Interpreting Identity of Republika.co.id as Indonesian Islamic Media News Regarding Corruption Cases

Yuri Alfrin Aladdin¹, Rustono Farady Marta², Likha Sari Anggreni³, Karman⁴ Nur Aini Shofiya Asy'ari⁵

Universitas Al Azhar Indonesia, Masjid Agung Al-Azhar, Jln. Sisingamangaraja No.2, South Jakarta, 12110, Jakarta, Indonesia¹, Universitas Bunda Mulia, Jln. Lodan Raya No. 2, North Jakarta, 14430, Jakarta, Indonesia², University of Sebelas Maret, Jln. Ir. Sutami No.36A, Surakarta, 57126, Central Java, Indonesia³, Ministry of Communication and Information Technology of Republic of Indonesia, Jln. Medan Merdeka Barat No. 9, Center Jakarta, 10110, Jakarta, Indonesia⁴, Universitas Darussalam Gontor, Jln. Raya Siman Km.6, Ponorogo, 63471, East Java, Indonesia⁵

yalfrin@gmail.com¹, rmarta@bundamulia.ac.id², likhasari@staff.uns.ac.id³, karman@kominfo.go.id⁴, nurainishofia@unida.gontor.ac.id⁵

Abstract. Identity of Republika.co.id is also known by public has a very closed relationship with Indonesian Muslim communities and tend to follow the voice of Muslim people. So, how Republika publish its news related with corruption issues, if the issues related with a Muslim prominence people? Especially issued the news articles about Indonesian Supreme Court of Justice decided to revoke the law prohibiting excorruptor to register themselves as a candidate for legislative members. Some of the excorruptors come from Islamic political parties in Indonesian who want to come back as legislators. The decision made such pros-cons among Indonesian people represented on Indonesia medias. In this research, the authors use Critical Discourse Analysis of Sara Mills method to know how the Republika – as an Islamic oriented media -- publishes a corruption issue. The result of this research, Republika supported the Indonesian Supreme Court of Justice's decision by a number of reasons.

Keywords: Identity, Islamic media, Republika.co.id, Supreme Court of Justice, Sara Mills

1 Introduction

Technological developments directly change people's lives from closed to public consumption[1]. One of the function of technology is to inform public, as the perform of newspaper. Currently, the role of the newspaper mass media as an agent for political socialization is ineffective. This can be seen from the number of newspaper users who are increasingly fewer in number. A study shows data supporting this statement where only 25.80% of the public gets political information from the newspaper mass media, 38.70% of the audience receives it through electronic media, and another 35.48% gets political information through TV[2]. This phenomenon shows a shift in the role of newspaper mass media as a medium for political propaganda. Redefining the relationship between majority and minority groups must be seen as a matter of urgency, although it has the potential to be a challenge for a majority group who may feel desolated by this kind of nation[3]. However, the newspaper mass media as part of the mainstream media of the newspaper mass media are believed to be more credible-both in terms of reporting and editorial review. This is

undoubtedly very ironic because it turns out that newspapers are not yet entirely objective in reporting even from all categories of objectivity [4].

The following is the first information about mass media for the state, namely as follows: provides the latest information, provide space for social communities, also facilitate the state to be able to convey, provides opportunities for state officials to support the continuity of their power in the midst of their role [5].

The Agenda Setting is a theory that believes that media as a center for the selection of truth with the ability to transfer two elements, namely awareness, and information through the public agenda in directing public awareness and attention to issues that are considered essential to the mass media [6][7]. The mass media creates a public image of political figures [8]. Of course, this media setting agenda theory is applied in every mass media coverage, including republika.co.id in its reporting on the Constitutional Court's decision that allows former convicts of corruption cases to register as candidates in legislative elections. Media ideology (*Republika*) is one of factors that influence what agenda of media is. Other factor influencing media agenda beside ideology are individual (journalist), media routine, organizational social institution and culture[9].

The authors of this research tried to examine this through the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) method of Sara Mills [10] because this method could examine how the positions of the actors are displayed in the text. These positions in terms of who is the subject of storytelling and who is the object of storytelling will determine how the structure of the text and how meaning is treated in the text as a whole. In addition to the positions of actors in the text, Sara Mills also focused on how the reader and writer are displayed in the text.

