

Lgbt News on Tirto.Id Online Media: Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis

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Submission date: 04-Dec-2021 05:58PM (UTC+0700)

Submission ID: 1720350374

File name: .Id_Online_Media_--_Fairclough_s_Critical_Discourse_Analysis.pdf (291.85K)

Word count: 5019

Character count: 27663

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2
Abstract—This study aims to describe the dimensions of the text, discourse practices, and sociocultural in the reporting of LGBT groups in the online media *Tirto.id*. This research 2 was conducted by utilizing the concept of Norman Fairclough's critical discourse. The method of data collection is carried out by noting parts of the text that are thought to contain text dimensions, discourse, and sociocultural practices. The analysis results show that in the reporting of the LGBT groups, "*Upaya DPR Singkirkan Kelompok LGBT: Wajib Laporkan & Rehabilitasi*" in *Tirto.id*, there is an identity construction formed and displayed from the news text. The news about LGBT presented by *Tirto.id*, shows the inclination of this online media towards LGBT, especially in human rights. Through this news, the editors built the ideology that LGBT always gets discrimination from certain groups. Then, on the one hand, the editors also want to make room for LGBT groups to voice their movements that have been considered to be conducted in private. The news produced by *Tirto.id* is always based on empirical facts. The issues raised by *Tirto.id* can be said to be bold and are not raised by the mainstream media (media that are pro against certain interest groups).

Keywords: critical discourse, online media, LGBT, *Tirto.id*

I. INTRODUCTION

LGBT is a minor community in society. Apart from being a minor community, issues related to LGBT are controversial issues in the global order [1]. Its dissemination was achieved through a series of pro-LGBT movements that have existed for a long time [2]. Its existence in Indonesia invites the pros and cons of many parties. The pros view LGBT as the fundamental rights of citizens. The number of LGBT people who experience violence is exacerbated by the existence of laws that tend to discriminate against LGBT [1]. On the other hand, contra states that the existence of LGBT is inherently more dangerous than the crimes of terrorism and drugs [3]. Besides, LGBT is not in harmony with the religious and cultural system prevailing in Indonesia because LGBT clashes with social norms and customs that exist in Indonesia.

Discrimination against LGBT originates from the stigmatization of those who choose to be 'different' from the people in their environment. This stigmatization developed actively in the context of Indonesian society. This has ultimately led to homophobia in society, namely the fear of homosexuals—in the context of this study LGBT—which sometimes comes from religious beliefs [4]. Since 2016, LGBT groups have been under pressure through mass media coverage. News in the mass media in 2016, especially online news, was filled with hate speech (media backlash) that hit LGBT. Various things about LGBT were discussed from various topics, points of view, and interests, but most of the news went in one direction, namely corner LGBT. This cornering is done by providing stigma, such as having deviant behavior; considered 'sick' so that it needs to be cured; violating religious morals and social norms so that it needs to be straightened out and fostered; as well as abnormal and sinful so it is not appropriate to live in Indonesia, and its development must be suppressed [5].

The mass media is one of the tools to channel, publish, and facilitate the delivery of communication messages. The mass media also functions as a communication bridge that is willing and able to translate the communication message referred to by the communicator into a communication message that the communicant can understand. Mass media is also a useful tool or mediator in the publication of ideologies, both pro and contra ideologies of a discourse. According to Eriyanto, the text is a form of ideological practice, language, writing, choice of words and grammatical structures are understood as choices expressed to carry specific ideological meanings in the level of winning public support [6].

These processes are fought for to gain recognition or reality construction. Hamad stated that the process of constructing reality through mass media. In principle, the effort to conceptualize an event, condition, or object, including matters relating to politics, is an attempt to construct reality [7]. The media tries to organize the reality of various events into the meaningful discourse. Thus, the media's entire content is none other than the reconstructed reality in the form of meaningful discourse [8]. The press has a

significant and noble task: to develop a sound discourse for the benefit of the people at large. More specifically, the press should have more empathy for the parties who are aggrieved and suffering [9]. Journalism must first hold these truths to achieve the task. This truth is dedicated to the benefit of the citizens. The essence of journalism is discipline and verification, so that it can monitor power and give voice to the voiceless [10].

