

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS: THE SOCIAL WRONGS REVEALED & THE IDEOLOGIES BROUGHT IN EDITORIAL NEWS EXPOSING THE NEW KPK LAW

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ABSTRACT

This research is a comparative analysis between two mass media in producing politic news responding to the establishment of the new KPK law by using Critical Discourse Analysis. The research aims to look for and to compare the social wrongs and ideologies brought by the writers from the chosen texts. In order to do critical analysis discourse, the researchers use Fairclough analytic-three-dimensional framework which is wrapped in the four stages of Roy Bhaskar explanatory critiques presented by Fairclough (2013). The first stage focuses on the social wrong which has semiotic aspects that is analyzed through its linguistic choice by using Appraisal theory proposed by Martin and White. The social wrong of the text is represented by the use of attitude consisting of affect, appreciation, and judgment as it shows the writers' attitude towards the related parties in the texts. The second stage identifies the obstacles to it being tackled through the analysis of the network of practices, the relationship of the semiosis to other elements and the semiosis itself. It is analyzed using Gee's Seven Building Tasks of Language. It aims to analyze the areas of "reality" that are built through the texts, which can be used to understand the meaning of the discourse. It may also be used to understand different aspects of the meaning being created through discourse. The ideology of the text is represented by the significances, activities, identities, relationships, politics, connections, and sign systems & knowledge in the texts. The third stage considers whether the social order needs the problems/the social wrong. The last stage reveals the possible ways to tackle the obstacles. The findings from these steps of analysis are combined and interpreted together. It is found that the article produced by The Jakarta Post, as a verified news editorial by the Indonesian Press Council, apparently seems to share more negative attitudes compared to Independent Observer which is not verified yet. This shows the social wrong establishes in the social order: the politicization of the media, which is clearly unnecessary in the social order since it makes the media are politically polarized. Despite the ideological differences in the two articles, both articles basically share the same ideology: the importance of eradicating corruption in Indonesia.

Keywords: Ideologies, Mass Media, Politic News

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini merupakan analisis komparatif antara dua media massa dalam memproduksi berita politik menanggapi pembentukan undang-undang KPK yang baru dengan menggunakan Analisis Wacana Kritis. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mencari dan membandingkan kesalahan sosial dan ideologi yang dibawa oleh penulis dari teks-teks yang dipilih. Untuk melakukan wacana analisis kritis, peneliti menggunakan kerangka analisis tiga dimensi Fairclough yang dibungkus dalam empat tahap kritik eksplanatoris Roy Bhaskar yang disajikan oleh Fairclough (2013). Tahap pertama berfokus pada kesalahan sosial yang memiliki aspek semiotik yang dianalisis melalui pilihan linguistiknya dengan menggunakan teori Appraisal yang dikemukakan oleh Martin dan White. Kesalahan sosial dari teks direpresentasikan oleh penggunaan sikap yang terdiri dari afeksi, apresiasi, dan penilaian yang menunjukkan sikap penulis terhadap pihak-pihak terkait dalam teks. Tahap kedua adalah mengidentifikasi hambatan yang dihadapi melalui analisis jaringan praktik, hubungan semiosis dengan elemen lain dan semiosis itu sendiri. Tahap ini dianalisis dengan menggunakan Seven Building Tasks of Language oleh Gee yang menganalisis bidang "realitas" yang dibangun melalui teks, yang dapat digunakan untuk memahami makna wacana dan dapat digunakan untuk memahami berbagai aspek makna yang diciptakan melalui wacana. Ideologi teks direpresentasikan oleh hubungan signifikansi, aktivitas, identitas, hubungan, politik, koneksi, dan sistem tanda & pengetahuan dalam teks. Tahap ketiga adalah mempertimbangkan apakah tatanan sosial membutuhkan masalah/kesalahan sosial. Tahap terakhir adalah mengidentifikasi cara-cara yang mungkin untuk mengatasi hambatan untuk mengatasi kesalahan sosial yang ditemukan. Temuan dari langkah-langkah analisis ini digabungkan dan ditafsirkan bersama. Ditemukan

bahwa artikel yang diproduksi oleh *The Jakarta Post*, sebagai editorial berita yang diverifikasi oleh Dewan Pers Indonesia, tampaknya lebih banyak memiliki persentase sikap negatif terhadap pihak tertentu, dibandingkan dengan *Independent Observer* yang belum diverifikasi. Hal ini menunjukkan bahwa kesalahan sosial yang terjadi dalam tatanan sosial adalah: politisasi media, yang jelas tidak diperlukan dalam tatanan sosial karena membuat media terpolarisasi secara politik. Terlepas dari perbedaan ideologi dalam kedua pasal tersebut, kedua pasal tersebut pada dasarnya juga memiliki ideologi yang sama: pentingnya pemberantasan korupsi di Indonesia.

Kata Kunci: Ideologi, Media Massa, Berita Politik

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INTRODUCTION

News is a report of recent events, or previously unknown information that have a specified influence or effect. It typically connotes the presentation of new information (Stephens, 1988; Smith, 1979; Naveed, 2016) of certain events or certain incidents (Palczewski, 2018), why and how are those taking place, who is responsible for these events, who are being affected by them and what does the future hold for them . Spreading the news nowadays becomes very easy and fast because of the rapid technology development, following a period in the 20th century where “the media was relatively balanced and rhetoric was toned down” (Pazzanese, 2016). Current media developments include to mass communication media like newspaper, online news, social media, entertainment, reality shows, beauty parades, fashion shows, even movies, serials and music. All these different of mass media are aimed to communicate with the large invisible-audiences nationally and internationally (Croucher, 2018).

With the advancement of technology, people find it difficult to escape from the mass media because it has become an important life for human nowadays –means that our society is now living in the media-driven world. Fensi (2018) emphasizes the fact that media can actually provide many things for the users. Therefore, the media controls essentially the lives of the users such as in terms of lifestyles, fashions, or behaviors. By thus, based on Ralph Keyes (2004), deception is becoming more prevalent in the current media-driven world. By then, starting from the beginning of the 21st Century, human civilization entered the post

truth period where the notion between the truth and the opinion becomes more blurred; and both articles share different ideologies.

Mass media can be a tool of power strategy in controlling power since it is “portrayal of issues, events or real life stories results in the act (sometimes subconscious) of developing a perceived reality in people and this development that often comes in various forms of thought organizations and its results give people a sense of belonging in certain fragments of society where the naturalization process takes place as people coalesce into the fragments of society they perceive to belong in” (Bryant & Thompson, 2002, as mentioned in (Wei, n.d.)). Moreover, in fact, all news views –all those editorial choice patterns have ideological basis and a political dimension rooted in the structural characteristic of the medium itself (Gerbner, 1964). Mass media usually do strategic news publishing where the published news is implied with certain purpose and agenda without explaining the real truth, just merely leading certain opinions and ideologies (Kasim, A., Ismail, A., & Wahab, 2018).

