

Chapter I

Introduction

1.1 Background of study

Civil society Indonesia is always actively responding to various government policies or legislative products that are considered contrary to pro-democracy values. This tendency byproduct of history of Indonesian civil society that pushed for democratic reforms in 1998 and after. In the era of the reformation various groups organized large protests because of the economic and political crisis in 1997 (Beitinger-Lee, 2010). The existence of civil society involved in responding to government policies and laws is considered quite successful for maintaining democracy. Nevertheless, Indonesian civil society still must face challenges to advance democracy for the success rate of such efforts limited to preventing a democratic recession (Mietzner, 2012).

As a result of the 1998 reforms, political elites have several times pushed policies that undermine democracy. For example, in 2014, civil society criticism through NGOs and the Media prompted the president to overturn the law that abolished the election of local government heads in 2014. In 2019, similar efforts emerged in the weakening of the corruption eradication agency (KPK) which was responded to by large civil society demonstrations in massive student protests, but this time the civil society failed to push the president to overturn the law (Mietzner, 2020).

In 2020, civil society Again exists in the discourse of rejection of omnibus law. From the perspective of civil society coalition highlighted various controversial

articles in the new law, including minimum wage provisions, outsourcing, foreign workers, severance pay, working hours, and criminal sanctions for employers. Articles 59, 79, 88 and 95 of the new Omnibus Law is one of the four main points of civil society protest toward law (Kartikasari & Fauzi, 2021). Opposition between statutory support groups and civil society is a social conflict resulting from two or more groups that have inconsistent goals (Razy & Fedryansyah, 2020).

At the end of 2020, news about the workers movement began to become mainstream media content. This of course, has something to do with the passing of a brand-new labour law which provokes protests in the first place. In this situation, the media also began to portray workers union as a group in society more positively. Its existence often coincides with popular protests called "Mosi Tidak Percaya" or "Reformasi di Korupsi " which encompassed broad spectrum of civil society element other than worker union.

Omnibus Law or referred to as Job Creation Bill is a product of legislation that changes several laws at once. The academic text of the Job Creation Law states that the omnibus law method that will replace various laws will be more quickly integrated. The study of Omnibus law tends to discuss the legal process through the existing laws. Arham and Saleh (2019) discussing the existence of Omnibus Law as a product of Indonesian legislation with a framework of legal positivism. In addition, Gultom and Reresi (2020) used critical legal study analysis to find inconsistencies in legal texts and provide critical interpretations of legal products. Omnibus Law usually used in common law countries, while Indonesia that use continental law such

decision led to public debate (Matompo & izziyana, 2020). The aforementioned law has association with neo-liberalistic and deregulation policies (Kurniawan, 2020).

Social media has a significant impact on civil society movement through the usage of hashtaq #GejayanMemanggil led to thousands of people joined in Yogyakarta protest. This phenomenon reflects the dynamic of civil society existence (Fuadi, 2020). The demonstration of the rejection of omnibus law during the pandemic is considered to have a positive side, the emergence of a nationalism spirit while voicing aspirations while negative side is potential spread of covid-19 (Rohman, 2020).

On Monday, October 5, 2020, the Parliament passed the Omnibus Law, Cipta Kerja. In the courtroom, the Democrat Party factions and the Social Justice Party (Partai Keadilan Sosial) voiced their disapproval of the ratification. However, because the rejection only came from two factions, the law was passed anyway.

In response to the ratification of the Cipta Kerja Omnibus Law, workers unions together with Civil Society Alliance called for a national strike on October 6, 7 and 8, 2020. This strike call took place in Jakarta and various other areas. These actions have a single demand, namely, cancellation of the bill entirely. The reason is that the omnibus law is a treat for worsening working conditions in Indonesia with low paying wages and easy firing-hiring system. In addition, the omnibus law is a threat to environmental sustainability. On October 8, 2020, the call for national strike is planned to be climax.

