

## **The Discourse of Corruption in Mass Media: Polarization, Ideology, and Challenges**

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### Abstract

*This article presents the opposing point of view between Tempo Newspaper and Media Indonesia in reporting on the revision of the KPK Law after the presidential inauguration. The analysis focuses on the ideology reconstruction of both of those media. The method uses critical discourse analysis to uncover the invisible power, interests, and ideology behind the contents and elements of the articles and the production of a text on Tempo Newspaper and Media Indonesia. The findings that Media Indonesia's ideology in reporting the revision of the KPK Law is based on the political interests of the media owners, thus in this case, Media Indonesia considers the revision of the KPK Law as an effort to improve and strengthen the performance of the KPK with a pro-government narrative. Meanwhile, Tempo's ideology in reporting the revision of the KPK Law was based on elite interests, so the ideology used was investigative ideology by building a criticizing narrative based on the facts found. This study aims to increase public awareness of the importance of critically viewing this polarization; thus, the harmful excesses of political propaganda do not easily provoke them through mass media.*

**Keywords:** *Corruption Discourse; Ideology; Polarization; Mass Media*

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## **Wacana Korupsi di Media Massa: Polarisasi, Ideologi, dan Tantangan**

### Abstrak

Artikel ini menyajikan sudut pandang yang berseberangan antara Koran Tempo dan Media Indonesia dalam pemberitaan revisi UU KPK pasca pelantikan presiden. Analisis difokuskan pada rekonstruksi ideologi kedua media tersebut. Metodenya menggunakan analisis wacana kritis untuk mengungkap kekuatan, kepentingan, dan ideologi yang tak terlihat di balik isi dan unsur-unsur artikel dan produksi sebuah teks di Koran Tempo dan Media Indonesia. Temuan bahwa ideologi Media Indonesia dalam memberitakan revisi UU KPK didasarkan pada kepentingan politik pemilik media, sehingga dalam hal ini Media Indonesia menganggap revisi UU KPK sebagai upaya untuk memperbaiki dan memperkuat kinerja KPK. KPK dengan narasi pro pemerintah. Sedangkan ideologi Tempo dalam memberitakan revisi UU KPK didasarkan pada kepentingan elit, sehingga ideologi yang digunakan adalah ideologi investigatif dengan membangun narasi kritik berdasarkan fakta-fakta yang ditemukan. Kajian ini bertujuan untuk meningkatkan kesadaran masyarakat akan pentingnya melihat secara kritis polarisasi ini; dengan demikian, eksese berbahaya dari propaganda politik tidak mudah memprovokasi mereka melalui media massa.

**Kata Kunci:** *Wacana Korupsi; Ideologi; Polarisasi; Media Massa*

## INTRODUCTION

The developing concept of public sphere quality offered by Habermas (1993) has resulting a consequence that mass media should be appeared within the democratic system. The role of mass media is demanded to construct a balancing perspective between supporting and opposing of government policy opinion (Heryanto, 2018). However, the dynamic changes in the political environment sometimes lead to polarization for one (Tóth et al., 2022). One of prominent example of this media polarization has occurred in United States during last two decades, which has emerged the liberal and conservative partisans (Dimmock, 2014). This polarization may sometimes change the way political news is produced and consumed, as in polarized society most people prefer to hear the news they desired rather than the other contradictive information (Wojcieszak et al., 2021). Thus, this phenomenon might become a threat to the journalist ethics by blurring the lines between information and entertainment (Sujoko, 2022; Wahyudi et al., 2022).

In recent years, this similar scenario has occurred in Indonesia, involving two reputable media called Tempo and Media Indonesia. These media have different viewpoints on responding to the revision of Indonesian law number 30 Year 2002 which explains the corruption eradication commission or locally known as Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi (KPK). Both Tempo and Media Indonesia have widely reported this revision process differently. On the one hand, tempo has become one of the sharpest media against the government's

decisions especially during Joko Widodo's tenure, for its defiance towards this case. On the other hand, Media Indonesia is a media that provides a more apologetic viewpoint displaying clarifications related to government's policy.

The different viewpoints between Tempo and Media Indonesia are one of early portraits of political polarization in Indonesia (Wijayanto, 2012). Under this circumstance, several possibilities might be illustrated such as Chomsky (2005) who indicates that the media undermine the impact of their role on political dynamics, where they deliberately deviate from honest reporting to manipulate public opinion. While Zagidullin et al., (2021) confirms different way in which political involvement for social media users in Turkey shows a pattern of behavior from users actively involved in politics to form inclusion and exclusion mechanisms in creating a polarized political approach. Furthermore, similar research such as Hameleers (2020) & Jarikre (2017) confirms wide-ranging interpretations and findings. The media context produces unique manifestations of language and discourse on the news.

