

CORRUPTION AND ELITE POLITICIAN (A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS ON SEPUTAR INDONESIA DAILY IN REPORTING THE FORMER DEMOCRAT PARTY LEADER CORRUPTION SCANDAL)

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Abstract: *By using the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework, this study specifically intends to construe the discursive strategies and to probe for ideological goals behind the media text construction about the former Democrat Party leader, Anas Urbaningrum, corruption case. It focuses on news reporting related to Anas corruption case in Seputar Indonesia (SINDO) daily during February 2014, at the moment when the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) declared him a suspect of Hambalang athlete homestead corruption case. The analysis of this study adopts the Teun Van Dijk's sociocognitive approach that divided the texts into three level of analysis, e.g. text, social cognition, and social context. The data obtained by documenting texts about Anas corruption case in February 2013, in-depth interviews, and literature analysis. The linguistic analysis in the text level concludes that SINDO daily consistently and sistematically presents data showing that Anas' case is more political than criminal. The authors find that SINDO provides considerable political and law analysts' comments supporting its claim that Anas has become a victim of a high political scenario who wants him retreat from his leadership in the beginning of their news texts body. In addition, in the title of the news text, they also put Anas in object position that represent his powerless position. Related to this, SINDO provides less space for counter statement from powerful side in Democrat Party who were allegedly attacking Anas political position. Further, analysis in the level of socio-cognitive and social context show that SINDO defends Anas because they believe that Anas victimized by the majority press even before the trial court actually implemented.*

Keywords: *Corruption Discourse, Political Elite, Critical Discourse*

INTRODUCTION

During the 2014 Indonesia's election, in addition to covering about recent homeland political situation, the mass media was also making report about elite politician corruption issues. One of which was the corruption that allegedly committed by the

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former ruling Democratic Party chairman Anas Urbaningrum. A survey conducted by Indonesian Indicator institute in 2013 found that from January to December 2013, Anas Urbaningrum's name was cited 10,656 times in the news about elite's political party corruption. (Auliani, 2013). Still based on the same survey, the number went far beyond the number of other news about corrupt politicians, for example, Muhammad Nazaruddin and Lutfi Hasan Ishaq (Auliani, 2013).

From preliminary studies in several national newspapers, the authors found that there are two discourse developed by those media concerning Anas corruption issue. Mainstream media that the authors observed highlighted the theme of the law enforcement of corruption allegedly committed by Anas. However there is one media that the author found which consistently brought the topic of the political scenario to urge Anas stepped down as chairman of Democrat Party. Based on the media frame, intense publicity about Anas involvement in Hambalang Athlete homestead development corruption was only a part of the scenario. The media is *Seputar Indonesia (Sindo)* which belongs to the MNC group. It is one of greatest media group in Indonesia.

The authors conclude that *Sindo* consistency in taking a position about Anas is different from their position if it related to other politicians' corruption. The author discover that there are at least two cases of corruption involving high-rangking politicians which have different stance such as the import of beef corruption cases committed by the former President of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) Lutfie Hassan Ishaq (Laluhulu, 2013) or Hambalang corruption involving former sports minister Andy Mallarangeng who was also served as a secretary and Member of the Board of Trustees of the Supreme Council of the Democratic Party (Riadi, 2013). on the two cases of corruption, SINDO look further highlight aspects of the law rather than political aspects; while these two issues raised about the same time with the issue of Anas involvement in Hambalang corruption case.

From the above series of empirical studies, the authors are interested to elucidate the discourse strategies that SINDO daily applied in constructing news texts about Anas case. In addition, the authors also intend to reveal the influential power behind the news so that the media consistently highlighted different frames of mainstream media. In fact, Dharmasaputra (2009) states that in democratic countries the media together with civil society groups have an important role to facilitate public discussion about what should and should not do. This includes to lead public opinion in order to monitor and, if necessary to criticize the government in handling corruption cases. Corruption specifically, political corruption issue in Indonesia continues to make daily headlines in the Indonesian media and generates much heated debate and fierce discussion.

