

Textual Analysis of Hegemony Discourse Construction PT. PLN in the Perspective of Norman Fairclough Critical Discourse Analysis



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ABSTRACT: The state's monopoly (hegemony) over the management of natural resources, especially in the electricity sector in the mid-late 2020s, is threatened by the passing of the Job Creation Law by President Jokowi, which aims to increase economic growth through foreign investment. The Job Creation Law allows investors to invest capital in Indonesian companies, including State-Owned Enterprises (BUMN). The ratification of the Job Creation Bill was rejected by employees and workers of state-owned companies because they were deemed not to be on the side of the people. As a result, demonstrations emerged demanding that the ratification of this bill be cancelled, including by BUMN employees and workers in the electricity sector. This article discusses state monopoly (hegemony) through PT. PLN in the news of union and labor demonstrations in the electricity sector in the news *"Serikat Pekerja PLN Sebut Omnibus Law Ancam Perusahaan Listrik Nasional"* (PLN Workers Union Says Omnibus Law Threatens National Electricity Company) uses Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis, and reveals the ideology hiding behind the text "PT's concern. PLN towards the people who are suspected of being oppressed if PT's monopoly rights. PLN in the electricity sector is revoked." Metaphors and other terms are used in the text to obscure the main intention, namely perpetuating PT PLN's hegemony over national electricity management. In other words, the text commodifies society to maintain PT PLN's hegemony over the electricity sector.

KEYWORDS: BUMN electricity, Fairclough, hegemony, ideology, commodification

INTRODUCTION

The state's monopoly (hegemony) over the management of natural resources and production branches that are directly related to the livelihoods of many people is guaranteed by the 1945 Constitution, article 33 paragraphs (2) and (3). This foundation is the basis for monopolies carried out by Badan Usaha Milik Negara (BUMN) (State-Owned Enterprises) so that they are immune from regulations prohibiting monopolistic practices (Law No. 5 year of 1999). By monopolizing the management of the natural resources branch, BUMN promises to guarantee the availability of energy (electricity and fuel) to support economic activities and community welfare.

In mid-late 2020, this monopoly was threatened by the passing of the Job Creation Law by President Jokowi, which aims to increase economic growth through foreign investment. The Job Creation Law allows investors to invest capital in Indonesian companies, including state-owned companies. The ratification of the Job Creation Bill was rejected by employees and workers of state-owned companies because they were deemed not to be on the side of the people. Demonstrations emerged demanding that the ratification of this bill be cancelled, including by BUMN employees and workers in the electricity sector.

Trade unions in the electricity sector continue to demand the cancellation of the ratification of the Job Creation Law because of their concerns about the possibility of privatization and the influx of foreign workers in the electricity sector. The impacts that are feared to arise from privatization include the commodification of electricity resources as a natural resource for the livelihood of many people. The basis of the argument of the workers' union in the electricity sector which strengthens its demand to cancel the Job Creation Law is mainly the issue of the threat of high electricity rates if this branch of production is not controlled by the state.

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The discourse about privatizing the electricity sector has actually been around for a long time, mainly because of poor service to customers by the company holding power in the electricity sector, namely PT. Perusahaan Listrik Negara (PLN) (State Electricity Company) (CNN Indonesia, 2020). However, it was never realized because the government still saw the urgency of PT PLN's monopoly rights or hegemony over the country's electricity. Hegemony rights that PT. PLN has been fighting for this since 1972 through its status as Pemegang Kuasa Usaha Ketenagalistrikan (PKUK) (Electricity Business Authorization Holder).

Based on the description above, this article will reveal the ideology behind PT's efforts. PLN maintains its hegemony in national electricity management through news text analysis. This presentation will show how PT PLN's ideology works to continue to be a BUMN that monopolizes national electricity management. The object of research in this paper is a news text from the TEMPO online portal entitled "Serikat Pekerja PLN Sebut Omnibus Law Ancam Perusahaan Listrik Nasional" (PLN Workers Union Says Omnibus Law Threatens National Electricity Company) which was published on www.bisnis.tempo.co on 16 August 2020.

