

## Corruption News in Online Media Post Amendment of the 2019 Corruption Eradication Commission Law

**Riswandi, Ellys Lestari Pambayun, and Rahmadya Putra Nugraha**  
Faculty of Communication Science, Universitas Mercu Buana  
riswandi@mercubuana.ac.id

### Abstract

The process of the new commissioner election and the amendment to the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) received public attention due to the controversial agenda and arguably had weakened the KPK. The purpose of this study is to describe the discourse of Kompas.com, CNN Indonesia, and Republika.co.id regarding corruption after the amendment of the KPK law using Teun Van Dijk's critical discourse method and news text analysis unit from 21 December 2019-29 February 2020. The results found that at the level of macro structure, superstructure, and micro structure, the three online media discourse advocacy and support for the KPK and criticism of Joko Widodo's government in detail, systematically, and with minimal lexicons and metaphors, and represent public aspirations for the KPK as an independent institution in eradicating corruption. The results on the macro, superstructure, and micro-level showed that Kompas.com established defense and support discourse to the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption through detailed, systematic reporting, without lexicons and metaphors. Contrastingly, CNN Indonesia emphasized on the facts of real actions taken by the Corruption Eradication Commission in combating corruption and the amount of losses. Moreover, Republika.co.id emphasized on the weakness in the revised law of the KPK and reinforces its hypothesis of the news with the proper metaphor.

**Keywords:** corruption; corruption eradication commission; media; government; discourse

### Abstrak

*Proses pemilihan komisioner Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi (KPK) dan amandemen Undang-Undang KPK mendapat perhatian publik karena agendanya kontroversial dan melemahkan KPK. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah mendeskripsikan wacana Kompas.com, CNN Indonesia, dan Republika.co.id tentang korupsi pasca amandemen undang-undang KPK dengan metode wacana kritis Teun Van Dijk dan unit analisis teks berita 21 Desember 2019-29 Februari 2020. Hasilnya menunjukkan bahwa pada tataran struktur makro, suprastruktur, dan struktur mikro, ketiga media tersebut mewacanakan advokasi dan dukungan kepada KPK dan kritik terhadap pemerintahan Joko Widodo dengan rinci, sistematis, dan minim leksikon dan metafora, serta merepresentasikan aspirasi publik terhadap KPK sebagai lembaga independen dalam pemberantasan korupsi. Analisis pada struktur makro, suprastruktur, dan struktur mikro menunjukkan bahwa Kompas.com membangun wacana pembelaan dan dukungan kepada Komisi Pemberantasan Tindak Pidana Korupsi melalui pemberitaan yang rinci, sistematis, tanpa leksikon, dan metafora. Sebaliknya, CNN Indonesia menegaskan pada fakta tindakan nyata yang dilakukan Komisi Pemberantasan Tindak Pidana Korupsi dalam pemberantasan korupsi beserta jumlah kerugiannya. Selain itu, Republika.co.id menekankan pada kelemahan revisi UU KPK dan memperkuat hipotesisnya dengan metafora yang tepat.*

**Kata kunci:** korupsi; komisi pemberantasan korupsi; media; pemerintah; wacana

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**Korespondensi:** Drs. Riswandi, M.Si., Fakultas Ilmu Komunikasi Universitas Mercu Buana, Jl. Raya, Meruya Selatan No. 1, Kec. Kembangan, Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta, 11650, Email: riswandi@mercubuana.ac.id

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## INTRODUCTION

Joko Widodo, the president of Indonesia, officially inaugurated five agency executives of the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption (KPK) at the Istana Negara, Jakarta, Friday (20/12). Five agency executives inaugurated are Firli Bahuri as the chairman, Alexander Marwata, Nurul Ghufon, Nawawi Pamolango, and Lili Pintauli Siregar as the vice-chairman. They were inaugurated under the presidential decree No. 112/P/2019 and No. 129/P/2019 on the inauguration of the chairman of the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption 2019-2023 (Ihsanudin, 2019).

The society responded to the inauguration of the new commissioner after the amendment of the law on the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption (UU KPK) 2019 in various point of views, such as the positive hopes mentioned by Ray Rangkuti, founder of Lingkar Madani, who urged Firli Bahuri to solve important cases from the previous period such as BLBLI, Century Bank, and electronic resident identity card (*e-KTP*). He believed that the cases should be solved to prove that Firli is the right person to lead the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption. Furthermore, the government with parliament has revised Law on the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption which is claimed to strengthen the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption (Wardah, 2019).