Nowadays, most media are more comfortable playing tug-of-war in their writing than telling the truth because of the news framing process. Kasim *et al.* (2018) state that framing news is the cause for the reader's shift of understanding of news framed by the newspaper until the community's perception has been successfully changed. In other words, Bafadhal & Santoso (2020) clarify that the information the readers receive in the news can actually determine how they react or perform their judgements towards a particular thing. In this way, the mass media roles in news publishing and reporting turns out to be very important in

relation to the country's political conditions and policies since it has the ability to influence the society through the ideology that is usually hidden in their published news and articles. Gramsci (as mentioned in Mercer, 1978) states that ideology is a conception of human thought that automatically structured and restructured, yet articulated and rearticulated. It shows that the production and the publishing of news articles have the purpose of domination; this indicates the existing social and power relation. The news is then written and conducted in such a way to create certain beliefs, or values, or norms to the readers.

In Indonesia, KPK has recently become the spotlight in the society regarding to the new law of KPK set by the government in relation to the Supervisory Agency for KPK; and several new rules for the organization. The amendments to the law related to the new KPK law and the KPK Supervisory Agency raised their own pros and cons for various groups, which turned out to trigger a series of student mass actions in various cities such as Jakarta, Yogyakarta, Surakarta, Palembang, Makassar, Aceh, and Medan (Damarjati, 2019), Malang, Balikpapan, Samarinda, Purwokerto, dan yang lainnya (Idhom, 2019). The series of demonstrations were aimed at urging the government to delay the ratification of the Draft Criminal Code (RKUHP), immediately ratify the Draft Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence, and other demands. One of them is a demonstration related to the cancellation of the revision of the Corruption Eradication Commission Law (UU KPK) on Supervisory Agency. Up to now, issues related to corruption, especially for political purposes, still become the daily headlines in Indonesian mass media that generates much heated debates and discussion fierce. The newness of KPK law brings pros and cons from the society and mass media becomes crucial in spreading and forming trust or distrust upon the government or the KPK itself as the independent organization that has been trusted eradicating corruption in Indonesia; and however, the alignments of the mass media can greatly influence the society, especially regarding the public's views on decisions and revisions to the law related to the KPK and the KPK itself.

Using Critical Discourse Analysis with Fairclough analytic-three-dimensional framework, the researchers try to reveal the ideologies brought in the two different mass media editorial, that relates to the power, control, inequality, hegemony and the oppression in language system by considering the situational context behind the articles (Van Dijk, 1993, and Wodak, 1995; Meyer & Wodak, 2009). Norman Fairclough (2013b) mentions that a primary focus of CDA is on the effect of power relations and inequalities in producing social wrongs and in particular on discursive aspects of power relation. Moreover, Van Dijk (2004) cited in Widuna (2018) also explains that CDA is a type of discourse analysis research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduces, and resisted by the text and talk in social and political context.

CDA has been applied a lot of genres exploring the critical phenomenon that make the appearance of certain ideology, domination, genders, relation and social classes. For instance, Rozzaq & Ratnadewi (2016) conducts a critical discourse analysis to analyse power relation in film "The Judge" in interpreting hidden meaning of words. The approach of this research is CDA's van Dijk as it became the most appropriate theory to analyze since grammar, metaphor, intonation, social cognition and societal structures were included. Some powers had been found in this research, there were power as control and threat that main characters used in building their conversation. In this research, main characters used power in the community because they wanted to dominate the conversation. In another field, for example, Wiguna & Kombong (2016) applies CDA to analyze 11 poems taken from Contemporary Indonesian Poetry translated by Harry Aveling (1975). It aims to find the dominant ideology represented in the Contemporary Indonesian Poetry from the 1960s to the 1970s. Seven Building Tasks proposed by James Paul Gee (2011) is used to answer the research questions. The researchers analyses each poem based on the seven tasks. The result show that the dominant ideologies in Contemporary Indonesian Poetry from the 1960s to the

1970s are in the matters of socialism and humanism.

Besides the genre above, CDA is also commonly used to analyse a media. Media as a tool for disseminating information has a great influence in shaping the human perspective on certain point. It is common to find a media which contains a specific ideology, that is not always right, which is tried to be believed by many people. Therefore, CDA is usually used to know the ideology brought by the media. For instance, Zhang (2014) conducts a critical analysis of the political news reports on Iraq war by American media. He combined Fairclough's three dimensional framework and Halliday's functional grammar to do the research. The results show that against the traditional views, languages in the news report are never biased-free. They are branded by the social values and different ideology. As a result, it is advised to increase the cultural awareness for the new readers.

Another CDA in a media is conducted by Putra & Triyono (2018) that analyzes a new entitled Gerakan #2019GantiPresiden di Antara Ambiguitas Hukum dan Syahwat Politik at Kompas.com. Similar to Zhang (2014), the writer also uses the three-dimensional CDA developed by Norman Fairclough. The purpose of the research is to describe the micro, mezzo, and macro as well as the social, political and cultural situation from the linguistic aspects in the news. The results show that there are linguistic aspects in the form of diction in the direct sentences that are used by Kompas.com with the theme #2019GantiPresiden. The main point of information that is conveyed in the news of #2019GantiPresiden is that this movement possibly threatens the government of Jokowi Widodo who will run again for the presidential election in 2019.

However, the aim of this research is to look for and to compare the writers' attitudes towards the stakeholders involved in both media, and to reveal the ideologies brought by the writers of the texts through the attitudes of the news' writers. Concisely, there are two research questions that will be answered in this paper, they are: 1) *What is the social wrong revealed by The Jakarta Post and Independent Observer in their articles about the new KPK law?* 2) *What are*

the ideologies brought in The Jakarta Post and Independent Observer articles about the new KKK law?

The researchers intend to analyze and compare the written form of the language used by The Jakarta Post (TJP) and Independent Observer (IO) as online media mass using Fairclough analytic-three-dimensional framework which is wrapped in the four stages of Roy Bhaskar explanatory critiques presented by Fairclough (2013).

To supported the four stages by Bhaskar, the researchers used the Appraisal Theory by Martin and White. It helps to convey the writers' positions in the articles through their attitudes shown towards certain stakeholders in the articles: KPK as the organization and Supervisory Agency; and the issues in the articles: the new KPK law itself.

Gee's Seven Building Tasks of Language scrutinizes the network of practices, the relationship of the semiosis to other elements, and the semiosis itself through the analysis of the areas of "reality" that are built through the text, and silences and absences by Carabine in order to support the third stage of Bhaskar's explanatory critiques.

Ideology

Generally, ideology can be said to be the role of ideas in shaping the minds of individuals (Igarumah, 1990). Taiwo (2007) states that ideology simply refers to attitudes, set of beliefs, values and doctrines. The references of the ideology are to religious, political, social and economic life, which shape the individual's and group's perception and through which reality is constructed and interpreted. While according to Mills (2015), ideology is a set of statements which have certain conceptual links, but which individual subjects will negotiate, affirm, and/or resist.

Ideology commonly involves the ideas about values. A simple example can be seen in our daily life; parents must provide for their children. It is an idea that is believed by our community. In other words, it refers to a proper order, which influences people to do what they are being asked to do. Thus, it can be concluded that ideology is a set of ideas that are trying to be indoctrinated to a certain group of individuals or communities.

Moreover, ideology is something they believe in. However, over time, ideology is allowed to change, affirmed, or rejected, even though it requires a complex process. It is because the idea that underlies an ideology is not always true. It only needs to be believed by people in order to influence them (Livesey, 2006). Hence, the ideology will stain in their minds without any limitation of time.