2 Method

Authors chose the object of research in the Republika.co.id news considered preobservation which showed the difference in style of media reporting compared to other media related to the ex-corrupt polemic being allowed to become a legislative candidate. Analysis unit of this research came from Republika.co.id reporting on 14-19 September 2018 [11][12][13][14][15] considering that a heated polemic occurred in various media related to the issue during this period. During this period there were eight related news. Authors took four writing types of straight news and conduct analysis using the Critical Discourse Analysis method of Sarah Mills.

	Table 1. Sala Will's Critical Discourse Analysis.
Level	What is to be Seen
Position of Subject-Object	How events are viewed, from whose perspective the events are seen. Who is positioned as the narrator (subject) and who is the object being told. Does each actor and social group have the opportunity to present themselves, their ideas or their presence, their ideas are presented by other groups / people.
Position of Author	How the reader position is displayed in the text. How the reader positions
- Reader	himself in the displayed text. To which group the reader identifies himself.
	Source : Kurniawati [16]

Table 1. Sara Mills Critical Discourse Analysis

Sara Mills, using Althusser's analysis, emphasizes how actors are positioned in the text. This position is seen as a form of subjecting someone, one party has a position as an interpreter while the other party becomes the object to be interpreted. In general, there are two things to consider in the analysis. First, how the social actors in the news are positioned in the news. Second, how the reader is positioned in the text.

This study aims to find hidden discourse from Republika.co.id related to the Supreme Court's verdict on former corruptors may nominate themselves as legislative candidates. The research method will use a critical paradigm to find hidden discourses in reporting the Supreme Court's decision as quoted by Republika.co.id media on 14 September 2018 [17] regarding the permissibility of former corruptors to run for legislative membership.

3 Result And Discussion

The Supreme Court of Justice (Mahkamah Agung or MA) emphasized that the rules contained in PKPU (Peraturan Komisi Pemilihan Umum or Regulation of General Election Commissions) Number 20 Year 2018 and PKPU Number 26 Year 2018 were contrary to the Election Law Number 7 of 2017[18][19]. Therefore, ex-convicts of corruption cases may registered as candidates for origin the provisions of the electoral law and the decision of the Constitutional Court (MK). Since July 2018, both of these rules had been sued by a number of parties through a request for judicial review to the Supreme Court.

Most of the media broadcast news of decisions that clearly deplored the attitude of the Supreme Court and others showed support for the decision. One of the media published the news was Republika, known with Islamic Ideology as its identity [20]. Republika had a close relationship with Islamic mass organizations and political parties in Indonesia. Meanwhile, so many of the corruptors who were arrested were leaders of the Islamic party.

Republika was also tend to follow the voice of Muslim people and the Muslim prominence people such as supporting a joint decision on the Ahmadiyya ban which was considered heretical by mainstream Muslims, supporting the enactment of a draft anti-pornography bill that was compatible with Islamic teachings. Media in various forms are believed to influence the formation of understanding and awareness of environmental news in the minds of individuals and society. Although the present societies had the power to choose the information and to select the media they consume, media still had the power to influence their minds once they were chosen[21]. So, how did Republika publish its news if the media was related with Muslim prominence people who were corruptors?

The difference between Republika and other online media in Indonesia, in generally speaking was the ideology of Islamic thought. Islamic mindset influencing worldviews, how to write, how to report facts as news and how to construct fast [22]. Media basically pioneers that uphold truth and justice for the public. Based on the function, the media had the task of advocating for individuals, or groups, or communities that face despotism from the powerful group [23]. In this cases, Republika showed the Muslim community, therefore, realized the importance of building professional media that could be managed by Muslim.

As an ideological framework, Islam was believed as a complete worldview. Society Improvement by referring to the original source of worldviews: Al-Quran and Sunnah. Knowledge and technology must be subject to Islam. Worldviews derived from Western ideology must be rejected [24] [25]. Expressions of this ideology took the form of: fighting groups regarded as Muslim threats, fighting for Islamic life-goals, fighting with Islamic identity, fighting against Muslim enemies, fighting under the name of the God [26]. Online media within the framework of Islamic ideology was a channel mediating the construction of umma ideology, collective identity as fellow Muslims. This identity was derived from the Islamic way of life [27]. The possibility that journalist on each side of the divide seem to genuflect starkly, palpably to factors in their reporting environments[28].

