

LOCAL MEDIA IN COVERING CORRUPTION

(Framing Analysis on the Media Coverage on Corruption Case of Persiba Bantul Fund in Kedaulatan Rakyat, Tribun Jogja, Harian Jogja, Bernas Jogja and Radar Jogja Newspapers)

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ABSTRACT

In 2013 Idham Samawi, a former high profile executive in Yogyakarta, was named as corruption suspect on local football club funds worth 12.5 billion Rupiah. Establishment of himself as a criminal suspect is an important news for the people of Yogyakarta. Idham Samawi's long experience in politics in Yogyakarta has made him an influential figure. In journalism, news of this kind of corruption case has a strong news value. News of corruption in the mass media is part of the political coverage that influences the nation's development. This is the reason when political news has a large portion of the media. At an ideal level, the media must be able to provide a communication medium between the state and its citizen. But the media also has the power to shape public opinion. Media can define audiences' views on a political issue or a political actor. This research try to discover the frame of five local newspapers in reporting corruption case that ensnare Idham Samawi. Researchers quarry how far the local media play a role in eradicating corruption in Indonesia. The reason, in accordance with its responsibilities, the media should be oriented to the public interest. Media should preach this corruption case openly for the accountability to the public. This research is done by framing analysis method to see the process of reality constructions built by media. Researchers try to compare the discourse that is built by each local media through news content. In addition, researchers also conducted interviews with each editorial staff of the media to discover the context behind typical news content production.

Keywords: local media, corruption, framing

INTRODUCTION

Thursday, 18 July 2013, Idham Samawi, former Bantul regent serving 1999-2004 and 2005-2017 tenures was named a suspect of the corruption case of a football club- Persatuan Sepakbola Indonesia Bantul (Persiba) which amounts 12.5 billion rupiahs (equals to US \$ 926.000). This legal decision was made by the Attorney of Yogyakarta. Based on the news in

Tempo.co on Friday, 19 July 2013, Idham swindled the fund in 2011 when he served the chief of Indonesia Football Organization-PSSI Bantul and Indonesian Sport Commission (KONI). The investigation was conducted since January 2013 and he was suspected to make up the administration of Persiba administration. The Scamp was from the regency budget and the shift of the regency budget in 2011 which amounts 8 billion and 4.5 billion rupiah.

This legal status surely becomes a trending news which was worth spreading as it involved a public figure in Yogyakarta. Idham was a former regent, at the same time he served as the chief of province office of a noted political party-DPD PDI Perjuangan DIY. He was also nominated as Indonesia legislator from Yogyakarta (DIY). In journalism term, this scamp has significance, timeliness and prominence.

The mass media news on corruption belongs to political coverage. As quoted from Ibnu Hamad (2004) which was entitled *Konstruksi Realitas Politik dalam Media Massa*, a political event is always attractive for mass media. This is due to two factors. The first factor is politics, which in media era, cannot be avoided. Politicians always try to attract journalists in order to expose their political activity. The second reason is related to its newsworthy. A political event, a politician and other political activities are always worth reporting for media. Political events frequently make paper headlines, or are even dominant among the media coverage.

Thus, in line with this corruption case, media plays very important role. Besides serving as the fourth pillar, media is obliged to save the society from the corruptors. The public salvation is compulsory as the essence of journalism is prospering the public. This idea can be found in the Nine Elements of Journalism which was developed by Bill Kovach and Tom Ressenstieal.

The corruption case of idham Samawi was thoroughly covered by local newspapers in Yogyakarta. This can not be avoided due to its significance, timeliness and prominence and it also involves public interest. To make it more dramatic, it involved Idham Smawi, who was a prominent public figure in Yogyakarta.

Local newspapers, such as *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, *Tribun Jogja*, *Harian Jogja*, *Radar Jogja*, and *Bernas Jogja* gives special attention to Idham Samawi's case. Based on initial observation by the researcher, when Idham Samawi was firstly named a suspect of Persiba fund corruption, *Kedaulatan Rakyat* did not cover it despite its fact that it was a serious case and it had newsworthy, the latest and involved a public figure in Yogyakarta. Tribune Jogja covered it on Saturday, 20 July 2013 with a title "*PDIP Offers Legal Assistance*" "*Sentence Idham High*". However, *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, covered nothing after Idham was named a suspect.

Based on that fact, the researcher is interested in reviewing further on Persiba grant corruption in all local newspapers in Yogyakarta. The researcher needs to study how strong local media feel obliged in the effort of erradicating corruption in Indonesia. As the nature of its responsibility, media must have an orientation for a public interest and work hard to prosper the society. Whilst, corruption is a serious problem in society concerning public grant. That's why media should take a role in controlling corruption cases until the perpetrators who swindle public fund are sentenced accordingly. Corruption is a mischievous act which takes the nation as its victim.

This research is conducted by using framing analysis method in text analysis. Entman, Matthes, and Pellicano (2009:177) state that framing analysis method is used in order to study a perspective or a point a view used by the journalist in selecting an issue and writing news. This point of view determines which fact will be taken or thrown, which fact will be underlined or not so that an angle or a focus on a news is made. Before being read by the audience, it looks that media content is influenced by a factor. This factor, by Becker dan Vlad (2009, 59) is classified

into individual factors of media, media routinity, media organization, extramedia, and media ideology. This research is aimed at finding local media framing in covering a corruption case of Persiba Bantul fund.

METHOD

This is a qualitative research. Denzin and Lincoln in Moleong state that a qualitative research is a research which applies a natural background, which aims at interpreting a phenomenon which happens and is conducted by involving the existing methods. (Moleong, 2004:5).