As mentioned above, most of the researchers have examined the narrative structure of news discourse, the role of quotation and voicing to influence the users, and the relation of standardize language to news routines, among other topics. There is still a gap between more linguistically oriented studies and the various approaches in the social political science on power abuse and inequality behind the media (Sujoko et al., 2020) Accordingly, it is important to point out

that the news media can be studied in the terms of its texts and also the process involved in the text production to examine the component of political, social and institutions dimensions that influence the media behind as a fundamental component (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016). Thus, this research reveals media polarization of Tempo and Media Indonesia under the case of revision of law number 20 in the Year 2002 to reveal a further projections and consequences.

In a more detailed look, this study states the different perspectives of those medias on dealing a corruption discourse and to analyse the ideological basis and political influence that challenges media freedom in Indonesia. At this point, the study applies a critical discourse analysis by van Dijk (1993) as backbone to forms the discussion of each perspective. Hence it is expected that this study will provide an academic and practical understanding of the conceptual foundations related to media ideology in the study of political communication (Asnan & Siswandoyo, 2018; McNair, 2011), and also enhance public awareness on the importance of critically viewing this polarization thus the harmful excesses of political propaganda does not easily provoke them through mass media (Chomsky, 2005; Heryanto, 2018; Setiananda & Rifa'i, 2018).

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### Discourse and Ideology: Van Dijk and Fairclough

The parameters of context models provide the basis of indexical that include deictic expression referring to

the time, place, action and participants of the communication situation, which means that it represents the aspect of the communication environment, hence the social parameters of language use. Indeed, the Van Dijk discourse models can control how language users adapt their ongoing discourse and interaction to the current communication situation. This significant value is critical discourse analyst such as Fairclough (2013) and van Dijk (1993) linked to power and social interest within form of relationship that e&merge a different perspective. Critical Discourse Analysis examines how structure and elements as supporting management in the texts to represent the story or ideology behind a text (Fairclough, 2013; van Dijk, 1993).

The context of text analysis has represented a structure of the social situation relevant to the production of discourse (van Dijk, 1993, 2009). It consists of such categories as the language use, discourse, verbal interaction and communication belonging to the social order's micro-level. While power, dominance, and inequality between social groups typically belong to macro-level analysis. For instance, the social cognition analysis refers to the language users as a personal memory, knowledge, and opinions, and those shared with members of Tempo and Media Indonesia. On the other hand, Fairclough and Van Dijk are mainly concerned with ideological effects of discourse. Similarly, van Dijk (2009) notes that the critical function of ideologies may promote the groups' interest into a basis for resistance.

Instead of further elaborating on the intricate detail of this discourse, this study

used a critical discourse analysis by (van Dijk, 1993). This theoretical framework chosen is one big reason of this conceptual framework seen more clearly describing the structure, components and elements of a discourse. Fairclough's framework intensely focuses on semantic and grammatical features of text only or interdiscursivity analysis of the text. This study has several ways to analysis Van Dijk framework of text analysis, as follows

**Table 1. The Critical Discourse Van Dijk Analysis**

Discourse Structure	Components	Element
Macro structure	THEMATIC (what is said)	Topic
Super structure	SCHEMATIC (structure opinion)	Scheme
Micro structure	SEMANTIC (i.e., meaning that you want to emphasize in the news text)	Settings, details, intentions, assumptions, nomenclature
	SYNTAX (opinion conveyed)	Sentences, consistency, pronouns
	STYLISTK (choice of words used)	Lexicon
	RHETORIC (what way is the emphasis)	Graphics, metaphors, expression

Source: (Eriyanto, 2017; Suprihatin & Oktarina, 2022; van Dijk, 1993, 2009)

This theoretical framework sketched how far the distance between context produced underlying ideologies. Ideology

and manner in some perspectives are legitimised and achieve dominance remains a central issue in textual analysis. On the one hand, doctrines are more specified in socially shared attitudes about particular issues or group concerns (Fairclough, 2013). In these all cases power, dominance are associated with specific of social cognition (van Dijk, 2009). The mass media in Indonesia is quite central when examined through the ideological side of the media. Some are interested in the ideological battle behind media institutions (Ahmadian & Farahani, 2014). To get more clearly and deepest ideologies behind media content, the social cognition domain used Reese & Shoemaker (2016) theory, the hierarchy of influence model considers five levels of analysis that shape media content. These include individual level; media routines level; organization level, extra media level, and ideological level.