Media basically pioneers that upheld truth and justice for the public as the function of media the task on advocating for individuals, or groups, or communities that faced despotism from the powerful group. In this case, Republika showed itself as a media for the Indonesian Muslim community.

3.1 Subject-Object Level

In the first paragraph, it was written "... The Supreme Court confirms that the rules contained in PKPU Number 20 Year 2018 and PKPU Number 26 Year 2018 are contrary to the Election Law Number 7 of 2017 ...". This paragraph showed how the incident wanted to be seen as a correction of the mistake of the existing rule of law that a former corruptor should still be allowed to become a legislative candidate. So this paragraph wanted to show that so far the perception of people who wanted the corruptors convicted to be unable to become legislative candidates was wrong because it was against the positive law in Indonesia.

In the seventh and eighth paragraph, it was said "... Since last July, these two rules have been sued by a number of parties through a request for judicial review to MA. The majority of the plaintiffs are former corruptors who intend to move forward as candidates for council members and are harmed by the existence of these two rules. One of the plaintiffs is Muhammad Taufik from the Gerindra Party who has registered as a candidate for DKI Jakarta Provincial DPRD candidates for the 2019 Election. Taufik considers the existence of PKPU Number 14 of 2018 to be incompatible with Election Law Number 7 of 2017 ... ". This text showed that this incident was seen from the point of view of ex-corruptors who wanted to nominate themselves as candidates but felt their human rights were violated by the existence of the PKPU. In the seventh paragraph it was even written "... ex-corrupt who intends to return forward as a candidate for a member of the council and is harmed by the existence of these two rules ...", showing that how these regulations harmed the political rights of people who had been entangled in corruption cases and had served sentences until it's over. The "sin" was considered to remain "sticking" for life, even though the ex-corruptor might have finished serving his sentence, repented, and was now a good person. Likewise, many ex-corruptors were ensnared because of administrative errors, not to enrich themselves.

In the second paragraph, it was read "... It was decided yesterday. Their application were granted and returned to the Law (Election Law Number 7 of 2017)," said MA Spokesman, Suhadi when contacted by reporters, Friday (9/14)." The person who was positioned as the narrator was Suhadi, as a representative of the MK. In this news, only the government actors, namely MA, decided that the ex-corrupt candidates could run for office, while there were no voice of groups who were anti-ex-corrupt candidates. Groups that were anti-ex-corrupt candidates were not shown in this paragraph. This paragraph showed that Republika was indeed more biased in favor of MA's decision and eliminates anti-corruption groups who reject ex-corruptors as legislative candidates.

3.2 Author's Position – Reader

In the first paragraph, it was written "... MA decided to grant a judicial review suit regarding the prohibition of ex-convicted cases ..." showed how the reader was positioned as a candidate for legislative members (candidates) who were awaiting MA's decision. The reader

identified himself to ex-corruptors who were oppressed by their human rights and need justice so that they could remain candidates for the legislature.

In third and fourth paragraphs, it was said "... Suhadi then explained the legal considerations which form the basis of MA's ruling. First, MA considers that the two PKPU are in conflict with the rules above, namely the Election Law No. 7 of 2017.... ' "In addition, ex-convicts of corruption cases may register as candidates as long as according to the provisions of the electoral law and the ruling of the Constitutional Court (MK)," ' he said ". The sentences in the third and fourth paragraphs reinforced that the reader was positioned as an ex-corruptor who was oppressed by his political rights and wanted to run as a legislative candidate.

In the seventh paragraph, it was said "... Since last July, these two rules had been sued by a number of parties through a request for judicial review to MA. The majority of the plaintiffs are former corruptors who intend to move forward as candidates for council members and are harmed by the existence of these two rules ... ". This text tried to position the reader as a party who also sued PKPU through a request for judicial review to MA. The readers seemed to be on the side of the PKPU plaintiff because they felt it was unfair. So in the news article, Republika tried to bring the reader to identify himself as an ex-corruptor who was oppressed by his human rights and need justice so that he could continue to test himself as a candidate for legislative members.

Republika's attitude that put the reader to identify himself as an ex-corruptor, who was oppressed by his human rights and need justice so that he could continue to test himself as a candidate for legislative members is counter to some research. The research said a state that the majority of people rejected acts of corruption because these acts were believed to be detrimental to society and drain the country's wealth. Several community attitudes expressed the community's view; namely, the community assessed that acts of corruption must be punished severely, the community was ready to support the eradication of corruption and the community's willingness to transfer the values of honesty to the family [29].

