

**NEWS FRAMING ANALYSIS ON CORRUPTION BY CHAIRMAN OF THE  
PARLIAMENT OF REPUBLIC INDONESIA SETYA NOVANTO  
(Study on Detik.com Period November-December 2015)**

**Oka Al Majid, Subhan Afifi, Sigit Tripambudi**  
**Departement of Communication Science**  
**Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, UPN “Veteran” Yogyakarta**  
**oka.al.majid45@gmail.com**

**Abstract**

*The reporting on the case of Presidential and Vice Presidential Nomination on the extension of PT Freeport Indonesia’s contract becomes headline in detik.com media. PT. Freeport Indonesia is the largest taxpayer to Indonesia and the largest gold producer in the world. Setya Novanto is the 16th Chairman of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia holds a one-year term from 2014-2015 and reappointed on 20 November 2016. This study aims to know the picture of the news frame. This research uses framing analysis method developed by Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki. Framing is an approach to know how the viewpoints used by journalists. There are four devices in the framing analysis model, ie, syntax (facts), scripts (themed facts), thematic (facts written), and rhetorical (emphasizing facts). The results of framing analysis shows that frames made detik.com more dominant corner Setya Novanto. The existence of an emphasis on a sentence or a particular word, the selection of resource persons, and supporting factors selected by journalists as an emphasis on the news he wrote resulted in unbalanced news and did not run the principle of news.*

**Keywords:** *framing, ideology, online journalism*

**INTRODUCTION**

Corruption is an untruthful act like embezzlement, receipt of bribes and so forth (Poerwadinata in Hamzah, 2015: 5). Corruption is one type of crime that is difficult to reach by the rule of criminal law, because the act of corruption profusely plural that requires the ability to think officers examiners and law enforcement accompanied by such a pattern of conduct neatly. Therefore, law change and development is one to anticipate such corruption (Surachmin, 2011: 11).

One of the problems of corruption or alleged corruption that occurred in Indonesia today is a case of violation of the code of ethics on profiteering the name of President and Vice President by the chairman of the House of Representatives Setya Novanto related to the extension of the contract PT. Freeport Indonesia. The case also involves the Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources (EMR) Sudirman Said who is also a case reporter to the MKD (Honorary Council), President Director of PT.Freeport Indonesia Maroef Sjamsoeddin, and an oil businessman

Muhammad Riza Chalid, and Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs Luhut Binsar Panjaitan.

The case received great attention on the mass media to spread the event to a wide audience. In reporting an event, a media with other media has its own perspective. The tendency for partisanship and how the media construct the event to the public can be seen clearly by framing through the news presented to the public.

PT. Freeport Indonesia is a mining majority owned by Freeport McMoran Copper and Gold Inc. (US). This company is the largest taxpayer to Indonesia and is the largest gold producer in the world. It operates in the highlands of Mimika Regency, Papua Province, Indonesia. Market concentrates containing copper, gold and silver to all corners of the globe.

Maroef was appointed as President Director of PT. Freeport Indonesia. Then Commissioner of PT. Freeport Indonesia, Marzuki Darusman asked him to meet the Speaker of the House, Setya Novanto. Setya Novanto held three meetings with Maroef. At its first meeting on 27 April 2015 Maroef only talked about the company profile alone without anyone in the meeting. Then Setya Novanto wanted to hold a meeting again on 13 May 2015 with maroef, this time they discuss

material about Freeport, this meeting also attended by Riza.

Based on Maroef's testimony, they also talked about the extension of the Freeport contract, but not so deeply. In the third meeting on 8 June 2015 this re-negotiated the extension of the Freeport contract in accordance with the plan. Novanto asked 11% of the shares to be given to the President and 9% to the Vice President. Novanto also asked for a 49% stake from a hydro power plant (PLTA) project in Urumuka. He also asked Freeport to become an investor as well as off taker (Buyer) of electricity generated by the project. After the meeting, Maroef reported to his boss at Freeport and shared the results of his meeting with Novanto. However, Maroef received a strong reaction from his superiors, he rejected the Novanto's request.