It is inadequate to employ content analysis method or linguistic analysis as a single tool to investigate hidden meaning in news text due to the fact that media texts are born within various social, economic and political contexts. Therefore, the

authors utilize Critical Discourse Studies method in order to examine news texts about Anas corruption. According to Machin and Mayr (2012: 25) the purpose of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is “to draw out ideologies, showing where they might be buried”.

In this context, critical discourse studies try to uncover how the media seeks to instill and legitimize corruption terminology according to their version to the public through the natural truth claims in Anas Urbaningrum discourse. The ultimate goal of this study is to neutralize the effects of *Sindo* discourse by providing broadest information about the influential factors behind the media reports about Anas Urbaningrum corruption case.

Through a critical approach, the reality which is shaped by the media text is simply the reality on the surface (in the skin) or in another word it is only a pseudo-reality (Kriyantono, 2012). The reality is formed by certain groups within the society in a long period of time in order to promote certain values. To obtain a description about the relationship between the strength (power) and the ideology as the main characteristics in a CDA study, the researchers employ Van Dijk social cognition model. More detail, Van Dijk models were selected to determine how the media use their special access (privilege) through reporting (knowledge) that can provide the authority, status, and influence to dominate, coerce, and control the minds and behavior of subordinate groups (public).

In Van Dijk’s (2013) view, social cognition is the representation of the beliefs, perceptions, knowledge, and journalists’ ideology. And analyzing these, according to Van Dijk, can help the discourse analysts to find the connection between the text and the social context. By utilizing the model, the study is able to describe the ideological purpose of *Sindo* editor in producing discourse of Anas alleged corruption scandal. Van Dijk (in Eriyanto, 2001: 266) states that the greater influential factors in the whole process of news production are mental and cognitive processes. However, it does not mean that the factor of ownership capital, institution control, and the profession have no effect. It is relatively difficult to point out directly how these factors influence the news content (Eriyanto, 2001).

Similar to Eriyanto, through a personal communication with the authors, based on long experience of research on media texts and the influence of media owners, Van Dijk explained “True, media owners do not interfere directly often in news coverage, although there are many examples of such interference as in the case of Rupert Murdoch in his newspapers “...” in other words, the influence is indirect, via de knowledge of editors and reporters about the dominant ideologies of owners and chief editors “ (personal communication, January 9, 2014). In addition, similar to Van Dijk, Shoemaker and Reese (1996) also identify that media owner, media organization and media ideology influence the content of the media messages.

Referring back to the study of corruption discourse from critical perspective, the authors found several research in this area. First, the research conducted by Mayasari, Damayanti and Riyanto (2013) about the fundraising (*saweran*) discourse conducted by the NGO for the construction of new KPK (Corruption Eradication Commission) building in *Media Indonesia* daily. The researchers find that the House of Representative (DPR) portrayed negatively because it is considered rejecting the Commission's proposal to renovate the building that has been used by the Commission. Second, the researchers also discover that the ideology of the media owner who at the same time also became the chairman of a political party indirectly influence the construction of the news text on *saweran* issue.

In addition to the study, the researchers found another critical discourse study which was conducted Feraz and Finan (2008). They conducted a study about the audit effects of the alleged corrupt incumbent which was published in the media. Results of the study show that the electability level of the corrupt incumbent legislative candidates decreased. Next, study about corruption issue that the author find is the research conducted by Rocha, Brown, and Cloke (2011). These three researchers evaluated the use of certain discourses by the political elites in Nicaragua so that the government would provide a source of funding for them. Research on the discourse of corruption committed by the three academics was conducted by combining the perspective of critical geography and critical business management.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Critical Discourse Study and Corruption Discourse

Corruption is not a new phenomenon. Breit (2011) mentions historical records that the phenomenon has emerged since the 4th century BC; while in Indonesia, Wijayanto (2009, p. 4) describes "corruption has occurred since the kingdom era, even the Dutch East Indies Companies (VOC) which dominated the trade in Dutch colonial era, went bankrupt in the early 20th century due to rampant corruption in its organization". Prasetyo (2013, p. 5) quotes a recent research conducted by PERC (Political and Economic Risk Consultancy). It is said in the research that Indonesia is one of the emerging market stars in 2010 as the investment destination for business which became the most corrupt countries among 16 Asia Pacific countries. To overcome this, the Indonesian government is currently active in conducting deterrence of corruption one of which is to establish and reinforce the existence of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK).