The model takes into multiple force that simultaneously impinges on the media and suggests how influence at one level may interact another. At each level, one can identify the main factors that shape the symbolic reality revealed through content, constituted, and produced by media worker as well as show how these factors interact across level and compare across different contexts (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016). The political interests of groups that dominate media ideology often cause the media to provide information that is not entirely true – not wholly false, it is not easy to interpret the text produced by the media (Sujoko, 2019).

## METHODS

This research uses Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to analyze the contents

of the articles and the elements of the production of a text. Critical discourse analysis aims to uncover the ideologies embedded in media mass texts, such as news stories (Ahmadian & Farahani, 2014). This method helps to find the invisible power, interests, and ideology behind it for transformative political purposes (van Dijk, 1993). Using discourse analysis enables several approaches to answering research questions and permits like Tempo Newspaper and Media Indonesia reported on KPK Law Revision. In considering each news element, this analysis sought to critique the way in which Tempo Newspaper and Media Indonesia was presented as a news subject on each front page, weaving together common themes and highlighting differences throughout the coverage. Therefore this discourse analysis is needed to find out the structure of the text and the production of the news texts it contains ideology of the two media.

The evidence for this study was collected from document browsing (online) and in-depth interviews. First, by searching for documents online about the revision of the KPK Law both on those media mass between September, 6<sup>th</sup> 2019 to September, 18<sup>th</sup> 2019, this search is carried out on the official website of Tempo and Media Indonesia. This period was chosen because of the turbulent socio-political conditions (such as demonstrations by students, civilians and former KPK employees) after the revision of the KPK Law, so it is necessary to disclose the discourse on the revision of the KPK Law which was built by Tempo and Media Indonesia. Second, in-depth interviews with media workers from Tempo and Media Indonesia, through these

in-depth interviews, data will be obtained on the cognition of media workers from Tempo and Media Indonesia in making or reporting on the revision of the KPK Law incident. This second data collection technique is to determine the cognition of media workers from Tempo and Media Indonesia, or the second domain of social cognition in Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis method. The interviews in this study were conducted with ER as the Editorial Board of the Media Group and the person in charge of the Political-Legal Column of Media Indonesia, and AM as the Editor of Tempo and the Chairperson of AJI Indonesia.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### Pollarization of Discourse on KPK Law Revision

The research's results will be discussed in a few stages, starting with the macro structure analysis, superstructure analysis and micro structure analysis, then the social cognition that involves a role scheme, it will be discussed one by one in detail and clearly as follows:

#### Macro Structure of News in Tempo Newspaper and Media Indonesia

Based on critical discourse analysis, the discourse conveyed by Tempo Newspaper is trying to direct the public to regard the image of the representatives as a source of this problems and the KPK Institution as a victim. It can be seen from the choice of language structure used:

*"Revision of the KPK law will weaken the corruption eradication commision – civil society groups and legal experts believe*

*that the representative is considered formally flawed by anti-corruption” (News on the quotation 1 and 2).*

The words ‘weaken’ and ‘formally flawed’ in the news expressions used to respectively up road, connote disappointment in society due to the negative excesses of the revision of corruption law. It is clearly seen how Tempo Newspaper openly uses a clear and steady grammar through the topics and theme that shown on the news, then it supported by a superstructure that provides supporting sentences through data or statements from legal experts stating the negative impact of the revision of KPK law would made this institution performance weakened.

Meanwhile, Media Indonesia whose considers that this revision is strengthens the KPK institution and becomes a legal product can be seen from the choice of macro structure used:

*“Corruption prevention becomes a necessity of a new paradigm - the president in the MPR annual session on august 16<sup>th</sup>, 2019 said it was important for us to strengthen the eradication of corruption. the indicator is not only the number of corruptors arrested by the KPK.” (News of excerpt 1)*

The choice words of ‘new paradigm’, and ‘necessity’ aims to build a positive discourse from the point and at the same time to dismiss the negative view from tempo media. These finding is interesting that Media Indonesia emphasizes neutral language through macro structures in its report. Based on both macro structure, Media Indonesia displayed the macrostructure by headlines or titles and also news terrace.