On the other hand, a portion of the society perceive the inauguration in a pessimistic view that the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption under the new commissioner could eradicate the corruption because since the beginning of the ratification of the amendment. The process of the amendment was perceived as deformed since it was conducted without involving KPK and also the public. They even claimed, "We do not need the public," and the process was growing absurd when the parliament spent the last days of their working period to revise the Law on the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption (Lolo, 2020).

The discussion process on the amendment of Law on the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption by the parliament and the government became the highlight since it only needed 11 days from draft submission to the discussion in the standing committee of the parliament. Joko Widodo had 60 days in the discussion process of the law. Pros and cons appeared because several points of the amendment will weaken the performance of the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption (Movanita & Rastika, 2019).

During the first period of his governance, Joko Widodo was able to manage a good relationship with the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption and listen to wide public aspirations when facing political dynamics related to the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption. However, during the end of the first period of the governance, the relationship between the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption and Jokowi seemed to be not well-managed. The sign was the controversy of the result of chairman candidates and the peak was the amendment of the law on the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption approved by the government and the parliament (Kurniawan & Hermawan, 2019).

Looking deeper into news headlines at the end of 2019, the topic of corruption, especially regarding the selection process of the commissioner of the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption, received huge attention from the society. It is undeniable since corruption still becomes one of the reasons behind the fall of the nation's economy. The situation became worse as corruption was committed systematically. It doesn't only create chaos in the economy but it also violates social rights and the economy of the people. Thus, the eradication act should be done remarkably with certain strategies ("Sekilas KPK," 2020).

Corruption in Indonesia seems to be a disease that is difficult to cure. Various facts and realities convinced by the media have represented the identity of the nation, where corruption is

seen as a common crime both for the people from the lower social class and the elites. Several corruptors who have become convicts of corruption were acquitted from the court. The fact creates distrust from the society that the elites are not being serious in handling corruption. On the other hand, there is a strong indication that corruptors could be punished and become the accused if the court is decisive and clear in processing them under the law.

Corruption is interesting to be discussed because of three reasons. First, corruption is dealing with the economy of the society that should be allocated to the welfare of the nation under the law; Second, corruption is a crime that will bring downfall to the country. Adjudicating the corruptors would not solve the issue. We need to educate and prevent the people and also the elites from committing the act of corruption; Third, parties who are involved in corruption are those who have been elected to represent the society and are educated (Saifulloh, 2017).

The polemic of eradicating corruption does not only occur in Indonesia but also many countries worldwide, even those who have been settled and developed. Thus, it is acceptable that society places hatred toward the corruptors. They even want the corruptors to be punished by death sentence through injection and electric shock (Kuntadhi, 2019). The Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption is an independent state institution that has the authority to perform their duties. The Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption is established not to take over the power of other institutions. The law explained that the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption plays a role as a trigger mechanism, which stimulates the corruption eradication efforts in existing institutions to create an effective and efficient eradication process (“Sekilas KPK,” 2020).

As the fourth pillar in a democratic country, the media in Indonesia appears to play an active role in uncovering and reporting on corruption cases, including supporting the efforts of the KPK in eradicating corruption. Even at the end of 2019, at a time when the election of a new commissioner was taking place and the revision of the KPK law by the House of Representatives, the media tended to often criticize the government and channel the aspirations of the people who rejected the revision of the law. Within the modern political context, media is not only an integral part of politics, but also the central. The draft policy should be spread to create transparency and stimulate the society to discuss the draft in any form of public discussion forum. The demand or aspiration from the people should be articulated by the media (Wijaya, BM, & Anshori, 2013). This research examined how the news discourse is constructed by Kompas.com, CNN Indonesia, and Republika.co.id regarding corruption/ the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption post the amendment of the law on the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption.

Mu'aliffin studied the issue and also the eradication of corruption in Indonesia. The results showed that corruption is a systemic crime, thus, the solution should be done systematically. The researcher urged three solutions, legal substance, the effort to strengthen the law on corruption eradication: strengthen the law institution through better understanding on the main tasks, function, and authority of the law institution: the effort to strengthen the law culture through the learning improvement and awareness building, especially education on Pancasila and morality (Mu'allifin, 2015).