Tirto.id is one of the mass media published online. As part of the national scale mass media, the news that is presented by *Tirto.id* also follows the news flow of the mass media in general. The issues presented are not only about trivial matters but also about controversial issues, such as LGBT issues. From this media, several stories were found that raised LGBT issues, both national and international. From all the news about LGBT presented by *Tirto.id*, it is clear that online media tends LGBT, especially in human rights. Therefore, the mass media has a big responsibility in representing LGBT.

News coverage in the mass media can be likened to a circle related to the system developing in society, rules or norms that are considered benchmarks, and interpretations of a phenomenon. All of these things are in the form of circles that influence each other. Whittle stated that the text contained in the news has the power to influence. The text will produce a discourse that functions to perpetuate the tradition, produce power relations, and have ideological effects [11].

This study aims to describe the text's dimensions, discourse practice, and socio-cultural reporting of LGBT groups in the online media *Tirto.id* entitled "*Upaya DPR Singkirkan Kelompok LGBT: Wajib Laporkan & Rehabilitasi*" by utilizing Norman Fairclough's critical discourse concepts. A proper perspective in examining this discourse is to use a human rights perspective in which everyone, including LGBT people, has an equal position before the law and the state, regardless of sexual orientation, gender identity, and sexual behavior. Heterosexual and homosexual groups should also be understood as equals. However, in reality, the presence of homosexuals is more considered a social deviation when heterosexual groups, in reality, also commit social deviations, such as infidelity and cohabitation. ³

Discourse, according to Fairclough, is a form of social practice that constructs the social world, identity, and social relations. Also, the existence of discourse is dialectically related to and shaped by other social structures. This view is different from the post-structuralist opinion, which emphasizes the constitutive aspects of discourse and ignores its constituted aspects, which have a significant effect

on ignoring the possibility of social change and transformation [12].

This dialectic between social structure and social practice is essential in the construction of critical discourse analysis. According to Fairclough, social practice is not merely a reflection of reality and is independent but is always in a dialectical and active relationship with reality and can even transform it. Vice versa, reality can influence and shape social practices. The implication of social structure as part of reality is also dialectically related to social practice [13]. With this dialectic, the discourse affects the building of social structures and, at the same time, contributes to the creation of social continuity or social change. Social change can occur when a discourse emerges that criticizes the established discourse and, at the same time, criticizes the existing social structure. The transformative effect of this discourse is a criticism of post-structuralists who tend to emphasize more on the constitutive aspects of discourse and ignore the possibility of social change [14].

Fairclough's discourse analysis model is often referred to as a model of social change. This model views discourse as a representation of social practice. As an implication, discourse is seen as a form of one's actions towards the existing reality through language as a vehicle. This model also sees that there is a reciprocal relationship between discourse and social structure [6]. Fairclough's critical discourse analysis model is based on how to connect micro texts with macro societal contexts. Fairclough builds a discourse analysis model that ¹ contributes not only to the linguistic realm but also to social and cultural analysis so that he combines a tradition of textual analysis that always sees language in closed spaces with the broader context of society.

Fairclough has its characteristic in analyzing a story in the mass media. In Fairclough's discourse analysis, three dimensions must be analyzed: ² text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice. The dimensions of text (microstructural) are analyzed linguistically by looking at vocabulary, semantics, and syntax. The dimension of discourse practice (mesostructured) is a dimension related to producing and consuming text. The dimension of social practice (macrostructural) is related to the context outside the text [15]. The three dimensions are then analyzed ³ in three different stages of analysis, namely (1) the description is used to analyze the text, including cohesion and coherence, grammar, and diction, (2) interpretation is used to analyze the interpretation of the text, including production, distribution, and consumption text, and (3) explanations are used to analyze sociocultural practices that include the situational, institutional, and social levels [16]. This Fairclough model of

discourse analysis not only analyzes discourse but also analyzes the relationship between discourse and objects or elements of social processes [13].

II. METHOD

This research is qualitative and uses a critical discourse approach. The knife used to dissect the text is Norman Fairclough's theory of critical discourse. The object used was a news discourse entitled "*Upaya DPR Singkirkan Kelompok LGBT: Wajib Laporkan & Rehabilitasi*" (The DPR's Efforts to Get Rid of LGBT Groups: Mandatory Report & Rehabilitation) published in the online media Tirtoid on February 18, 2020 [17]. The method of data collection was done by recording sections of the news text. The data analysis used interactive analysis techniques, and Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis covered microstructural, mesostructural, and macrostructural.