The prominent thing that can be seen in the revision of the KPK Law reported by Tempo, this investigative narrative was built an opinion on the lack of seriousness of the representative and government in enacting laws that actually weakened the KPK’s position as the independent of corruption eradication institution. A different discourse is shown by the reporting of corruption in the Media Indonesian, which seems to indicate a contradiction in the news from the Tempo. The contradictions of the positive discourse tend to emphasize the form of pro-representative support. Similar findings were made by research conducted by Nartey (2020) that mass media who maintains a positive discourse strategy sheds light on how discourse can be construed as an inspiring artifact, that offers a message of encouragement, hope, and strength in times of difficulty. Thus, the macro structure both of those mass media can be seen in the topics and news content used to criticize or support a policy.

Meanwhile, Media Indonesia uses a pro-government clarifying narrative, Media Indonesia constructs a core discourse or theme through headlines or title and news stories. Then the main theme or discourse on the importance of revising the KPK Law to strengthen the KPK Institution and change the paradigm of KPK’s performance. In line with the studies conducted by Firdaus (2021) that the selection of titles, topics or themes from the mass media indicates an influence to be given to the public or readers. These two realities are constructed by each media with their perspective at the same time strengthens the opinion of van Dijk (1993, 2009) that behind the different viewpoints of the mass media in providing

information to the public. Ahmadian & Farahani (2014) and Nyarwi (2008) stated that there is an ideological battle in it and the various interests behind the mass media institutions.

### Superstructure of News in Tempo Newspaper and Media Indonesia

Tempo Newspaper super structure directs readers to find out how bad the revision of the KPK Law is by claiming the title – the news terrace and then giving arguments from the body of the news to the tail of the news. The following is an excerpt from the news super structure of Tempo's news report that reflects this:

*“He highlighted several articles that have the potential to weaken the performance of the KPK, there is an article to coordinate with the Attorney General's Office regarding the obligation to obtain permission from the Supervisory Board before conducting wiretapping (News 1 on paragraph 3 and 4)*

*“ICW and Abdul Fickar Hadjar as a criminal law expert of Trisakti University also criticizes the existence of the KPK supervisory board and the revision of the KPK Law because it suspected the institution has no longer independent....” (News 1 on paragraph 6 and 8).*

The discourse conveyed by Tempo Newspaper emphasizes of the statements or comments from someone who is considered to be able to strengthen the news editor. Tempo Newspaper discusses the revision of corruption Law will have an impact on the KPK performance, it caused several articles that limit the freedom of KPK to conduct wiretapping. In addition, the discourse that

Tempo wants to be conveyed to the public is the emergence of the supervisory board as a result of this revision. Furthermore, Tempo Newspaper constructed a super structure on news 2 by bringing up a discourse that was conveyed to the public to demand the President Joko Widodo not to create a Surpres because this revision could weaken the KPK's performance. Below is an excerpt from Superstructure 2, which represents the discourse:

*“Director of Network and Advocacy of the Center for Indonesian Law and Policy Studies, Fajri Nursamsi also urged Jokowi not to issue a Surpres not to issue a Surpres because there are irregularities were found in the discussion of the KPK Bill....” (Paragraph 7 –news 2). Similar statement conveyed by Hendra Supratikno that stated this revision was not formally flawed because it had been included in the national legislation program, while, the legislative and executive institutions have been agreed (Paragraph 8 – news 2)*

However, both on the news 2 showed a rejection and support statement thus in this case Tempo Newspaper using the cover both side technique to balance the main discourse they want to present, this statement shows that politicians seem want to hide the negative within particular formulations such that the population may not see the truth or the horror before them. On the other hand, the superstructure of Media Indonesia directs the reader or the public to assume that this revision is a legal product. The following is an excerpt from the news superstructure of Media Indonesia:

*“To further strengthen the task of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK), all factions in the DPR approved the revision of Law Number 30 of 2002 concerning the Corruption Eradication Commission (Paragraph 1 – news 1).*

*“This is the decision of the plenary session of the council chaired by the Deputy Speaker of the DPR, after being approved at the plenary meeting, his party immediately discussed the revision points in the KPK Law.” (Paragraph 2 and 4– news 1).*

The coherence between paragraphs at this superstructure is fully integrated into discourse on the main theme that presented to the public as a legal product that must be accepted by the community. The following is the superstructure for news 2:

*“Revision of the KPK Law is a necessity – carried out so that each article is not misused by law bearers.... (News headline 2), besides, “The KPK Law is 17 years old. We draft the KPK Law to be in accordance with the needs of the times,” said a member of commission III from the PDIP Masinton faction” (Paragraphs 1 and 2 – news 2).*