Corruption from the perspective of bureaucracy and public administration present different results. The results showed the performance of the public administration lies in bureaucracy, thus reforming the state administration, which also means to reform the state bureaucracy. Corruption obstructs the bureaucracy and to avoid the obstruction, bureaucracy reformation could be taken to eradicate corruption and also to arrange public policy (Prasetyo & Suwitri, 2007).

A study conducted in 2019 found forms of corruption through her study which are bribery on difficult procedures and queue of public services, bribery on public bureaucracy monitoring, and bribery to increase economic power, providing the elite's influence to support corruptive act, and corruption for political party funding. Thus, to eradicate corruption, the law on political party funding was established to create a transparent and accountable funding (Adelina, 2019).

Natalia in 2019 studied the role of media in creating the public's perception of corruption eradication in Indonesia. The results showed that the media plays a role as a watchdog to the government, especially in conducting an investigative report on corruption and balancing the situation. However, the media could not reduce the corruption number in Indonesia alone. Instead, the key lies in the lack of memory of the society and control from the media that creates a bias on news regarding corruption eradication. The researcher recommended the importance of law that constitutes the role of the press as the watchdog in eradicating corruption in Indonesia to maintain the independence and quality of the journalists (Natalia, 2019).

Main factors of corruption are economic demands, environment, weak law enforcement, and lack of knowledge on anti-corruption. Eradication requires collaboration between the stakeholders and all the elements of the nation. The results of the corruption act are inefficiency, injustice, distrust, and unnecessary expenses (Suherry, 2017). Meanwhile, media conserves the grand narrative, which is the main narrative as the basis and standard to measure other narratives. The distribution of information on anti-corruption through media continuously is the form of the seriousness to eradicate corruption. Information on media is not only explaining the loss of the nation but also the sentence imposed on the corruptors (Makkuraga, 2017).

## METHOD

This research employed the Teun van Dijk model of Critical Discourse Analysis as explained previously. Discourse analysis is a study that analyzes language used naturally both written and verbal to the users as the element of the community. The discourse model employed in this research is social cognition from Teun A. Van Dijk. According to Van Dijk, research on discourse is not only based on text analysis as the text is not just from the production practice of certain text. As a researcher, we also should take a look into how a text is produced to gain knowledge and understanding of how a text is created (Eriyanto, 2011).

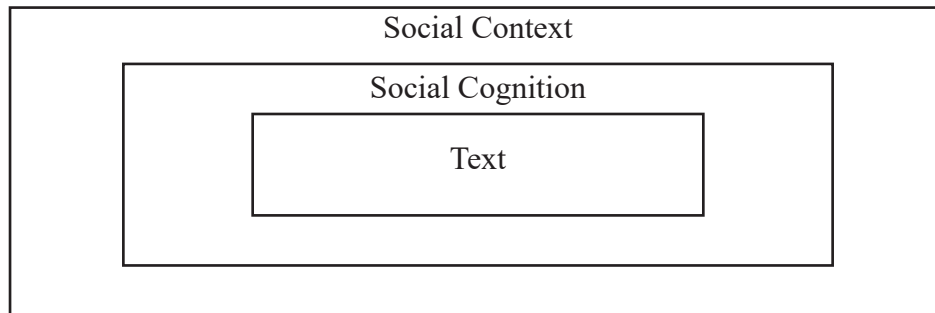
According to Van Dijk, discourse analysis has two aims: systematic and descriptive theories which are structure and strategy in various levels and written verbal discourse, seen both as textual objects and cultural and social practice between acts and relationships. The nature of this text is talking to relevant elements on cognitive structure, culture, social, and historical context.

Discourse has three dimensions, which are text, social cognition, and social context. The core of Van Dijk's analysis is to collaborate the three dimensions into one analysis. The in-text dimension studied is how text structure and discourse strategy used to emphasize a certain theme. On the social cognition level, the news text production process which involves writer individual cognitive is studied. On the other hand, the social context aspect studies discourse building which evolves within the society about a certain issue.

Van Dijk created a discourse analysis framework to perceive a discourse which contains several levels or structures of a text. Van Dijk divided the framework into three levels:

Macro Structure Global: meaning of a text that could be observed through the topic or theme discussed within a text. Superstructure Text framework: how the structure and element of discourse are arranged within a whole complete text that consists of an opening, content, closing, and conclusion. Micro Structure Local: meaning of a text could be observed through

the choice of words, sentences, and style within a certain text.