RESEARCH METHOD

Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis Method was chosen to help researchers dismantle and interpret predetermined news texts. This Method is needed in this research because This Method sees discourse as text. In news texts there is discourse that is constructed from objective reality. Therefore, news texts already contain ideologies that influence the readers' or listeners' thoughts about an event or phenomenon. Haryatmoko (2019) explains that Fairclough describes a discourse in various ways, there are variations of stories or reports, they can be fictitious, literal, virtual or representative. Various ways of describing reality express certain interests, aims and objectives. Discourse as social praxis directs its focus to analyzing organizations, institutions, group relations, structures, socio-political processes to be studied at the level of discourse, communication and interaction (Haryatmoko, 2019: 23). This method can be used to analyze various types of texts, including media texts, literary works, and even slogans in demonstrations (Mudiawati, Yusak, and Bibit, 2023). Research using the this method uncovers texts through analyzing linguistic aspects such as diction, word and sentence selection to find the ideology hiding in the text. Fairclough's model includes analysis of the text production process which identifies semiotic aspects in the text, (2) interpretation process using relevant social theories, and (3) analysis of socio-cultural praxis (Haryatmoko, 2019: 19-26). In relation to this Tempo news text, this critical discourse analysis makes it possible to explain the phenomenon of social practice in the form of demonstrations by the PLN labor union which rejected the Omnibus Law which was considered to threaten the national electricity monopoly.

Gramsci's ideas about hegemony are used in this research to understand the hegemonic practices carried out by PT PLN and their efforts to maintain it. In Gramsci's perspective, hegemony is carried out by "a dominant group in civil society to gain power through consensus" (Simon, 2004: 19). This "hegemonic class group" maintains its dominant power through a "system of political and ideological struggle alliances" based on "people's struggle" (Simon, 2004: 22-24). This principle of people's struggle will become the consensus hoped for by the hegemonic class group so that their "leadership" is recognized and hegemony can be continued (ibid: 28).

One of the characteristics of the practice of hegemony is that once a class group becomes hegemonic, that class group will make every effort to maintain its hegemony. When hegemony is threatened, the dominant class group will make adjustments or restructure so that hegemony can be maintained. This adjustment can take the form of changing ideology, reorganizing the alliance system with non-dominant groups, or "reviving popular struggle through an organic crisis" (ibid: 45).

• Semiotic Aspects in the Text

PT PLN's efforts (through the labor union) to maintain its hegemony in the electricity sector can be found, one way, by dismantling social irregularities in the semiotic aspect contained in the news text about the labor union demonstration in the electricity sector. The dismantling aims to link texts, discursive practices and social praxis. The social irregularity in this news is the rejection of the Omnibus Law Draft Law or Job Creation Bill in the electricity sector by trade unions and laborers.

The social irregularities found in the text are proven by the vocabulary and use of terms that seem to imply siding with the people. The first is the use of the terms, "menolak Omnibus Law Rancangan Undang-Undang atau RUU Cipta Kerja" (reject the Omnibus Law Draft Law or Job Creation Bill) (paragraph 1), "RUU Cipta Kerja akan membuat ekonomi masyarakat lebih terpuruk" (The Job Creation Bill will make society's economy worse) (paragraph 1), " dalam RUU ini terdapat pasal-pasal yang berpotensi menyebabkan listrik dikuasai oleh pihak swasta atau asing" (in this bill there are articles- articles that have the potential to cause electricity to be controlled by private or foreign parties) (paragraph 2), " Jika listrik tidak lagi kuasai oleh negara, maka hal ini berpotensi menyebabkan kenaikan tarif listrik" (If electricity is no longer controlled by the state, then this has the potential to cause an increase in electricity rates) (paragraph 2), " harga listrik akan mahal" (electricity prices will be expensive) (paragraph 2),