It is not just the government who addresses the corruption issue but also scholars from many disciplines; however it is mostly done by Indonesian law scholars such as OC Kaligis in 2008. Research on corruption from the perspective of language and communication studies are still rare. Among the few studies of

corruption from the perspective of language and communication science that the author found from literature review are the study of the senior anti-corruption journalist Mochtar Lubis' analytical overview about bureaucracy during the old order and the new order (Semma, 2008), and a study of the phenomenon of communication networks in corruption (Antoni, 2014).

In contrast, corruption studies from the social science perspective abroad have been done considerably. One example of the study is Feraz and Finan's (2008) study about the effects of the media publication of the incumbents' audit results who are involved in corruption. The study found that the electability level of the corrupt legislative candidates was decreased after being published into the media. The next research is the corruption discourse research by Rocha, Brown, dan Cloke (2011). By combining the perspective of critical Geography and critical Business, they tried to explore the use of certain Nicaraguan politicians' discourse in order to justify and legitimize corruption.

Due to the fact that there are only few number of media corruption discourse studies, the author feels the need for deepening the understanding of how media embed corruption terminology in society. The first reason based on Breit's (2011) contention that the media is a medium in which the discourse of chronological or process of a corruption acts is being discussed. Furthermore, media reports the result of corruption, emphasize it and reproduce it to the public several times. Second, being exist in a democratic country means that Indonesian press has a freedom to set their editorial policy and agenda. They can choose to be an opponent or supporter of the government policy against corruption. As Dharmasaputra (2009, p. 696) claims that in democratic countries, the media is considered to have an important role-together with the civil society groups-to facilitate public discussion about what should and should not be committed, and to criticize the government in dealing with corruption.

In a critical paradigm, media is not considered as a neutral entity. It can be controlled by the dominant groups, and they can instill their ideology through the knowledge that embedded in texts and talks in order to persuade the public. In order to reveal the hidden ideology that brings the inequality, the author applies critical discourse study in analyzing the media text about Anas Urbaningrum corruption case. Critical discourse study is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context (Van Dijk, 1988b). Further, Machin dan Mayr (2012) suggest that by using the method, a researcher can conclude the dominant group or the text producer's ideology and point out where the ideology may be hidden.

There are various factors that influence the production of media content from individual media workers, media routines, institutional influences (ideology and economic factors) and external factors (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996). Those all

factors understood, memorized, and applied by media workers from their cognitive process. Therefore, the author applies Van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive approach in examining the *SINDO* texts about the former Democrat Party Chairman Anas Urbaningrum. In Van Dijk's view (2013), social cognition is a representation of beliefs, perceptions, knowledge, and the media workers' that may provide bridge between the analysis of text structure, and social context. By using the Van Dijk's model, this study is able to describe the ideological purposes of news text producers in the discourse on corruption *SINDO*.

METHOD AND DESIGN

The authors adopt Van Dijk's socio-cognition model. Data were collected by scrutinizing the texts, in-depth interviews, and literature reviews. The research subject is *SINDO* daily which published in Jakarta. The unit analysis in this study is the news texts about Anas Urbaningrum corruption case in *SINDO* during February 2013. There were 5 news texts being analyzed. The informants are chief editor, deputy chief editor, and political desk editor, political reporters who reported Anas Urbaningrum corruption case, Anas Urbaningrum, and Indonesian Institute of Science (LIPI) political observer Ikrar Nusa Bakti. Based on the model, the author analyzed texts into three levels: text, social cognition, and social context.