The subjects being researched are editors or journalists in five local newspapers in Yogyakarta, those are *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, *Tribun Jogja*, *Harian Jogja*, *Bernas Jogja*, dan *Radar Jogja*. The research objects are the corruption case of Persiba grant which involed Idham Samawi. The time frame of researched news started since Idam Samawi was named suspect by Province judiciary office of Yogyakarta on 19 July 2013 until the latest news, after the protest by the society which started on 12 March 2015. The coverage news which are compared and are analyzed came from the same period. As this research applies framing analysis method, the quantity of the coverage doesn't matter or disobeyed.

Table 1
The Coverage of Persiba Fund Corruption in 5 Local Newspapers in Yogyakarta

Date of Issuance	Kedaulatan Rakyat	Tribun Jogja	Harian Jogja	Bernas Jogja	Radar Jogja
Monday, 22 July 2013	Paserbumi Wants Idham Stays in Persiba	Idham Did not Attend Bantul Anniversary	Idham Can still Proceed to Senayan	Province judiciary office of Yogyakarta is Accused of being Politics	Don't Stop to Idham
Tuesday, 23 July 2013	Idham Qualifies for Legislator Candidacy	Idham's Legislator Candidacy Must be Annuled	The Province Representative Board Can Do Nothing on Idham's Case	Idham's Position is Still Safe	Investigate Other's Excecutive's Involvement
Thursda y, 25 July 2013	Idham's Leadership is Still Needed	Persiba Needs 6 Billion Fund	Corruption Eradication Commission- KPK support the province Attorney Office in Investigating The Suspected Bantul	KPK Supervises Idham Investigation	Join Effort Handling Idham's Case

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The method used in this research is framing model Robert N. Entman. To analyze the texts, there are four devices developed by Entman (in Eriyanto, 2002:189), that is: Define problems, Diagnose Causes, Make moral judgement, and Treatment Recommendation.

DISCUSSION

The researcher has analysed 15 news articles from five local media which become research objects. Text analysis is followed by context analysis to be confirmed by media editors in their writing process. The following is the text analysis of the five local medias in Yogyakarta.

Text Analysis

News Text Analysis of Kedaulatan Rakyat Paper

1. News Item, “Paserbumi Wants Idham Stays in Persiba”

It can be concluded that the main frame is that Idham is a person who has worked hard and has done a lot for Persiba, and is still needed by the the club supporters to help Persiba thrive and win some cmpetitions. From that news item, it can be seen how the paper (KR) tries to set the readers’ belief that they should understand Idham’s role; and that because of that role, Idham still qualifies to handle Persiba.

Firstly, it is obviously seen from the title, “Paserbumi Wants Idham Stays in Persiba.” From the title, the word “wants” shows that it is indeed that Paserbumi expects Idham to manage Persiba. This title also served as KR’s headline. Serving as the headline for *Sportmania* heading, this becomes the first interesting item that is eye-catching for their readers.

Lead even strengthen the title given by KR. Its lead starts with “Persiba Bantul supporter club, Paserbumi wish that Drs. HM Idham Samawi is still willing to manage the football team which becomes Bantul residence’s pride who will soon compete in Indonesian Premier League (IPL) this season. It is because present’s performance achieved by “Sultan Agung Troop” is a result of the chief’s effort. With this lead, KR drives the audience to Idham’s willingness to manage the team which gives pride for Bantul residence. The word “willingness”, “pride”, and “Idham Samawi’s effort” give a hint that it is indeed that Idham Samawi is expected to be among the team as he is the one who works hard in leading the team into its best performance and becomes the pride of Bantul residence.

The choice of the resource persons through the body of the text leads to one side, that is *Paserbumi*. The direct quotations also underline Idham’s role in Persiba. Those quotations can be found in paragraph 2, 5, dan 7, where Idham is exposed as an idol who plays a lot of roles in Persiba. Even, there is one strong sentence which says, “Idhams becomes the phase maker of the football rise in Bantul,” which can be further interpreted that Idham is the key person in the history of Bantul football.

As for its closing, KR underlines the government’s attention. From its sources, KR states that the government should think of Persiba which undergoes internal problems. Implicitly, KR wants to convey that whilst Idham is facing a corruption case, the government should take

Persiba's fate on its hands. Idham's case, would obviously put his fellow managers in uncertainty. Observed from the news item, there is a quote saying that that Persiba is facing managerial problem. The researcher assumes that this is related to Idham being named a suspect of Persiba fund swindle. It can be concluded that despite the fact that Idham is named a suspect for a corruption case, he was assumed positively by KR as a role model.

2. News item "DPP PDIP (PDIP Board of Patron) Disagreed that There is Discrimination, Idham Qualifies Party's Requirements for Legislator's Candidacy"

Framing on this news item, DPP PDIP (PDIP Board of Patron) Disagreed that There is Discrimination, Idham Qualifies Party's Requirements for Legislator's Candidacy is intended to underline the insight that Idham Samawi still qualifies to run his candidacy for a legislator of Republic of Indonesia House of Representative. This is supported by Idham's legal standing which hasn't proved him of being guilty. Moreover the legal status statement by the attorney is done after Idham was determined to be a legislator candidate. From legal's point of view, this is not against the regulation, except if the legal status is stated before someone is qualified as a legislator's candidate. This statement is emphasized in each paragraph.

This news item is constructed based on the only one resource, The Chief of Legal Department of DPP PDIP, Trimedya Panjaitan. The researcher assumes that this source person has organizational relation with Idham Samawi. The next assumption is that the source person is not independent or he sides Idham's candidacy. From news quality, this news item in KR does not fulfill news balance requirement. The journalist does not cover both sides. He tends to choose a source from the supporting party.