Ideology can be conveyed in many ways, one of them is through mass media. Mass media is an effective tool or mediator in the publication of ideologies, both pro and contra ideologies of a discourse. Language, writing, word choice, and grammatical structures conveyed through the media are understood as choices that are expressed carrying certain ideological meanings. According to Van Dijk (2006) as cited in Harthaty (2020) ideology can be manipulated by dominant groups to non-dominant groups through disinformation campaigns, media control and so on. Therefore, the mass media have a great role and opportunity in constructing discourse so that the ideology they carry can be conveyed to the public.

Coban (2018) states that ideology provides a basis for the system of ideas expressed in communication, to all emotions, opinions and attitudes of consciousness groups, or individuals. It is common for mass media to become a tool to covertly indoctrinate an ideology, this is what we usually known as the ideological functions of a mass media. (Livesey, 2006) explains that the ideological role of the media is considered in terms of how they act to create and sustain a broad political consensus in society around a set of a core or 'fundamental' values. However, their ability to do this, the media are able to reflect a variety of different opinions while, at the same time, absorbing critical views that may threaten the stability of the system.

Hence, information can be easily believed by the audience by continuously being presented massively through the media. In other words, the easy access to mass media leads the users to absorb everything as the way it is.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Language is not only a means of communication but is also used as an instrument to do something or a means of

implementing a power strategy. The use of language tends not to be transparent and does not directly reveal the sincere intentions of the author, but is laden with rhetoric, manipulation and misdirection (Haryatmoko, 2016).

Through language, according to Fairclough, the same phenomenon and reality can be described in various ways, with specific interests and goals. Thus, it takes a sharp interpretation and a critical attitude to question or suspect certain interests, values or goals that are hidden behind the language.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is aimed to expose what was wrong in society: injustice, inequality, restrictions on freedom or discrimination so that an unfair or oppressive situation can be changed. CDA has for instance addressed the ideological character of discourse (N. Fairclough, 1999). The first step is to understand that the process of meaning can determine, reproduce, or change unbalanced power relations, including the ideological process (Haryatmoko, 2016). According to Meyer & Wodak (2009), one of the aims of CDA is to 'demystify' discourses by deciphering ideologies.

Ideology, for CDA, is seen as an important aspect of establishing and maintaining unequal power relations (Meyer & Wodak, 2009). According to Fowler, Hodge, and Kress (1979) as cited in Lightfoot (1982) CDA plays a role as "a method and a tool to analyze the relation between discourse, society, and culture; and it focuses on how the social context is related to power and ideology."

Thompson (1990) discusses the concepts of ideology and culture, and the relations between these ideas and certain aspects of mass communication. Further, he refers them as "social forms and processes within which, and by means of which, symbolic forms circulate in the social world."

For Thompson (1990), the study of ideology is a study of "the ways in which meaning is constructed and conveyed by symbolic forms of various kinds," which, according to Meyer & Wodak (2009), also investigate the social contexts within which symbolic forms are employed and deployed. Meanwhile, for Eagleton (1994), the study of ideology should take into account the range of various theories and theorists that have

examined the relation between thought and social reality.

This study is to enrich the research on CDA in different fields. Hence, the future researchers will have better understanding in this study. Furthermore, it is not a new study. There are many scholars have conducted this study previously. Wang (2021) conducts a critical discourse analysis within two mass media called People's Daily and The New York Times. It focuses on the news reports on covid-19 specifically using 12 reports from both media. This research applies the three-dimensional model proposed by Fairclough. Further, the data is also scrutinized using Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar. The result presents that both media perform negative and derogatory terms. It also shows that difference focus of both media tends to reflect the ideological difference which in this case it is caused by the cultural thing.

Dimant & Tosato (2018) have finished empirical research entitled "Causes and Effects of Corruption: What has Past Decade's Empirical Research Taught us? A survey." It specifically focuses on existing literature on corruption and its causes and effects. It presents that the causes of corruptions are bureaucracy and inefficient administrative and political structure, civil participation/press freedom, economic freedom, economic growth, ethnic diversity, gender, globalization, and so on. Meanwhile, the effects of corruption are bureaucratic inefficiency, business, and (local) investment climate, civil and political rights, economic growth, and so on.

Further, Ni Putu Santhi Widiastuti, (2020) writes a research on a speech, which is delivered by the Indonesian Ministry of Research, Technology, and Higher Education, Mohamad Nasir on May 2, 2016. The result presents that the speech is constructed by macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure forms, which perform how social power is deliberated by elites in order to invite all parties. In this case, all parties specifically in educational field to join them in improving the Indonesia's educational system to be the better than the system that have been conducted by the previous partisans.

Moreover, this study is different from the previous study in terms of data. In this

case, this study analyzes two Indonesian media, namely Independent Observer and The Jakarta Post. This study analyzes both media through the news articles on KPK in English language in Indonesia. This study differs from the previous study since it applies several approaches in revealing the ideologies and the social wrongs within the articles.

Three-Dimensional Framework

Norman Fairclough (1995) proposed a CDA approach of Three-Dimensional Framework to reveal the social practice within a discourse, which is divided into three parts: description (text analysis/micro-analysis), interpretation (processing analysis), and explanation (social analysis/macro-analysis).

The micro-analysis focuses on the analyses on the text production: on how the text is produced and how certain words are combined to make meaning in term of intended text is structured. The interpretation level or processing analysis focuses in revealing the genre of the text and what discourse or power used. Meanwhile, macro-analysis is beyond the text: it does not solely focus on the language used and the text genre, but also the socio-cultural practices embedded in the text (Fairclough & Fairclough, 1995, p. 96 - 102).

Concisely, there are three levels of the analysis: the text level (discourse as a text), the discursive practice level (the discursive practice that involves the production and interpretation of the text) and the socio-cultural practice level (discourse as social practice).

To help this research finds out the critique after framework analysis is done, the researchers use four steps of explanatory critique by Roy Bhaskar who adopts the analytical three-dimensional framework by Fairclough. Fairclough in Woodak (2001) then presents the methodology of Bhaskar's explanatory critique which are formulated into five steps or stages.

The first stage focuses on social wrong in its semiotic aspects. The second stage is identifying the obstacles in tackling the social wrong. The third stage is considering whether the social wrong is needed in the social order. The fourth stage is solutions or the possible ways to pass the

obstacles. However, Chotimah (2017) uses the fifth stage namely critical reflection, that provides the analysis to turn how effective it as critique reflexively does or contribute to social emancipation.

Appraisal Theory

As a meaning in the service of power, the social wrong and ideologies are examined by providing linguistic evidence. In this case, it will be examined using Appraisal Theory by Martin & White (2005). It describes the writers' attitudes towards the issue and the stakeholders involved in the articles as it can show what is the position of the writers in the articles.

The appraisal theory of attitudes can be located as the interpersonal system at the level of discourse semantics. It can be realized through the lexico-grammatical patterns in the articles like the polarity, modal verbs, evaluative lexis, modal adjunct, pre/numeration, repetition, intensification, manner, extent, logico-semantic, and vocation.

The concept of attitude moves beyond the writer's emotion to deal more comprehensively with feelings, including affect, judgment and appreciation (Martin & White, 2005). Using the appraisal theory, the researchers try to outline a framework to map the feelings as they are construed in the articles. It refers to the system of meanings as attitude that involves three semantic regions of emotion (as seen as affects), ethics (as seen as judgments) and aesthetic (as seen as appreciation).

