be included as an ism that makes practical use of linguistics²⁵. These terms are also ironic because they are only used by colonials in colonies which consider exotic women's bodies and their bodies to be conquered²⁶.

The practice of discourse on the RM newspaper placed women in a marginal position. It implied a division between the man (employer) and the woman as the servant as well as the victim of employer violence. The result of such practice was a poor depiction of women as victims. Therefore, it could be said that the RM newspapers did not describe women as they were supposed to be, but it rather identified them with subjective explanations.

The language used in the marginalization of women was dysphemism which could lead reality to be rude. The results of an interview with the editor of the RM newspaper showed that the use of dysphemism language was intended to make the language used differently from other newspapers. Those relating to negative portrayals of women were intended by editors to be used as an example of women workers.

The women representation in the discourse of news on the RM newspaper could have negative implications for women's position because they could form negative stereotypes for women. These concerns were based on the view that newspapers through their offerings could gradually shape public opinion, individual beliefs and public perceptions of themselves²⁷. Besides, the common attitude in Indonesian society did not critically accept the facts and opinions offered by the media.

²⁴ Amad.

²⁵ Jussi Kurunmäki and Jani Marjanen, 'Isms, Ideologies and Setting the Agenda for Public Debate', *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 23.3 (2018), 256-82

<<https://doi.org/10.1080/13569317.2018.1502941>>.

²⁶ Wening Udasmoro, 'The Language Construction of Muslims as the Others in French', *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, 7.1 (2017), 77-99 <<https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v7i1.77-99>>.

²⁷ Debra H. Yatim, *Perempuan Dan Media Massa: Oleh Pria Untuk Priakah?*, ed. by Subandy Ibrahim (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 1998).

In addition to the 'market' motive, the negative representation of women is also caused by a patriarchal ideology which has long been rooted in Indonesia²⁸ and has become a natural and normal thing to happen. This finding is reinforced by the opinion that the hegemony of strong groups against weak groups is common²⁹. In fact, it has become a social doctrine in society³⁰.

The other thing affecting the marginalization of women in the RM news discourse was that the influence of the Indonesian press industry was still a patriarchal issue³¹. This statement is in line with LP3Y's findings that Indonesia was almost declared as a man world so that the news became masculine³². Such conditions are very dangerous considering the role of the media is very important in shaping discursive dynamics³³.

Women Representation in News Discourse on the R Newspaper

The R newspaper was concluded as a newspaper with Islamic ideology because the founding process could not be separated from the Association of Indonesian Muslim Scholars (ICMI). ICMI is not only an association of Muslim scholars but also an association of Islamic political power. In fact, Indonesia is a country with a majority Muslim population, and the media becomes a forum to spread Islamic ideology as a way of life³⁴. It was supported by the statement that the R newspaper embraced the ideology of its owner, PT Abdi Bangsa, namely nationality, democracy, and Islamic³⁵. This ideology influenced women's representation in the news discourse.

The R newspaper described women who experienced victims of violence as they were exactly. The case experienced by women was advocated by the R newspaper. It might be an implication of the vision and mission of the R newspaper, namely to be a nationally integrated printed media company and professional management based on Islam belief, so it influenced the nation's intellectual development, cultural development, and an increase in faith and piety in new Indonesian life. This is supported by the intellectual mission namely as follows.

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²⁸ John Fiske, *Television Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1987).

²⁹ Sarah Dard and others, 'Discourses of "Service Delivery Protests" in South Africa: An Analysis of Talk Radio Analysis of Talk Radio', *Critical Discourse Studies*, 16.5 (2019), 1-18 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/17405904.2019.1676279>>.

³⁰ Koeswinarno and Musttolehudin, 'Islam, Gay, and Marginalization : A Study on the Religious Behaviours of Gays in Yogyakarta', *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, 7.1 (2017), 125-52 <<https://doi.org/10.18326/ijms.v7i1.125-152>>.

³¹ Ashadi Siregar, *Media Dan Gender: Perspektif Gender Atas Industri Surat Kabar Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: LP3Y dan Ford Foundation, 1999).

³² LP3Y, *Sewindu Republika Harian Umum Republika*, 2005.

³³ Franco Zappettini and Michał Krzyżanowski, 'The Critical Juncture of Brexit in Media & Political Discourses: From National-Populist Imaginary to Cross-National Social and Political Crisis', *Critical Discourse Studies*, 16.1 (2019), 381-88 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/17405904.2019.1592767>>.

³⁴ Muzayyin Ahyar and Alfitri, 'Aksi Bela Islam : Islamic Clicktivism and the New Authority of Religious Propaganda in the Millennial Age Indonesia', *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, 9.1 (2019), 1-29 <<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.18326/ijms.v9i1.1-29>>.

³⁵ Hamad.

Missions of the R newspaper are: (a) to educate the nation by deepening community-based insights through accurate, actual, reliable, educative reporting, and to defend justice and truth. The women representation in news discourse on the R newspaper displayed as the way it was influenced by a motto, "not just selling the news"³⁶. This is in line with the findings of CMI BRIEF that so far Islam has been identified as a cause of exclusion of women, even though the facts show that Islam³⁷ advocates an increase in the presence of women in social society³⁷. The findings support an approach that women feel empowered through a male-dominated environment³⁸.

Conclusion

From an ideological point of view, each newspaper had its characteristic in representing women in its news discourse. The RM newspapers promoting a secular-nationalist ideology represented women actors in a marginal position. On the other hand, the R newspaper which tended to follow an Islamic ideology represented women as they were exactly. The R newspaper advocated women actors. From the perspective of the news, it was found the actors' perspective in the news discourse of the RM newspaper. While the news discourse of the R newspaper was based on the victim's perspective.

In terms of the actor, the RM newspaper in its news discourse displayed the actor by using a discourse strategy of identification, caution, strong, and always justified in every action. The R newspaper represented the actor by excluding from the text (Exclusion discourse strategy). The R newspaper used such strategy due to the limitations of the journalists in tracing the actors' identity and existence.

Instead of ideological perspective, the difference in the women representation in the discourse of the R newspaper and the RM newspaper was also caused by the different target of consumers. The readers of the RM newspapers were lower class society and likely preferred easy and entertaining news. Meanwhile, the R newspaper's target audiences were Muslim, a group of professionals, managers, executives, students, and entrepreneurs. They were professional-scale markets that seemed to require informative and qualified news.

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³⁶ LP3Y.

³⁷ Liv Tonnessen, CMI BRIEF (Norway, 2018) <<https://doi.org/https://open.cmi.no/cmi-xmlui/bitstream/handle/11250/2500074/An%20increasing%20number%20of%20%20Muslim%20women%20in%20politics%3a%20%20A%20step%20towards%20complementarity%2c%20not%20equality?sequence=1&i%7lowed=y>>.

³⁸ Katie Christine Gaddini, 'Between Pain and Hope: Examining Women's Marginality in the Hegelical Context', *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 26.4 (2019), 405–20 <<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1177/1350506819846167>>.

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