In this news item, KR keeps reminding the readers on Idham's achievement. Despite being named a suspect, Idham has played very important roles in the development of Bantul regency, especially Persiba, as can be found in paragraph 4, as follows:

"For that, the former Bantul's regent, serving for two tenures is considered to be successful in developing Bantul in some different fields, including for the first time Persiba becoming the champion of Main PSSI League 2010/2011, is asked to keep consolidating in running her candidacy as a legislator of Republic of Indonesia House of Representative."

By indirect quote of Trimedya, KR also intends to shape the opinion that naming Idham a suspect is still odd. This can be seen from the fact that Idham has never been investigated as a witness and there is no state's loss yet. That's why the problem solving is directed toward the preparation for lawyer team to support Idham.

3. News item "For the Sake of Persiba's Role, Idham's Leadership is still Needed"

The news framing entitled *For the Sake of Persiba's Role, Idham's Leadership is still Needed* still gives Idham Samawi positive image. KR still leads the public that Idham hasn't been legally a corruption case suspect. It is supported by a lead "Despite the fact that Persiba top leader is facing a legal case, the football observer in Bantul believes that his presence is still badly needed by a squad which is dubbed as "Sultan Agung Troop." Utterances such as "facing a legal case" proves that KR doesn't dare to call Idham as being named a suspect. The use of "facing a legal case" for the readers can be interpreted as a common problem, it is not as obvious as the use of "corruption". When the editor uses "corruption" will lead the public to refer to a serious crime as corruption is still believed to be a public offense which causes the state loss.

By its lead, KR means to shape the public belief that Idham is a person badly needed by football organization in Bantul. Public know that Persiba is a prime team among Bantul residence. Reading KR lead, the public will think that Idham is the one who makes Persiba strong and reputable.

In its news body, KR presents statement from one of PSSI branch officers who is also a Persiba personnel, M. Fanani, to strengthen Idham positioning that Idham is the one who succeeds Persiba. He talks a lot on Idham's role as he leads Persiba. In that period, Idham improves the managerial matter and some different team programs that lead to Persiba's highest achievements in Central Java province and southern Yogyakarta competitions.

This branch officer's statement is aimed at leading the readers to believe that it is impossible for Idham to disadvantage Persiba. Further, some different quotes from the officer strengthens the readers' belief that Idham is badly needed by Persiba. For that reasons, KR means to lead the readers once again to question whether Idham is guilty and corrupts Persiba's fund or not. This news item does not fulfil the requirement of covering both sides. KR exposes statements of source from one side.

News Text Analysis of Tribun Jogja

1. Idham Does Not Attend Bantul Anniversary

Framing Tribun Jogja entitled "Idham Does Not Attend Bantul Anniversary" shows that Idham does not dare to show up before the public after being named a suspect. Tribun states that it has tried to contact Idham but there is no response. Tribun strengthens its report that Idham is absent by covering that Idham's wife, who is the present regent, refuses to comment on Idham's absence.

Besides covering Idham's absence, Tribun exposes the fact on the chronology in naming Idham the suspect. Tribun elaborates on how Idham misused Persiba fund in 2010 which defies procedure. This elaboration is strengthened by choosing the source, that is Yogya Attorney Office. To fulfil the cover both sides (Idham side) is represented by Sidharto, the chief of DPP PDIP for Honour Department, who serves as the Speaker for People Consultative Assembly. In his statement, Sidharto doesn't comment but informs the plan of legal assistance for Idham.

Tribun Jogja tends to expose the case from Idham's wrong doing in Persiba fund corruption case. It chooses angle which strengthens the fact that Idham does not dare to show up before the media after being named a suspect. Tribun exposes once again on different reason in naming Idham a suspect.

2. The News Item Idham's Running for Legislator Candidacy Must be Annuled

Tribun News Framing entitled Idham's Running for Legislator Candidacy Must be Annuled means Idham's candidacy must be stopped. This frame is made up by quoting from PDIP cadre who once experienced candidacy annulment for legislative candidacy as facing a corruption case. This is exposed as his regret that PDIP is not consistent in applying a rule for legislative member. This source person is felt to insist PDIP not to side Idham. It is said so that PDIP image is not spoiled before the public.

Tribun shows that corruption should get special attention. Moreover when someone is running for legislator election. Tribun also reminds PDIP over the rule which has been made and reinforced, to annul its cadre's legislator candidacy when found corrupt.

3. News item Persiba Needs Rp. 6 Billion Fund

This news framing intends to state that naming Idham a suspect shocks Persiba. It was illustrated by how Persiba gets difficulty in finding Rp. 6 billion funding. The statement of a source, that is Persiba secretary, Wikan Werdo Kisworo, reveals a lot on the real condition of Persiba which badly needs lending hands. Wikan even states the last option to sell Persiba if they can not financial support.

Tribun talks on Idham's case differently. Idham is indeed a person needed by Persiba, although this is said indirectly. Tribun proves that funding is a serious problem for Persiba, and so far, it is Idham who can help it.

News Text Analysis of Harian Jogja

1. Idham is still safe proceeding to Senayan

Harian Jogja (Harjo) intends to tell the public that naming Idham a suspect does not influence his candidacy to be House of Representative legislator in Senayan. This statement is supported by a quote from Election Commission (KPU) based on election law. It is said that legally, Idham status has not been final yet, thus he still qualifies to run legislator candidacy.

However, in this news item, Harjo shows that KPU is not totally correct. This statement is supported by a quote of a failed former legislative candidate, Bambang Eko and Ternalem, who are prevented to proceed their candidacy due to corruption cases. This ban is even done in the midst of proceeding legal effort. In an interview, Ternalem indicates that there is privileged treatment towards Idham Samawi.

Whilst, Harjo reminds public once again on Idham news. It is stated that in the news that Idham is a regency Budget 2011 corruption case suspect. Harjo has tried to confirm the statement of the Attorney by contacting Idham and PDIP politician, but there is no response. This proves from journalistic point of view that Harjo has fulfilled the idea of covering both sides. Harjo gives up the news which can not be confirmed to public and other PDIP politician.

