



THE ANTARA AND TEMPO MEDIA'S FRAMING STRATEGY DIFFERENCES IN FRAMING THE OMNIBUS LAW RATIFICATION ISSUE

Perbedaan Strategi Pembingkai Media ANTARA dan TEMPO
dalam Membingkai Isu Pengesahan Omnibus Law

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Abstrak

Pada penelitian ini, penulis membandingkan strategi pembingkai yang digunakan media ANTARA dan TEMPO dalam membingkai isu pengesahan Omnibus Law Cipta Kerja. Penelitian ini dilakukan secara deskriptif dengan pendekatan komparatif kualitatif. Prosedur dokumen kualitatif diterapkan dalam pengumpulan data. Kerangka analisis wacana kritis Fairclough dan model analisis pembingkai oleh Pan dan Kosicki (1993) digabungkan untuk menganalisis data. Hasil analisis data disajikan dalam bentuk tabel dan interpretasi. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa strategi pembingkai TEMPO lebih jelas, sedangkan strategi ANTARA kurang jelas. Dalam membangun representasi negatif atau positif, TEMPO mencoba menghadirkan informasi yang didukung oleh banyak sumber. Kemudian, penggunaan gambar dalam berita TEMPO mendukung kebenaran informasi, sedangkan penggunaan gambar di media ANTARA meningkatkan kualitas sumber informasi. Kelima berita dari media ANTARA yang dipilih dalam penelitian ini selalu menggunakan foto sumber informasi yang terpilih pada berita.

Kata-kata kunci: strategi pembingkai, omnibus law, berita daring, TEMPO, ANTARA

Abstract

In this research, the authors compared the framing strategy used by the ANTARA media and TEMPO media for the issue of the ratification of the Omnibus Law on Job Creation. This research was conducted descriptively with comparative qualitative approach. A qualitative document procedure was applied in collecting the data. Fairclough's framework of Critical Discourse Analysis and the framing analysis model by Pan and Kosicki (1993) were combined to analyze the data. The result of the data analysis is presented in the table and the interpretation form. The result shows that TEMPO's framing strategy is more clearly defined, while ANTARA's strategy is less clear. In building a negative or positive representation, TEMPO Media tries to present information supported by many sources. Then, the use of images in TEMPO news supports the truth of information, while the use of images in ANTARA media improves the quality of information sources. The five news stories from ANTARA media selected in this study always use the face image of the selected informant as a source of news information.

Keywords: framing strategy, omnibus law, online news, TEMPO, ANTARA

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INTRODUCTION

Recently, one of the interesting topics to highlight is the Ratification of the Omnibus Law on Job Creation in online news media. 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 & Bosc, 2009). This approach can change, revoke, or enforce several laws at once. The omnibus law is commonly applied in countries that adhere to common law systems such as the United States, Philippines, Australia, United Kingdom and several other countries (Setiadi, 2020). 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. Therefore, the ratification of this law has been opposed by many social circles, from laborers to legal and environmental experts.

Students had 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 that made the public is so agitated to oppose it because the media plays an important role in regulating people's understanding of what is happening in their environment (Rifa'i, Syarif, & Leni, 2017). Therefore, it is necessary to conduct a linguistic study that discusses how the media cover this incident.

Many researchers have done the study related to the topic about media texts from CDA perspective such as Hodges (2015), Risdaneva (2018), Al Fajri (2018), and Badara and Jamiludin (2020), while Slamet, Kuswandari and Setiawan (2018) in their conference paper analyzed media representation using framing theory from constructivist perspective. Therefore, this study tried to combine media texts (the *TEMPO* and *ANTARA* media) related to the omnibus law ratification as the data sources with CDA and framing analysis as the analysis tools. This study explores and compares the *TEMPO* and *ANTARA*'s framing strategy related to the omnibus law ratification issues. The findings of this study are expected to increase Indonesian societies' awareness of 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.