Subsequently on 16 November 2015 Maroef reported this to ESDM Minister Soedirman Said and then Soedirman Said reported it to MKD. However, Sudirman still refuses to mention the name of Setya Novanto openly. It only explains the name, time, the scene, and the subject of the extension of PT Freeport Indonesia's contract. On that date the case began to smell by some media and become headlines.

In this study the authors chose the news portal Detik.com because it is one of the online news sites that are very popular in Indonesia. According to Alexa.com which is a website ranking website and placed Detik.com rated first as an online news portal (<http://www.alexa.com/topsites/countries/ID>, accessed 22 January 2016).

Regarding the credibility and details of online journalism detik.com which does not have a print edition. Since 1998 detik.com has the consistency to continue working in online journalism. Although it does not have print edition detik.com try to answer the public's credibility about credibility and not details online news portal. Tagline that carried by detik.com is "why wait tomorrow, this moment also detik.com". Obviously through the tagline the reader's association on behalf of detik.com is fast.

The mass media has a strategic role, as a channel that informs the public simultaneously among the audiences who are using the media. In essence, the mass media has a delivery function in spreading various kinds of knowledge, organizing, activities in a public environment that can reach all members of society freely, voluntarily, commonly and inexpensively. The relationship between sender and receiver is balanced and equal and is able

to reach more people than any other institution (McQuail, 1987: 51).

Many phenomena are really important and should be known by the public to be embargoed by power and vice versa, many small unimportant facts are blow-up by the mass media, and are reproduced unfairly in the sense of going beyond what the audience needs. In framing or framing is to see how the media construct reality. Events are understood not something taken of granted (Eriyanto, 2002: 7). So there is an imbalance between important facts that occur in society with facts. Because, in every news writing store ideological / background of a writer. But if we look deeper, the reality or events that occur around us have been reconstructed and framed by the media. This is where social reality is interpreted and constructed with a certain meaning.

Therefore it is natural that, the same event will be presented differently by the media, not least the online media. As it is understood that similar to the print media, online media has become a political constellation both locally, nationally and internationally. Keep in mind also that the online media does not stand alone, behind it he is surrounded with various interests that color it. According to (Budiyono, 2014: 33), that online media also strengthens its presence to provide opportunities for

everyone to be able to express their interests freely.

### 1. Media as a Social Reality Construction Agent

In a constructionist view, the media is not just a free channel; it is also the subject that constructs reality, complete with views, biases, and sides. Media is seen as a social construction agent that defines reality. Media is an agent that actively interprets reality to be presented to audiences (Eriyanto, 2002: 23).

Media work is basically a work related to the formation of reality. All media workers are agents, how random events, complexes are arranged in such a way as to form a story. How the role of media in shaping reality can be seen from various levels. In the view of the constructionist, journalists are also seen as actors / agents of construction. As social actors, journalists define what happened, and actively shape events in their understanding (Eriyanto, 2002: 28-29).

### 2. Mass Media and Ideology

Shoemaker and Reese see ideology as one of the factors that can influence media content. Ideology is defined as a symbolic mechanism that acts as a binding force in society. The level of ideology emphasizes the interest of whom all the routines and media organizations work (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996: 223).

The media plays a role in defining how reality should be understood, how it is explained in some way to the public. The definition is not just the event, but also the social actors. Among the various functions of media in defining reality, the first function of ideology is the media as a mechanism of social integration. Media here serves to keep the values of the group run (Eriyanto, 2002: 122).

### METHOD

The approach taken in this research is qualitative method. Qualitative research is an interpretive research that involves many methods, in examining the problem of research, the use of this method is often called triangulation, intended for researchers to obtain a comprehensive (holistic) understanding of the phenomenon studied (Mulyana, 2007: 5).

The type of research to be used is framing analysis. Framing analysis is one of the methods of text analysis that is in the category of constructionist research. In framing research, the point of problem is how the reality/ events in the construction by the media. More specifically, how the media frames events in a particular construction, so that the point of attention is not whether the media preach negative or positive, but rather how the frames are

developed by the media (Eriyanto, 2002: 7).