**Figure 1** Van Dijk Analysis Model Diagram

Source: Eriyanto (2011)

Meanwhile, the research and method scheme done within the framework of Van Dijk is explained below:

**Table 1.** Van Dijk Method and Research Scheme

STRUCTURE	METHOD
<b>Text</b> Analyze how discourse strategy is used to present someone or certain a phenomenon. How a textual strategy is used to marginalize certain groups, idea, or event.	Critical linguistic
<b>Social Cognition</b> Analyze how the writer's cognition understands someone or event that is going to be written.	Deep interview
<b>Social Context</b> Analyze how discourse develops in the society, production and reproduction process of an individual or presented event.	Literature review, historical tracing, and interview

Source: Eriyanto (2011)

On the other hand, the structure or element urged by Van Dijk could be presented as follows: thematic (theme or topic), schematic (scheme or plot), semantics (background, detail, meaning, presupposition, nominalization), syntax (arrangement of words, coherence, pronoun), lexicon (graphic, metaphor, expression) and rhetorical (persuasive power and is related to how a message is delivered to the public).

Van Dijk analysis framework urged the importance of social cognition. It is the mental awareness of the journalist which constructs the text. Thus, every text is produced from awareness, knowledge, presupposition, or understanding of a certain event. Within this framework, the journalist is not considered as neutral but individuals with various values, experiences, and ideological influence that he or she gained throughout life.

The event is understood based on a scheme or model. The scheme is conceptualized as a mental structure which includes point of views towards a human being, social role, and the event. There are several scheme or model that could be employed in analyzing the journalist's social cognition: Person Schemas, that describes how an individual describes and perceives others; Self-Schemas, which is related to how the self is perceived, understood, and described by an individual; Role Schemas, related to how an individual perceives and describes the role and position of someone within the society; Event Schemas, the most used scheme as every



event is always interpreted and understood with a certain scheme.

Social context is how communication discourse is produced in society. The key of the dimension is to show how meaning is shared, social power is produced through discourse and legitimation. According to van Dijk, there are two important points; power and access. Power is defined as ownership of a certain group or member to control other groups or individuals. It is also called domination because it can influence the social context of the news. Second, access to affecting discourse. Access is how the majority have more access than the minority to media in affecting discourse.

Primary data were obtained through observation on news published by Kompas.com, CCN Indonesia, and Republika.co.id, while secondary data were obtained through literature reviews such as books, journals, and relevant websites. The object of this research is news on corruption published in Kompas.com, CNN Indonesia, and Republika.co.id from 21<sup>st</sup> December 2019 to 29<sup>th</sup> January 2020. There were 54 corruption news published on Kompas.com, 13 corruption news on CNN Indonesia, and 11 corruption news on Republika.co.id. This research chose 12 samples from Kompas.com, 11 samples from CNN Indonesia, and 8 samples from Republika.co.id, with 31 news in total determined as research samples.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The results on the macrostructure level showed that Kompas.com emphasized the theme of defense and support for the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption to be consistent as an independent institution to eradicate corruption. It could be seen through how the “defense and support” concept was urged more often than CNN Indonesia and Republika.co.id from December 2019 to January 2020. The headlines that represent the concept are: 1) PKS: the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption Chairman Against Independence, 2) Critics the Presidential Regulation Draft, Demokrat Calls the President Wants to Dictate the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption, 3) Presidential Regulation Judged Against Law on the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption. On the other hand, news that tends to support are: 1) Commissioner of KPU Becomes the Suspect of Bribery, 2) People Call the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption to Investigate, 3) Challenged by the Case of Jiwasraya, Deputy Chairman of the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption: Monitoring is Enough.

The researcher also chose 11 news from CNN Indonesia and found nine titles whose contents tend to support the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption being consistent in eradicating corruption. There was a dominant concept presented repeatedly to support KPK in eradicating corruption. The titles are: 1) the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption Gave Out Iwa Karniwa’s File, the 10<sup>th</sup> Suspect of Meikarta, 2) The Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption Assigned the Regent of Sidoarjo as the Bribery Suspect, 3) The Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption Investigated Two Bribery Source of PDIP Politician to the Commissioner of KPU, 4) The Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption Seized US Dollar and Japan Yen in the House of Sidoarjo Regent, 5) The Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption Expected President to Issue Presidential Regulation on Supervisory Board, 6) Former Secretary of Supreme Court Filed Pretrial Hearing, 7) Ma’ruf Amin Calls Firli to Obey Law on Moonlighting, 8) The Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption Interrogated Jazilul Fawaid About Funding from Imam Nahrawi.