THEORETICAL BASIS

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a study that chooses language as the main unit in the analysis. This study analyzes languages by describing the linguistic aspects and connecting languages with the contexts (Badara, Analisis Wacana: Teori, Metode, dan Penerapannya pada Wacana Media, 2012). 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 a research that focuses on looking at language representation, how a person, a group, or everything is presented through language. CDA is different from the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) which is a discourse study aimed at discovering history (Sawirman, Antara Validitas dan Inspirasionalitas: Wacana Historis Diaspora Minang di Bali, 2019). Thus, (Hamad, 2004) stated that CDA could uncover the power practices hidden behind every language, including the language used by mass media. 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 (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2007).

Fairclough's Framework of CDA

(Richardson, 2007) said that it is easier to conduct CDA using the framework of Fairclough than others. Fairclough's framework was based on three dimensions of discourse, i.e., description, interpretation, and explanation. Each of these dimensions relates to a different area. The description is concerned with the formal properties of the text. Interpretation deals with the relation between texts and interactions or seeing the text as a product of the process of production and as a resource in the process of interpretation. Then, the explanation talks about the relationship between interactions and social contexts or the social effects of production (Fairclough, 1993). The three dimensions relate to three stages of discourse analysis: textual analysis, discursive practice, and social practice analysis. Fairclough called this multidimensional framework as 'social theory of discourse'.

Social practice analysis concerns with social and historical context because when we conduct CDA, it is important to understand the social and historical factors around the text production (Van Dijk, 1995). This analysis of social practices is based on the assumption that social contexts outside the media can influence how discourse emerges from the media. Social practice is not directly related to text production but it determines how text is produced and understood. Social practice is divided into three: situational, institutional, and social. Discursive practice concerns with the process of production, distribution, and consumption of the text. Text production is related to how the media work patterns and routines in shaping news at the editorial desk. The process involves several people and stages, from journalists in the field, editors, and language editors to marketing. It is equally essential for us to understand text production and interpretation or consumption processes (Fairclough, 1993). Lastly, the textual analysis focuses on vocabulary (choice of word), grammar (how words are related to other words in a phrase and a clause), cohesion (how clauses relate to the other clause in a text), and text structure (wider composition of the text). Norman Fairclough looked at texts from many levels. A text is displayed or described. How the relationship between objects is defined in each text.

Pan and Kosicki's Framing Analysis Model

According to (Pan & Kosicki, 1993), every news that delivers reality to society has a frame. This frame is functioned as the center of an idea which comes up in the form of tools. These tools can be used to unpack the way a journalist constructs reality. Those tools are syntactic structure, script structure, thematic structure, and rhetorical structure. How journalists construct the event, the story, and the choice of words and idioms in the news can present bias. In analyzing the data, the study combined the three-dimensional theory of Critical Discourse with the Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki's Framing Analysis model. Fairclough's three-dimensional critical discourse analysis framework in this study is the primary basis for explaining the authors' interpretation of the data. Meanwhile, Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki's Framing Analysis model is used to guide the authors in finding framing strategy used by *ANTARA* and *TEMPO* Media for the omnibus law ratification issue.

The framing analysis theory developed by Pan and Kosicki is adopted also due to the consideration of the object of this study, i.e., media language. By combining the Critical Discourse Analysis Theory by Fairclough and Pan and Kosicki's Framing Analysis Theory, the analysis moved from words, phrases, sentences, paragraphs, pictures, and discursive practices to socio and historical contexts. In other words, this framework answers the research questions of "How do the *ANTARA* and *TEMPO* media use the framing strategies for the issue of the ratification of the omnibus law?"

RESEARCH METHOD

Data of this research are words, clauses, sentences, and paragraphs in the online news texts that focused on the topic of the ratification of the omnibus law in Indonesia. In this research, the authors limited the data to five news texts from *ANTARA* media and five from *TEMPO* media, both of which were distributed online. Data collection were carried out using a qualitative document procedure which was divided into four steps:

1. The authors visited the official *ANTARA* and *TEMPO* online news website, www.ANTARA.com and www.TEMPO.com.
2. The authors looked for news on the topic of ratification the omnibus law, which was published from October 5 to October 8, 2020.
3. The authors copied the news thoroughly, starting from the images that were displayed with the text, the headings of the news texts, to the closing.
4. The authors saved the news in the form of a Word Document.