4 Conclusion

Republika's media coverage related to the case of MA's decision that the ex-corruptor could nominate himself as a legislative candidate through the analysis of Sara Mills' critical discourse analysis showed support for MA's decision. The media considered the prohibition of an ex-corruptor from becoming a legislative candidate was a violation of human rights because the ex-corruptor had served his sentence and might have repented and had the potential to benefit the wider community. A sin could not be considered to last a lifetime for someone. Republika refused if it was said that this attitude was due to the large number of Islamic party leaders who were caught red-handed in corruption cases, linked to Republika's closeness with CSO groups and Islamic parties. Republika media provided a solution to the anti-nominating attitude of ex-corrupt candidates as candidates by allowing the community to impose their own social sanctions by not choosing the candidates. In addition, prevention could also be done through a mechanism for screening candidates from each party.

References

- [1] M. Chinmi, R. F. Marta, C. G. Haryono, J. Fernando, and J. K. Goswami, "Exploring online news as comparative study between Vendatu at India and Ruangguru from Indonesia in COVID-19 pandemic," *J. Content, Community Commun.*, vol. 10, no. 6, pp. 167–176, 2020, doi: 10.31620/JCCC.06.20/13.
- [2] N. D. Puspitaningrum, "Peran Surat Kabar sebagai Agen Sosialisasi Politik Masyarakat Dusun Paraksari Pakembinangun Pakem Sleman Yogyakarta," J. Citizsh., vol. 1, no, pp. 85–95, 2013.
- [3] J. Basyir, R. F. Marta, and Y. B. Setiawan, "Redefining the Relationship of Majority and Minority as A Social Principle," *Emerging Trends in Psychology, Law, Communication Studies, Culture, Religion, and Literature in the Global Digital Revolution.* pp. 60–63, 2020, doi: 10.1201/9780429322259-14.
- [4] N. K. E. Fransiska, "Objektivitas Pemberitaan Peserta Partai Politik Tahun 2009 dalam Periode Kampanye Pemilihan Legislatif di Koran Nasional," *Scriptura*, vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 152–160, 2012, doi: 10.9744/scriptura.3.2.152-160.
- [5] A. Setiawan, "Peran Media Massa dalam Politik Luar Negeri: Kasus di Indonesia," *Mandala*, vol. 2, no. 1, 2019.
- [6] J. Ivanna, A. J. Pardede, and M. Iqbal, "Peran Media Cetak dalam Meningkatkan Partisipasi Politik di Kelurahan Bandar Selamat Kecamatan Medan Tembung Kota Medan," J. Educ. Hum. Soc. Sci., vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 20–31, 2018, doi: 10.34007/jehss.v1i1.4.
- [7] Karman, "Media Massa Dan Konstruksi Realitas (Analisis Framing Terhadap Pemberitaan SKB Menteri Tentang Ahmadiyah di Indonesia pada Suratkabar Harian Suara Pembaruan dan Republika)," J. Stud. Komun. dan Media, vol. 17, no. 2, p. 173, Jan. 2014, doi: 10.31445/jskm.2013.170205.
- [8] A. Sobur, Analisis Teks Media. Suatu Pengantar Analisis Wacana, Analisis Semiotik, dan Analisis Framing. Bandung: PT. Remaja Rosda Karya, 2006.
- [9] P. J. Shoemaker and S. D. Reese, Mediating the Message in the 21 st Century: A Media Sociology Perspective, vol. 61, no. 1. New York: Allyn and Bacon, 2017.
- [10] S. Mills, Diskursus: Sebuah Piranti Analisis dalam Kajian Ilmu Sosial. Jakarta: Qalam, 2007.
- [11] E. Damhuri, "Mengapa MA Izinkan Eks Koruptor Boleh Nyaleg?," republika.co.id, 2018. [Online]. Available: https://www.republika.co.id/berita/nasional/newsanalysis/18/09/15/pf2l3c440-mengapa-ma-izinkan-eks-koruptor-boleh-nyaleg-part1.
- [12] R. Puspita, "Mardani Sesalkan Putusan MA Terkait Mantan Napi Korupsi," republika.co.id, 2018. [Online]. Available: https://www.republika.co.id/berita/nasional/politik/18/09/15/pf37qw428-mardani-sesalkanputusan-ma-terkait-mantan-napi-korupsi.
- [13] D. E. Nugraheny, F. A. Saputro, and M. Hafil, "Ucapan Alhamdulillah dari Para Mantan Napi Koruptor," republika.co.id, 2018. [Online]. Available: https://www.republika.co.id/berita/nasional/news-analysis/18/09/17/pf5p04430-ucapanalhamdulillah-dari-para-mantan-napi-koruptor.
- [14] B. A. P and R. Puspita, "KPU Hormati Parpol tak Calonkan Mantan Napi Koruptor," republika.co.id, 2018. [Online]. Available: https://www.republika.co.id/berita/nasional/politik/18/09/18/pf8sa8428-kpu-hormati-parpol-takcalonkan-mantan-napi-koruptor.
- [15] D. E. Nugraheny and M. Hafil, "KPU Hapus Frasa Mantan Narapidana Korupsi dalam PKPU Caleg," republika.co.id, 2018. [Online]. Available: https://www.republika.co.id/berita/nasional/politik/18/09/19/pfakpf430-kpu-hapus-frasamantan-narapidana-korupsi-dalam-pkpu-caleg.
- [16] E. Kurniawati, "Analisis Wacana Sara Mills Dalam Film Animasi Islam 'Hijrah Nisa' (Analisis Akun Youtube Cisform Uin Sunan Kalijaga)," vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 118–137, 2019.
- [17] D. E. Nugraheny and B. Hermawan, "MA Putuskan Mantan Koruptor Boleh Jadi Caleg," *republika.co.id*, 2018. [Online]. Available: https://www.republika.co.id/berita/nasional/politik/18/09/15/pf1rwr354-ma-putuskan-mantan-