2. DPD Can Do Nothing on Idham Case

Harjo's framing on the above news item is that DPD PDIP can not do a lot in relation with Idham's legislator candidacy. This is supported by different direct and indirect quotes from the General Secretary DPD PDIP DIY (DIY=Yogyakarta Province), Bambang Praswanto. In this news item, PDIP is said to give legal assistance to Idham and keeps supporting Idham legislator candidacy.

However, in the body news item, Harjo gives an antithesis from Bambang's statement by quoting Bambang's previous statement. This antithesis statement comes from Ternalem, a PDIP cadre who feels being discriminated referring to Idham's case. Harjo keeps repeating Ternalem's statement and that it should have become a model in solving Idham's legislator candidacy. It is elaborated further that as the supporting party for Ternalem, PDIP banned Ternalem from 2014 legislator candidacy. Based on Ternalem's statements, Harjo wants to state its view that Idham is like other cadres and Idham should not have been treated differently.

2. KPK Supports The Attorney in Investigating Corruption Case in Bantul.

Harjo's framing on this news is that KPK and the Attorney are serious in handling the Persiba grant in Bantul. It is stated further in that news that KPK presence does not mean to manage Persiba case only, but its presence indeed speeds up the legal process of Persiba case.

In its body news item, Harjo gives more rooms for its sources from KPK and DIY Attorney. Harjo Idham's case from Idham's statement and also from his wife who serves Bantul regent. They both refuse to comment.

News Text Analysis of Radar Jogja

1. News item Don't Stop to Idham, The Attorney is Demanded to Investigate Other's Executives' Involvement

The framing of Radar Jogja on the above news shows that there are a number people of different interest demanding Idham's case is enforced. That enforcement is important, as Idham used to be a noted executive figure, that is a former regent of Bantul. With his strong position, there can be an effort to quit the prosecution.

In its news body, take different public elements as its source, who obviously support the enforcement of Idham's case. They mostly insist that KPK investigate Idham despite his former position. They insist that KPK and the Attorney be independent considering Idham's strong position. Unfortunately, Idham's side is not given chance to stand his position. Thus, this news does not fulfill the requirement of covering both sides.

2. On the same day, 22 July 2013, the news on Idham is exposed twice from different angles. The first angle is "Don't Stop to Idham, The Attorney is Requested to Investigate Other's Executives' Involvement" and the second angle is "*DPP Don't be Diskriminative, Ternalem Expects Idham to be Consistent.*" The second angle reviews on some PDI cadres who feel sad upon the national board of PDIP-DPP PDIP who imposes discriminative rule on Idham. Radar quotes directly, as follows:

"we are at odd with PDIP view. It is said that any cadre who involves in corruption case, *won't be supported*, as it brings shame to the party. But what happens is *surprisingly* the opposite," a satire by former PDIP Branch Chief of Gunungkidul Ratno Pintoyo, yesterday (20/7). (Radar Jogja, 22 July 2013)

Radar's choice on a direct quote indicates that a discriminative process toward Idham persists. The existence of discriminative enforcement is shown by the use of certain utterances, "surprisingly", "won't be supported", "brings shame."

In order to underline the discriminative nuance on Idham's case, Radar reminds again on Ternalem case, it is found out that he is dismissed due to corruption case. Ternalem's disappointment upon the legal enforcers on handling Idham's case is directly quoted by Radar, as follows:

"If being consistent is also applied to Idham case. This is for the sake of PDIP reputation. Don't cause PDIP to be spoiled, "uttered the chief of PDIP district chief of Playen, Gunungkidul. (Radar Jogja, 22 July 2013).

Considering the above quotation, there is an obvious disappointment from Ternalem. This disappointment is shown by the use of some utterances, "if being consistent," for the sake of PDIP reputation." From those utterances, it is obviously expected that Idham's case should be treated as Ternalem's was.

The source of the second angle, although he is from PDIP, Radar chooses him as he experiences similar case to Idham. By doing so, there is a very surprising and interesting statement that shocks the public.

3. Investigating other's Executives' Involvement, Special Crime Assistant Leads the Investigation

News framing above indicates that Persiba Funding embezzlement involves more than one person. This news shows the serious measure taken by DIY Attorney in investigating Idham's case. The Attorney makes up a team to search for other's involvement.

4. This news shows how serious Radar in overseeing Idham corruption case. On a news item of 22 July 2013, entitled "*Don't Stop to Idham, The Attorney is Demanded to Investigate Other's Executives' Involvement*" and the news item on 23 July 2013 which is entitled "*In the Involvement of Other Executives, The Special Crime Assistant Leads the Investigation Himself*". Radar is perceived as overseeing the measure taken by the Attorney in handling Idham's case. The serious action by the Attorney is also shown by Radar in its lead. Besides the Attorney, Radar prefers choosing the sources from the public who support the enforcement of Idham's case.

However, this news does not fulfill the principle of covering from both sides, as Idham or his party isn't given a chance to stand against the accusation in this news.

In this news, Radar takes the source from the public. The element chosen is *Masyarakat Transparansi Bantul-Bantul* Transparant Society (MTB) and Jogja Corruption Watch (JCW). Both utter that Idham's case is serious that's why should be soon followed up. They perceive that Idham's case is a starting point to reveal other corruption suspects, including other corruption cases in Bantul. This can be seen from direct and indirect quotations revealed by the sources, as follows:

"While the coordinator of Masyarakat Transparansi Bantul (MTB)-Bantul Transparant Society, Irwan Suryono believes once again that the revelation of Persiba Grant serves as the starting point to reveal other mega-corruptions in Bantul. One of them is Radio Bantul case, which amount 1.7 billion. All cases must be thoroughly investigated," he urges. (Radar Jogja, 23 Juli 2013).