The authors analyzed data based on the framing analysis model by Pan and Kosicki. The authors described and compared the methods used by the two media in framing the ratification of the omnibus law. The analysis was carried out by observing the four framing analysis structures developed by Pan and Kosicki, namely syntax (schematic), script, thematic, and rhetorical. The analysis was focused on seeing how the two media emphasize the meaning that can build representations for the ratification of the omnibus law (Pan & Kosicki, 1993).

DISCUSSION

As explained in the previous part, the analysis of the study was carried out based on the Pan and Kosicki's framing analysis theory and Fairclough's CDA framework. To answer the research question, the analysis was carried out in several steps. First, the data were disaggregated based on Pan and Kosicki's framing analysis theory. In other words, the authors sorted out several sections in each news text based on the four orders of Pan and Kosicki's framing analysis theory. At the structure or syntax level, the news texts section were sorted based on the general news structure, namely the headline, lead, background information, source of information, and closing. At the script structure level, the news texts section were sorted based on the information contained therein. Disaggregated data were texts data that contain information on who, when, what, where, why, and how. At the thematic structure level, the authors sorted out the sentences that highlight certain information in the news, sentences containing personal pronouns, and sentences in conjunctions. At the level of rhetorical structure, the authors sorted out data in the form of adjectives, idioms, graphs, and images.

Second, after the data were grouped, the authors explained the framing strategies depicted from the data based on Fairclough's theory of critical discourse analysis and Pan and Kosicki's theory of framing analysis. In other words, the interpretation of the data related to the framing strategies is described by explaining the references and literal meanings of the data first. Then, the authors related the explanation with discursive practice and the social and historical context surrounding the texts (critical discourse analysis theory). The discursive practice covers three processes, namely the process of text production, text distribution, and text consumption. However, in this analysis, the authors only discuss the process of text production related to the ways or strategies used by journalists to highlight particular meanings in the texts by referring to the framing theory of analysis by Pan and Kosicki.

Third, from the analysis results, the news were grouped into the framing strategy related to omnibus law, in the form of positive or negative representation news. Fourth, the authors compared the summarized *TEMPO* and *ANTARA* framing strategies. Finally, the authors made conclusions and suggestions based on the results of data analysis in the study.

Data collection were carried out using a qualitative document procedure. The qualitative document procedure means that the authors collect data from qualitative documents, which can be public (e.g., newspapers, minutes of meetings, official reports) or private (e.g., personal journals and diaries, letters, e-mails) (Creswell, 2013).

The Omnibus Law Ratification's Positive Representation Framing Strategies

After analyzing the data, it was found that *TEMPO* and *ANTARA*'s framing strategies can be grouped into two parts, which is, framing strategies in building negative and positive representations. The positive representation framing strategies on the ratification of the omnibus law by *TEMPO* and *ANTARA* are presented on the table below:

Table 1.
The *TEMPO* and *ANTARA*'s Framing Strategies on the Omnibus Law Ratification Positive Representation