Supported these statement Irman Sidin stated that “the revision is a must, we cannot reject it, but not all items from the revision need to be approved, but through this revision KPK does not just make arrest at work” he said. (Paragraph 5 and 7–news 2

*“KPK employees also asked Jokowi to firmly reject the revision of the KPK Law and the problematic KPK leadership candidates. Yesterday, they held an action to cover the KPK logo in the KPK Red*

*and White Building with a black cloth.” (Paragraph 10 – news 2).*

Media Indonesia also presents the opinions of legal experts who agree with this, while the opinions of legal experts are structured to reinforce each other. It is interesting that Media Indonesia’s position seems neutral by presenting parties who are against the revision of the KPK Law (Paragraph 10). In this case, Media Indonesia developed a superstructure the same as Tempo Newspaper with a cover both side technique – its not as neutrality in the revision of the KPK Law, but as a journalistic technique. Media Indonesia remains focused on the main discourse that directs readers or the public to regard the revision of the KPK Law as a necessity of the times, even though it is accepted by the public.

The construction of the super structure from Tempo Newspaper and Media Indonesia, both use the cover both side technique, called a journalistic technique that displays two sides between the pros and cons. The cover both side technique used by Tempo Newspaper is in the form of a rebuttal to the discourse in paragraph 7 news 2 regarding irregularities in the discussion of the revision of the KPK law, this technique is seen in paragraph 8 news 2 to balance the main discourse that wants to be displayed, namely the flaws in the revision of the KPK law discussed by members of representatives. On the other hand, the cover both side technique used by Media Indonesia presents the opinions of legal experts who mutually agree on this in paragraphs 1,7,10 in News 2 where the opinions of legal experts are constructed to reinforce each other.



In this case, Media Indonesia has developed a superstructure with a cover both side technique – not as neutrality in the case of the revision of the KPK Law, but as a journalistic technique solely by selecting informative and neutral facts. It is also seen that the Media Indonesia remains with its main discourse which directs the reader or the public to regard the revision of the KPK Law as a necessity that must be accepted by the public. This finding is in line with the previous research conducted by Kovach & Rosenstiel (2021) which states that the press media or journalism cannot be neutral in the sense of being impartial – because the press must side with the truth held by the general public or society.

#### Microstructure of News in Tempo Newspaper and Media Indonesia

The microstructure includes the local meaning of a discourse, to four aspects: semantics, syntax, stylistics, and rhetoric. These four aspects are described as :

The semantic analysis in this study focuses on the event background of the discourse production. The text news on the Tempo Newspaper does not display a semantic elements, but a it is shown on Media Indonesia : *“...Revisions are reasonable so that each article is not misused. A necessity that must be accepted without being rejected...”* (news excerpt 2), the semantic elements/local meanings that are displayed to strengthen the discourse to be conveyed in each sentence or paragraph. Hence, it is hoped that the audience understand the positive message that Media Indonesia wants in their discourse.

The syntactic analysis are manifested in a sentences displayed as shown in the following example:

*“...It because the House of Representatives proposes adding articles that limit the authority of the KPK in conducting wiretapping, prosecution, and appointment of investigations as well as independent investigators”* (news excerpt 1). While, According to him, Jokowi should be sensitive to the current maneuvers of the representative. He suspects that this is part of an effort by Senayan politicians to weaken the KPK institutionally...” (news excerpt 2).

Tempo Newspaper sentences house of representatives proposes adding articles that limit the authority of the KPK in conducting wiretapping, prosecution, and appointment of investigations as well as independent investigators is the main idea to form an inductive paragraph. Then the second one stated that ‘this is a part of an effort by Senayan politicians which refers to the representatives to weaken the KPK institutionally’ is the main idea to form a deductive paragraph that serve as an explanation. The use of pronoun ‘him’ referring to the activist or the expert that choosen. The syntax elements such as deductive-inductive pattern of paragraph, pronouns him serve as cohesive device of the discourse.