Table 1
Discourse Elements Research Method by using Van Dijk's Model

<i>Structure</i>	<i>Method</i>
Text Analyzing the discourse strategies of <i>Sindo</i> journalists in producing news text about Anas' corruption issue.	<p><i>Critical Linguistics</i>, i.e. examining the three linguistic elements of the texts.</p> <p>a. At the macro-structure, the author analyzed the global meaning of a series of news related to Anas Urbaningrum corruption case presented by <i>Sindo</i>.</p> <p>b. Then, at the superstructure level, the author examined the news text writers' strategies in preparing the text frame pattern. This level shows the text writers' stance. We can conclude that from the composition of a text frame, namely: introduction, contents (setting place and time, orientation, complication / conflict), and the conclusion (problem solving, evaluation and coda).</p> <p>c. At the micro level, the authors peruse the linguistic grammar of Anas Urbaningrum corruption texts. In this level, the author obtains respectively a phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic description of sentences as well as the rhetorical aspect of the texts.</p>

Social Cognition

Analyzing how the news text writers understand the issue of former Democratic Party chairman Anas corruption, how the media workers' individual ideology, media routine and external institution including the news sources affect the news constructions.

In-depth interview:

With three informants, among others are: journalist, editor and chief editor. The focus of the interview are the editorial consideration in selecting the point of views in Anas' case, the news writer educational background, political affiliation (both as student or when they have worked in the media), their involvement in the Muslim Student Association (HMI) as Anas did, the media workers' reporting experience (political desk and another desk), the duration of introduction and interaction with AU, how their interaction with Anas, and how their personal opinion about Anas.

The information above are very useful to find out the editorial considerations in the selection of news sources and the reason why they choose to highlight specific topic related to Anas corruption issue. By knowing these things, the authors are able to find the power and ideological purposes behind the news production. Through in-depth interviews, the authors can also find out unequal access to one group compared to another group in the context of Anas corruption issue. Topics or patterns of citations in the texts can describe news source's access to the media.

Social Analysis

Analyze the appearing discourse within the society about Anas corruption topic.

Literature Review

The researchers perusing articles in mass media, especially with regard to political party elite corruptions and specifically about Anas corruption issue.

Studying *Sindo* organization through their official website It aims to get the picture of the influence of the organization in the production of news discourse about Anas Urbaningrum, especially in February, 2013.

Interview:

Political observer who follows Anas corruption issue and his opinion is often quoted by national media.

Anas Urbaningrum. It is important to find out his relationship with the media especially when the corruption issue appear to public.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Discourse Strategy in *Sindo* News Texts

In the first part, the text is analyzed linguistically into three categories. Analysis at this level serves to describe the discursive struggle in the news about Anas corruption scandal in *Sindo* daily. The first category is macro text. In this category, researchers examined how SINDO daily news presents themes relating to the corruption case of former Democratic Party Chairman Anas Urbaningrum globally. From the five news analyzed, at the macro level, researchers found that *Sindo* highlighted the theme that the Anas corruption issue has a political content. It aimed to force Anas down from his position as chairman of the Democrat Party.

SINDO news scheme about the Anas corruption is very consistent. The summary of the news which can be derived at the preliminary part of the news is the conclusions about Anas political rivals' efforts to impose Anas from his leadership. *Sindo* several times produced sentences that have hyperbolic meaning and the authors conclusions were made based on historical news about the beginning of Anas political career in the Democrat Party. One example of the sentence is "SBY Compel Anas to Release his Power" (Syarief, Ahmad & Sahid, 2013). The purpose of this conclusion is to build understanding of readers about the political scenario behind Anas corruption issue.

Next, the news body contains background information, the purpose of which is making the value of news presented more reliable. To reach these goals, SINDO presents many political observers comment on a series of political events that occurred before Anas named as a suspect by the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) in the body of news texts. In addition, SINDO also several times quoted the opinion of political observers who stated that SBY effort to have the KPK immediately clarify the status of Anas is a form of political intervention. This would support the claim that the issue of Anas corruption is more politically charged than legal.