No	Element	<i>TEMPO</i>	<i>ANTARA</i>
1	Frame	The majority of the faction members agree with the ratification of the omnibus law, the discussions have been carried out repeatedly, and the contents of articles are beneficial to the community.	The ratification of the omnibus law should be appreciated because it has a good impact on the community's economy and is in accordance with the procedures in the applicable law.
2	Schematic	Interviewing parties involved in the ratification of the omnibus law. The statement by the Deputy Speaker of the DPR RI Aziz Syamsudin when asking for an agreement from all factions was placed at the beginning of the article followed by a statement by the Chairman of the Legislative Body of the DPR Supratman Andi Agtas regarding the discussion procedure and a statement by the Coordinating Minister for the Economy Airlangga Hartarto emphasizing that omnibus law is beneficial for the community.	Interviewing parties involved in the ratification of the omnibus law. The statement by the Deputy Speaker of the DPR RI Aziz Syamsudin when asking for an agreement from all factions was placed at the beginning of the article followed by a statement by the Chairman of the Legislative Body of the DPR Supratman Andi Agtas regarding the discussion procedure.
3	Script	Emphasizing the information on procedures for ratification and benefits of laws for society.	Emphasizing on the opinion of the majority of factions and the topic of discussion of the bill.
4	Thematic	Exposing themes that justify the ratification of the bill into law has been completed, the discussion report and the government's opinion have been submitted.	Exposing themes that justify the ratification of the bill into law has been completed, the discussion report has been submitted.
5	Rhetorical	Labeling of institutional authorities (parties and government) and a picture of the atmosphere of the plenary session to strengthen the facts and quality of information.	Labeling of institutional authorities (parties and government) and a photograph of the news source to strengthen the facts and quality of information.

As shown in the table above, the two media, *TEMPO* and *ANTARA*, used different strategies to build a positive representation of the ratification of the omnibus law. First, at the schematic level, *TEMPO* included the results of interviews with parties directly involved with the process of ratifying the omnibus law, such as with the deputy chairman of the DPR Aziz Syamsudin, the Chairman of the Legislative Body of the DPR Supratman Andi Agtas, and the Coordinating Minister for the Economy Airlangga Hartarto. These three people share the same view that the ratification of the omnibus law has been under the procedures according to the Act. In general, the *TEMPO* news texts which positively represented the ratification of the omnibus law only presented the opinions of those who agree that the ratification of the omnibus law is by the procedure and deserves appreciation. To construct positive omnibus

law ratification's representation, *TEMPO* also took the opinion of the Coordinating Minister for the Economy of Indonesia. Meanwhile, the two *ANTARA* media news texts that represented the ratification of the omnibus law positively only chose the opinion of the agreeing party from among members of the DPR and ordinary people, namely the chairman of the HIPMI (Indonesian Young Entrepreneurs Association).

TEMPO chose sources only from government institutions such as ministers and members of the DPR. In contrast, *ANTARA* chose sources from government institutions and community organizations, namely members of the DPR and the Indonesian Young Entrepreneurs Association (HIPMI). This difference illustrates that *ANTARA* tends to convey information from a balanced source compared to *TEMPO*.

At the script level, the online news produced by *TEMPO* gave a positive representation by showing the ratification of the omnibus law as something that has a good impact on people's lives. The news highlighted information about the procedure for the ratification of the omnibus law and the benefits of the omnibus law on the wider community's lives. The online news produced by *ANTARA*, with similar representations, emphasized the opinion of the majority of factions and the bill's discussion topic.

At the thematic level, the difference is reflected in the absence of a theme that describes the government's comments regarding the ratification of the omnibus law that was carried out by *ANTARA*. Meanwhile, on the downside, right before the closing part of the news, *TEMPO* built a contrast against the positive meaning by adding information related to the demonstration against the omnibus law by the laborers. This contrast shows that *TEMPO* seems to be trying to be more balanced in revealing facts compared to *ANTARA*.

At the rhetorical level, the difference between *ANTARA* and *TEMPO*'s framing strategies is illustrated through images in the news. *ANTARA* used photographs of sources' faces to add credibility to the information. In contrast, *TEMPO* used pictures to reinforce the reality of the information that had been conveyed.