Affect is related to the positive and negative feeling, judgment deals with attitudes toward behavior (how we should behave or not), and appreciation involves evaluation of semiotics and natural phenomena (grants, prizes, grades and prices) (Martin & White, 2005). Developing attitude as a discourse semantic system should include their realizations to diversify across a range of grammatical structures.

For affect, the realizations comprise the modification of the participants and the processes (affect as quality), affective mental and behavioral processes (affect as process) and modal adjunct (affect as comment). The classification comprises six factors of typology: the vibes (positive or negative), the

process (behavioral or mental), the direction (directed or undirected), grade of the feeling (low/median/high), intention (irrealis or realis), affair of the heart (un/happiness) – eco-social wellbeing (in/security, anxiety, confidence) – the pursuit of the goals (dis/satisfaction, pleasure, curiosity).

For judgements, in general terms judgements can be divided into those dealing with social esteem that is related to normality (how unusual someone is), capacity (how capable they are), and tenacity (how resolute they are). Those oriented to social sanction which related to veracity (how truthful they someone is) and propriety (how ethical someone is). The realization of judgments also can be seen through the modality in the clause.

For appreciation, generally appreciations can be divided into our reactions to things. They are related to affection (emotive – 'it grabs me', desiderative – 'I am craving of it'), impact and quality (do they catch our attention? do they please us?); their compositions, which are related to perception (balance and complexity); and their values/valuations, which are related to cognition and our considered opinions (how innovative, authentic, timely, etc.) (Martin & White, 2005).

In addition, Hood (2004) mentions one defining feature in the identification of explicit attitude is that it encodes a positive or negative value. It is used to reference the subsystem of evaluative meanings by which addressees are positioned to adopt a positive or negative view vis-à-vis experiential phenomena or propositions about those phenomena (White, 2015, p. 15).

Seven Building Blocks

Discourse is action oriented, that is discourse can cause an action or behavior to take place (Beaulieu & Hall, 2017). As Gee, (2011, p. 17) notes, within a set of discourse, there are several building tasks (referred as the "Seven Building Tasks of Language"), or areas of "reality" that are built through speaking or writing. It can be used to understand the meaning of discourse and may be used to understand different aspects of the meaning being created through discourse.

These seven areas include significance, activities, identities, relationships, politics (the distribution of social goods), connections, and sign systems and knowledge. As mentioned in (Wiguna, 2019), one uses language (1) to make things significant; (2) to get recognized as engaging in a certain activity, or (3) to get recognized taking on a certain identity or role; (4) to signal what sort of relationship we have or want to have with our listeners or others about whom we are communicating; (5) to convey a perspective on the nature of the distribution of social goods (what is taken to be normal, right, good, correct, proper, appropriate, valuable, the way things are, the way things ought to be, high status or low status, like oneself or not like oneself, etc.); (6) to render certain things connected or relevant or not to other things; and (7) to make certain sign systems and certain forms of knowledge and belief relevant or privileged or not (Wheeler, 2010, p. 15). Seven Building Tasks of Language by Gee shows where this research is positioned within the social linguistic approach.

Silence and Absence

Discourse can be characterized not only by what is said, but also by what remains unsaid (Münchow, 2018, p. 215). Schröter (2013) clarifies that silence becomes meaningful when there is (1) an intention to be silent, which determines the logical existence of a silence from the point of production; (2) a disappointed expectation of speech, which determines the phenomenological existence of a silence from the point of perception; and (3) that what is not said is relevant to the context or situation at hand.

Meanwhile, Münchow (2018) considers absence as an umbrella term to contain all forms of perceptible and meaningful absences in discourse and communication, including the various forms of silences. However, as a distinction to absence, silence is more ascribed to individual speakers when they make a more conscious and intentional choice about what to say or what not to say (p. 15).

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Carabine (2001, as mentioned in Smythe, 2006) simply describes absences and silences as the things that the writers tried to hide or erase. Meanwhile, Bilmes (1994) states that silence and absence can be interpreted since it can be related to an alternative presence that can be spelled out. He mentions that, in general, for each possibly relevant thing, there is “a corresponding anti-thing, an absence” that is not at all equivalent to no-thing, although it may look the same (p. 73).

METHOD

There are two news articles that are being analyzed in this paper. The first one is from online web of The Jakarta Post (TJP). Meanwhile, the other news article is from Independent Observer (IO). Both texts expose the new KPK law. They are retrieved from their online websites on December 2019. The news article from TJP is titled, ‘*Who Killed KPK?*’ that consists of 508 words, 19 sentences, and nine paragraph. The news is written by Seto Wardhana. It is published on Tuesday, 5th November 2019. Meanwhile, the article from IO is titled, ‘*New KPK Leadership Hopes to Resolve Internal Conflicts*’ that consists of 1100 words, 47 sentences, and nine paragraphs. The text is written by Dan and it is published on Saturday, 28th September 2019.

The researchers chose two English articles about the new law of KPK in Indonesia. The researchers purposively chose two articles from two different editorial news: TJP as the editorial news that is already admitted and verified by Indonesia Press Council and IO as the editorial news that is not admitted by Indonesia Press Council. Press Council based on Law Number 40/1999 on the Press Law, was given the authority to assist the public in dealing with the flood of information supplied by various media.

By conducting studies, investigations, and verifying the life of the national press in accordance with its authority, the Press

Council provides an explanation to media users that the media which is the domain of the Press Council is media that is legally incorporated in Indonesia and whose name, address and person in charge are publicly announced.

There are four steps used in this analysis as presented by Norman Fairclough (2013a). The first stage focuses on the social wrong which has semiotic aspects that is analyzed through its linguistic choice by using Appraisal theory proposed by Martin and White. The social wrong of the text is represented by the use of attitude consisting of affect, appreciation, and judgment as it shows the writers' attitude towards the related parties in the articles: KPK as the organization and Supervisory Agency; and the issues in the articles: the new KPK law itself.

The second stage identifies obstacles to it being tackled through the analysis of the network of practices, the relationship of the semiosis to other elements and the semiosis itself. They are analyzed by using Gee's Seven Building Tasks of Language which examines the areas of "reality" that are built through the texts. It can be used to understand the meaning of discourse. It may be used to understand different aspects of the meaning being created through discourse.

Supported with Seven Building Tasks of Language by James Paul Gee, this paper reveals the ideology and power exercise through the inter-relationships between discourse and its situations, institutions and social structures in the articles. The ideology of the text is represented by the significances, activities, identities, relationships, politics, connections, and sign systems & knowledge in the texts.

The third stage considers whether the social order needs the problems or the social wrong. In this stage, the researchers also use the developed version of Foucault's genealogy analysis by Jean Carabine in looking for the absences and silences in both articles. The silences and absences in the articles show that there are certain power or parties or phenomena that are intentionally silenced or diminished. This clearly shows that the media is politically polarized and deviated from its proper function as mass

media. Further, last stage identifies the possible ways to tackle the obstacles.

