



Framing Analysis The News of Social Funding Covid-19 Corruption Case on Online Media

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Abstract. Media always using framing when reporting an incident. Framing depends on the value that media held and what issues that media want to up. In the case of corruption of social assistance funds carried out Juliari Batubara, the punishment has been released by the court. Lots of online news media report that case, included Tempo.co and Antaranews.com. Background and motto of those media are different, so that researchers want to know what is the different about the framing and examines the interests of Tempo.co and Antaranews.com. Researchers focus on the news that related to the punishment in August 23rd until 26th, 2021. The type of research is qualitative descriptive using the framing analysis approach of the Pan Kosicki model which includes four parts, namely syntax, script, thematic, and rhetorical. The subjects in this study were the news on Tempo.co and Antaranews.com sites related to the social assistance funds corruption conviction verdict at a predetermined period of time, and the object of the study were the online news media Tempo.co and Antaranews.com. The data collection techniques in this study are observation, documentation, and literature studies. Then the data will be analyzed by reducing, display data, and inference. Antara presents another point of view on the Juliari case decision by highlighting the institution's comments that contain elements of nonsentiment, Tempo represent an outrage over corruption case.

Keywords: Framing · Corruption · Media

1 Introduction

More than a year ago the Covid-19 pandemic has hit this nation. Every sector experienced a decline, including the worst economic sector. In the midst of the community's economic difficulties, the government provides an injection of social assistance funds to meet community needs. Minister of Finance Sri Mulyani even said that the Covid-19 pandemic condition in Indonesia could result in up to 3.78 million people experiencing poverty and 5.2 million people could lose their jobs [1]. The decline in income in the community can lead to layers of society that are more vulnerable to Covid-19 because they inevitably have to stay out of the house to earn a living and have to ignore health protocols.

The government provides categorization of types of assistance to the community which consists of 6 categories. This is an effort by the government to move quickly

in reducing the number of poverty and the number of people who have lost their jobs in these difficult times. The pandemic is not over yet, with government assistance still being distributed, there is a lot of corruption that haunts us.

The problem of corruption that ensnares the state apparatus has repeatedly become the headline news in the print and online mass media in Indonesia. Headlines about corruption by government officials in the mass media have emphasized that the problem of corruption is part of the social pathology of Indonesian society that needs to be fought and eradicated more seriously, whether through legal, religious, or socio-cultural intermediaries.

The corruption case carried out by former Social Minister Juliari Peter Batubara is one of the worst events in Indonesian society today, because he did this in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic which is narrowing the livelihoods of the Indonesian people. Until now, there are still many irregularities that have not been revealed regarding the decisions made by the panel of judges.

In reporting on Juliari Batubara's corruption, media institutions are not free from interests. Reporting in the media cannot be separated from the political economy interests of the owners and editors of the media, so that events when reported are subject to framing according to the interests and goals of the media [2]. Even for Tuchman, the media may frame news with the aim of building perceptions to the public, so that the news becomes a discussion in the wider community [3]. Each mass media has a different perspective on the same event to be reported. Lois Althusser explains, that the media in relation to power, occupies a strategic position, mainly because of the assumption of ability as a means of legitimacy [4].

Likewise with the news about Juliari Batubara's corruption, especially in August 2021 this case was heavily reported again by various national media, when the controversy over the leniency of the sentence was reduced to 12 years because Juliari Batubara and his family received scorn and insults on social media. Even this verdict made netizens noisy commenting on social media. For Hameleers, various fragmentation of issues can occur in new media, even audiences can experience information bias over the truth of information in new media [5]. Moreover, the Juliari Batubara corruption case is sensitive to the public, so this news has become the center of public attention. This condition is getting faster because every netizen is very able to comment on new media, even the characteristics of new media also support the interactivity of its users to discuss events that have a strong public interest.

Therefore, it is necessary to see more clearly how the media reports on the corruption case, because this fact causes news to highlight certain realities of one party or group, and ignore or even eliminate the focus on other realities obtained by journalists from sources. -Different sources while in the field. In the case of reporting, the media, especially those related to the dominant party, are always accompanied by a bad portrayal of the less dominant [4].

In the constructionist view, when constructing reality, the media has its own framing, be it from views, biases, or partialities. Media is seen as an agent of social construction that defines reality and authenticity, so the media is not a free channel. News made by the media not only shows the opinion of news sources, but also the construction of the media itself [6].