The Omnibus Law Ratification's Negative Representation Framing Strategy

The negative representation's framing strategy on the ratification of the omnibus law by *TEMPO* and *ANTARA* is illustrated in the following table:

Table 2.
The *TEMPO* and *ANTARA*'s Framing Strategy on the Omnibus Law Ratification Negative Representation

No	Element	<i>TEMPO</i>	<i>ANTARA</i>
1	Frame	The ratification of the omnibus law is procedurally flawed.	The ratification of the omnibus law has the potential to cause problems and ignore the interests of the people.
2	Schematic	Interviewing parties who rejected the omnibus law. The statement by member of the House of Representatives from the Prosperous Justice Party faction Ledia Hanifa, member of the House of Representatives from the Democratic Faction Benny Kabur Harman, researcher for parliament and legislation at the Center for Constitutional Studies (Pusako) Andalas University Charles Simabura, and President of the Indonesian Trade Union Confederation (KSPI) Said Iqbal.	Interviewing parties who rejected the omnibus law. The statement by DPR member from the Democratic Faction Benny Kabur Harman, Secretary to the Democratic Party of DPR RI Marwan Cik Asan, and Secretary General of the Indonesian Ulema Council Anwar Abbas.
3	Script	Emphasizing information about the reasons why the omnibus law were rejected by several parties.	Emphasizing information about the reasons why the omnibus law were rejected by several parties.
4	Thematic	Exposing themes that vilify the ratification of the omnibus law, such as how the ratification was carried out in a pandemic situation, the draft bill was not distributed,	Exposing the statement of rejection from the Democratic Party Faction and Secretary General of the Indonesian Ulema Council Anwar Abbas.

		and the laborers felt that their rights were marginalized.	
5	Rhetorical	Labeling scientific authority on interviewed experts, providing juridical evidence and claims (articles in the constitution and law), and pictures of the demonstration atmosphere and the photographs of the sources to improve the quality of information.	Labeling of institutional authorities on interviewee (parties and government) and showing photographs of the sources to strengthen the information reliability.

The negative representation of the ratification of the omnibus law on *TEMPO* news was constructed by selecting bad informational backgrounds. For example, the meeting committee did not distribute the bill's copies in the plenary session, many members of the DPR were infected with *Covid-19*, and many laborers went on strike to reject the omnibus law. On the other hand, *ANTARA* constructed the negative representation by exposing the fact that the Democratic Faction and MUI (Indonesian Ulema Council) rejected the Omnibus Law.

At the schema level, it is illustrated that *TEMPO* included the results of interviews with parties who rejected the ratification of the Omnibus Law or considered that the ratification is not under the applicable law. *TEMPO* interviewed a member of the House of Representatives from the Prosperous Justice Party Faction Ledia Hanifa, member of the House of Representatives from the Democratic Faction Benny Kabur Harman, Researcher for Parliament and Legislation at the Center for Constitutional Studies (Pusako) Andalas University Charles Simabura, and President of the Indonesian Trade Union Confederation (KSPI) Said Iqbal. All parties interviewed on four news described the ratification of the omnibus law negatively. Their opinion explained that the ratification of the omnibus law was procedurally flawed because it was carried out in a hurry. On the other hand, three *ANTARA*'s news which described the ratification of the omnibus law poorly selected DPR member from the Democratic Faction (Benny Kabur Harman), Secretary to the Democratic Party of the DPR RI (Marwan Cik Asan), and Secretary-General of the Indonesian Ulema Council (Anwar Abbas) as sources. *ANTARA* only interviewed one source for one news text. It is different from what *TEMPO* did because *TEMPO* took at least two sources for one news story.

Then, in the script order, the two media seem to highlight information that explains why some parties rejected the ratification of the *Omnibus Law Bill*. The "why" explanation, presents the passage of the bill in a negative way. However, the difference is seen in the number of explanations given. *TEMPO* News provided a more detailed explanation than *ANTARA*. One news text produced by *ANTARA* that negatively represented the bill's ratification only exposed the incident of rejection without telling the reason. In addition, *TEMPO* revealed that the reasons for refusal related to the bill's contents, the process of discussing the account, and the bill's impact on people's lives. In contrast, *ANTARA* only revealed that the reasons for refusal related to the discussion procedure.