From the quotation above, it is obvious that the corruption is not only done by Idham or Youth and Sport Office head, but also some related noted executives. This is seen from an utterance, *berjamaah*-done by a score of people and a quotation from MTP which mentions that there is a score of corruption cases in Bantul. This quotation shows that corruption case is serious and need urgent reinforcement.

5. A news item entitled "Joint Effort Handling Idham's Case"

This news framing shows that Radar is seen serious in insisting Idham's case be reinforced. Radar offers an appreciation to the measures taken by KPK and the Attorney who keeps revealing Idham's involvement in the corruption case by which he was accused. It is seen initially by the diction of the title. Radar needs an utterance-"*keroyok*"- "joint effort" which based on Bahasa Indonesia dictionary, means "attack together". This shows that Idham's case is not only handled by the Attorney office but also gets full support from other parties. Besides "*keroyok*", in the first paragraph, Radar uses an utterance "*suntikan darah segar*." This phrase

means that Idham's case does not only get an attention from the Attorney office, but also KPK as the highest Corruption Eradication Commission in Indonesia. The utterance "darah segar" can be perceived that this case is serious, even KPK-the highest commission lends a hand to enforce this case.

In its news body, Radar elaborates in detail how KPK team and the Attorney are very serious in handling Idham's case. Not only Persiba case is investigated, but also some other cases which involve Idham. Radar reveals how KPK comes to the Attorney, what measures are taken and what next steps will be taken. Unfortunately, this news is not complemented by Idham's comment, thus in this case, Radar does not fulfil the requirement of covering both sides.

News Text Analysis of Bernas Jogja

1. The Attorney Head Is Accused of Being Politics

In this article, Bernas tries to confront different opinions from Idham's side and the opposite who insist on the reinforcement of Idham's case. Its title gives a hint that Bernas is on Idham's side as it chooses "DIY Attorney is Accused to be Politics". This emphasizes the discourse that Idham's naming suspect is due to only political reasons. The political reason used is to fail Idham's legislature candidacy.

However, as the text proceeds to its body paragraphs, its title which can be interpreted as political accusation, seems to refer to a small part of the whole story. It covers only first few paragraphs out of total 26 paragraphs. Other parts, show the opposite, covering people who support naming Idham a suspect. They are, among others former chief of DPC (Branch Council Chief) -PDIP Gunung Kidul, Ratno Pitoyo, a PDIP politician Gunung Kidul Ternalem, a researcher on an anti-corruption study UGM, Hifdzil Alim and an activist of Jogja Corruption Watch, Baharadduin Kamba.

Bernas coverage in this article has fulfilled a principle of multi-side coverage. Besides exposing the information from people who support the reinforcement of Idham's case, Bernas also balances it with the voice of Idham's side. Those are, among others, The Chief of DPP-Central Chief of Board PDIP for Honour Dept, Sidarto Danusubroto, Vice Chief of Politics and Inter-body Relationship of DPP PDIP DIY, Esti Wijayanti who is given chance to set the discourse. Bernas also tries to confirm the news content to DIY Governor and Regent of Bantul, who is Idham's wife which turns out to fail due to strict security measure on those two key persons. The Election Commission is also given room to speak which enrich different angles in covering this case.

2. KPK Supervises Idham Investigation

This article gives a hint that KPK fully supports a measure to proceed Idham's legal standing by the Attorney of DIY. KPK offers consultative assistance to DIY Attorney to proceed with Idham investigation process. KPK states that it doesn't specifically handle Idham's case. It only supports DIY Attorney. KPK regularly runs discussions with provincial Attorney all over Indonesia. DIY Attorney itself, is open to given assistance from KPK. DIY Attorney states that KPK presence is not due to technical problem in digging in the case.

Based on that article, the readers can learn that different law enforcing forces can support one another. The cooperation among the forces runs well to guarantee Idham's case reinforcement. Covering both sides in this article underlines the source from the Attorney of DIY and KPK. Those two forces become the central plot in this article as the focus of the article is KPK support on the Attorney investigation. It is also clearly seen that their joint effort in

handling corruption case is solid. Both organizations give statement positively, disobeying its each ego.

3. Idham's Position Is Still Safe

Bernas' third article reminds the readers that DPP PDIP doesn't change its mind in determining Idham as the RI House legislator candidate from the election region of DIY. Although based on the second article, a suspect running for legislature candidacy can be cancelled by DPP. In case of Idham, he is still safe. This article gives a nuance that DPD PDIP makes a statement by protecting itself behind DPP. They, as if do a policy as regulated by DPP, which the fact is that they don't mind with Idham's legislature candidacy, as can be read in paragraph 4, which says, "*Jalan terus bahkan ditingkatkan sesuai target*" as can be translated into keep running, even being leveraged to target when related to PDIP victory effort for 2014 election.

However, the main course of this article is on the progress of Idham's investigation process conducted by the Attorney. It is reflected dominantly in 13 paragraphs, while the statements from DPD PDIP spreads in five paragraphs. Bernas persieves that the Attorney is too careful and slow. The investigation runs at the snail pace. The Attornay is seen too hesitate to run the investigation due to rally threat from Idham's supporters. All the sources from the Attorney do not set an exact date to question Idham further.