The rhetorical elements used by Tempo Newspaper is a graphic that attracts the public to seem the revision of corruption law as a product that will weaken the KPK as an institution to eradicate corruption. In addition, Tempo also features a graphic display that informs the problematic articles and weaken the performance of the KPK. Both of the news shows that Tempo Newspaper did not used metaphors or figurative sentences

to support the discourse. The rhetorical element through the graphics displayed by Tempo Newspaper, as follow:

**Figure 4.1 Tempo Cover Story (06/09/2019)**



Soure: Tempo.com

**Figure 4.2 Rhetorical Tempo on News 2 (06/09/2019)**



Source: Tempo.com

**Figure 4.3 Rhetorical Graphics Tempo on News 2 (06/09/2019)**



Revisi Undang-Undang KPK Dianggap Cacat Formal

Source: Tempo.com

An interesting finding of this study is the used of graphics, that become a part of the rhetorical element in Media Indonesia. It actually displays graphics that are contrary to the main discourse to be conveyed to the public. The following is a graphic of Media Indonesia:

**Figure 4. Graphics of Controversia Points on the RUU KPK News 2 (09/09/2019)**



Source: m.mediaindonesia.com

Media Indonesia shown in its main discourse that revision of corruption law by the representative as a nessesity and a legal product must occur and must be accepted by the public, but the superstructure formed in the main discourse is collided with the rhetorical graphics on figure 4 which informs the points of controversy in this revision that can be a reason for the public to reject this revision.

The micro structure constructed by Tempo and Media Indonesia are clearly show the ideologies of the two media/press. Such as semantic elements/local meanings that are displayed to strengthen the discourse to be conveyed in each sentence or paragraph. Tempo Newspaper and Media Indonesia both use semantic elements to convey ideas in the news by creating coherence with propositions or statements

from sources in the news. Then, syntactic elements are used by both media/press to create coherence between sentences or even between paragraphs through conjunctions, conjunctions, and pronouns to produce discourse (van Dijk, 1993, 2009). This finding also similar to the studies conveyed by Arsyandikayani & Sumarlam (2020) who maintain that discourse coherence can be built through the selection of paragraph type, the use of conjunctions, and pronouns as a reference of mass media strategy. The syntax of Tempo Newspaper using the pronoun “senayan politician” to report the representative while the other news stated it directly as DPR or representative.

Media Indonesia uses phrased diction that gives rise the interpretations by the readers. This is like choosing the title of the two news stories that are the object of this study, news 1 uses the “Paradigm” diction in which the diction is closely related to academics which means an agreed view of reality or agreed rules of the game. Media Indonesia would like to underline that the KPK’s performance will be focused from the initial action (considered a failure) to being focused on prevention. Meanwhile, the syntax constructed by Media Indonesia emphasizes supporting the representatives as the proponent of this revision, explicitly using the pronoun “he” to report on the representatives, while those who oppose the KPK are called directly by name.

In addition, the use of metaphor both on those media is to express more emotions (van Dijk, 2009) than literal language and provoke emotional responses in the context of political discourse covered by mass media (Mohammad et al., 2016; Sobkowitz & Sobkowitz, 2012). By using metaphor,

the statement of his defeat is carried out by subtly without embarrassing to the opponent, thus the use of metaphors is considers as a media strategy to avoid embarrassing public figures with literal expressions (Muhassin, 2021). It can be understood that the use of metaphors in a news discourse is a journalist’s strategy to make a strong interpretation of what they want to describe (Cabot et al., 2020).

### Ideology and Challenges of Discourse on KPK Law Revision

Ideology and challenges in this research used social cognition analyzed by van Dijk (2009) and was discussed using the theory of hierarchy influence by Reese & Shoemaker (2016) in the form of individual levels, media routine levels, organizational levels, and extramedial levels, as the following below:

#### Individual levels

The individual level shown by Tempo suggest that journalists play an important role in intervening the content of media discourse. This statement is followed by a finding which states that:

*“We don’t believe the claim by the government and its supporters to strengthen the KPK, the fact is that the revision weakens the KPK, so if the government and its supporters think it strengthens, I think it’s nonsense, the Supervisory Board limiting, if you want to do wiretapping, you have to report quickly if you want to be tapped..... Because there are too many politicians who are caught, so if the government and the DPR revise the KPK Law, it’s*

*definitely a bad intentions, because they feel disturbed by the KPK" (excerpt from interview with AM Tempo – 15/8/2020).*

This finding also proves that the Individual level at Tempo is at the level of the journalism doctrine by media workers at Tempo idealism for media workers, namely the highest value on social control. At the same time, Media Indonesian shows a statement:

*"There was a debate that time we discussed at the editorial meeting, when it becomes a decision, everyone in the editors must comply with it – that's common everywhere in all media... the signs are usually when there is an instruction from the Editorial Board, so if the editorial board decides, the direction is west, of course the direction is west." (Excerpt from Interview with ER Media Indonesia – 10/08/2020).*

It means that individual level at Media Indonesia has no influence on the content of media discourse when reporting on the revision of corruption law.