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"Semua ini semata-mata untuk memastikan agar listrik sebagai cabang produksi penting dan menguasai hajat hidup orang banyak tetap dalam penguasaan negara" (All of this is solely to ensure that electricity as an important branch of production and controlling the livelihoods of many people remains under state control) (paragraph 6), "agar masyarakat sadar, jika omnibus law disahkan, maka rakyat akan mengalami kerugian" (so that the public is aware that if the omnibus law is passed, the people will experience losses) (paragraph 6). These sentences try to illustrate the importance of prioritizing the people and state sovereignty in the electricity sector. So the government has an interest in reconsidering the ratification of the Omnibus Law on the Job Creation Bill in the electricity sector. However, efforts to reject this actually turned into pressure from PLN trade unions and workers who invited the public to jointly reject the government's ratification of the bill.

Second, the use of the names of organizations in the sentence, "Selain SP PLN, mereka yang menyuarakan penolakan ini di antaranya yaitu Persatuan Pegawai Indonesia Power (PPIP), Serikat Pekerja Pembangkit Jawa – Bali (SP PJB), Serikat Pekerja Elektronik Elektrik – FSPMI (SPEE-FSPMI), dan Federasi Serikat Buruh Kerakyatan Indonesia (Serbuk)" (Apart from SP PLN, those who voiced this rejection include the Indonesian Power Employees Association (PPIP), the Java - Bali Power Plant Workers Union (SP PJB), the Electrical Electronics Workers Union - FSPMI (SPEE -FSPMI), and the Federation of Indonesian People's Trade Unions (Serbuk)) (paragraph 4) gives the impression that it is as if those voicing this rejection are the parties representing the people in the electricity sector. It is as if the people's voices were represented, as if the people were invited to negotiate regarding this rejection, and as if the people agreed with what was expressed by these organizations. In fact, in this case the people are being borrowed or commodified to strengthen PLN's dominance or monopoly. Because if you look at the reality on the ground, many people are actually complaining and being disadvantaged by PLN's services. People are always in a weak or disadvantaged position. If a customer is late paying their electricity bill, for example, the electricity network will be cut off the next day. On the other hand, when electricity goes out frequently and results in losses for customers, especially disrupting work productivity or causing damage to various types of electronic equipment, PLN cannot be sued and does not receive sanctions, while the people who suffer losses do not receive compensation. In other words, the people are controlled by PLN because they have no other choice but to depend on PLN to access electrical energy.

Third is the use of the statement "sangat bertentangan dengan konstitusi dan membahayakan kedaulatan Negara Republik Indonesia" (totally contrary to the constitution and endangers the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia) (paragraph 3), wanting to illustrate that there is a negative situation that will characterize this country if the omnibus law in the electricity management sector is passed. This has a threatening connotation and gives the impression of being in conflict with procedures that seem non-negotiable and of the highest value in the interests of the state. However, the depiction of this situation actually shows the ideological meaning of strengthening PLN's power as the party that must continue to dominate/monopolize the availability of electricity in Indonesia.

In this text you can also find metaphors such as "Pasal zombie" (zombie article), "cabang produksi penting" (important branch of production), "hajat hidup orang banyak" (the lives of many people), "Omnibus Law Menyelengkuhi Putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi = Inkonstitusional (Omnibus Law Cheating on Constitutional Court Decision = Unconstitutional)." These metaphors function as rhetoric that persuades and convinces the public or people to commit to continuing to reject the Omnibus Law. This metaphor is also used by the labor union to show that the article in the Omnibus Law is not suitable as an article in the law which states a monopoly on electricity because the state ideology which concerns the lives of many people must be handled properly by the state which is the sole driving force for achieving justice. and the welfare of many people (Haryatmoko, 2019). In this case, the parties who are persuaded and convinced are the government and society in general, the people reading this news in particular. The metaphor here is used by PLN trade unions and workers and their allies to convince the public and government to cancel the Omnibus Law on the Job Creation Bill in the electricity sector.