In order to answer the first research question, the researchers used Appraisal Theory by Martin & White as the text analysis, to observe the writers' attitudes towards the stakeholders in the articles. The concept of attitude moves beyond the writers' emotion to deal more comprehensively with feelings including affect, judgment and appreciation (Martin & White, 2005). They are construed in the articles, referring to the system of meanings as attitude that involves three semantic regions of emotion (as seen as affects), ethics (as seen as judgments) and aesthetic (as seen as appreciation).

This first stage involves the micro-analysis of the text level in Fairclough three-dimensional framework, which focuses on focuses on the analyses on the text production: on how the text is produced and how certain words are combined to make meaning in term of intended text is structured.

To answer the second research question, as the processing analysis and the socio-cultural analysis, the previous text analysis in the first stage are supported with Seven Building Tasks of Language by Gee to reveal the ideology and power exercise through the meaning produced in the articles by seeing the constructing discourse and the discourse inter-relationship; and by providing the analysis on the language-in use which construed by seven areas of reality: significance, practices/activities, identities, relationship, politics, connections/relevance, and sign system and knowledge –to analyze how language build the ideologies in the articles.

This analysis is the second step involving meso-analysis or interpretation level analysis. This stage focuses in revealing what discourse or power used. The third and fourth stages analysis are as the macro-analysis which analyzes beyond the text: it does not solely focus on the language used and the text genre, but also the socio-cultural practices embedded in the text.

In the third stage, the researchers also added genealogy discourse analysis by Carabine in looking for the absences and silences in both articles to strengthen the place of the social wrongs in the social orders which are analyzed in the articles by seeing

the things that the writers tried to hide or erase.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The aim of this research is to look for and to compare the social wrongs and the ideologies brought by the writer from the texts analyzed in the four of Bhaskar explanatory critique as presented by (Norman Fairclough, 2013b).

Social Wrong: Politicization of Media

In this first stage, the researchers focus on the social wrong revealed in the articles by analyzing the writers' positions through their attitudes shown towards certain stakeholders in the articles: KPK as the organization and Supervisory Agency; and the issues in the articles: the new KPK law itself. To analyze the writers' attitude, the researchers use Appraisal Theory by Martin and White to analyze each article of TJP and IO.

The Appraisal Analysis: The Jakarta Post Editorial News

The analysis shows that The Jakarta Post (TJP) writer's attitude toward the new KPK law and the parties involved like Jokowi, Supervisory Agency even the KPK itself is negative by the percentage of the negative tone of the whole text is 65% and the positive tone is only 35%, with the negative judgement 43.24%, and negative affection 21.62%. The TJP's writer of Who Killed KPK seems to corner Jokowi as if his decisions and the steps taken by Jokowi (signing the new law) are not the right choices and only became a form of Jokowi's selfishness solely for his political interests. 65% clauses used in the text show negative attitudes towards Jokowi, KPK, the new KPK law and the Supervisory Agency as shown in the Table 1 below. The big difference between the positive and the negative attitudes by the writer shows the imbalance attitudes applied in the texts, that the writer take side too much to corner Jokowi, the new KPK, the new KPK law and the Supervisory Agency existence and spread distrust towards those parties. The most dominant attitudes tried to be shown by TJP writer is judgement with the details as shown in Table 1.1.

Table 1. The Percentage of the TJP Writer's Attitude towards The New KPK Law and The Parties Involved

No	Attitude	Positive		Negative		Total
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%	
1	Judgement	8	21,62%	16	43,24%	24
2	Affect	3	8,11%	8	21,62%	11
3	Appreciation	2	5,41%	0	0,00%	2
TOTAL		13	35%	24	65,00%	37

(Source: Wardhana, 2019)

Table 1.1 The Percentage of Attitude through Judgement by *The Jakarta Post*

No.	Attitude of Judgement	Positive		Negative		Total
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%	
1a	Judgement of Esteem	7	19%	14	37,84%	21
	a. Normality	1	3%	4	10,81%	5
	b. Capacity	5	14%	10	27,03%	15
	c. Tenacity	1	3%	0	0,00%	1
1b	Judgement of Sanction	1	3%	2	5,41%	3
	a. Veracity	1	3%	1	2,70%	2
	b. Propriety	0	0%	1	2,70%	1

(Source: Wardhana, 2019)

The 43.24% negative judgments addressed to Jokowi, the new KPK law, the Supervisory Agency and the new KPK after the revised law. See the sentences of the first paragraph below:

- 1) President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo appeared to provide a ray of hope...
- 2) ...when he promised to weigh the possibility of signing a regulation in lieu of law (Perppu)
- 3) ...that would repeal the recently revised Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) Law...
- 4) ...amid a flurry of student protests against the amendments last month.
- 5) Surely Jokowi broke the hearts of many after he announced over the weekend his decision not to sign the much-awaited Perppu,...

In the sentences (1) and (5) the writer tries to give judgements that Jokowi is capable to do what actually the society want to; but in the next sentences show that Jokowi choose to not do what people want although actually he can. It likes put Jokowi as the public enemy that do such thing (signing the new KPK law) intentionally (as if he does it intentionally to break Indonesia). The writer actually wrote the event of Jokowi’s announcement about his decision to not sign the much-awaited Perppu, without adding the unnecessary clause using the word broke the heart of many.

The word promised in sentence (2) shows that the writer gives judgments that the common people have no power to

change/contribute in the new law and that they depend on a bigger power domination: government. But start from sentence (3) and (6), the writer tries to judge that what Jokowi do is very risky since many people don’t agree with the new law and even there has been so many demonstrations. Moreover, the word ‘against’ in sentence (7) stresses the different opinion between pro and cons on the new KPK law and put Constitutional Court even also have different side with the people. It can be seen that the writer uses negative judgements to Jokowi excessively. Almost all the judgments are intended to Jokowi and the new KPK law as seen in the sentences (1) – (9).

- 6) ...filed with the Constitutional Court against the new KPK Law.
- 7) Jokowi has further shown an unwillingness to exercise his power to protect the as he will speed up the formation of the KPK supervisory council so that it will be in place when the new KPK commissioners begin their term next month.
- 8) The new KPK Law requires KPK commissioners to seek the supervisory council’s consent to conduct wiretapping, confiscation and searches, which in effect clips the KPK’s wings.
- 9) Although he refused to sign the amended KPK Law, his decision to opt for pragmatism rather than a commitment to anticorruption is more than enough to rank Jokowi among

the alliance of those who intend to weaken the KPK. The second attitudes that is most shown by TJP

writer is affect with the details as shown in Table 1.2 below.

Table 1.2 The Percentage of Attitude through Affect by *The Jakarta Post*

No	Attitude of Affect	Positive		Negative		Total
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%	
2a	Affect as Quality	3	8%	6	16%	9
	a. Describing Participant	1	3%	2	5%	3
	b. Attributing Participant	2	5%	3	8%	5
	c. Manner of Process	0	0%	1	3%	1
2b	Affect as Process	0	0%	1	3%	1
	a. Affective Mental	0	0%	0	0%	0
	b. Affective Behavior	0	0%	1	3%	1
2c	Affect as Comment (desirative)	0	0%	1	3%	1

(Source: Wardhana, 2019)

10) ...hence pursuing corruption eradication efforts that follow a “business as usual” formula.

11) The national consensus that followed the reform movement in 1998 declared corruption, collusion and nepotism to be extraordinary crimes that therefore required unusual measures to eradicate them.