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Dimension of Text (Microstructural)

Fairclough's critical discourse analysis, language, or text is seen as the way the object is depicted, but the text has a close relationship among the objects presented [18]. There are three essential elements in the Fairclough model, namely: representation, relations, and identity. Representation wants to see how a person, group, events, activities are displayed in the text. The relation refers to the analysis of construction in the relationship between journalists and readers, such as text submitted informally or formally, open or closed. Identity refers to the specific construction of the journalist and the reader's identity, as well as how personal identity, and it was about to be displayed [6].

In the early stages of this microstructural analysis, more focused on the choice of words (diction) conducted because the choice of words is the basis for the builder of a discourse. The selection of this word may indicate the objectives to be built by the reporter of the text made. The headline analyzed "*Upaya DPR Singkirkan Kelompok LGBT: Wajib Laporkan & Rehabilitasi*" used two diction that was considered opposition, namely *LGBT* and *DPR* (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat*)—The People's Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia. The headline also uses the word put away, which will form the concept of force. The word put away has more power than the word put away. From the use of the word, it can be seen that there is a concept offered by journalists to readers that the *DPR* wants to eliminate LGBT groups.

There are several choices of words used by journalists as news builders and strengthen the foundation of the news from the news text. In this

diction analysis, it is divided into two groups of word choice. The use of word choices, such as *homosexual*, *homosexuality*, *sexual deviance*, *rehabilitation*, *LGBT*, *sexual orientation*, *disease*, *destroying humanity*, are examples of diction (both in the form of words, phrases, and clauses) used by journalists as the foundation of news. Journalists want to build a concept regarding LGBT groups in the *Rancangan Undang-Undang Ketahanan Keluarga* (Family Resilience Bill) carried out by the Indonesian Parliament. With the use of this diction, journalists lead public opinion to the negative concept of LGBT groups. Members of the People's Representative Council did not understand the use of other words in the clause and were used by journalists to develop the concept of members of the People's Representative Council, who participated in drafting the Family Resilience Bill and was considered problematic because it caused discrimination against LGBT people.

These two diction groups are used by journalists to represent LGBT people and members of the Indonesian Parliament. From the start, journalists seem to have supported the DPR members to get rid of LGBT people. However, this is only limited to framing by journalists who will be seen after reading the entire news text. In the paragraph, "*Hal-hal seperti yang dialami Yudha dan Irfan sepertinya sama sekali tak dipahami oleh para anggota DPR. Rancangan Undang-Undang (RUU) Ketahanan Keluarga yang oleh anggota dewan dimasukkan ke dalam Prolegnas Prioritas 2020, merugikan mereka*" (It seems that the People's Representative Council members do not understand the things that happened to Yudha and Irfan. The Family Resilience Bill that the council members included in the 2020 Priority National Legislation Program is detrimental to them) it was seen by journalists 'efforts to restore readers' belief that the bill was problematic, especially about the human rights of LGBT groups.

The news structure consists of three parts. The first part is an overview of the life of LGBT (primarily gay) groups when they come out to their families. Two pictures built by journalists, namely negative and positive responses to the coming out. The second part is an overview of the Family Resilience Bill and its relationship to LGBT groups' existence. Journalists build a picture of the desires of a group of People's Representative Council members who propose that LGBT groups be included in the Family Resilience Bill. The third part is an overview of groups that reject discrimination against LGBT in the Family Resilience Bill.

From this news structure, it can be seen that there are constructions built by journalists for the groups that want to be featured in the news. Structurally, readers are led to believe that the

Family Resilience Bill proposed by the People's Representative Council has weaknesses because it contains discrimination against minority groups. This effort was carried out by journalists by giving pro-minority opinions. Readers are kept away from the benefit of the Family Resilience Bill in general but are led to raise human rights issues, particularly discrimination against LGBT groups.

From this description, there is an identity construction that is formed and displayed by the news text. This identity is related to how the journalist places and identifies himself with the problem or social group involved. Through the news text, it appears that journalists are more inclined towards LGBT groups, which is strengthened by a more significant portion discussing LGBT issues. In the text structure, we can see that the first and third sections are explicitly devoted to describing LGBT conditions and describing pro-LGBT groups. Journalists are more vocal about the human rights of LGBT groups because the Family Resilience Bill describes a discriminatory aspect of this group.

