

Critical Discourse Analysis of Tempo News: Uncovering Power Relations in the Corruption Case of PT Timah Tbk Using Norman Fairclough's Theory

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Abstract. This research analyzes Tempo's coverage of corruption at PT Timah Tbk using Norman Fairclough's approach, involving three dimensions: text, discursive practice, and socio-cultural practice. The study examines Tempo's article titled "Profile of PT Timah, a State-Owned Subsidiary Involved in the Timah Corruption Case". The research finds that Tempo portrays PT Timah as a large and complex company with wide-ranging impacts. Tempo positions itself as a reliable source of information and creates news through in-depth investigation aimed at critical readers. Tempo's reporting not only reflects but also shapes public opinion on the importance of combating corruption and reforming state-owned enterprise governance in Indonesia's socio-political context. The findings show that Tempo plays a significant role in shaping public opinion and promoting transparency and accountability in state-owned enterprise management. This helps us understand how the media influences the process of combating corruption in Indonesia.

Keywords: Critical discourse analysis, Norman Fairclough, corruption, PT Timah representation, media influence.

1 Introduction

Corruption poses a serious threat to Indonesia, damaging national finances and undermining societal moral values. This practice violates principles of justice, honesty, and integrity, hindering development, creating social disparities, and exacerbating poverty. Corruption also erodes public trust in the government, triggers social and political instability, and involves both public and private sectors. Corruption is prevalent not only in the public sector but also in the private sector, involving various layers of society. This phenomenon has become ingrained in bureaucracy and business, obstructing the establishment of good governance, transparency, and accountability. Combating corruption is a crucial agenda to restore public trust, uphold the rule of law, and create a conducive investment climate. This requires the participation of all elements of society and a comprehensive approach that includes rigorous enforcement, prevention, and education.

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G. Nur Pramudyo et al. (eds.), Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on Culture and Sustainable Development (ICOCAS 2024), Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research 872, https://doi.org/10.2991/978-2-38476-313-9 33

Mass media plays a vital role in shaping public opinion. Tempo, as a leading media outlet in Indonesia, significantly influences political narratives and shapes public perception on critical issues, including corruption. Tempo's reporting on alleged corruption at PT Timah Tbk., a strategic state-owned enterprise (SOE), serves as an example of how media can influence public discourse on corruption and SOE governance.

This study aims to analyze Tempo's critical discourse on the corruption case of PT Timah Tbk. using Norman Fairclough's social change approach so that it can help analyze how a discourse can produce and reproduce the status quo as well as transform it (Eriyanto, 2001:17). This study focused on three dimensions: text, discursive practices, and socio-cultural practices. Through this approach, the research will uncover how Tempo's choice of words, sentence structures, and narratives reflect and shape power relations in Indonesia's socio-political context.

Some previous studies have been conducted to analyze. Haslina, Rahmi, and Azlan [5] examine the language strategy used by Anies Baswedan in his declaration speech as one of the 2024 general elections in Indonesia. This study utilizes Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis. Based on the analysis of text and sociocultural practice aspects, this research shows that Baswedan chose words to portray himself as a humble and responsible individual, while sociocultural practice analysis shows that Baswedan candidacy aims to lead the government in a better direction. Husnil Amalia and Ngusman Abdul Manaf [1] carried out an analysis in the 3 Period Jokowi Discourse, Democracy Claims, and Symptoms of Authoritarianism rubric in Kompas.com based on three aspects of Norman Faircloug's Critical Discourse Analysis: representation, relation, and identity. The result found that in the aspect of representation, it is shown regarding the analysis of public policy and representation related to the discourse of Jokowi's 3 periods. Second, good relations in the sense that journalists still maintain the privacy of their sources, not only to obtain the desired answers. Third, the identity that is built is the identity of an independent tribunal and does not position itself on one of the parties shown in the news. Nur Indah Sholikhati and Hari Bakti Mardikantoro (2017) draw on Norman Fairclough's textual analysis dimension to uncover the emphasis and obscuration of meaning in corruption news discourse that is produced in Metro TV and NET TV. These mentioned studies show that Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis is a useful analytical framework to uncover various political practices in media outlets. However, research on power relations in the corruption case concerning PT Timah Tbk in the Tempo Media has not been found.

The research findings are expected to provide valuable insights for policymakers, media practitioners, and the general public in understanding and responding to issues related to corruption and SOE governance in Indonesia. By unpacking layers of meaning in

news texts, identifying underlying ideologies in reporting, and understanding the social and political implications of constructed discourses, this study is academically relevant and holds significant practical implications in efforts to combat corruption and promote good governance in Indonesia.

2 Methods

This research employs a qualitative method using Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis approach. This approach is used to analyze power relations, ideologies, and social practices in media reporting on the alleged corruption case of PT Timah Tbk. The primary data analyzed are news texts from Tempo.co titled "Profile of PT Timah, a State-Owned Subsidiary Involved in the Timah Corruption Case". Data analysis is conducted in three stages: textual analysis, discursive analysis, and sociocultural practice analysis.

3 Result and Discussion

Text Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis theory offers a threedimensional framework for analyzing media texts: textual analysis, discursive practices, and social practices. This approach not only focuses on linguistic aspects but also considers the contexts of text production and consumption, along with broader socio-cultural implications. The concept of power relations is a key aspect of Fairclough's theory. He argues that discourse not only reflects power relations in society but also plays a role in shaping and maintaining them.

Using Fairclough's theory, we can analyze how Tempo.co represents the case "Profile of PT Timah, a State-Owned Subsidiary Involved in the Timah Corruption Case", revealing how language choices and news framing reflect and influence power relations among the various parties involved.

1. Textual Dimension

Linguistic analysis of the text can reveal how power is represented through representations, relations, and identities.