Sentence (10) and (11) shows affect through describing participants realizations. From those sentences the writer stress that

corruption is an unusual issue that cannot be underestimated. Through the sentence (10) and (11), the writer shows his feeling upon the issue on corruption itself that he cares or concerns to those kind of issues.

Although the text clearly shows that the writer disagrees with the new KPK law and distrust the government and the Supervisory Agency even the new KPK itself, the writer uses 5.41% positive appreciation in his language without any negative appreciation. See table 1.3 as below.

Table 1.3 The Percentage of Attitude through Appreciation by *The Jakarta Post*

No	Attitude of Appreciation	Positive		Negative		Total
		Freq	%	Freq	%	
3a	Reaction	1	3%	0	0%	1
	a. Impact	0	0%	0	0%	0
	b. Quality	1	3%	0	0%	1
3b	Composition	0	0%	0	0%	0
	a. Balance	0	0%	0	0%	0
	b. Complexity	0	0%	0	0%	0
3c	Valuation	1	3%	0	0%	1

(Source: Wardhana, 2019)

12) The reform spirit then resulted in the 2002 KPK Law,...

13) ... is more than enough to rank Jokowi among the alliance of those...

Sentence (12) is a positive appreciation for the very first law of establishing KPK, this included the old KPK law. The writer looks appreciate the new KPK law in sentence (13) as a positive appreciation of quality used for bringing down Jokowi. Sentence (13) shows that the writer only uses the issue of KPK, the new law KPK and Supervisory Agency to bring down and corner the President. The writer seems not only want to evaluate the new KPK law, but use the issue to other objectives: spreading distrust towards the government, especially the President.

The Appraisal Analysis: The Independent Observer Editorial News

The *Independent Observer (IO)* seem to share negative attitudes towards the old KPK **but not towards** the new KPK law and the Supervisory Agency. Nevertheless, the comparison ratio of the positive and negative attitudes shown by the writer in the text is not far adrift as seen in Table 2 (57.14% negative attitudes and 42.85% positive attitudes). It shows that the writer **tried to balance his attitude** towards issues and the parties involved in the text.

Table 2. The Percentage of the IO Writer’s Attitude towards The New KPK Law and The Parties Involved

No	Attitude	Positive		Negative		Total
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%	
1	Judgement	16	41,03%	23	58,97%	39
2	Affect	9	47,37%	10	52,63%	19
3	Appreciation	5	41,67%	7	58,33%	12
TOTAL		30	42,85%	40	57,14%	70

The most dominant attitudes tried to be shown by TJP writer is judgement (58.97% negative judgements and 41.03%

positive judgements) with the details as shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 The Percentage of Attitude through Judgement by *Independent Observer*

No.	Attitude of Judgement	Positive		Negative		Total
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%	
1a	Judgement of Esteem	13	19%	14	20,00%	27
	a. Normality	3	4%	5	7,14%	8
	b. Capacity	8	11%	9	12,86%	17
	c. Tenacity	2	3%	0	0,00%	2
1b	Judgement of Sanction	3	4%	9	12,86%	12
	a. Veracity	0	0%	2	2,86%	2
	b. Propriety	3	4%	7	10,00%	10

The negative judgements in the text showed by the writer mostly referred to the parties that disagree with the new KPK law, as shown in sentences (14) – (16) below: As a communication expert, Emrus stated that KPK leader’s action of surrendering its mandate to the President and to reject the new leader to be a bad political move.

"A person already entering KPK must be independent, neutral, and professional in line with applicable laws."

"If they disagree with the revisions of KPK Law, they must leave. "
 (Dan, 2019)

Besides, the negative judgements also refer to the old KPK before the new law as in sentence (17) – (21). The writer tries to be the neutral party that not only blindly disagree, complain or protest the new KPK law, but also criticize and stress other possibilities the reasons behind the new rules.

- 14) As for the issuance of SP3, KPK is given this authority because many people are charged and ignored without further process of law for years.
- 15) It is as if KPK is meting out social punishment, while they might be not guilty as KPK sometimes have not found sufficient evidence.
- 16) In fact, within 17 years since its establishment, the KPK, especially Generation III KPK, has deviated from the initial purpose of its establishment.
- 17) "If their duties and authorities are reduced, then they are weakened."
- 18) It is as if KPK is being weakened by outsiders, while it faces a lot of challenges from the inside as well.

Meanwhile, the positive judgements mostly refer to the new KPK law as seen in sentence (22) – (25). The writer criticizes and stresses other possibilities the reasons behind the new rules.

As I studied it, I found that the articles concerning the duties and authorities of KPK do not change at all. On the contrary, this revised law strengthens KPK's duties and authorities.

Just look at any single article, you can see that the Draft Revision does not weaken the agency at all," he said.

...that ensures that both leaders and investigators work according to applicable laws and not act lawlessly,...
 (Dan, 2019)

It is found in the text that the IO writer uses 14.29% negative affect and 12.86% with affect quality as the most used (10% negative affect of quality and 7% positive affect of quality) as seen detailed in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 The Percentage of Attitude through Affect by *Independent Observer*

No	Attitude of Affect	Positive		Negative		Total
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%	
2a	Affect as Quality	5	7%	7	10%	12
	a. Describing Participant	2	3%	1	1%	3
	b. Attributing Participant	2	3%	6	9%	8
	c. Manner of Process	1	1%	0	0%	1
2b	Affect as Process	4	6%	3	4%	7
	a. Affective Mental	4	6%	3	4%	7
	b. Affective Behavior	0	0%	0	0%	0
2c	Affect as Comment (desirative)	0	0%	0	0%	0

- 19) Furthermore, he supports the existence of KPK's Supervisory Council as an important organ...
- 20) In other words, KPK inquirers and leaders were happy with their freedom, as they are not monitored.
- 21) "Naturally, we hope that future KPK leaders can help eradicate corruption

- not just through the downstream process of sting operations..."
- 22) Petrus believes that LHKPN management in all of the State's institutions, agencies, and ministries should be supported...
- 23) He hopes that the new leaders of KPK will hold a joint study with law experts to create a corruption

eradication systems and models that will improve KPK performance in the future.

(Dan, 2019)

The affect process is mostly realized in positive way (6%) rather than in negative way (4%). The terms use as in the sentence (26) – (30) shows that the writer put much hopes on the new KPK law. The IO writer also shows his attitudes through appreciation in the text. 10% of the language used by the IO writer is negative appreciation with 7.14%

positive appreciation. See Table 2.3 as follow.

The affect process is mostly realized in positive way (6%) rather than in negative way (4%). The terms use as in the sentence (26) – (30) shows that the writer put much hopes on the new KPK law. The IO writer also shows his attitudes through appreciation in the text. 10% of the language used by the IO writer is negative appreciation with 7.14% positive appreciation. See Table 2.3 as follow.

Table 2.3 The Percentage of Attitude through Appreciation by *Independent Observer*

No.	Attitude of Appreciation	Positive		Negative		Total
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%	
3a	Reaction	2	3%	3	4%	5
	a. Impact	1	1%	1	1%	2
	b. Quality	1	1%	2	3%	3
3b	Composition	0	0%	3	4%	3
	a. Balance	0	0%	3	4%	3
	b. Complexity	0	0%	0	0%	0
3c	Valuation	3	4%	1	1%	4

The researchers focus on the valuation appreciation that the IO writer includes into the text upon the new KPK law. The writer can take the value and also mention the values of the new KPK itself briefly before he starts to discuss the issue (as seen in sentence (31)). This is good to give background knowledge to the readers.