The news related to the Juliari Batubara corruption case has been one of the issues that has adorned the Indonesian mass media for a long time, even the most surprising recent news is about the leniency given by the judge to the former Social Minister. Therefore, the researcher wants to examine the perspective or form of news on the national online media tempo.co and antarnews.com in framing the news about the corruption case that befell Juliari Batubara.

Tempo.co's selection of media in this study was based on the fact that it has a hard track record of highlighting cases of law and human rights violations committed by government officials. In Zaki's research, Tempo.co criticizes and considers the right of inquiry proposed by the DPR legislature to the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK). Likewise, the case of the omnibus law controversy and the case of criticism of the mural that was deleted by the government became tempo.co's critical spotlight. While the selection of the news portal Antaranews.com is based on its position as a State-Owned Enterprise (BUMN) so that after all it still receives funding from the state, so it is necessary to look at its position when framing corruption cases by state officials [7].

The selection of the two media is also online based, because for Pavlik the penetration of new media users is getting higher in Indonesia. In addition, because online news portals make it easy for their readers to be efficient, free of charge, provide interactivity for their readers, there is decentralization for newsrooms in determining information [8].

Meanwhile, framing itself was originally developed by Beterson in 1955. The first frame was defined as a conceptual structure and set of beliefs that organize political views, discourses, and policies that provide standard categories for viewing a reality [2]. Information about the structure in the framing analysis is as follows:

(a) Syntactic structure, relates to how journalists arrange events (quotes, observations of events, statements, opinions,) in the form of a general news structure. (b) Script structure, which deals with how journalists narrate events in the form of news. This structure looks at the storytelling strategies used by journalists in packaging events into news. (c) Thematic structure, which deals with how journalists express their views on events into sentence propositions/relationships between sentences that make up the text as a whole. This structure sees how that understanding is realized in a more detailed form. (d) Rhetorical structure, which relates to how journalists give a certain meaning to the news. This structure will look at how journalists use word choices, idioms, graphics and images that are used not only to support writing, but also to emphasize certain meanings to the reader [2].

Based on the description above, this research is focused on reporting the corruption case that befell the former Social Minister Juliari Peter Batubara on online media nation-altempo.co and antarnews.com. This reporting period begins on August 23, 2021. The reason the researcher chose that time was because during that date the nationaltempo.co news was very intense and intensively reported about the decrease in the sentence for the defendant.

2 Research Methods

This type of research is qualitative research and is descriptive. Qualitative research is research whose findings cannot be obtained through statistical calculation procedures.

Qualitative research is a way to understand the meaning of social events that arise as a result of the interaction of human behavior according to the researcher's own perspective. Through qualitative research, objects can be observed in depth [9]. The approach method used is Framing Analysis. This model divides the framing device into four major parts, namely syntax, scripts, thematic, and rhetorical. The syntax relates to the way journalists compile news which includes observations on leads, settings, headlines, quotes, etc.

The script deals with how journalists tell the story on the news. Thematic relates to the way journalists express their views on events in sentences or the relationships between sentences. Rhetoric relates to the way journalists emphasize certain meanings in the news, by observing the use of idioms, graphics, pictures [10].

The primary data in the study were taken from the news text of the Tempo.co website and Antaranews.com on 23–24 August 2021 related to the sentencing decision the corruption of the Covid-19 social assistance carried out by Juliari Batubara. Primary data collected through careful, thorough, and direct observation or observation on symptoms or units observation. Primary data is also collected through documentation of historical news records of each media that became the object of research. In addition to primary data, researchers also collect secondary data.

Secondary data sources are carried out by literature study in books related to the Framing Analysis method and the Kosicki model. In this case the researcher obtain data by citing data from other sources to complete the data already exists, then the data is processed and the results are presented in writing in written form [9].

3 Results and Discussion

The importance of the mass media in efforts to eradicate corruption can be included in two major parts: first, providing a tangible impact on corruption to the public, such as direct reporting. Second, providing intangible impacts, for example by participating in providing information and understanding to the public regarding good and transparent governance, improving the quality of public debate and encouraging accountability between politicians and public institutions as a result of critical mass media coverage. and independent. Here the media, through their reporting, participates in “educating” the public to be critical of the condition of corruption [11].

Checks and balances as the main task of the mass media in the fourth pillar of democracy that has public office are based on the premise that power should not exceed its limits [12]. The media can be a check and balance institution and monitor the actions of the executive, legislative and judicial institutions towards the laws, values and norms of democracy [13]. However, the press agency does not have the authority to impose penalties on perpetrators of corruption. So that the media uses public control on society indirectly.