### Media routine levels

The sentences that show media routine levels give a tendency of the media to package news or news mechanisms produced in Tempo as follow:

*"As far as I know Tempo does not consider readers, because if we consider readers, so that means, if you write badly about Jokowi it will worry that Jokowi's supporters will unsubscribe" (excerpt from interview with AM Tempo – 15/8/2020).*

The words Tempo does not consider readers' indicates that the audience has

no influence on a discourse presented by Tempo Newspaper, it shows the strategy that Tempo Newspaper chose was to criticize the government, even though it resulted in not getting advertisements from the government and losing readers/customers from government supporters, however the media routine that appear by Media Indonesia shown in the following statement:

*"The life of the media also doesn't depend on the appearance of the news, we can't sell the news without advertising, we present the news but the ads don't exist. Government, it doesn't mean we parrot, okay? even from the government we swallow it raw. If we are close to the government, the Ministry will be more comfortable if we ask for advertisements, yes, that's one way compared to those who are not close to the government.." (Excerpt from Interview with ER Media Indonesia – 10/08/2020)*

The sentences of ' we can't sell the news without advertising', can be seen that Media Indonesia strategy to survive and maintain its existence is by approaching the government, thus the advertisements from the Ministry/Government could hand in Media Indonesia.

### Organizational levels

The organizational level does not affect the content of the news. *"When it comes to the KPK, The editor has the same perspective. I don't have any views on the KPK..." (excerpt from interview with AM Tempo – 15/8/2020).* The owner of Tempo cannot intervene the editorial policies, as Tempo is a media company that already listed on the stock exchange, and its ownership varies or is

not controlled by 1-2 groups. In the end, it create the independence of Tempo's in political events. Otherwise Media Indonesia has shown:

*There was a debate at that time that we discussed at the editorial meeting, when it becomes a decision, everyone in the editors must comply with it (Excerpt from Interview with ER Media Indonesia – 10/08/2020).*

The editorial board of a media group has considerable influence in determining its attitude towards political events over the revision of corruption laws. As it is known that Media Indonesia is under PT Media Group, therefore the editorial policy is determined by the Editorial Board of the Media Group which also oversees Metro TV.

#### Extramedia levels

Tempo has not shown any external influence on the main discourse in its reporting, as evidenced by:

*"In my opinion, all journalists at Tempo learn from the same journalistic doctrine and have not changed much that in fact the highest role of the media is journalists when referring to the law, information is entertaining, educating, and social control. Tempo will be on the rails, I think Tempo's political stance can't be separated from Tempo's history in the past, which was indeed quite critical of the government, and some were critical of the government. this is a historical legacy, definitely the historical factor and also the idealism factor brought by Tempo's past history and also the journalists who joined under it...." (excerpt from interview with AM Tempo – 15/8/2020).*

Besides, Media Indonesia shows the possibility of external intervention, as follows:

*"There must be a question, can the media take sides? If I have a strong belief that the Press Law itself is in favor of truth, the public interest, democracy, human rights, and law enforcement... so for example, if I may not take sides, that is not a relevant question. What is not allowed is that we take sides or not take sides because there is pressure, for example we defend a group that is against the revision because the group gave us money, or vice versa. That's a question of independence, because the side is economic interest. But if the consideration of giving a defense is purely in the public interest, then that is still partisanship that is still allowed." (excerpt from interview with AM Tempo – 15/8/2020).*

There is no difference between the social cognition of workers from Media Indonesia and Tempo and the discourse built through language and displayed in the news that is consumed by the public. Interestingly, the findings on workers' social cognition from Media Indonesia and Tempo show that there are similarities, as a desire to strengthen the KPK, but the methods used by the two media are different. the ideology that influences Media Indonesia in reporting on the revision of corruption law is highly influence by the organization level. At the organization level, media Indonesia owners (or in this case the Editorial Board) have the most power because they occupy the top structure of the organization's management. Otherwise, the organization level did not intervene the editorial policy of Tempo Newspaper in this case.

In fact, what influences Tempo's editorial policy are the individual level and the media routines level, Reese & Shoemaker, 2016). This individual level is at the level of the journalism doctrine studied by media workers at Tempo, namely the highest value on social control. Meanwhile, level of media routines this watchdog for power. Tempo's history was banned during the New Order era because its criticism made media workers defend this ideal. This condition strengthens Sujoko et al., (2020) that the non-functioning of the trias politica (Executive, Legislative, and Judicial Institutions) properly provides space for the mass media to act. as watchdogs.