24) There are 7 points validated in the KPK Law, the formation of a Supervisory Council, the authority to issue an Inquiry Termination Order (Surat Perintah Penghentian Penyidikan – “SP3”), the obligation to require wiretapping approval from the Supervisory Council to the change of KPK staff status into the State’s Civil Apparatus (Aparatur Sipil Negara – “ASN”).

It is surprising that the article produced by The Jakarta Post, as a verified news editorial by the Indonesian Press Council, apparently seem to share more negative attitudes compared to Independent Observer which was not verified yet. From the analysis, 65% of the article produced by TJP are negative attitudes and 35% are

positive attitudes; meanwhile 57,14% of the IO article are negative with 42,85% positive attitude. It shows that the IO writer tried to balance his attitude towards issues and the parties involved in the text since the comparison ratio of the positive and negative attitudes shown by the writer in the text is not far adrift (almost fifty : fifty).

The analysis shows that the negative attitudes in the article of The Jakarta Post are more directed to the new KPK law and the parties involved like Jokowi, Supervisory Agency even the KPK itself. Meanwhile in Independent Observer, negative attitudes shared are more directed to the old KPK, but not towards the new KPK law and the Supervisory Agency. In TJP articles, the TJP’s writer of Who Killed KPK seems to corner Jokowi as if his decisions and the steps taken by Jokowi (signing the new law) are not the right choices and only became a form of Jokowi's selfishness solely for his political interests.

From the appraisal analysis, it seems that TJP and IO shares the same social wrongs in their texts. The social wrong revealed by both The Jakarta Post and

Independent Observer in their articles about the new KPK law is: politicization of the media. The indications that elaborate the social wrong about the media politicization are: a) the media become polarized in politic, not only exposing the political situation in Indonesia but also taking side, shown by the writers' negative attitudes towards certain parties percentage (which indicates that media are no longer neutral); b) media become a device that able to influence the society to establish trust or distrust to the New KPK or even to establish trust or distrust to the government through the language used in the articles. It can be seen that the writers might have certain intention since the writers of TJP and IO have different percentages of attitude towards different objects.

Obstacles to Social Wrongs Being Tackled

This second stage actually helps the researchers to answer research question number two: the ideologies brought by TJP and IO editorial news articles exposing The New KPK Law. The Seven Building Tasks of Language by Gee is employed here to

identify the ideological text trough the analysis of the significances, activities, identities, relationships, politics, connections, and sign system & knowledge in the articles.

The Seven Building Tasks Analysis

Language provides an articulated means for differences in power in social hierarchical structures. However, for CDA, language is not powerful on its own but it gains power by the use powerful people make of it. Power is about relations of difference, and particularly about the effects of differences in social structures. Power does not derive from language, but language can be used to challenge power, to subvert it, to alter distributions of power in the short and long term as power is signaled not only by grammatical forms within a text, but also by a person's control of a social occasion by means of the genre of a text. It is often exactly within the genres associated with given social occasions that power is exercised or challenged. Table 4 below shows the results of the data analysis used the theory of seven building tasks of language.

Table 3. The Seven Building Tasks Analysis

No	Seven Building Tasks of Language	Situation	
		The Jakarta Post	Independent Observer
1	Significances	To provoke the reader that the function of the Supervisory Agency is only to weaken the KPK.	To provoke the reader to be more critical, so that they do not only blindly disagree, complain or protest the new KPK law, but also criticize and stress other possibilities the reasons behind the new rules.
		To provoke the reader that the government is trying to weaken the KPK by issuing and establishing the Supervisory Agency and the new KPK law.	To provoke the readers to not only suspect the government's negative motives and goals in the formation of the Supervisory Agency and the new KPK law establishment, but also need to question how the KPK has gone so far, thus raising urgency and considerations related to the issuance of the Supervisory Agency and the new KPK law itself.
2	Activities	The issuance of the Supervisory Agency and the new KPK law are seen as an attempt to assassinate and	The issuance of the Supervisory Agency and the new KPK law are aimed at resolving the internal problems of the KPK, with the

	weaken the KPK which was carried out by the government.	fact that KPK itself has so far also had internal problems and defects in its organization that need to be repaired and updated.	
3	Identities	<p>The government and the Supervisory Agency as the “killer” of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) weakening the KPK</p> <p>The old KPK as an organization with absolute perfection without the need for improvement or supervision.</p>	<p>The old KPK as an organization that also has internal problems and still needs improvement from within, so it needs supervision.</p> <p>The government as the solution provider by providing the Supervisory Agency as a third party outside the KPK to supervise the operation of the KPK without bias.</p>
4	Relationships	TJP wants the readers to be more aware of their democratic rights; by means of the issuance of a Supervisory Agency establishment, the government indirectly does not want to involve the people as KPK supervisors, in the sense that the government does not trust the people who should also oversee the KPK.	IO wants readers to be more critically aware of every issuance of new regulations by the government and the reasons for the issuance of these regulations.
5	Politics	TJP tries to build the readers perspectives that the government is trying to kill or weaken the KPK by issuing and establishing the Supervisory Agency and the new KPK law and Supervisory Agency would only weaken the KPK since it was feared that Supervisory Agency would limit the movement of the KPK.	IO tries to build the readers perspectives that the issuance of the Supervisory Agency and the new KPK law are aimed at resolving the internal problems of the KPK. That way, IO tries to build a perspective that the government does not want to weaken the KPK, but wants to provide a solution to the KPK's internal problems.
6	Connection	The TJP also attributed the previous Supreme Court decisions to Jokowi's mistakes which is not inaccurate because based on the <i>Trias Politika</i> Principle, and as written in Article 24 of the 1945 Constitution, the judiciary is an independent institution whose decisions cannot be interfered with by other institutions, including	IO do not only use several statements from the formulator of KPK Law, but also use several statements from public figure outside KPK and government, like Political Communications Expert and Pelita Harapan University's Post-Graduate; and law practitioner and former Commission for Auditing the Wealth of State Officials Commissioner to validate their

		the president.	statements.
7	Sign System & Knowledge	TJP tries to describe the bias within the government and KPK itself. TJP states that there is a bias motive and aims in the issuance of Supervisory Agency.	IO tries to describe that there are internal conflict within the old KPK itself, thus it needs to be monitored and corrected from the inside.
Ideology revealed from the seven building tasks of language analysis		1) <i>Government Unwillingness in Eradicating Corruption.</i> 2) <i>The limitation of KPK's authority after The New KPK Law.</i> 3) <i>Erradicating Corruption in Indonesia</i>	1) <i>The Old KPK has internal issues that are needed to be upgraded.</i> 2) <i>Instead of weakening KPK, The New Law is able to upgrade and improve KPK</i> 3) <i>Erradicating Corruption in Indonesia</i>

The Ideologies Revealed

Based on the Seven Building Tasks of Language, the ideologies can be generated from the significances, activities, identities, relationships, politics, connections, and sign systems & knowledge in the articles in the interpretation level (meso-analysis), TJP and IO seems to share different ideologies in their articles. The ideologies shared by TJP are *The government' unwillingness in eradicating*

corruption and The limitation of KPK's authority after The New Law. Meanwhile, ideologies shared by IO are: *The Old KPK has internal issues that are needed to be upgraded and Instead of weakening KPK, The New Law is able to upgrade and improve KPK.* See Table 5.

