

LESBIAN MARGINALIZATION CONSTRUCTION IN SURABAYA PAGI DAILY NEWSPAPER

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Abstract. Power not only operates through formal channels, law, and state institutions but also operates through a series of discourse to define something or a group as incorrect or bad. This study aims to describe the process of paralleling the construction of the *Surabaya Pagi* newspaper by using a critical analysis of Theo Van Leeuwen's model. This study uses a descriptive qualitative method to see the formation of an opinion on a newspaper text entitled "Narkoba Jaringan Lesbian: Dua Cewek Lesbian Bratang Gede di Pasok Bandar Dinoyo". The data in this study are news excerpts related to exclusion and inclusion. The data source in this study is the *Surabaya Pagi* newspaper. Data collection techniques in this research are by reading, understanding, and marking relevant quotations in the newspaper text. Data analysis techniques in this research are by identifying, classifying, analyzing, interpreting, and concluding. The results of this study indicate that lesbians are an easy target to build a bad image in the eyes of the public by forming a discourse that excludes the role of drug dealers (who are actually perpetrators of crime) and explores the role of users (lesbians) with a portion of the coverage that further builds the community's image of the group lesbians as a group that is truly wrong and a source of social problems increasingly corner the group's position in society.

Keywords: *critical discourse analysis, lesbians, marginalization, newspaper, Surabaya Pagi, The Van Leeuwen*

INTRODUCTION

Today's modern society has been influenced by various developments in technology and communication so that in this era of digital society, there is a phenomenon that is interconnected with one another without any geographical, economic, ideological, cultural, political, social and so on. During the new order, the mass media played an important role in government policy and political development. The space of press openness depends on the

ruling authority (Triwardani, 2010: 188). Thus the mass media must not be in extreme conflict with government regulations.

The mass media such as newspapers, television, and other mass media are very limited because they seem to be the mouthpiece of the government and are impressed by reporting news that is following the government's wishes. Because the government feels powerful, it makes the mass media co-opted and feels

demanding to have to present the news according to the government's wishes.

In the current reform era, the mass media is no longer confined to the alignments of the authorities. Democratization has become an alternative in a variety of social activities including providing space for mass media that are free to carry out their press functions (Poti, 2011: 18). The mass media currently has control over the news that exists today so that it forms public opinion about the role of the ruler, even an important role to influence the public to criticize practical political actors.

The discourse in *Surabaya Pagi* daily, Tuesday, April 12, 2015, with the title "Narkoba Jaringan Lesbian Dibongkar" is one form of media discourse that marginalizes one of the community groups deemed to 'deviate' from the norms of the community that should be. News in the *Surabaya Pagi* newspaper carried news about the arrest of female users who were identified as a lesbian couple.

The news about the arrest is interesting because the use of the word "lesbian" which is always repeated in the title "Narkoba Jaringan **Lesbian** Dibongkar" and the subtitle "Dua Cewek **Lesbian** Bratang Gede Dipasok Bandar Dinoyo" (thickening of the author), indicates a form of drug network disclosure events that different from the network that has been around. So far, lesbians are part of a society that has a negative image in the public eye. Lesbians are considered abnormal because they have sexual orientation and behavior outside hetero norms.

In general, this news text describes the arrest of users as well as lesbian drug dealers in the discourse developed by the news. But this becomes more interesting because it gives a different reception from the reader when the writer adds the word "lesbian" in it.

Previous research on discourse analysis using Van Leeuwen in print media, one of which was a study conducted by Wiryanti, a student majoring in Indonesian Language and Literature Education at Ganesha University of Education under the title *News Analisis Berita di Surat Kabar "Bali Express" Berdasarkan Model Analisis Theo Van Leeuwen* (Wiryanti, 2014: 1). In the study, Wiryanti reviewed the discourse strategy used in analyzing news in the Bali Express newspaper. In the news, it was finally known who benefited from the many strategies used in analyzing news in the Bali Express newspaper.

Based on this research, news analysis in the mass media of newspapers or newspapers "Bali Express" using Theo Van Leeuwen's analysis model is an analysis conducted by finding various discourse strategies used by journalists in positioning actors in a news.

It can be stressed that power does not only operate through formal channels, law, and state institutions but also operates through a series of discourse to define something or a group as incorrect or bad. Power exists so that it forms a public opinion through other marginalized groups (Alfianika, 2016: 35). Therefore, often that power comes after a group is badly described. Likewise, what happened to the grouping of lesbians in the construction of daily discourse in the *Surabaya Pagi* newspaper as carried out by researchers.