Furthermore, the thematic setting shows that *TEMPO* constructed a negative representation of the omnibus law ratification by exposing themes that could weaken the validity of the omnibus law. The topics exposed were quite varied, i.e., the ratification of the omnibus law was carried out in a pandemic situation, the draft bill was not distributed, and the laborers felt that their rights were marginalized. Meanwhile, *ANTARA*'s negative representation on the ratification of the omnibus law was constructed by exposing the opinions of parties deemed credible to comment on the ratification, such as the Democratic Party Faction and the Secretary-General of the Indonesian Ulema Council Anwar Abbas.

Finally, the rhetorical setting shows that *TEMPO* constructed a negative representation by labeling it as a scientific authority on interviewed experts, providing juridical evidence and

claims (articles in the constitution and law). On the other hand, *ANTARA* constructed a negative representation of the ratification by giving institutional authorities labels on the interviewee (parties and government). In addition, the use of pictures in both media also reflects the different purposes. *ANTARA* used their sources' photographs to strengthen the information reliability. In contrast, *TEMPO* used various images to improve the truth of the information, such as the photos of the sources, the demonstration atmosphere, and the plenary session.

In sum, this study indicates that *ANTARA*'s framing strategy is not too aggressive in digging up information and data related to the negative issues of the omnibus law ratification. On the other hand, *TEMPO* tends to present information that is supported by juridical claim data. In connection with these findings, as (Fairclough, 1993) stated, the study of critical discourse analysis is a study based on the assumption that every discourse is produced to gain power. Fairclough saw language as a social practice and inseparable from its historical and social context. If it is related to the historical context surrounding the data, background, and history of the two media, the results of this study can be in line with each media's history and background.

According to Basuki, Purnamasari, & Wasesa (2017), *TEMPO* was banned by the government twice for being too sharp in criticizing the government, in 1982 and 1994. *TEMPO* is known as a media that is critical of government policies. It is also clearly reflected in the vision and mission of the *TEMPO* company itself. *TEMPO*'s vision and mission are to become a reference in efforts to increase public freedom to think and express opinions and to build a civilization that respects intelligence and differences and produces multimedia products that are independent and free from all pressures by accommodating and distributing somewhat different voices (Wasesa, 2017). It is natural that, as a media that is not affiliated with the government, *TEMPO* is bolder in revealing negative issues related to the ratification of the Omnibus Law on Job Creation.

On the other hand, according to Al Fajri (2018), *ANTARA* is the only Indonesian local media with the status of a state-owned enterprise under the Ministry of State-Owned Enterprises of the Republic of Indonesia. As a media that is dependent on and financed by the government, *ANTARA* does not try to be too aggressive in framing negative issues related to decisions made by the government, including the decision to ratify the Omnibus Law on Job Creation. It is reflected in *ANTARA*'s mission, namely, to provide accurate, reliable, and profitable information and communication products and services in the multimedia field (Suryodiningrat, 2015). In other words, the results of this study confirm the assumption that *ANTARA* can side with the government in constructing issues in Indonesia (Romano & Seinor, 2005). Therefore, it can be said that *ANTARA* plays a role in launching the government's dominance over the people in Indonesia. *ANTARA* does it by leading the public to have a favorable opinion on the policies made by the government.

CLOSING

In sum, it can be seen that the two media, *TEMPO* and *ANTARA*, frame negative and positive representations in different ways. *TEMPO*'s strategy is more clearly defined, while *ANTARA*'s strategy is less clear. *TEMPO* has massively selected information that supports or rejects the ratification of the omnibus law. In building a negative or positive representation, *TEMPO* tries to present information supported by many sources. There is more than one source interviewed for one news item. This way does not apply to *ANTARA*. In *ANTARA*, one news can only present one source of information. Then, the use of images in *TEMPO* news supports the truth of information, while in *ANTARA* it improves the quality of the sources.

The five news stories from ANTARA selected in this study always used the photographs of the chosen sources.

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