In this text there are four text structures that reveal the logic of argumentation. First, starting with the concerns of trade unions and workers in the electricity sector who reject the Omnibus Law on the Job Creation Bill. This concern was expressed through the argument that the ratification of the Job Creation RUBB would only make the community's economy worse off. Second, in this bill there are articles that have the potential to cause electricity to be controlled by private or foreign parties. "Jika listrik tidak lagi kuasai oleh negara, maka hal ini berpotensi menyebabkan kenaikan tarif listrik, sehingga harga listrik akan mahal" (If electricity is no longer controlled by the state, then this has the potential to cause an increase in electricity rates, so that electricity prices will be expensive) (paragraph 2). Third, the Job Creation Bill is completely contrary to the constitution and endangers the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia. Fourth, the parties those representing (the voice of the people) fighting for the above things are, Serikat Pekerja PLN (SP PLN) (the PLN Workers Union), Persatuan Pegawai Indonesia Power (PPIP) (the Indonesian Power Employees Association), Serikat Pekerja Pembangkit Jawa – Bali (SP PJB) (the Java – Bali Power Plant Workers Union), Serikat Pekerja Elektronik Elektrik – FSPMI (SPEE-FSPMI) (the Electrical Electronics Workers Union – FSPMI), and Federasi Serikat Buruh

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Kerakyatan Indonesia (Serbuk) (the Federation of Indonesian People's Trade Unions). The conclusion from these four premises is very clear, namely, the government and the people must side with the struggle of trade unions and workers in the electricity sector so that national electricity remains monopolized by PLN.

The vocabulary used and the meaning of the words tend to give a picture that leads to a struggle for sole control/PLN monopoly over the management of national electricity in the name of the people. In this case, trade unions and workers in the electricity sector make people into commodities. However, in the news text there is absolutely no description of public complaints regarding the increase in electricity rates if the omnibus law bill is passed. The description of the community's economic difficulties as voiced by those opposing the ratification of the Omnibus Law Bill is also not stated in the text.

• Unrevealed part in the Text

The community or people mentioned in the text are made into commodities by trade unions and laborers in the electricity sector, or commodified because their names are sold to strengthen PLN's hegemony as the holder of full power over national electricity management. Commodification itself is the transformation of goods, services, ideas and people into commodities or trade objects. Commodities are basically anything that is intended to be exchanged, or any object that can have economic value (Appadurai, 2005). Commodification is often criticized because not everything can be made into a commodity, for example bodies (prostitution), human (slavery), or disasters. The media dramatization of the Sriwijaya Air SJ-182 plane crash disaster (2021) is sexier for sale, rather than digging up information about the causes of the plane crash which claimed many victims (Syaefudin and Arif, 2021) is an example of a form of commodification of disasters, because it does not ethical.

Why is it said here that society is commodified? Because it is important to highlight PLN services from the real community perspective. There are quite a few public complaints about PLN regarding policies and services to consumers. PLN tends to be an electricity provider company that is not service oriented towards consumers, instead it is "served by consumers" (CNN Indonesia, 2020).

The impact of PT PLN monopolizing national electricity is that the community's electricity needs are very dependent on PT PLN, but they themselves are unable to evenly and fairly meet the community's electricity needs. There are quite a lot of areas where electricity needs have not been met. Apart from that, PLN often carries out unilateral power outages, both informatively and non-informatively (Kompas, 2019; Bere, Astri, Meksianis, 2023). This incident caused significant losses to society, and investors became reluctant to invest.

Apart from frequent blackouts, PLN's unilateral decision was also made without notification of the basis for the decision regarding the increase in the basic electricity tariff. PLN is suspected of unilaterally increasing the basic electricity tariff, which is why PLN is deemed not to be on the side of the people (Ramadhani, 2020). During the pandemic, quite a few workers lost their jobs. The burden on society becomes heavier with the increase in electricity rates. During the Large-Scale Social Restrictions (PSBB) period, PLN received 2,900 public complaints due to the increase in monthly electricity bills. The majority of customers who complained about the tariff increase were those with 900 VA power. Another case was the blackout on August 4 2019 which caused losses for MRT Jakarta passengers because the train stopped operating due to the lack of electricity supply so that passengers were trapped in the train and could not continue their journey. Even though in this case the MRT provided compensation equal to the ticket price and provided free services until the end of MRT Jakarta operations on the day the blackout occurred (Sunardi and Bernadetta, 2020), the losses for passengers in terms of time and the impact on the smooth running of their business on that day could not be replaced with the equivalent of the ticket price.