In the micro category, especially from the aspect of semantic analysis, researchers discovered coherence between sentences. Coherence is that each sentence written to describe in detail and supports sentences written previously. This can be seen among others from the provided background of political events when Anas was relieved from his position as the chairman of Democrat Party by SBY who was the chairman of Advisory Council of the party, or when Anas named as a suspect by the KPK.

From the aspect of the form of sentences (syntax), researchers found that even in the title, Anas always placed in the position of objects that are perceived positively; while the subject is described as a great power who is represented as a

negative figure. In addition, from the choice of words to represent social actors in the text, it is known that in some texts *Sindo* indicates that Anas rival who imposes Anas to step down from its leadership in Democrat Party is a group of people. One example is the headline "Senior Democrats to Press Anas" (Sahid, 2013). At the sentence, the subject is not mentioned specifically who and how many people, SINDO only mention those who wish Anas to resign from office is his senior in the Democrat Party.

Then from stylistic aspect, researchers found some words choice that indicates the alleged political scenario behind the Anas legal status. The choice of words, for example can be found in *Sindo* headline on February 6, 2013, which is "Anas Pressure to Step Down is Systematic". The word systematic implies a well-planned or neat arrangement. To build the reader's understanding regarding the political scenario behind Anas corruption, SINDO several times produces sentences that have hyperbolic meaning and they provide conclusions which made based on historical background about the beginning of Anas political career in the Democrat Party.

Cognition Scheme of *Sindo* Reporters

In order to comprehend a text, it is required to understand the cognition text producers. According to Van Dijk (1988: 14) analysis of the text producer cognition can help to explain how newsmakers continuously and routinely summarize the myriad of source texts (other media messages, wires, interviews, reports, or press conferences) that are used in the production of a specific news report. At this stage, the researchers find some factors that influence journalists to write news about the former Democrat Party Chairman Anas Urbaningrum corruption scandal.

From in-depth interviews, *Sindo* Chief Editor (abbreviated as S), admitted that in choosing angle about Anas case was conducted through editorial meetings. There are several considerations which taken into account in the viewpoints selection, among others are, Anas rapid political career in Democrat Party was marked by the election of Anas as chairman of Democrat Party. Thus, according to S was potentially caused dislike of SBY as the Chairman of the Advisory Council of the Party who actually nominated Andi Mallarangeng as the chairman. Secondly, according to the informant S, Anas is a leader figure who had a strong support base in the party so it raised concerns of Anas rival in the internal party. Third, there were massive publications linking the issues of Anas corruption scandals before any legal definite (*inkracht*) court decision with the decreased level of the party electability. Fourth, although Anas case had emerged since the beginning of 2012, KPK had not arrest Anas until the beginning of 2013.

Based on the above considerations and the chief editors' intense interaction with Anas since he had not been the chief editor of *Sindo* Daily, S stated that his media

eventually selected stance to highlight the possibility of political scenario behind Anas dengan pertimbangan-pertimbangan tersebut ditambah dengan pengalaman interaksinya yang intensif dengan Anas sejak sebelum menjadi Pimred di *SINDO*, informan S, mengatakan bahwa akhirnya *SINDO* memutuskan untuk mengambil *angle* membela Anas. Mengenai kebijakan tersebut, S mengatakan bahwa *trial by the press* dalam pemberitaan mengenai persoalan hukum Anas oleh mayoritas media di Indonesia merupakan kelemahan koran di Indonesia. Menurutnya, media tidak menggunakan kekuasaan yang dimilikinya untuk memandang sebuah kasus dari berbagai aspek.

Sosok Anas yang santun, cerdas dalam berkomunikasi juga diakui oleh informan-informan peneliti di Harian *SINDO* lainnya. Salah satu asisten redaktur, H, bahkan mengatakan Anas sering mengajak berkomunikasi secara terbatas para wartawan politik bahkan pimpinan media diluar pekerjaan mereka. Dalam kesempatan tersebut, tambah informan H, Anas sering memberikan informasi *background* mengenai sebuah permasalahan terutama di Partai Demokrat. Lebih jauh, menurut H, meskipun nama Anas telah sering disebut-sebut terlibat dalam kasus korupsi Hambalang, namun Anas masih bersifat terbuka terhadap wartawan yang ingin menanyainya terkait tuduhan tersebut.