1.1 Representations

Representations refer to how events, people, and ideas are portrayed in the text.

a) Representation of PT Timah

"PT Timah is a member of the Mining State-Owned Holding MIND ID. As a Holding, MIND ID owns 65 percent of PT Timah's shares, while the remaining 35 percent is owned by the public".

PT Timah is represented as a complex business entity with ownership structures involving the state and the public. This indicates that the corruption case is not merely a corporate issue but also involves public and national interests.

b) Representation of the corruption case

"Corruption involving PT Timah Tbk has caused state losses amounting to Rp 271 trillion, including ecological and environmental economic losses, and environmental recovery costs".

The corruption case is represented not only as a financial issue but also as an environmental concern. The use of specific figures and mention of ecological impacts strengthens the depiction of the scale and impact of this corruption.

1.2 Relations

Relations refer to the relationships built between the writer, reader, and reported participants.

a) Relation between Tempo and readers

"According to the company's performance report in the third quarter of 2023, the tin mineral resources stored in PT Timah's operational areas reached 906,000 tons, with tin reserves reaching 344,000 tons".

Tempo positions itself as a provider of detailed and accurate information to readers. The use of specific data indicates that Tempo views its readers as individuals interested in in-depth and factual information.

1.3 Identities

Identities refer to how the identities of the writer, reader, and reported participants are constructed in the text.

a) Tempo's identity

"The company's tin ore production until the third quarter of 2024 reached 11,201 tons, experiencing a 23 percent decrease compared to the same period last year".

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Tempo constructs its identity as a media outlet with access to current data and capable of conducting comparative analysis. This strengthens Tempo's position as a credible and up-to-date source of information.

b) PT Timah's identity

"According to the International Tin Association (ITA), PT Timah is the fifth largest producer of refined tin in the world".

PT Timah is constructed as a significant global player in the tin industry. The use of an international source (ITA) reinforces this identity construction, indicating that the corruption case has broader implications beyond domestic issues.

c) PT Timah's identity

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2. Discursive Analysis

Analyzing the processes of text production, distribution, and consumption can reveal power relations within the media industry and society.

2.1 Text Production

a) Use of Specific Data

"The Attorney General's Office has named 16 suspects in the alleged tin corruption case during the mining license (IUP) period of PT Timah Tbk from 2015 to 2022" and "Corruption involving PT Timah Tbk has caused state losses amounting to Rp 271 trillion, including ecological and environmental economic losses, and environmental recovery costs".

This news indicates in-depth investigation results, using specific data about PT Timah Tbk and its corruption case. Tempo utilizes various sources of information, including official company data and investigations by the Attorney General's Office.

b) News Framing

"Corruption involving PT Timah Tbk has caused state losses amounting to Rp 271 trillion"

This news highlights the large scale of losses incurred from the corruption case, both financially and ecologically, reinforcing the narrative about the importance of combating corruption.

2.2 Text Distribution

This news is distributed through online media. Tempo's online platform allows for broader reach and faster information dissemination. By distributing news through online platforms, Tempo ensures that this news can be accessed easily and quickly by various segments of society.

2.3 Text Consumption

"PT Timah has a total IUP area of 472,912 hectares (ha), consisting of 288,638 ha on land and 184,274 ha at sea".

Tempo targets readers from the middle to upper classes and educated segments, who tend to be more critical and seek in-depth and detailed information. The writing style used is formal and detailed, with the use of empirical data, indicating that this news is designed for an audience that values fact-based information and comprehensive analysis.

3. Analysis of Socio-Cultural Practices Dimension

Analyzing the broader social, cultural, and political contexts helps uncover how discourse in texts relates to existing power structures within society.

3.1 Situational

"The Attorney General's Office has named 16 suspects in the alleged tin corruption case during the mining license (IUP) period of PT Timah Tbk from 2015 to 2022".

This news shows concrete actions taken by the Attorney General's Office, reflecting the government's efforts to combat corruption. The reporting comes amid increasing demands from society for transparency and accountability in state-owned enterprises (BUMN), reinforcing the message that the government is serious about addressing corruption cases.

3.2 Institutional

"Corruption involving PT Timah Tbk has caused state losses amounting to Rp 271 trillion, including ecological and environmental economic losses, and environmental recovery costs".

Tempo not only reports financial loss figures but also the extensive impacts of corruption, including ecological aspects and environmental recovery costs. This reflects Tempo's commitment to overseeing the issue of corruption by providing in-depth and comprehensive reporting. Moreover, this reporting demonstrates the role of the Attorney General's Office as a responsible institution in law enforcement, emphasizing the importance of cooperation between the media and law enforcement agencies in tackling corruption.

3.3 Social

"PT Timah has a total IUP area of 472,912 hectares (ha), consisting of 288,638 ha on land and 184,274 ha at sea".

By presenting detailed information about the mining business license (IUP) area of PT Timah, Tempo helps the public understand the large scale of the company's operations and the potential losses caused by corrupt practices. This information shapes public perception that corruption in state-owned enterprises has extensive and detrimental impacts. This narrative is crucial in building public opinion that supports the eradication of corruption and encourages reforms in state-owned enterprise governance.

4 Conclusion

This research utilizes Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis theory to examine Tempo's news on the corruption case involving PT Timah Tbk, successfully revealing the significant role of the media in shaping public opinion and influencing power dynamics related to corruption cases in state-owned enterprises. Tempo highlights the economic and environmental impacts of the alleged corruption. This news emerges amidst public demands for transparency and accountability in state-owned enterprise management, while institutionally, Tempo asserts the role of independent media in overseeing corruption issues and the role of the Attorney General's Office in law enforcement. Socially, this reporting shapes and reflects public discourse on the urgency of combating corruption in Indonesia.

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