Framing devices used are as follows:

**Table 1. Framing Device Zhongdang and Gerarld M. Kosicki**

| Structure   | Framing Device   | Unit observed   |
|---|--|---|
| Syntactic:<br>The way reporters composing the fact    | 1. The scheme news   | Headline, lead, background information, quotations source, statement, cover |
| Script :<br>The way reposters telss the story if fact | 2.The completeness of news                                     | 5W+1H   |
| Thematic :<br>The way reporters write the fact        | 3. Detail<br>4. Coherence<br>5. Form of Sentence<br>6. Pronoun | Paragraphs, proposition, a sentence, the relationship between a sentence    |
| Rhetorical:<br>The way reporters emphasized the fact  | 7. Lexicon<br>8. Graphic<br>9. Metaphor                        | word, idiom, a picture or photo, charts                                     |

(Source : Eriyanto, 2012 : 295)

Syntax is the wording or phrase in the sentence. In the news discourse, syntax refers to the notion of the composition of the news section, ie headlines, leads, background information, sources, and coverings in a whole text of the news entirely. Scripts are news reports concomitantly compiled as a story. The general form of this script structure is the 5W + 1H pattern, which is who, what, when, where, why, and how. Thematic for Pan and Kosicki (Eriyanto, 2012: 301), the news resembles a hypothesis test, ie

the event covered, the source quoted and the expressed statement. The rhetorical structure is a news discourse describing the choice of style or word chosen by journalists to emphasize the meaning that journalists want to highlight.

## DISCUSSION

Based on the five news samples used in this study, it can be seen how detik.com frames the news about profiteering the name of President and Vice President on the extension of shares

of PT Freeport Indonesia. This research used framing analysis method Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki. This analysis examines the news structure of syntax, script, thematic and rhetorical.

Judging from the syntactic structure, the news is examined in terms of titles, leads, background information, quotations and statements, as well as the closing section of the news. In the news-news that researched, detik.com use a title that tends to corner Setya Novanto as the most guilty party. In addition, in some of the news sampled research, the title is mostly taken from the direct quotes of resource persons who serve as a depiction of news content.

Through the title, detik.com intends to lead the reader's thoughts on the subject matter that will be discussed in the news agency. one example of news that uses the quotation of the source person as the title, which is "Maroef: There is 11% Share Share for Jokowi and 9% for JK". In most news, detik.com tends to use only one source. based on that, detik.com concludes that the case is as if Setya Novanto is the only one who is most guilty in this matter.

In the script structure, news is researched based on the completeness of the 5 W + 1 H elements (what, where, when, why, who and how). Of the five

news, as a sample of this study, there are some news that do not meet the rules of journalism. Where one of the 5W + 1 H elements is not contained in the news content. it can be seen in the news entitled "Initiative, Investigate 'Papa Request Stock' AGO: The Smell of It Corruption". In this news the element of how is not contained therein. Not complete the element is remembered because one of the properties of online media is to give priority to speed. Therefore, sometimes online media forget the completeness of the 5W + 1H element.

The use of coherence is often found in the news sampled by this study. Coherence is a relationship between words, propositions or sentences. Coherence is useful for connecting two sentences or propositions that have different facts, so that even unrelated facts can be related (Eriyanto, 2008: 263). In this news encountered the use of explanatory coherence and causation. The use of rhetorical aspects is also contained in the news that has been studied. The use of words, as well as graphic elements through photographs used to further support or reinforce the content of the news. This is indicated by the word "Great Scandal!" On the news entitled "Novanto Reported Fear President, Priyo: If This Is A Great Scandal". The



word is used to describe a serious situation.

Where the case is a case that is quite serious and make a person's honor down. Another example is in the rhetorical structure is the existence of information Setya Novanto or other news objects into the frame track record and chronology of the case. The information is made in such a way presented in graphical form. So as to strengthen the information on the news text and increase knowledge and information to the reader. However, in the frame of the track record or chronology of the case also brings the audience's view of the audience towards the corner Setya Novanto is completely guilty.