Konteks Sosial Seputar Wacana Korupsi Anas Urbaningrum

Pemberitaan mengenai penahanan politisi karena terjerat kasus korupsi oleh KPK hampir setiap hari dijumpai di media terutama menjelang Pemilihan Umum (Pemilu) tahun 2014. Banyaknya elit parpol yang terlibat korupsi, dinilai salah satunya disebabkan oleh mahalanya biaya politik di Indonesia. Politisi harus mengeluarkan sejumlah besar uang ketika mencalonkan diri baik di level internal organisasi maupun legislatif, minimal untuk memberikan biaya transportasi demi menggalang pendukung. Biaya tersebut masih ditambah dengan biaya-biaya lain yang harus dikeluarkan untuk membeli atribut kampanye atau mendapat rekomendasi dari pimpinan pusat partai.

Menurut Mantan Ketua Mahkamah Konstitusi (MK) Mahfud MD (2013) para calon anggota legislatif atau para calon kepala daerah sampai calon presiden, harus menyiapkan dana yang sangat besar untuk mengikuti proses politik sampai akhirnya terpilih. Biaya sudah harus dikeluarkan dalam bentuk "mahar politik" pada partai yang akan mencalonkannya. Masih menurut Mahfud, selain mahar, politisi masih diharuskan mengeluarkan biaya untuk kampanye, membuat spanduk dan baliho, iklan di televisi, mendatangi konstituen, menyiapkan serangan fajar (money politics), upah untuk konsultan politik dan biaya survey sampai honor untuk para saksi di TPS. Untuk dapat memenuhi kebutuhan tersebut, seorang politisi harus mengerahkan semua aset yang dimilikinya. Oleh karena itu ketika terpilih, yang kemudian difikirkan oleh politisi tersebut adalah bagaimana

mencari dana untuk mengembalikan modal yang telah mereka keluarkan untuk mencalonkan diri.

Lebih jauh, salah satu bukti empiris yang juga menunjukkan tingginya perputaran uang dalam politik adalah tingginya belanja iklan parpol terutama menjelang Pemilu tahun 2014. Managing Director Nielsen Indonesia, Irawati Pratignyo, mengatakan nilai belanja iklan partai politik dan pemerintah daerah selama semester pertama 2013 naik 56 persen dibandingkan periode yang sama tahun sebelumnya. Belanja iklan yang dihabiskan oleh partai politik dan pemerintah daerah pada semester pertama tahun lalu mencapai Rp 2,72 triliun (dikutip dalam *Prworld*, 2013). Iklan-iklan tersebut berfungsi untuk melakukan kampanye mengenai sosok calon legislatif, calon presiden maupun profil partai.

Kembali pada persoalan hukum Anas, mantan ketua umum Partai Demokrat tersebut mengaku kepada peneliti bahwa dirinya sedang menjadi korban dari sebuah rekayasa. Anas mengatakan, "Setelah ditetapkan tersangka, baru dicari-cari. Apa saja dicari-cari. Banyak banget orang dipanggil menjadi saksi. Kalau mayat bisa dipanggil mungkin akan dijadikan saksi juga" (Urbaningrum, komunikasi personal, Desember 12, 2013). Lebih detil, dia menjelaskan bahwa alat bukti yang dijadikan dasar oleh KPK untuk menetapkan dirinya sebagai tersangka Hambalang berubah-ubah. Hingga dijadikan tersangka seperti saat ini, menurut Anas, KPK masih terus menerus mencari-cari bukti-bukti yang bisa memenjarakan dirinya. Namun demikian, opini yang dikembangkan di masyarakat mengesankan bahwa Anas memang benar-benar menikmati hasil korupsi proyek Hambalang. Mengenai hal ini, Anas berpendapat, "Opini yang bertubi-tubi adalah prakondisi kriminalisasi" (Urbaningrum, Desember 12, 2013).