Theo Van Leeuwen introduced a critical discourse analysis model to analyze or examine a group or someone who marginalized their position in a discourse (Mursida & Ermanto, 2018: 492). The analysis model is about how a group or individual is dominantly more in control in interpreting an event and its meaning, while other groups that are in a low position tend to be constantly used as objects of meaning and are portrayed unfavorably (Eriyanto, 2001: 171). For

example, labor groups, farmers, fishermen, illegal immigrants, and women are actors or groups who are not in real terms do not have power and power, but in the news discourse is often portrayed as not good, uneducated, disturbing peace, and comfort and often act anarchist. In this case, there is a link between discourse and power. There is always an interest that underlies an expression of facts in the news (Burhan, 2017: 122). Power not only operates through formal channels, law, and state institutions with the power to prohibit and punish but also operates through a series of discourse to define something or a group as a bad party.

Discourse analysis in the critical paradigm emphasizes the power constellation that occurs in the process of production and reproduction of meaning. A dominant group will be more in control of interpreting an event (Rosmita, 2019: 18). Individuals are not considered as neutral subjects who can interpret freely according to their thoughts, because they are very related and influenced by social forces that exist in society. The language here is not understood as a neutral medium that lies outside the speaker. Language in a critical view is understood as a representation that plays a role in shaping a particular subject, certain themes of discourse, and strategies in it. Discourse analysis is used to uncover the power that exists in each language process, the limits of what is allowed to be a discourse, the perspective that must be used, what topics are discussed. Overall it aims to detect a group that is marginalized in a discourse (Sobari & Nurhasanah, 2018: 34). With this view, discourse sees language always involved in power relations, especially in the formation of the subject, and various acts of representation contained in society.

In the discourse analysis of Theo Van Leeuwen's model, two dimensions are considered, namely exclusion and inclusion. Exclusion relates to the strategy of how an actor (individual or group) is excluded in a conversation, while inclusion relates to the social actors mentioned in the news, how they are displayed, and with what strategies the marginalization or exclusion is carried out.

METHOD

This study uses a qualitative descriptive method to view, describe, and analyze data relating to an event reported to the public that is very influential in the formation of public opinion of the news in the news text entitled "Narkoba Jaringan Lesbian: Dua Cewek Lesbian Bratang Gede di Pasok Bandar Dinoyo".

The data used in the form of news excerpts relating to exclusion and inclusion in criminal discourse in the *Surabaya Pagi* Edition April 2015. The data source in this study was the *Surabaya Pagi* Newspaper. The data collection technique in this research is to read and understand the news text, then mark quotations related to the exclusion and inclusion of the Van Leeuwen model. The data analysis technique in this study is to identify appropriate news quotes, classify data, analyze, interpret, and summarize results.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Lesbian Marginalization in *Surabaya Pagi* Daily Discourse Construction

The text of the newspaper entitled "Narkoba Jaringan Lesbian: Dua Cewek Lesbian Bratang Gede di Pasok Bandar Dinoyo" is a crime story that is part of the *Surabaya Pagi* Newspaper (04/14/2015). In the news was told about the arrest of drug users who were identified as a lesbian couple. In general, this

news text describes the capture of a marijuana user who is identified as a lesbian.

The news text developed by the news about the deviant behavior of lesbian couples who like to consume prohibited goods. So far, lesbians are part of the public who have a negative image in the public eye. Lesbians are considered abnormal because they have sexual orientation and behavior outside hetero norms. With the formation of discourse about the figure of same-sex-oriented cannabis users, this reinforces the form of marginalization of the group.

In general, this news text excludes the central role of drug suppliers which is less than the display (inclusion) of the reporting of two drug users identified as lesbians. Drug users who were identified as lesbians were not only featured in the news but were also poorly displayed. The news text does not describe the relationship between Franto Andiyansyah and Latifah as a supplier of cannabis and how the Narcotics network of the Franto Andiyansyah group, but rather positions Sulastri as a figure from a lesbian group of cannabis users, not as a victim of the Franto Andiyansyah distribution network. This form of discourse will look very different when compared to several similar news texts. Drug users are more often perceived as "victims" of drug crimes. From the form of discourse created by the news text, it appears that there has been concealment (exclusion) of actors in an event and more displays the figure of a marijuana user in a larger portion of the news.