The most detrimental complaint from customers is the implementation of the policy of revoking electricity meters for customers who are late in paying for several days. In news quoted from balpos.com (2020), PLN removed the electricity meter from the house of a man who was late paying his electricity bill of Rp. 60,000 for 6 (six) days. Even though they had shown proof of payment, PLN officers did not immediately reinstall the electricity meter. Threats According to the man, PLN officers were considered too quick to remove the electricity meter. When the man confirmed with PLN, he received an answer that he had been being monitored and flagged by PLN officers because he was often late in paying his electricity bill every month. From the incident that happened to the man, it is clearly visible that PLN officers acted unilaterally in carrying out action or collecting. The revocation was carried out without confirmation to the home owner, either verbally or with a letter of warning.

• Revealing PLN Ideology

Ideology is a concrete part of social praxis. "Ideology is seen as the way people position themselves as social subjects" (Althusser in Haryatmoko, 2019: 2). Therefore, "language becomes the main focus because language is seen from an ideological perspective, which means that language is seen in the ideological construction of the subject" (M. Wetherell in Haryatmoko, 2019: 2). Larrain (1996) explains that ideology can be interpreted positively and negatively. On the one hand, ideology can be interpreted in

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negative terms, as a critical concept which means a form of false consciousness or the need to carry out oppression, in the sense of how it distorts people's understanding of a social reality. On the other hand, the concept of ideology can be interpreted as an expression of a perspective regarding class. If subjective, ideology can be understood as an altered form of consciousness that somehow cannot understand reality as it should. If it is objective, then ideology can appear as deception caused by reality itself, not the subject distorting reality, but reality itself deceiving the subject (Larran, 1996: 2). In Gramsci's perspective, ideology has a big influence because through language it wants to depict power and power struggles which rely on agreement on a form of organization/consensus which is a form of conscious subordination built without violence, but based on culture and intellectual persuasion (Gramsci, 1971: 58- 59). PT PLN is the party carrying out the hegemonic practices in question and trying to maintain them. Because in Gramsci's perspective, hegemony is carried out by "a dominant group in civil society to gain power through consensus" (Simon, 2004: 19). In this case, the consensus held by PT PLN is the 1945 Constitution Article 33 paragraph 2. As a hegemonic party, PT PLN maintains its dominant power through an alliance system of political and ideological struggle through demonstrations against the Omnibus Law on the Job Creation Bill in the name of the people. This is in line with the principle of hegemony which is maintained through people's struggle. This principle of people's struggle was discussed and legitimized in the 1945 Constitution, becoming a consensus that PT PLN hoped for so that its "leadership" in the national electricity sector was recognized so that hegemony could continue.

Hegemony can be countered with a counter discourse that raises people's awareness to be critical of domination. These critical ideas must allow marginalized voices to be expressed. In this way, freedom will find its meaning because it opens up possible ways to act. In the context of this research, critical awareness is needed to see the ideology that PLN unions and workers are fighting for when they reject the ratification of the Omnibus Law on the Job Creation Bill as a means of maintaining their dominance. By looking at this, we can reflect that the demonstration was an effort that did not just appear, but carried an ideological mission to strengthen hegemony.

In an effort to fight this hegemony, something that makes it possible to fight this is by presenting a counter discourse. This is needed because it is one of the ways of liberation with a positive aim to side with the people. Counter discourse is an effort taken to provide an alternative meaning to the dominant discourse.

The ideology related to PLN's monopoly by rejecting the formulation of the Omnibus Law through the social practice of this demonstration is a method taken to maintain monopoly in the national electricity sector. In this regard, in this case the social order requires social disorder because it is actually manipulating society's needs to maintain the status quo.