Republika.co.id emphasized the weakness theme on revised Law on the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption, although it presented support for the Commission

to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption at the same time. The headlines published are: 1) Supervisory Board Covers the Flaw of Revised Law on the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption, 2) Tumpak's Promises as the Chairman of Supervisory Board, 3) Chairman of the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption Affirm to Build Cooperation in Eradicating Corruption, 4) Supreme Court Secretary, Nurhadi, Didn't Fulfill the Call from the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption, 5) Chairman of the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption Expected to Create Conducive Investment Ecosystem.

**Table 2.** Research Result

LEVEL		MEDIA	FINDINGS
Text Analysis	Macro Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• KOMPAS</li> <li>• CNN</li> <li>• Republika</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Defends and supports KPK to be consistent as an independent corruption eradication agency.</li> <li>• Supports KPK to be consistent as an independent corruption eradication agency.</li> <li>• Highlights weaknesses in the amendments to KPK Law but also supports KPK</li> </ul>
	Super Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• KOMPAS</li> <li>• CNN</li> <li>• Republika</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Determine the theme first, then review it into sections starting with an introduction, and the further down the description the more concrete and detailed using quotation from news sources.</li> <li>• Starting with themes centered on the KPK's concrete steps in eradicating corruption</li> <li>• Determine the theme first, then review it into sections starting with an introduction, and the further down the description the more concrete and detailed using quotation from news sources.</li> </ul>
	Micro Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• KOMPAS</li> <li>• CNN</li> <li>• Republika</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Uncovering bribery cases; KPK to be independent; indicates that the Presidential Regulation on KPK is problematic.</li> <li>• The storyline in the form of facts was constructed by CNN Indonesia according to the theme.</li> <li>• Frequently using metaphors.</li> </ul>
Social Cognition		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• KOMPAS</li> <li>• Republika</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kompas journalists tend to be careful and conservative in reporting news.</li> <li>• Moderate display of media content and reinforcement of entertaining writings. Editorial decisions are determined by the length of time the journalist has worked.</li> </ul>
Social Context	Corruption news that has flared up in the online media after the amendment to the KPK Law cannot be separated from the momentum of the end of the 2015-2019 KPK commissioner term in December 2019, and the government's desire to revise Law Number 30 of 2002 concerning the Corruption Eradication Commission. Criticism and protests were conveyed by various components of society, ranging from politicians, academics, political observers, to civil society figures who care about corruption eradication, as expressed and reported by various national media after this law came into effect.		

Source: Research Result (2020)

The results on the superstructure level showed strategy used by Kompas.com in discoursing corruption after the amendment of Law on the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption. The strategy is by deciding the theme in the first place and then discussed

several parts. The parts were started from introduction or opening to more concrete and detailed elaboration, followed by quotations from interviewees.

The strategy could be seen through the headline “Aircraft Procurement Case, the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption Reschedules Examination of Former Garuda Director”. The theme presented was the bribery case of Garuda Indonesia Officials. On the opening of the text news, Kompas.com wrote, “Investigators of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) have rescheduled the examination of former PT Garuda Indonesia Director Soenarko Kuntjoro”. Furthermore, the other part emphasized, “This examination is related to the bribery case of procurement of aircraft and engines from Airbus SAS and Rolls-Royce PLC”.

Scheme arranged by CNN Indonesia is started by themes centered on tangible steps taken by the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption in eradicating corruption. The themes are “Alleged Bribery Iwa Karniwa”; “Determination of Regent Sidoarjo as Suspect”; “DPP PDIP Search Warrant”; “Source of PDIP Bribe”; “Supervisory Board Permission”; “Seizure Orders of US Dollar”; “the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption Reacts to ICW”; and “Presidential Regulation on Supervisory Board”. Based on the themes above, CNN Indonesia started the news with an opening as a brief elaboration of the theme. After that, CNN Indonesia operated the opening into explaining or detail parts as the content and ended with a closing.