The four structures used to analyze the news in this study, have interrelationships with one another. The linkage is in the form of a news that has the completeness based on the observed structure. The syntactic structure that analyzes the titles, leads, background information, resource quotes, and coverings, is interconnected with the script structure that analyzes the completeness of the 5W + 1H elements. Where to analyze the 5W + 1H element, the syntactic structure analysis results need to be known first. The existence of thematic and rhetorical structures, where they contain

the use of the coherence that serve to combine sentence phrases, and the rhetorical structure emphasizes the use of graphics. Coherence and graphics in synthesized structures and scripts.

After looking at the results of the analysis by the four framing devices, it can be seen that the media has a certain point of view in viewing the event. The point of view will ultimately reflect the media's alignment in its generating news.

In terms of media reality, Detik.com has a distance between the reality that poured into a news. This is the one person who shows guilty allegations to Setya Novanto. Similarly, in the selection of words and coherence used in the news, which reflects the attitude of journalists.

It is not in harmony with the construction of reality that the media should do. Where media compilation the reality of the various events that occur to be a meaningful story or discourse. Making news in the media is basically the preparation of realities to the form a story and discourse meaningful as expected. So the whole contents of the media is a reality that has been constructed in the form of meaningful discourse (Hamad, 2004: 11).

Viewed from the side of online journalism, detik.com as one of the news portal in Indonesia has provided many information that the reader needs at any

time. This is like in the characteristics of online media, where one of them is the speed of information delivery (immediacy).

Through five samples of news it can be seen that news continues to provide further news, archives, sources, or data that can be accessed anytime via hyperlinks. As exemplified in the news text entitled “Maroef: There Is 11% Share Share for Jokowi and 9% for JK”. In the news text presented hyperlink. This shows detik.com meets the characteristics of online journalism in terms of hypertextuality.

The journalist must have a very high degree of care in doing his job given the widespread impact that the news it makes. News produced by the media relates to how the journalists are dictated or controlled to preach events in a particular perspective. Shoemaker and Reese in Syahputra explain the hierarchical factors affecting media content ie, individual factors, media routine factors, organizational factors and extra media.

#### 1. Individual factors

The individual level sees how the influence of the personal aspects of media managers affects the news that will be presented to audiences. As a person directly dealing with reality in the field, journalists certainly have their own element that affects the work of

journalists.

In the five news samples of this study, there are several titles covered by different journalists. At this level, journalists have their own way of dealing with the name of the President and Vice President on the extension of PT Freeport Indonesia contract. Therefore, in the eight news reporters appear to have a tendency to corner Setya Novanto who has not been proven really guilty.

#### 2. Media Routine Factor

The factor of the media routine is related to the mechanism and process of determining the news. this media routine also deals with the mechanisms by which news is formed. When there is an important event to be covered, how the form of delegation of its tasks, through the process and the hands of anyone writing before getting to the print process, who the author, who the editor and so on.

Seconds.com as an online medium does not go through the stages as the print media do. That's because the online media prioritizes the speed in updating an information so as not to pass the series of work as conventional media usually do. For that, online media update an information continuously on a topic so that the news delivered to the public audience remains accurate even though not through the editorial mechanism in general.



### 3. Media Organization Factor

In the organizational factors of the media, each organization must have a purpose and the goal is influential on news content. Detik.com is part of Trans Corp. led by Chairul Tanjung. Detik.com was officially acquired on August 3, 2011 in total 100%, with an acquisition value of USD 60 million or approximately 521-540 billion. It then changed Detik's management. com is filled by parties from Trans Corp in the media sphere. (<http://www.lensaIndonesia.com/2011/08/04/detikcom-resmi-dibeli-chairul-Tanjung-sold-rp-540-billion.html>). It is these management that make the policies and goals of the company. Policies and goals within the organization that will influence the views of detik.com in viewing the event.

### 4. Extra Media Factor

This factor explains factors outside the media that affect the news production process. these factors can come from several things namely, state (state), market (market), and the public. State in this case is in terms of existing or governing governments within a country can affect the content of the news. The media market is seen from two aspects, first sales or media circulation, the second coming from advertising. The large number of people who advertise on the

media indicates that the media is much enjoyed by readers audience whereas Chairul Tanjung is known to be in the Golkar Party faction as well as Setya Novanto.