ANALYSIS RECAPITULATION ON FIVE LOCAL MEDIA TEXTS

Table of Analysis Comparison among Five Local Medias in Yogyakarta

Media	Position/Relation to the news object (Idham Samawi)	News Item
<i>Kedaulatan Rakyat</i>	Supporting Idham Samawi	a. Idham is positively figured out b. Idham is a victim to save c. Idham scores a lot of success for Persiba
<i>Harian Jogja</i>	Neutral	a. Idham is exposed in correlation with his legal status, as a suspect b. Dissapointment on DPP PDIP who puts a side in status Idham's case
<i>Tribun Jogja</i>	Neutral	a. Idham is exposed in correlation with his legal standing, as a suspect b. Idham scores a lot of success for Persiba
<i>Radar Jogja</i>	Neutral	a. Idham is exposed in correlation with his legal status, as a suspect b. The Attorney is positively exposed by dominating the article. Radar is seen to insist on the case reinforcement by taking sources from law enforcement forces. c. Appreciation for law enforcement forces (the Attorney and KPK in overseeing the case
Bernas Jogja	Neutral	a. Idham is exposed in correlation with his legal status, as a suspect b. There are different views among internal

		<p>DPD PDIP in relation with Idham's case. It can be persieved that Idham gets legal privilege from PDIP</p> <p>c. KPK and the Attorney are seen solid in accomplishing Idham's case.</p> <p>d. Bernas persieves that the Attorney is not firm and slow in investigating Idham</p>
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Source : The researcher's summary

Context Analysis

a. *Kedaulatan Rakyat*

Contact level on KR media is gained based on an interview to editor in chief, Octo Lampito on April 2015. From its history, KR is based on Pancasila Pers. Wonohito, KR founder, states that KR is obliged to help Yogyakarta residence prosper. Their prosperity can be achieved when KR carries out its duty and function well. This media function refers to media basic functions, that is as a means of information, entertainment, monitoring, education and culture transfer. Local aspect also becomes priority to KR.

From Pancasila pers ideology, Octo states that KR is on public side. KR reveals a lot of injustice to society. That's why KR expose more sources from common people.

In materializing Pancasila pers, KR uses Javanese cultural approach in its publication. By using Javanese culture, KR succeeds to convey issues slowly but get to target. Octo conveys as follows:

"My approach is to "beat," but not hard, however it gets its target, by using language. If we live in Surabaya, it may be different, in Jakarta it is also different. But we are in society with Javanese majority. The message is taking care of Jogya by "*migunani tumraping liyan*," must be useful for Jogja and others. (Octo, interview, April 2015)

In parallel to the quotation above, KR publication is felt as plain, compared to other media which are more critical. Octo states that when KR is critical in viewing an issue, the readers are hesitant in reading it. Octo claims that KR still ranks highest in its copy share (oplah) in Yogyakarta, that is 400 thousand per day. It is because KR uses a soft language. It deals with daily common people issues.

In relation with Idham Samawi's case, Octo says that Idham's position as its advisor does not influence its news. Although Idham is honoured as "*bapak*"- father, Octo claims that Idham does not intervene its publication. Idham only "reminds" KR that he hasn't been sentenced. The following is a quotation of an interview with Idham:

"He lets KR to expose, but he also reminds that he hasn't been sentenced. He gives us freedom, but surely we have to be careful as we don't want to harm someone to his life." (Octo, interview, April 2015)

Octo also underlines as in the following quotation.

"It is possibly right, but don't forget, I spare seriously, if someone has't been named a suspect, he can be still innocent. Poor his family, his public, and his business." (Octo, interview, April 2015)

Based on that quotation, the researcher assumes that Idham's reminder that he hasn't been sentenced indicates Idham's anxiety. Idham tries to indirectly influence the sentencing. It is reflected from Octo's statement, for not harming someone's entire life in Octo's last quotation. This reflects KR's prudence in framing news on Idham. Octo, even states that a news on Idham may harm his family, public, and business. It also indicates that KR tries to build public's belief that Idham does not deserve being named a suspect.

KR's prudence on exposing Idham's case is also visible as KR chooses sources who are from Idham's side. Even KR conducts a special coverage on Persiba the content of which supports Idham. Idham is glorified as a hero so that he does not deserve to be named a suspect. KR explains further that Idham dares to embezzle public money to support Persiba.

Octo also responds to another local media's news on Idham. Media other than KR looks cornering Idham. He states that this is the weakness of media, trial by the press. KR needs to maintain that a suspect must be respected as an innocent before being sentenced. In Octo's view, KR has to expose a real fact without trying Idham. It is as stated by Octo, as follows:

"Our consideration is that he hasn't been sentenced as being guilty. Except that when Idham has been proved guilty, we can be insisted. If it has been an accusation, those media can be demanded responsible." (Octo, interview, April 2015)

Based on that quotation, Idham's position as an advisor determines the media's policy in making up a coverage. As an advisor involved in a corruption case, KR is very thoughtful in exposing fact. Even the fact on Idham being exposed has positive tone; that comes from sources which do not cover both sides.

b. Tribun Jogja

To gain its context level, the researcher interviews Krisna Sumargo who serves as editor in chief for Tribun Jogja. The interview was conducted in Tribun Jogja on 13 July 2016. Some of his answers can fulfil text level.

Krisna claims that Tribun Jogja has more freedom in framing news article on Idham. It is because Tribun Jogja does not align politically to any parties. In sentencing policy on corruption case news, Tribun positions itself to eradicate corruption as in national level. Moreover, when a corruption case involves a public figure, Tribun is willing to position corruption case correctly so that the government and other related parties can learn from that case.

In relation to Persiba case, it is news worthy. Its newsworthy are important (on a corruption which misuses state (regency) budget), current issue, proximity (local aspect), and prominence (involving Idham as a public figure). This newsworthy drives Tribun to oversee Idham's case. As Krisna states as follows:

"Spending regency budget for Persiba, back to Tribun's concentration, Tribun wisely considers this. There is another than legal aspect, but also locality. This case involves a public figure and brings impact to vast society. (Krisna, interview, 15 July 2016).