The technique could be seen through the headline “the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption Gave Out Iwa Karniwa’s File, the 10<sup>th</sup> Suspect of Meikarta”. The opening was, “Investigators of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) have completed the file of suspected bribery in the Meikarta project’s licensing, Iwa Karniwa. The non-active secretary of West Java was allegedly responsible for smoothing the management of Bekasi Regency Spatial Detail Plan (RDTR). RDTR is an important part of the Meikarta development project.” The report was followed by, “Yuyuk Andriati said that Iwa’s file had now been transferred to the prosecution”. CNN Indonesia elaborated the opening above with, “In this case, Iwa allegedly received 900 million rupiahs from the former Head of Spatial Planning of Bekasi Regency Neneng Rahmi Nurlaili to take care RDTR”. It could be seen that there was a plot in the form of facts constructed by CNN Indonesia on the theme “Alleged Bribery Iwa Karniwa” into more detail and systematic elaboration.

The strategy of Republika.co.id in reporting news on corruption was based on the weakness in revised Law on the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption. The media, in line with the theme, also supports the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption to eradicate corruption. The support could be perceived through the plot that was arranged by the media in every report, as shown on the headline entitled “Supervisor: Supervisory Board to Cover the Weakness of the Revised Law on the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption”.

On the headline, the text was started by an opening, “Director of the Center for Constitutional Studies (Pusako) of the Law Faculty of Andalas University, Feri Amsari said, Jokowi wanted to cover up the negligence of Law No. 19 2019 on the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption by choosing a figure who was suitable to fill the Supervisory Board. According to him, the problem lies in the bad system in the Law on the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption.”

On the other part, the researcher also found a more detailed explanation: He explained, there are at least four problems. First; Under the law on the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption, the authority of the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption



is no longer in the highest structure of the institution as the position has been taken by the Supervisory Board. Second; The authority to issue a cessation of investigation and prosecution letter (SP3) is an authority that does not necessarily mean cases that have been handled for two years have not been able to develop in SP3. Third; Synergy is a must because, without the Supervisory Board, the Chairman of the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption are only administrative organizers. Fourth; People with a fair background who served as Supervisory Board members will certainly bring a fair condition, but the system built in the Law on the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption that has been badly supplied. According to Feri, the Law on the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption regulates too many unnecessary stages to eradicate corruption.”

The theme of support for the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption was presented through the scheming plot of the news of *Republika.co.id* entitled “Tumpak’s Promises as the Chairman of Supervisory Board”. The news was started by an opening, “The Supervisory Board of the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption still wants the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption as an independent law enforcement body to eradicate corruption. The Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Tumpak Hatorangan Panggabean, also emphasized that the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption would remain as the frontline to fight against corruption. ”Of course, we committed that the eradication of corruption must prioritize the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption as the frontline. That is our (Supervisory Board’s) promise” Tumpak Said.

The results on micro-level showed that through detail element, the pattern of news reported by *Kompas.com* seemed to expose the bribery cases, expect the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption to be more independent, and show that the Presidential Regulation is problematic, and claim that the moonlighting practice by Firli is a part of the conflict of interest. *CNN Indonesia* tried to expose the bribery cases, issues with the Supervisory Board, and report the debate between the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption and ICW. On the other hand, *Republika.co.id* discussed in detail about the importance of the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption’s role as the frontline in eradicating corruption, showed the weakness of the amendment of Law on the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption and reported the Chairman the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption’s vision to collaborate in eradicating corruption.

Furthermore, through the element of lexicon and metaphor, *Kompas.com* did not expose any report on corruption issues, while *CNN Indonesia* explained it through the sentence, “On the contrary to us, ICW during the era of Mr. Kurnia was increasingly extraordinary, the best, and undebatable. However, we surely don’t need it. It is a shame we are the worst to have to sit down to discuss with the best and smartest person like him”. The media relatively often constructed the element of nominalization in its reports. *Republika.co.id* reported the element of lexicon and metaphor with the sentence, “The supervisory Board is like a perfect dish cover. Jokowi about to cover the rice and rotten sauce within the Law on the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption with the cover. The Supervisory Board was deliberately filled with compatible figures, but the system is still the worst.”