Investigative coverage also contributes to the privilege of journalistic freedom. By constantly digging for information, by forcing governments and the private sector to issue documents and answer questions, journalists are increasing the limits of what they can report. In the long term, the relationship between journalists and public officials helps to develop a culture of habituation to revealing a violation [11].

3.1 Framing Analysis on Tempo.co

Online reporting has become a cardinal option for some of the media community in Indonesia. The media provide a lot of repertoire by accelerating the flow of information. But with this speed, the depth of news on the completeness of syntax and scripts in the media is reduced. Starting from the balance of information sources, completeness of news, and completeness of the 5W+1H requirements.

Sourced from Tempo.co's report after the trial of Juliari Batubara's verdict, the author found several writing rules that did not meet the script elements, there was information bias that appeared, such as incomplete reporting on some tempo news. The author's findings regarding the incompleteness of editorial writing in the title "When Netizens' Humiliation Lightens Juliari Batubara's Sentence" Tuesday, August 24, 2021 09:17 WIB.

In the report, there was an error in thinking because it did not include a reason in the statement the word "Lighten up". The element of incompleteness of "Missing" is not based on the maximum legal clarity in Article 12 of Law no. 20 of 2001 concerning the maximum penalty. Whereas the perpetrator of corruption is sentenced to life imprisonment or a minimum imprisonment of 4 (four) years and a maximum of 20 (twenty) years and a minimum fine of Rp. 200,000,000.00 (two hundred million rupiah) and a maximum of Rp. 1,000,000,000.00 (one billion rupiah).

Tempo only provided information on the judge's decision and also the prosecutor's demands, where the prosecutor's demands were lighter than the judge's decision. Tempo wrote "Juliari was sentenced to 12 years in prison and a fine of Rp 500 million, subsidiary to 6 months in prison". Meanwhile Tempo also wrote "The verdict is higher than the prosecutor's demands, namely 11 years in prison and a fine of Rp 500 million, subsidiary of 6 months, with an additional penalty of Rp 14.5 billion in compensation". That is a contradiction to a word "Lighten up" that appears in the Headline.

Sentimental construction on the subject of TIPIKOR is very visible with the strengthening of several sentences in the form of criticism submitted by the sources (found in paragraphs 6 and 8). In that paragraph, the informant is ICW through Kurnia Ramadhana as a researcher with the statement "From this decision, the public can then see that the law enforcement process has not fully sided with the victims of crime," said Kurnia. "The insults, insults, and insults to Juliari are not comparable to the suffering felt by the community because of the difficulty in getting social assistance due to the actions of the former Minister of Social Affairs and his cronies," with the statement, the community finally became a complete victim. In fact, the legal decision that has been decided has been determined from various aspects that have been considered by the panel of judges. The rhetorical appearance of PDI politicians is also one of the authors' findings on sentimental issues in the news on Tempo.co.

Tempo also provides more space for the narrative of public unrest regarding corruption in the era of the pandemic. With the news title "Juliari Batubara Bansos Corruption Sentence, Students: Unreasonable Decision". The anxiety appears in the syntactic element, namely the source of the informant who is given space in 5 paragraphs for student unrest. The balance that appears does not appear because of the 6 paragraphs that are reported there is only 1 background paragraph. The existence of a warning sign phrase is a script element that complements the reporting of public unrest.

On the other hand, Tempo also reported with a balanced portion on the news “Juliari Batubara Corruption Case: Asks to be Released, Judge Sentenced to 12 Years in Prison”. In the syntactic elements of reporting after the juliari coal decision, the media explained the journey of the juliari coal case from the beginning to the judge’s verdict and closed with the judge’s decision. Here the tempo is also objective by presenting things that burden and relieve Juliari.

Tempo remains a watchdog by evoking his tendentious anger by using the word “irresponsible practice during a pandemic” in the sentence “Juliari’s sentence has drawn criticism. Because Juliari is considered worthy of being punished with heavy rewards, such as a life sentence, because this impudent practice was carried out when the country was in a state of crisis of the Covid-19 pandemic.” As if leading public opinion in the emergence of public anger whose moment coincided with the covid-19 pandemic.

The error that appears from the tempo is that it only shows the amount of money spent for juliari’s personal interests from the corruption case but does not show other uses to convey the nominal flow of bribes for other purposes. Such as accommodation, the cost of the Ministry of Social Affairs, and so on. This is one of the irregularities in the reporting effort produced by Tempo on the Juliari Batubara corruption case.