The exclusion process carried out by the news text was, among others, carried out by forming nominalization as in the sentence "*Kehidupan sebagai lesbian dengan peran 'buci' (pria) yang dijalani Sulastri (21), justru menyeretnya ke jeruji besi Polres Pelabuhan*

Tanjung Perak Surabaya". Nominalization is related to changing a "process" into a noun. The use of this form will treat a process intended in a word as if it were a static object. The sentence pattern above, will exclude the role of drug suppliers as the party present and cause Sulastri to consume cannabis. With this form of nomination, the actions of cannabis suppliers are eliminated or hidden, consequently, Sulastri becomes the main focus of the news, even though the supplier or dealer of cannabis until reaching the user is the most important thing to report.

If the role of drug suppliers can be hidden, it is not the case with drug users who are identified as lesbians. Drug users who were identified as lesbians were not only featured in the news but were also poorly displayed. This is done with certain discourse strategies. Making news text abstraction displays information with abstract data rather than concrete data. The effect resulting from the use of this kind of strategy is the large or plural impression of the object being reported for example in the sentence, "*Tapi, baru tujuh kali terakhir saya mencicipinya sendirian,*" *aku Sulastri yang berambut layaknya pria ini, Senin (13/04). Kebiasaan Sulastri ini akhirnya terendus Satuan Reskoba Polres Pelabuhan Tanjung Perak Surabaya*". In that sentence, it was mentioned concretely how much exactly Sulastri used drugs seven times, but in the next sentence, it was obscured by habitual diction. The use of this abstraction further confirms that Sulastri was accustomed to using drugs. "Habit" here emphasizes Sulastri's side as a lesbian who is identified as a person who uses drugs repeatedly on a regular basis, in fact, in the vulnerable time from when he started using drugs until he was caught, he only used drugs seven times. in the

news text it uses more concrete and precise words.

In a news report about an actor, a group, or about a problem, there is often a choice whether the actor is presented as is or mentioned is a category of the social actor. This category usually shows an important characteristic of a person who can be in the form of religion, status, physical form, and so on. These categories are generally not important because they do not affect the meaning to be conveyed to the public. As in the sentence, "Kehidupan sebagai lesbian dengan peran 'buci' (pria) yang dijalani Sulastris (21), justru menyeretnya ke jeruji besi Polres Pelabuhan Tanjung Perak Surabaya". In that sentence, it means that life as a lesbian drags him to the iron bars. Giving the category "buci" is in no way addition to useful information who is the woman. Why is the category "laundry" highlighted in that sentence? Perhaps journalists do not deliberately display the 'laundry' category but indirectly the news associates in the minds of the public that 'washing' is synonymous with violence and drugs. What categories to highlight in the news, according to Van Leeuwen, is often valuable information to find out more about the ideology of the media concerned. Because the category shows a representation that a certain action or certain activity becomes a characteristic or attribute that is always present by the relevant category. Often giving that category does not add to any understanding or information. The researcher must critically look at how a group is marginalized or ostracized by giving a bad category or label, as mentioned in the sentence, "*Dua cewek lesbian bratang gede dipasok bandar Dinoyo*". In that sentence, it means two women who are referred to as lesbians. Giving a lesbian category is not useful information about two women supplied by drug

dealers. Like buci, the addition of the word "lesbian" associates in the minds of the public that lesbians are identical with negative things, and opposes the positive norms prevailing in the society.

CONCLUSION

The mass media is a flow of information that not only presents events but also can present public discourse. How do you convey a story to the public? It is very important to oppose the formation of public opinion on a piece of news. In the news text with the title "Narkoba Jaringan Lesbian: Dua Cewek Lesbian Bratang Gede di Pasok Bandar Dinoyo" discusses how news about lesbian groups (in our culture are marginalized) according to needs.

With the formation of discourse that excludes the role of drug dealers who represent the prohibition and emphasize the role of users (lesbians) with a portion of the news that further builds the community's image of this group as a group that is truly true and true to the community. Lesbian groups that are associated with low because they are considered to violate the rules that apply in the social order are made as objects of meaning with a very bad image. Perpetrators (drug dealers) were hidden because they did not get adequate portions compared to lesbian marijuana users.

Finally, with this form of news text, the reader who chooses more than the victim image of a drug user as a party who is denied because he is a marijuana user is also a lesbian. The lesbian environment which is considered as the place where Sulastris began to consume marijuana further worsened the image of lesbian in the eyes of the public.

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