The results on the dimension of social cognition, from four schemes of social cognition of van Dijk model, the researcher only chose two schemes, which are the self-scheme and role scheme. The choice was made due to the limitation during the COVID-19 situation when the research was conducted. A direct interview with the interviewee, the journalist, could not be conducted. Thus, the results will be focused on how the three media institutionally was perceived and valued by the society in performing their role as communicator and communication channel.

A study conducted by Annet Keller showed that the journalists of Kompas tend to be careful and conservative in reporting news. The form of carefulness was mainly implanted by the CEO, thus, the society valued Kompas was not as brave as other media (Keller, 2009). Keller also found that the journalists of Kompas were not given written guarantee to freely follow their heart in reporting news, instead directed to solve the reported case by case. Keller wrote: "Possible, but it is personal, more into a person-to-person approach, for instance, when a journalist said, "I am sorry but I am afraid I could not write it," then the editor replied, "Ok, never mind. You can write a report on other cases. I will give this report to others." Journalists basically could not refuse an order but considering the culture, that could be negotiated."

Kompas strictly differentiates between news and opinion. The opinion was presented in a form of editorial and opinion columns. Two editorial articles were published every day without the author's name and usually wrote by the editor in chief. Meanwhile three to four pages of debatable opinion never come from the editor or journalist but written by professionals or scholars outside of Kompas.

News about corruption published by Kompas written mostly in a hard news format, actual news value, and the source is direct with the corruption cases reported in several areas in Indonesia. The actors who were involved in the case of corruption were also from a combined profession such as parliament member who was also the committee of a certain politic party or a businessman who was also a member of the parliament. However, the corruption cases reported were mostly on the level of trial in Jakarta (Juditha, 2013). Juditha also showed that the objectivity of corruption news published by Kompas consists of news main points (the combination of fact and opinion), verification (verify to the source), 5W1H, source bias (imbalance in quoting sources), and non-evaluative (without judgment). Based on the findings, it can be argued that the news reported by Kompas.com are objective.

In Republika, where the intervention from the director is relatively dominant, the director does not have a journalist background. The fact indicates that the director or the businessman tend to prioritize the interest of their people. During the interview with the director of Republika on the function of entertainment of media and market as "the judge of politics or newspaper movement", it could be seen that the perceived media as a product that was 100% could be distributed and sold without concerning the journalism components.

The results on social context dimension showed that the corruption news on online media after the amendment of Law on the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption could not be separated from the termination of the commissioner of the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption 2015-2019 on December 2019, and the goal of the government to revise the Law No. 30 2002 on Corruption Eradication Commission. Jokowi then gave out the draft to the parliament and established the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption Commissioner Election Committee.

During the process, the two facts above have created a debate in society. The public believes that the process carried out by the selection committee and parliament was not transparent and accountable. Critics and protest were expressed by various components of the society such as politician, scholars, civil society figures, and those who are concerned with the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption and corruption eradication. The mainstream voice of the society believed that the amendment will weaken the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption in eradicating corruption.

Additionally, the society also believed that the selection committee did not work professional and full of politics of interest since there was one of the candidates who was involved in an ethical issue. The disagreement from the society shown through the news

published on the media: Tempo.co, Thursday, 12<sup>th</sup> September 2019 reported news entitled “The Selection Committee Explain the Ethics of Firli Bahuri”. Tempo.co on 29<sup>th</sup> December 2019 also reported “2019 Kaleidoscope: Bad Times of the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption and Efforts in Eradicating Corruption”.

CNN Indonesia on the 18<sup>th</sup> September 2019 reported news entitled “The Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption Calls the Amendment was Against Jokowi’s Order”. Meanwhile, Tribunnews.com on 16<sup>th</sup> January 2020 published news by quoting the opinion from the former chairman of the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption, “Abraham Samad, the End of the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption’s Triumph After the Amendment: We Just Need to Remember!”, DetikNews on 19<sup>th</sup> December 2019 also reported news entitled “Formappi Called the Amendment of Law on the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption as “Order” from the Corruptor Candidates”.

News reported by Kompas.com about corruption, especially the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption after the amendment of the Law on the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption emphasized the theme of defense and support to the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption as an independent corruption eradication institution. The news produced by Kompas.com through editorial hearings and institutionally represented the self-scheme and role-scheme of Kompas.com as online media with a huge concern on corruption eradication.