According to Reese & Shoemaker (2016) the findings on tempo fulfill one of the important factors that influence news value, namely the conflict or controversy factor in a news story, Tempo's ideological selection is motivated by the history of tempo as a critical media in the new order era. Thus, Tempo

Newspaper chose to perform the function of social control and became the watchdog of the Indonesian political situation, and the idealism of Tempo workers also intervened in this choice.

Based on the overall explanation, it shows how the position or ideology of Tempo and Media Indonesia. Tempo Newspaper considers that the revision of the KPK Law is a legal product that must be canceled because it would weaken the performance of the KPK. This condition was in line with the Kompas ideology. Meanwhile, Media Indonesia views that revising the KPK Law is reasonable and should change the performance of the KPK, this discourse described in Media Indonesia's ideology is in line with Surya Paloh's ideology (Nasdem, Political Party). This condition is reinforced by how the ideological differences in each media serve as organizational guidelines for action (Fairclough, 2013; van Dijk, 1993, 2009).

**Table 1. Comparison of Discourse and Ideology from Media Indonesia and Tempo Newspaper in the KPK Law Revisions**

Media	Discourse Polarization of KPK Law Revision	Media Ideology	Genealogy of Media Ideology
Media Indonesia	Strengthening the KPK Institution by supporting the revision of the KPK Law, and supporting the Executive and Legislative	Organizational and extra-media ideologies have dominantly influenced the construction of the discourse on the KPK law Revisions.	The organization level comes from an editorial policy that has been committed since the beginning (2014) to support Joko Widodo's government.  The extra-media level comes
	Governments in strengthening the KPK Institution.		from the policy direction of the Nasdem Political Party which is chaired by Surya Paloh who is also the owner of the Media Group (Media Indonesia).

Tempo Newspaper	Strengthening the KPK Institution by rejecting the revision of the KPK Law; and criticizing the Executive and Legislative governments for weakening the KPK Institution.	Individual dan extra-media ideologies have dominantly influenced the construction of the discourse on the KPK law Revisions.	The individual level comes from the activist background of the journalists at Tempo.  The extra-media level comes from the history of Tempo which has been in opposition to the government (since the <i>Orde Baru</i> era).
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Source: Research's findings

## CONCLUSION

Media Indonesia uses a pro-government narrative in the discourse of the KPK LAW revisions. The discourse from Media Indonesia on the importance of revising the KPK Law to strengthen the KPK Institution and change the paradigm of KPK's performance. At the same time, the investigative narrative was built by Tempo Newspaper as an opinion on the lack of seriousness of the representatives and the government in enacting laws that weakened the KPK's position as an independent institution of corruption eradication. The construction of the super-structure from Tempo Newspaper and Media Indonesia, both use the cover both side technique that displays two sides between the pros and cons. In addition, the use of metaphors both in those media is to express more emotions than literal language and provoke emotional responses in the context of political discourse covered.

Based on the overall explanation, it shows how the position or ideology of Tempo Newspaper and Media Indonesia in reporting the revision of the KPK Law was based on the ideology hierarchy of influences media from Rhese and

Shoemaker. Tempo Newspaper dominant ideology used was individual and extra-media level ideology by building a criticizing narrative based on the facts found, this idealism is based on their history as the most critical media in the new order era thus it creates an idealism doctrine to defend media workers. In addition, this way is used by Tempo Newspaper to act as a watchdog in the Indonesian government. Meanwhile, Media Indonesia's ideology in reporting the revision of the KPK Law is based on the political interests held by the media owners, Surya Paloh as a chairman of the Nasdem Party influenced editorial policy and then makes the news in Media Indonesia's biased with political interests, thus the alignment of the Media Indonesia is closely related to pro-government politics. It seems to be a real polarization happening in the Media Indonesia and Tempo Newspaper. Alignment of the Media/Press towards the truth that is believed to be based on their respective ideologies in the case of the Revision of the KPK Law. In other words, the Media/Press will not be neutral in fundamental political events in a country.

However, this research has a methodological limitation that only uses

two domains of Critical Discourse Analysis from Teun A Van Dijk, that is text analysis and social cognition. This study does not use the domain of social context/interaction. Thus further research is needed based on the third domain of Critical Discourse Analysis from Teun A Van Dijk, which uses the context/social interaction domain to see how the news discourse on the KPK law revision developed by Media Indonesia and Tempo is accepted by the public.

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