Krisna then admits, there is dynamics in editors. There is a debate on frame setting which will be exposed by Tribun. This frame setting is on softened diction, not too strong title, and the language tone in its news body which does not corner. Krisna reveals that sentencing policy in choosing the diction is vital to Tribun Jogja. This is taken to honour Idham Samawi who is in his suspect status. Tribun does not want to offend Idham and his family. It is as in the following quotation:

“Tribun pays attention on its way of casing. Whether we use diction which is not offending. The choice of a heading is a result of a thorough discussion among the editors. How the message is delivered but is not too eye-catching. As whatever the fact, he has been named a suspect. We choose a smoothened diction which is still relevant to our exposure.” (Krisna, interview, 15 July 2016).

It is not only on offense, Tribun Jogja smoothenes its diction to consider Jogja culture. Jogjakarta people, especially do not like reading a provocative headline. That’s why we need to be thoughtful in casing Idham’s case. Our consideration is due to the fact that Idham is a public figure and his case involves public interest.

This smoothening diction which at last shapes two Tribun’s frames in casing Idham’s case. Tribun takes a principal of innocent of presumption as naming Idham as a suspect has been revealed in the trials. The second Tribun’s frame is that Idham is not left by its supporting party (PDIP) and Persiba supporters despite his legal status.

These two frames are used by Tribun in overseeing Idham Samawi’s case. Krisna reveals that Tribun does not use investigating approach to dig out Idham’s wrongdoings. Tribun only exposes his trial process and public fact which colours Idham’s case. Tribun verifies the fact when it is considered not strong enough.

c. *Harian Jogja*

The researcher gains Context level in *Harian Jogja* by interviewing its editor in chief, Anton Wahyu Prihartono, and the acting editor, Nugroho Nurcahyo. The interview was conducted on 27 Juli 2017.

A curruption case, as *Harian Jogja* reveals, is a case which needs being overseen by media as it fulfils significance value. Idham Samawi’s corruption case does not only fulfil its significance, but also prominence (involving a noted figure) and proximity (local aspect). Anton Wahyu is committed to support this case to be followed up and legally proved. Corruption, he says, is about a public interest and harms this nation state.

In text level, Harjo is found more direct in criticizing Idham by using sharp words. Harjo also chooses sources from people who are against Idham. Its angle is also clear, that is for law enforcers to accomplish the case. Nugroho says further that Harjo dares enough to cover Idham’s case in order to serve as an alternative paper in Yogya. In doing so, Harjo gives different perspective on Idham’s case coverage. He also says that there is a daily paper which keeps covering Idham positively. Harjo then wants to reveal another side of Idham’s life through its news articles. This can enrich the readers’ reference and at the same time leverage Harjo’s selling point. Its quotation is as follows:

“Harjo, is indeed an alternative paper. People who are used to read it can see that it is still objective and is not contaminated yet. This attracts strong potential readers. We agree in our editor’s meeting that Idham’s issue is sexy. Whatever small we must take part. Idham’s issue is sexy and that is our chance. (Nugroho, interview, 27 July 2017).

Harjo proves how serious it is in overseeing Idham’s case by setting it on headline page with bigger fonts. Besides it exposes sources from law enforcers, the discrimated people, and people who urges the enforcement of Idham’s case. Editor meeting determines the diction choice and placing the news. Headline page of Harjo is managed directly by three different persons,

editor in chief, the acting editor, and a person in charge of headline page. This proves that the news articles on headline have undergone gatekeeping process strictly.

In overseeing this case, the two sources state that there is no certain interest influencing them. Sultan Hamengkubuwono himself is also one of the stakeholders of Harjo. However, he doesn't influence Harjo to expose differently. Harjo claims that its coverage is merely based on journalists' report from the fields.

Whilst, there is hindrance for Harjo in covering this case. Firstly, because Idham refuses to defend when being asked for confirmation. But, Harjo surely tries to cover both sides by counting Idham's side source, such as people from his supporting party and his lawyer. Anton and Nugroho claims that covering both sides is mandatory for journalistic news. Moreover, as the coverage is on a corruption case the suspect of which hasn't been sentenced. The coverage must be very careful and maintains the presumption of innocence aspect.

Judging the context level, Harjo is considered neutral. It has no certain vested of interest in connection with Idham's case. Harjo is serious in overseeing the corruption cases by upholding the presumption of innocence aspect.

d. *Radar Jogja*

Context level in *Radar Jogja* is achieved by conducting an interview to the editor, Amin Surachmad. The interview was conducted on 19 July 2017. A corruption case, as *Radar Jogja* claims, is a case which needs being overseen by media as it fulfills significance value. Amin states that corruption must be eradicated completely as it deals with public interest. Idham's case gives more value for the media as it fulfills the value of significance, but also prominence and proximity at the same time.

At text level, Radar is found to be more courageous in criticizing Idham by using sharp and clear words. Radar also chooses sources from the sides who are against Idham. It is clearly seen that the angle taken by Radar is for law enforcers to proceed the case sooner. Amin says that the choice on law enforcer is not designed but based on revealed facts.

Amin states further that in covering this case, there is no other interest which intervenes. Amin claims that Radar is freer in covering Idham's case. He claims further that the covering on Idham only relays on revealed facts reported by the journalist. But, surely Radar tries to cover both sides by counting Idham's side, for example from the supporting party or his lawyer. However, the research reveals that Radar's confirmation on Idham's side is insignificant.