News reported by Kompas.com about corruption after the amendment of Law on the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption tend to be more careful and less brave. For instance, compared with Rakyat Merdeka Online, and most of the news used hard news format. This is in line with the research conducted by Anett Kelle which showed that the journalist of Kompas tends to be careful and conservative in reporting news, and the research conducted by Christiany Juditha that found news regarding corruption on Kompas with hard news format, actual news value, and direct report.

News about corruption produced by Kompas.com after the amendment of Law on the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption represented the social reality and mentality which were developing at that time, where the mainstream desired the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption to be an independent corruption eradication institution. The representation was reflected on the quotation of news reported by Kompas, “Constitutional Law Expert Zainal Arifin Mochtar mentioned the public’s involvement in the process of revising the Law on the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption. According to him, during the process, it is important to explore whether it is the will or order of the president and parliament, or there is a pressure or aspiration from the public. I want to remind that sovereignty is in the hands of the people and is carried out according to the constitution. Therefore, the law arrangement process should not only pay attention to the authority possessed by the forming institutions but also consider people’s aspirations. The two important things, Zainal believed, did not appear in the amendment”.

The theme and information presented by CNN Indonesia showed its consistency in supporting the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption. Besides that, the news production showed a relationship with the social reality of our society at that time, as perceived on the news published on 17<sup>th</sup> September 2019 entitled “Protestors Claimed to be Paid to Support the Amendment of Law on the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption”. The news also mentioned, “They came in pickup trucks with loudspeakers. One of the protestors claimed not to know what the demands of the protest he joined. The 15 year old boy admitted that he was only invited, “I was invited, just it.” He said. Some of the protestors

carrying a banner “Appreciation for the parliament for ratifying the Amendment of Law on the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption”.

The journalists of *Republika.co.id* since the beginning suspected the psychological condition of the public, that people were anxious regarding the draft of the amendment. Thus, *Republika.co.id* then published reports with the theme of weakening the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption and the efforts to strengthen the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption with detail, chronological, and systematic way. The theme of weakening the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption was also emphasized by *Republika.co.id* in another news report, “We urge the enforcement of the revised Law on the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption to be postponed, or in the sense that the revised law is not applied temporarily until there is a decision from the Constitutional Court, the final verdict”, Oce Madril, the representative of the Anti-Corruption Activist, said in Jakarta. Oce claimed that the interim decision had to be issued immediately as several issues began to emerge after the enactment of the revised law. One of the issues was the dismissal of 36 investigations on alleged corruption cases.

The three media observed were successful in performing their role as the watchdog, thus, the deterrent effect was expected to the parties to act corruptively. Desca Lidya Natalia also showed that media could perform as a watchdog to the government, especially in conducting investigational reports on corruption, thus, media could also perform as the counterweight although it could not directly decrease the corruption rate.

Additionally, the role of media as the fourth estate of a democratic state, especially related to the corruption eradication without eliminating the consistency and finalization of news on a certain case. The public expected the media to investigate and follow the case until the trial, as corruption is a serious crime and it could affect the economy of the nation. Makkuraga also showed that the way media preserved the grand narrative, the main narrative as the basis to measure other narratives, on corruption is through the common enemy. The distribution of information on anti-corruption through mass media which was done continuously, was a form of the media’s sincerity against corruption. Information provided by the media was not only about the loss of the economy of the nation, but also the execution of the case.

## CONCLUSION

The results on the macro, superstructure, and micro-level showed that *Kompas.com* established defense and support discourse to the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption through detail, systematic, less lexicon, and metaphor news. On the other hand, *CNN Indonesia* emphasized the facts of real actions taken by the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption in eradicating corruption with the number of the loss. While *Republika.co.id* emphasized the weakness in the revised law on the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption and strengthened the hypothesis of the news with proper metaphor.

The production of news text on corruption after the amendment of the Law on the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption on the three media presented the self-scheme of the journalist and the role-scheme of the media institutionally. News about corruption on the three media post the amendment of Law on the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption represented social reality developed at that time, which was the expectation of the majority to the Commission to Eradicate Criminal Acts of Corruption as an independent corruption eradication institution in Indonesia.

The frequency and consistency of news of corruption cases needs to be continuously improved so that the public is aware of the expansion of the latest corruption concepts and



behavior, so that the media can act as watchdog for potential corruption actors.

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