4. SIMPULAN

Dari rangkaian berita yang diteliti mulai dari tanggal 4 Februari hingga 23 Februari 2013, peneliti menyimpulkan bahwa posisi *SINDO* adalah membela Anas. Hal ini dapat dilihat dari struktur teks dan strategi diskursus yang memperlihatkan argumentasi yang cenderung membela Anas Urbaningrum. Hal lain yang mendukung simpulan ini adalah adanya penonjolan aspek politik disetiap wacana yang berhubungan dengan persoalan hukum Anas pada judul dan *lead* pada teks berita. Sosok Anas direpresentasikan sebagai sosok yang lemah dan SBY maupun beberapa senior Demokrat yang besebrangan dengan Anas digambarkan sebagai sosok kuat, arogan dan memiliki niat buruk untuk menjegal karir politik Anas di Partai Demokrat. Konfirmasi dari pihak-pihak yang dikatakan berusaha untuk mendesak Anas mundur dari jabatannya, sengaja dikaburkan. Selain itu, pendapat-pendapat pakar hukum maupun pakar politik yang relatif netral diletakkan di akhir teks berita atau tidak ditonjolkan.

Semua wartawan, redaktur dan pimpinan koran *SINDO* yang menjadi informan penelitian ini sepakat bahwa tugas mereka sebagai jurnalis adalah memberikan informasi seakurat mungkin untuk mengedukasi masyarakat. Merekapun sepakat bahwa untuk kasus-kasus korupsi terutama yang melibatkan politisi dibutuhkan kontrol sosial agar penegakan hukumnya berjalan sebagaimana mestinya. Tetapi keyakinan ini realisasinya berbeda ketika mereka memproduksi berita mengenai korupsi Anas. Informan di Harian *SINDO* menegaskan bahwa mereka lebih berfokus pada wacana politiknya karena yakin bahwa Anas tidak bersalah dan dia hanyalah korban politik dari kubu pendukung SBY sehingga perlu dibela. Keyakinan tersebut didapat dari pengalaman interaksi dengan Anas yang intens dan berlangsung lama sejak sebelum kasus tersebut merebak.

Pada elemen konteks sosial, nampak bahwa media massa menjadi arena pertarungan ideologi. Masing-masing pihak yang terkait atau memiliki perhatian terhadap kasus korupsi Anas Urbaningrum sama-sama ingin mengukuhkan hegemoninya atas kasus tersebut. Hal ini dapat dibuktikan dengan munculnya wacana mengenai skenario politik yang dilatar-belakangi oleh rivalitas politik antara Anas dengan SBY yang merupakan patron Partai Demokrat dibalik penetapan status tersangka mantan ketua umum PD tersebut.

5. SARAN-SARAN

Berdasarkan pembahasan yang telah dipaparkan sebelumnya, ada beberapa saran yang ingin peneliti sampaikan, yakni:

1. Peneliti selanjutnya diharapkan dapat melakukan pendekatan yang lebih intensif sebelum melakukan penelitian kepada pemilik media agar peneliti dapat memetakan ideologi yang dimiliki oleh pemilik media.
2. Agar lebih mampu menyelami tentang kognisi sosial wartawan atau produsen berita, sebaiknya peneliti berikutnya melakukan observasi partisipan supaya dapat mengetahui sejauh mana kedekatan antara wartawan dengan sumber berita serta bagaimana cara wartawan menggali berita.
3. Wawancara mendalam kepada produsen teks yang berkaitan langsung dengan produksi wacana sangat dibutuhkan untuk memperoleh gambaran yang utuh mengenai produksi sebuah teks wacana.
4. Peneliti memandang perlunya dilakukan analisis terhadap konteks sosial yang lebih luas, tidak hanya lewat penelusuran pustaka, wawancara dengan ahli ataupun pengamat yang menguasai isu tertentu, melainkan juga melalui jejaring media sosial. Penggunaan media sosial sebagai ajang untuk beropini maupun memberikan informasi di Indonesia makin hari makin meningkat intensitasnya.

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