At the end of 2020, news about the workers movement began to become mainstream media content. This of course, has something to do with the passing of a brand-new labour law which provokes protests in the first place. In this situation, the media also began to portray workers as a group in society more positively. Its existence often coincides with popular protests called "Mosi Tidak Percaya" or "Reformasi di Korupsi".

However, in investigating 627 news articles in 5 online media between November 1, 2019 - February 24, 2020, Remotivi report found a tendency to display positive sentiment towards news related to omnibus law. Kompas displayed 47.47% positive sentiment, Media Indonesia displayed 54.1% positive sentiment, CNN displayed 53.7% positive sentiment, Republika displayed 52.8% positive sentiment, and coverage 6 displayed 50.4% positive sentiment. This signifies a tendency to eliminate the space for criticism of the omnibus law. The same research showed that the most resource persons were from the government, which overall reached 50.8% (Thaniago, Arief, Irfansyah, Ghiffari, & Wafi, 2020).

In two consecutive editions of the weekly TEMPO magazine, 12 and 19 October 2020, the civil society movement emerged as the headlines. In these two editions, 3 news articles related to the representation of civil society in rejecting the omnibus law are the focus of this study. Tempo is selected because this media is the only media that cover the discourse of civil society resistance toward omnibus law in greater detail compared to online news publication.

Eriyanto (2001) stated that representation is the filtering system a person, group, idea or opinion, which is presented as a journalistic product. The filter discusses "how" this entity appears on the media front page. Therefore, controlling the perspective of the audience, manufactured consent.

This study discusses Strategies of Tempo magazine in representing Civil Society group and their resistance against Omnibus Law. Here are previous studies that have been carried out relating to representation strategies that can be investigated using a systemic functional language (SFL) framework. Setiawan, Laksana, Mahyun, and Udayana conducted research on the text of the 2014-2019 presidential candidate debate using SFL to find the sentiments of debate participants on various issues (Setiawan, Laksana, Mahyuni, & Udayana, 2018,). Asad, Noor, and Jaes examined online media coverage of 100 days of completion of government using SFL to investigate news sentiment (Asad, Binti Mohd Noor, & Bin Jaes, 2019). Potter examines mainstream media coverage of the February 14, 2005, assassination of the Lebanese prime minister using the SFL to look at the ideology of representation of the news ideology (Potter, 2016). Haberle and Morgado uses the SFL framework to investigate representational strategies that appear in the Brazil news regarding anti-immigration sentiment during the 2010 Haiti earthquake (Heberle & Morgado, 2016).

Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) is used as a theoretical basis and method for investigating the sociocultural context that gives birth to a text. Halliday realized that humans use mental images to see reality, so there is an intrinsic relationship between text and context. (Halliday, 1994; in Haberle, 2016). SFL sees language use

in interdependent strata, connecting lexicogrammar (mood and modality; transitivity and thematic structure), discourse semantics (interpersonal, ideational and textual metafunctions) and contextual variables (tenor, field and mode) (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004 in Haberle 2016).

1.2 Research Question

Based on research background, researcher attempt to conclude several research questions:

1. What is the most dominant ideational metafunction process found in the whole text?
2. What is the significance of the use of the most dominant metafunction process?
3. How does Tempo represent civil society organizations resistance against the omnibus law?

1.3 Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study is to investigate how tempo as a media and part of civil society organizations displays civil society resistance to the government's policy, the job creation law.

1.4 Limitation/Scope of the study

This study will focus on Tempo coverage on 2020 event that involve conflicts between civil society and the government regarding the Omnibus Law.

1.5 Significance of the study

The study focusing on civil society especially Indonesian civil society organization is arguably still limited within scope on English literature study. Even though civil society is an important element in social life. Besides, the problematic nature of the omnibus law is an ongoing social conflict until 2023. The magnitude of legislative product still impacting people's life. This is what makes me interested in taking this corpus.