Golkar achievement is currently declining due to the many cases involving Golkar Party Chairman Setya Novanto who also served as Chairman of the Golkar Party Faction for the period 2009-2014. Then he currently serves as Chairman of the Golkar Party Period 2016- 2019. In this level Seconds. Com sees the future concern of Golkar Party if it will continue to be led by Setya Novanto who is heavily involved in cases and big scandals that make his image not ideal in the public eye. The image is allegedly will impact on the image of Golkar party later in elections and national elections 2019.

At this level Detik.Com trying to display news that provides strong evidence that Setya Novanto was involved in the case of profiteering the name of President and Vice President on the Extension of Shares of PT. Freeport Indonesia. So bringing the view to the public that it is necessary to reconsider the credibility of Setya Novanto to re-position as Chairman of the House of Representatives or General Chairman of the Golkar Party Faction.

### 5. Ideology Factor

Ideology in this sense is defined as a particular frame of mind or frame of reference used by individuals to see reality and how they deal with it. Media can play a role in shaping and directing public opinion to determine its attitudes toward every social reality that occurs. The image and credibility of the media are built on the ideology adopted, as well as the media workers. Therefore, those who joined in detik.com work by embracing the ideology of the media to be able to write news in accordance with the rules and ideology of the media.

Responsible tasks and functions of the press not only provide information to others, but more deeply that is securing the rights of citizens in the life of the nation. Detik.com as a press agency should also carry out its function as a national struggle tool by having idelaisme because it not only sells news for profit only, but also fight for the nation as stated in Law No.11 of 1966 about Press.

## CONCLUSION

Frames formed by detik.com tend to bring the view to the public that it is necessary to reconsider the credibility of Setya Novanto to re-position as Chairman of the House of Representatives or General Chairman of the Golkar Party Faction. This is evident in the syntactic,

script, thematic and rhetorical analysis, which is more dominant in bringing the evidence and also the impressive response of the experts that Setya Novanto did a deviant act.

In terms of media reality, detik.com has a distance between the reality that occurred in the field with the construction of reality that poured into a news. It is shown through the use of titles, selection of speakers, word selection and coherence. The title looks too much to corner Setya Novanto in the case as if Setya Novanto was the most guilty person. Similarly, with the selection of resource persons who are only one person from each news. Where the source is largely derived from the party that often menyudutkan Setya Novanto in this case with comments or statements that can be spelled out critically.

## REFERENCE

- Alexa. (n.d.). *Top Site in Indonesia*. Retrieved from Alexa: <https://www.alexacom/topsites/countries/ID>
- Budiyono, dkk. (2014). *“Demokrasi Ber Media Online”*. Yogyakarta : Tiara Wacana Lokus.
- DPR. (n.d.). *DPR*. Retrieved from DPR: <http://www.dpr.go.id/>

- Eriyanto. (2001). *Analisis Wacana "Pengantar Analisis Teks Media"*. Yogyakarta: PT.LKiS Printing Cemerlang.
- Eriyanto. (2002). *Analisis Framing "Konstruksi, Ideologi, dan Politik Media"*. Yogyakarta:PT.LKiS Pelangi Aksara.
- Hamad, Ibnu. (2004). *Konstruksi Realitas Politik dalam Media Massa: Sebuah Studi Critical Discourse Analysis Terhadap Berita- Berita Politik*. Jakarta: Granit.
- McQuail, Denis. (2011). *Teori Komunikasi Massa "McQuail Mass Communication Theory"*. Jakarta: Salemba Humanika.
- PWI. (n.d.). *Beranda*. Retrieved from PWI: <http://pwi.or.id/index.php/uu-kej>
- Reese, Shoemaker. (1996). *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content*. USA: Longman.
- Surachmin. (2011). *Strategi Dan Teknik Korupsi : Mengetahui untuk Mencegah*. Jakarta:Sinar Grafika