If you look at the presentation of the argument of the article entitled "PLN Workers Union Says Omnibus Law Threatens National Electricity Company" it shows as if there is no way out to overcome social disorder. Things that need to be considered for implementation are electricity privatization with regulations that favor the public. By privatizing the electricity sector, PLN is no longer immune from Law No. 5 of 1999 which prohibits monopolistic practices and unfair competition. Privatization will force PLN to improve its services to communities that have been neglected. Privatization will also encourage PLN to compete healthily with other electricity companies and the company will be healthier because the business is run with a profit orientation. Healthy competition really benefits society because people are given a variety of service options. BUMN PT. Telkom for example. Without monopolizing the national telecommunications sector, Telkom is forced to improve its customer service because it has to compete with other telecommunications and internet service competitors so that the company does not close due to abandonment by its customers. Likewise with other state-owned companies operating in the quality fuel oil (BBM) business sector, where Pertamina (Persero) competes on prices competitively with a number of private business entities. For Shell alone, by 2022, there will be 192 Public Fuel Filling Stations (SPBU) (Agung, 2022; Wahyudi, 2022).

Another solution that can be implemented as a counter discourse so that people are not too dependent on PLN is that people are educated to look for alternative and renewable energy sources for household electricity consumption, such as socializing the conversion of solar energy into electrical energy with the help of safe solar panels or solar cells, cost-effective and environmentally friendly (Dewi, Sudarti, Yushardi, 2023). The next alternative electrical energy that can be used for household consumption is by using a device that can convert wind into electrical energy, namely a wind turbine, where this wind turbine will capture wind energy and drive an alternator which will later convert motion energy into electrical energy (Firmansyah, Fis, Budhi, 2020). In areas that have quite a lot of rivers and are even remote, people can get alternative electrical energy by utilizing waterwheels which are used to generate electrical energy, as a solution to obtain electricity continuously by utilizing river water flow as a driving force for electric generators (Elfiano, Kurnia, Apriyan, 2017).

The possibility of things happening that will be detrimental to society (high basic electricity tariffs) can be overcome with the government's strategic role. The government as the maker and regulator of regulations becomes the police that regulates

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competition between electricity companies. Regulations made by the government must be legal products that are able to provide justice for society.

CONCLUSION

Based on the analysis, the construction of PT's hegemonic discourse. PLN in the news of demonstrations by unions and laborers in the electricity sector is represented in the news text "PLN Workers Union Says Omnibus Law Threatens National Electricity Company". The representation includes vocabulary, terms, sentences and text structure. In the use of vocabulary, it can be seen that the choice is directed towards an effort to show PT's concern. PLN towards the people who are suspected of being oppressed if PT's monopoly rights. PLN in the electricity sector is revoked. The metaphors and other terms used clearly obscure the main intention, namely perpetuating PT PLN's monopoly over national electricity management. In other words, PT PLN commodifies society to maintain its hegemony over the electricity sector.

An effort to fight this hegemony is to present a rival discourse, to provide an alternative meaning to the dominant discourse. The counter discourse that can be used as an alternative here is, firstly, implementing electricity privatization with regulations that support the public so that there is healthy competition and is oriented towards public services. The second is to educate the public so that they are not too dependent on PLN by looking for alternative and renewable energy sources for household electricity consumption, such as socializing (a) converting solar energy into electrical energy with the help of solar panels or solar cells, (b) converting wind into electrical energy by using wind turbines, (c) in areas that have quite a lot of rivers and are remote, people can get electrical energy by using waterwheels.

This research has limitations because it cannot show the tendency of Tempo media's affiliation towards PT PLN's hegemonic discourse. Further research is needed that discusses this by analyzing more news content related to the PT PLN monopoly.

Corpus

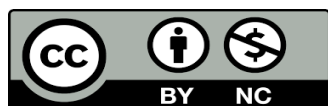
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