For context level, Radar is found neutral, in the meaning that it has no vested interest in relation to Idham's case. Even, Radar is serious in overseeing Idham's case by exposing legal fact and maintaining the presumption of innocence aspect.

e. *Bernas Jogja*

The researcher checked Bernas' context level by conducting an interview on Friday, 28 July. The researcher interviewed Razaini Taher, the editor in chief of Bernas. The information is as follows:

“It is not only a corruption case we expose, in doing coverage, we are obliged to cover both sides. If we don't, we do not expose it. Moreover, on sensitive issues such as religion, HTI dismissal.” (Taher, interview on 28 July 2017)

Bernas complies with a principal that the journalist is obliged to cover the suspect's side. If their statement is failed to collect, Bernas will not expose it to its readers. If the suspect himself failed to be contacted, Bernas will at least, for the last option, contact the person closest in relation with him/her. Bernas also obliges the journalist to have a record on his/her interview as an authentic proof from the source. This is to guarantee that the source's statement is correctly typed and it becomes a proof when the source objects the news or files a suit later.

Bernas itself perceives that corruption cases in Indonesia have become serious. Bernas is obliged to voice the mischievous doing in corruption. Bernas puts corruption case as its priority to expose urgently. In doing so, Bernas has taken responsibility in educating the public for anti-graft effort.

“Corruption topic tops the list. We make a joint effort to eradicate, our nation has been urgently harmed by corruption. The head of Supreme Court, The House Speaker (all are involved in corruption case), what a shame to other countries!” (Taher, interview on 28 July 2017)

Local Media in Framing Corruption Cases

A corruptions case is considered significant by media. It is a crime which harms public. As it brings harm to public, as the fourth pillar, media is obliged to oversee its accomplishment. This is also in parallel with the media's goal, that is to prosper the public and as the watchdog for states bodies (executives, legislative and yudicative).

The research reveals that the editor teams of the five local medias in Yogyakarta agree to eradicate corruption completely. That's why medias contribute to its accomplishment by keeping exposing it. From the news worthy point a view, a corruption case fulfills the significance value for public.

It turns out that overseeing a corruption case is not easy for local medias in Yogyakarta. More seriously when it involves a noted public figure to whom the media affiliated. Their hindrances in covering a corruption case is that, firstly, the relation between the case suspect to the media. Referring to media cycle by Reese and Shoemaker, there are five factors which influence the media's content, the journalist, media routinity, organization, extramedia, and ideology. This research proves that organization factor becomes the main obstacle for one of the five local media in Yogyakarta, that is *Kedaulatan Rakyat* in reporting Idham Samawi's corruption case. Based on organization factor, Idham Samawi is one of the advisors for *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, and historically, the Samawis was the founder of this biggest local paper in Yogyakarta.

The unease feeling is dominant among the editors in casing the corruption case. Surely, a media with certwin affiliation experiences a serious contradictive discussion in framing a corruption case, especially when it involves its affiliation. This is obviously seen in Idham's corruption case which is always exposed positively by KR. KR clearly exposes Idham's effort in salvaging Persiba. KR excuses by a legal assumption, that is to uphold a presumption of innocence to Idham as he hasn't been sentenced to guilty.

It is different from the other four local media in Yogyakarta, *Harian Jogja*, *Tribun Jogja*, *Radar Jogja*, and *Bernas Jogja*. These four ones are freer in exposing Idham's corruption case. The research reveals that the editors of the four local medias state strongly that a corruption case

is significant and must be accomplishedly overseen. They all claim that despite involving a noted public figure in Yogyakarta, they are not distracted in determining their news content. The coverage of Idham's case in these four local medias tends to be similar, that is supporting Yogyakarta Attorney and KPK to proceed the investigation and accomplish the case. Despite the different titles and angles, the news content on Idham's corruption case tends to be similar. The sources are dominantly from the opposite of Idham's. Those four medias dominantly use the legal facts to maintain the presumption of innocence towards Idham.

The second hindrance concerns covering both sides as Idham's side doesn't want to be interviewed. For journalism, covering both sides is vital as this guarantees a verification of the sources. The research reveals that KR mostly disobeys this aspect. This media tends to choose sources from Idham's side. This leads to positive tone on its exposure. While the other four medias tend to choose sources from the opposite. Despite their difficulties, the four other medias, whatever small, try to reach Idham's side. They claim that they have done the balanced covering despite Idham's reluctance to be interviewed.

The third hindrance for local medias in covering corruption case is intimidation. This is posed by certain interest groups which are sympathetic to Idham. The research reveals that only *Harian Jogja* gets the intimidation. They object to one of its headlines. This objection at last can be mediated. While the four other local medias, *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, *Radar Jogja*, *Bernas Jogja*, dan *Tribun Jogja* do not get that intimidation.

CLOSING

Corruption is a legal case which must be exposed as it concerns public interest. Corruption case is perceived as important by media as it concerns significance. A corruption case does not only concern news worthy only, a news article functions as an implementation of media's function as the fourth pillar, or the watchdog for state bodies (executive, legislative, and yudicative).

Local medias in Yogyakarta agree to eradicate corruption completely. However, among five local medias in Yogyakarta, only *Kedaulatan Rakyat* which does not expose a corruption case, especially on Idham Samawi intensely. The four other local medias, *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, *Radar Jogja*, *Bernas Jogja*, dan *Tribun Jogja* expose a corruption case from different angles differently.

The corruption case framing in local medias is influenced by external factors. Those are among others, individual factor of the media itself, media routinity, organization, extra media, and ideology. *Kedaulatan Rakyat* media is strongly affected by organizational influence, while other local medias are free of other vested of interest. This organizational influence leads to the media's certain tendency as in case of KR on Idham's case is visibly different from others.

This research suggests that data analysis using a framing model by Robert Entman does not show clearly the diction use in detail, 5W + 1H, and other news structure. The researcher, then, suggests another use of different framing analysis model as developed by Pan Kosicki and Gamson. This model can meet the need of textual use on certain event of a media.

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