koruptor-boleh-jadi-caleg.

- [18] Komisi Pemilihan Umum Republik Indonesia, "Peraturan Komisi Pemilihan Umum Republik Indonesia Nomor 26 Tahun 2018," 2018.
- [19] M. A. Yusuf and D. Fidyansari, "Interpretation Of Judges In Supreme Court Decision Number: 46 P/HUM/2018," Subst. Justice Int. J. Law, vol. 2, no. 2, p. 147, 2019, doi: 10.33096/substantivejustice.v2i2.43.
- [20] R. Dianti, "Strategi Komunikasi Pemasaran Harian Republika Untuk Menciptakan Kepuasan Pelanggan (Studi kasus pada Harian Umum Republika)," J. Pemasar. Kompetitif, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 132–146, 2018, doi: 10.32493/jpkpk.v1i2.859.
- [21] A. Agustina, T. T. Dewi, N. P. Soemantri, N. Y. Qureshi, and G. Moenanto, "Environmental Communication in Indonesian Television News Coverage," *Aspiration J.*, vol. 1, no. May, pp. 56–72, 2020.
- [22] A. Nurdin, "The Online Islamic Media Journalism in Indonesia: The Trend Analysis of Political News," vol. 165, no. Iccsr, pp. 136–143, 2018, doi: 10.2991/iccsr-18.2018.30.
- [23] A. Khan, "The Variations of Diction in Advocating News from Some Islamic Media in Indonesia," *Int. J. Sci. Res.*, vol. 3, no. 12, pp. 802–809, 2014.
- [24] J. L. Esposito, *ISLAM : The Straight Path*, 3rd ed. London: Oxford University Press.
- [25] S. P. Huntington, Gelombang Demokratisasi Ketiga. Jakarta: PT Pustaka Utama Grafiti, 1995.
- [26] T. Taher, *Radikalisme Agama*, 1st ed. Jakarta: Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat (PPIM), IAIN Jakarta, 1998.
- [27] M. Castells, The Information Age: Economy, Society And Culture Volume II, The Power of Identity, 1st ed. Blackwell: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- [28] M. K. Khan, F. Wu, C. B. Pratt, and N. Akhtar, "Satires, Narratives and Journalistic divides: Discourses on Free Speech in Western and Islamic News Media," Soc. Sci. J., 2019, doi: 10.1016/j.soscij.2019.05.012.
- [29] R.- Soemanto, S., and S., "Pemahaman Masyarakat tentang Korupsi," Yust. J. Huk., vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 80–88, 2014, doi: 10.20961/yustisia.v3i1.10124.