Apart from the three elements of the text, in the text analysis stage, there is an intertextuality aspect to see the relationship between text institutions. This relationship, according to Fairclough, is inherently a complete inter-textual unity [19]. Fairclough also said intertextual connected by chain-type intertextuality, which is a series of texts that connect one with another text so that it is regularly and consumed by audiences [6]. A chain of communication links each expression. All statements are based on other statements, either explicitly or implicitly. In this case, the words that have been previously expressed are evaluated, assimilated, and re-expressed in other expressions. Each text expressed based on an underlay other text.

The intertextual analysis here is to see the relationship between this news text and other similar news published on the Tirto.id page. From this media, several stories were found that raised LGBT issues, both national and international. Of all the news about LGBT presented by *Tirto.id*, it is clear that there is a bias towards LGBT, especially in human rights, without any influence from certain groups because Tirto.id is known as an online news media that provides much factual information, especially on the news which is based on empirical studies.

Tirto.id is indeed known as a media that uses the precision journalism approach [20], namely journalism activities accompanied by research activities on issues raised using empirical social research methods so that journalistic results can be proven scientifically and not merely subjective (objective) judgments. Meyer argues that the aspect of journalism must have the characteristics of a

scientist, namely skepticism, openness, an instinct of operationalization, a sense of the tentativeness of truth, and parsimony carried out in the study [21]. This approach makes Tirto.id, unlike other mainstream media. Tirto.id's main focus in reporting is not on issues where traffic is heavy but on issues that impact it.

3.2 Dimensions of Discourse Practice (Mesostructural)

Analysis of discourse practice focuses on how the production (on the part of the media) and consumption of text (on the part of the audience). News texts involve complex and complicated discourse practices. The practice of discourse is what determines how the text is formed. There are at least three important aspects of discursive practice, first, from the individual journalist's side. Second, in terms of how the relationship between journalists and the media organizational structure. Third, work practices/work routines of news production. These three elements constitute the entirety of the practice of discourse in a medium that is interconnected in producing a news discourse [6]. No text appears without accompanying context. The emergence of a text is closely related to the context that occurs around the author.

This report was motivated by the controversy of several articles on the Family Resilience Bill, which were deemed detrimental to LGBT groups. The Family Resilience Bill is one of several Priority National Legislation Programs for 2020 by People's Representative Council. In the bill, two articles are considered detrimental and discriminatory to LGBT groups, namely Article 86 and Article 87. Article 86 states: "Families experiencing a family crisis due to sexual deviations are required to report their family members to the agency that handles family resilience or a designated rehabilitation institution. by the government to get treatment and/or treatment." Meanwhile, Article 87 states: "Every adult who experiences sexual deviation is obliged to report himself to the body that handles family resilience or a rehabilitation institution for treatment and/or treatment." These two articles outline contain instructions that oblige perpetrators of sexual deviations to be reported and rehabilitated. In the explanation chapter, four acts are categorized as deviations: homosexuality or same-sex relations, as well as sadism, masochism, and incest.

As stated in the news text, the Family Resilience Bill received strong support from several factions in the People's Representative Council, namely the PKS, Gerindra, Golkar, and PAN factions. When viewed from the background of these parties, it can be seen that there is a

common thread between the party and the contra LGBT groups. PKS, Gerindra, and PAN are the parties carrying the presidential candidate number 02 in the 2019 presidential election. As is known, presidential candidate number 02 is a candidate with strong affiliations with Islamic groups and a group against LGBT. Meanwhile, Golkar's position in the 2019 election was divided into two groups [22] so that it is biased to say that it is purely affiliated with groups that are for or against LGBT.

Text production is closely related to how the patterns and routines of news formation on the editorial desk. This process involves many people and many stages [6]. In this context, the routine carried out by the editorial team, journalists (also as scriptwriters), to the sources involved in the news. This practice is a media routine that will affect news coverage. As explained in the dimensional analysis of the text, the reporting approach used by *Tirto.id* is the precision journalism approach. Therefore, the news produced by *Tirto.id* is always based on empirical facts. The issues raised by *Tirto.id* can be said to be brave and not raised by the mainstream media (media that are pro to specific interest groups). These issues are generally still classified as current issues and are widely discussed by the public (current issue).