3.2 Framing Analysis on Antaranews.com

In the syntactic observation unit, Antaranews.com media provides space for community groups who are concerned with eradicating corruption in expressing their opinions. When observed, the opinions that are included in the news narrative, are not sentimental opinions. So in this case, Antara media opens a new side from the point of view of assessing the judge’s decision on Juliari’s verdict in a non-sentimental side.

The quote observed was “MAKI Appreciates the Judge’s Decision Against the Former Social Minister Juliari Coal” in the news headline “MAKI Appreciates the Judge’s Decision Against the Former Social Minister Juliari Coal” published August 23, 2021 at 20:58 WIB. In the news article, Antara revealed in its narrative that the judge’s decision deserves to be appreciated based on information from the MAKI, because the sentence has exceeded the demands put forward by the public prosecutor even though the prosecutor can still sue with a heavier demand, namely a life sentence. This was disclosed because if based on article 12 and article 18 of the Corruption Eradication Act, there is still the possibility to ensnare Juliari with a life sentence, but this was not done because this decision was at risk of being ‘safe’ and if it was elevated there would be a possibility to be corrected by the High Court on appeal.

A non-sentimental angle was also given to the report entitled “KPK appreciates the verdict against former Minister of Social Affairs Juliari Batubara” in the news broadcast on August 23, 2021 at 16:22 WIB. A direct quote from the KPK spokesman for the attitude of appreciation gave new things to the atmosphere of response to the decision.

Even though Antara in the news has shown another side so that the public’s thoughts are not only on the sentiment side, but it is found that information is lacking in the news narrative. In the script analysis unit, Antara did not write complete information. The media did not fully explain why the judge preferred to give a safe decision and did not want to get corrections from the high court in filing an appeal.

This leaves the reader with information and hanging statements. Prejudice is not good, which leads to judges involved in the case will also arise. It would be a different story if the media clearly narrated the statements expressed in the news based on logical reasons such as the reason the judge chose a safe sentence and avoided correction.

In the news, Antara also only displayed information from MAKI, did not provide information from the judge and Juliari's side. The statement used for reinforcement is the quote from Boyamin as the representative of MAKI which reads "but the judge doesn't seem too brave to go up too high". The inclusion of this sentence seems to throw a hot ball that can be responded to by various things by the audience. So we can see that the way certain articles work and the legal system that is followed in a news report must be packaged and included in a news story so that the narrative becomes complete, objective, and logical.

The balance of Antara's media in providing space for various parties who are sources of information is also found in other news. It was noted from the author's observations, that of the 8 articles published by Antara in the period 23–26 August 2021, only one headline featured information sources from various sides, including the judge, Juliari, and Juliari's lawyer. Whereas in a journalistic activity, correct, accurate, and cover both sides news has become the main principle in presenting news. Objectivity is a moral and ethical value that should be firmly held in journalism activities. In the concept of objectivity presented by Westherstahl, there are two aspects that measure the degree of objectivity of the media, certain aspects of factuality and impartiality. The factual aspect includes three elements, namely truth, information, and relevance. While the impartiality aspect has elements of balance and neutrality [14].

In this context, the aspect that is lacking in Antara media is impartiality whose size lies in the balance in the selection of sources. Meanwhile, the element of neutrality occurs when the news contains more than one information, which means that the media carries out verification discipline.

4 Conclusion

Tempo has an interest as a party representing public unrest by providing information that feeds on the value of public sentiment, it can be seen in the titles before the verdict is read there is room to accommodate ICW's voice demanding life imprisonment along with arguments that support this. After the verdict was issued, Tempo republished news headlines that gave room for dissatisfaction with the sentence. Tempo highlighted the point of criticism of netizens for the mistakes made by Juliari as the reason for the commutation of the sentence. This brings the reader to a sense of sentiment about justice for the victims and the consequences of the perpetrators' actions. In other news, tempo presented the fact that Juliari's demand to be released was answered with a sentencing decision by the panel of judges.

Of the eight news reports issued during the specified period, only one contained information sourced from Juliari's side, and that too regarding Juliari's 'think about it' attitude toward the sentence that had been imposed. The idea that the title wants to build is understandable if Tempo provides information on the mindset that it will increase public anxiety because the sentence that has been commuted for reasons that are not

reasonable has still not been accepted by Juliari's side. Tempo's source of information does not present objectivity as seen in the unequal space provided for the parties involved in this case.

Antara presents another point of view on the Juliari case decision by highlighting the institution's comments that contain elements of nonsentiment. Between being less objective in terms of source balance and verification discipline in reporting. Between carrying out the functions of education, information, and legal supervision in the case of Juliari's sentencing.

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