3.3 Dimensions of Sociocultural Practice (Macrostructural)

The sociocultural practice is a dimension that relates to contexts outside the text, such as when the news is made and the institutional practices of the media themselves about certain societies or cultures and politics [23]. The analysis of sociocultural practices based on the assumption that the social context outside the media affects how the discourse appears in the media [24]. This will illustrate how the forces that exist in society interpret and spread the dominant ideology to society. Fairclough made three levels of analysis on sociocultural practice: situational, institutional, and social [25].

The situational aspect relates to the production and the context of the situation [26]. This aspect is of concern because it will show how the text is produced and produced in a unique and unique condition so that the text becomes different from other texts [6]. The news text is built based on the polemic that arose as a result of the Family Resilience Bill. As has been revealed in the analysis of the discourse practice dimensions above, the Draft Law on Family Resilience is considered detrimental to LGBT groups, especially in Article 86 and Article 87. Due to this problem, news texts were produced by presenting three groups with interest as sources; namely, the first group came from LGBT perpetrators. The second

group came from the Family Resilience Bill (members of the People's Representative Council). The third group came from activists who thought the articles in the bill were problematic.

Through this news, the editorial team built the ideology that LGBT people always get discrimination from certain groups. Then, on the one hand, the editorial team also wants to give space to LGBT groups in voicing their movements, which have been considered to be carried out in private. This news finally built an ideology that some groups are trying to eradicate LGBT existence in various ways, including the minority group as a form of sexual deviance in the Family Resilience Bill. Even so, the editorial team framed the news with a title that seemed to support the People's Representative Council's efforts to eradicate the existence of LGBT through its bill.

Tirto.id wants to present something that is based on empirical evidence, especially what happens in the field (the perpetrators of the community). The editorial team wants to convey that LGBT groups have very complex problems by showing the influence of organizational institutions in the practice of producing a discourse, as stated by Eriyanto [6]. This institution originates from the media itself and external forces that determine the news production process. From this perspective, it can be seen that *Tirto.id* has carried out its ideology through the news. On its official page, *Tirto.id*'s vision is listed as a medium that presents clear, enlightening, insightful, contextual, in-depth, investigative, factual writings. Quantitative and qualitative—both secondary and primary, and can be accounted for [20].

The social aspect dramatically influences the discourse that appears in the news. According to Fairclough, the discourse that appears in the media is determined by changes in society. The social aspect here will look more at macro aspects, such as the political system, the economic system, or the cultural system [6]. The news production is motivated by the emergence of the Family Resilience Bill, but this news is also motivated by efforts to eliminate discrimination experienced by minority groups (LGBT). *Tirto.id*, which considers that its organization stands above and for all groups, non-partisan, and does not work for any political interests, has made the news displayed bold enough to break the hegemony of the rulers—in this case, the People's Representative Council.

In the news, it was stated that based on research conducted by Arus Pelangi in 2016, it was found that the house was the second institution that contributed to violence and discrimination against LGBT people. Whereas in the first position is the social environment (friends, groups, etc.). Also, according to researchers from the Support Group and Resource Center on Sexuality Studies (SGRC),

it is feared that the rules in the Family Resilience Bill will perpetuate violence against LGBT groups by their families. There are no standardized studies that have been tested to successfully change or restore a person's sexual orientation [17]. From the description of the news, it can be seen that the public still underestimated the existence of LGBT groups.

In Indonesia, religion, state, and education are the three institutions that are very powerful in determining and disciplining the body, in this case, sexuality. This institution regulates how sexuality is presented, namely a private matter which must be regulated in its appearance in the public sphere [27]. Indonesian society rejects the existence of LGBT because it contradicts traditional and religious values. With this understanding, an idea was raised by several party factions in the People's Representative Council to include LGBT as a form of sexual deviation in the Family Resilience Bill.

IV. CONCLUSION

From the analysis that has been carried out using the Fairclough CDA theory, it can be seen that the identity construction of LGBT groups is formed and displayed in the news text on Tirto.id. The news about LGBT presented by Tirto.id, shows the inclination of this online media towards LGBT, especially in human rights. Through this news, the editors built the ideology that LGBT always gets discrimination from certain groups. Then, on the one hand, the editors also want to make room for LGBT groups to voice their movements that have been considered to be conducted in private. The news produced by Tirto.id is always based on empirical facts. The issues raised by Tirto.id can be said to be bold and are not raised by the mainstream media (media that are pro against certain interest groups).

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