Table 4. Summary of The Language Strategies in The Articles
Who Killed KPK? By The Jakarta Post

No.	Ideologies	No.	Clause
1	Government Unwillingness in Eradicating Corruption	(25)	Now we have heard from Jokowi himself: This was a false hope.
		(26)	Surely Jokowi broke the hearts of many (<i>judgment -</i>) after he announced over the weekend his decision not to sign the much-awaited Perppu, saying he would not like to interfere with the ongoing judicial reviews filed with the Constitutional Court against the new KPK Law.
		(27)	Or perhaps we expected too much from the President , based on his campaign platform in 2014, which included corruption-free, dignified and credible law enforcement.
		(28)	The disappointment shows not only that Jokowi is not in favor of a strong and independent KPK, contrary to his previous claims.
		(29)	Jokowi has further shown an unwillingness to exercise his power to protect the KPK as he will speed up the formation of the KPK supervisory

		council so that it will be in place when the new KPK commissioners begin their term next month.
	(30)	The same political elite that gave birth to the KPK have now colluded to tame the antigraft body.
	(31)	... his decision to opt for pragmatism rather than a commitment to anticorruption is more than enough to rank Jokowi among the alliance of those who intend to weaken the KPK
	(32)	Jokowi's approval of KPK commissioner candidates with questionable track records confirms his indifference of the basic fact of anticorruption
	(33)	It is safe to say that the President is partly to blame for a series of Supreme Court verdicts that reduced the sentence of graft convicts recently
2	The limitation of KPK's authority after The New	(34) He also wants to reduce the KPK to an ordinary law enforcement agency, hence pursuing corruption eradication efforts that follow a "business as usual" formula.
		(35) The new KPK Law requires KPK commissioners to seek the supervisory council's consent to conduct wiretapping, confiscation and searches, which in effect clips the KPK's wings.
		(36) The same political elite that gave birth to the KPK have now colluded to tame the antigraft body
		(37) If only we could resurrect the dead KPK.
New KPK Leadership Hopes to Resolve Internal Conflicts <i>By Independent Observer</i>		
1	The Old KPK has internal issues that are needed to be upgraded	(38) ...that the Draft Revision does not weaken the agency at all
		(39) ...he supports the existence of KPK's Supervisory Council as an important organ that ensures that both leaders and investigators work according to applicable laws and not act lawlessly , as KPK's Advisory Team is useless and its internal monitoring is both helpless and ineffective.
		(40) Political Communications Expert and Pelita Harapan University's Post-Graduate Lecturer Emrus Sihombing stated that the KPK Law revision is performed as if through the insistence of outsiders, even though it is meant to resolve KPK internal issues.
		(41) "It is as if KPK is being weakened by outsiders, while it faces a lot of challenges from the inside as well, " he said
		(42) As for the issuance of SP3, KPK is given this authority because many people are charged and ignored without further process of law for years.

	(43)	It is as if KPK is meting out social punishment, while they might be not guilty as KPK sometimes have not found sufficient evidence.	
	(44)	...one of the reasons behind KPK's failure is that it fails to expose indications of corruptions hinted in mandatory State Official Asset and Wealth Report (<i>Laporan Harta dan Kekayaan Pejabat Negara</i> – "LHKPN"), while KPK can determine the origins of any State Official's wealth using reverse proving. Petrus believes that LHKPN management in all of the State's institutions, agencies, and ministries should be supported, because it has been a weak point for KPK for so long.	
	(45)	We have never heard KPK having resolved a State Administrator corruption case based on tracking of LHKPNs.	
	(46)	We have never heard KPK clarifying and verifying any of the LHKPN submitted to it either, while KPK Regulation No. 07 of 2016 states that KPK shall establish an LHKPN Processing Unit in all Government agencies.	
2	Instead of weakening KPK, The New Law is able to upgrade and improve KPK	(47)	The formulator of KPK Law, Prof. Romli Atmasasmita, said that the pros and cons over the revision of KPK Law proves that KPK no longer has strong , total social legitimacy from the people.
		(48)	... it is time for KPK Law to be revised, as it has applied for too long.
		(49)	This means that the Law needs updating and adjustments for issues that are not yet or are not clearly regulated in it.
		(50)	In fact, within 17 years since its establishment, the KPK, especially Generation III KPK, has deviated from the initial purpose of its establishment.
		(51)	...the revision would not weaken the KPK,...
		(52)	but will turn it into a better and more transparent agency instead.
		(53)	I found that the articles concerning the duties and authorities of KPK do not change at all.
		(54)	In fact, they are actually improved,...
		(55)	On the contrary, this revised law strengthens KPK's duties and authorities.
		(56)	Petrus then reiterates that revision of KPK Law is an effort to strengthen KPK as an institution.
		(57)	Petrus also agreed that KPK Law revision is meant to correct KPK from the inside.
		(58)	He hopes that the new leaders of KPK will hold a joint study with law experts to create a corruption eradication systems and models that will improve KPK performance in the future.

There are two ideologies shared by The Jakarta Post in its articles titled Who Killed KPK? The first ideology is the government's unwillingness in eradicating corruption. It can be seen in the sentence (32) – (40) that the writer uses the negative attitude every time he mentions the government, especially Jokowi. The writer puts as if his choice is a form of an anti-eradicating corruption movement, and it becomes the only one matters-reason if later the work of KPK degraded. The writer emphasizes that Jokowi has the capability to do something but choose to not do that (sentence (33), (37), and (39)).

- 33) ...saying he would not like...
- 36) ...Jokowi has further shown an unwillingness...
- 37) The same political elite that gave birth to the KPK have now colluded to tame the antigrift body.
- 39) ...confirms his indifference...

The writer also directs as if the government cannot be trusted as seen in the sentences below:

- 10) Now we have heard from Jokowi himself: This was a false hope.
- 11) ...contrary to his previous claims...

At the end, the writer direct to blame the government instead of criticizing the main subject of the issue: the new KPK law and the KPK itself. This statement is strengthened by the sentence below:

- 40) It is safe to say that the President is partly to blame.

The second ideologies shared by The Jakarta Post is about the limitation of KPK's authority after The New Law by the new KPK law as seen in sentences (41) – (44).

- 41) ...reduce the KPK to an ordinary law enforcement agency...
- 42) ...which in effect clips the KPK's wings.
- 43) ...colluded to tame the antigrift body.

The writer uses negative attitude to express the ideologies by using the word reduce, clips the wings, and collude to tame. Even the writer uses the word resurrect (see sentence (44)) as if the KPK dissolved when

in fact KPK is still running as usual to eradicate corruption in Indonesia with different organization procedures.

- 44) If only we could resurrect the dead KPK

Meanwhile, the first ideology shared by IO is about The Old KPK has internal issues that are needed to be upgraded; and the second ideology is about Instead of weakening KPK, The New Law is able to upgrade and improve KPK. Different with TJP's writer, the IO writer tries to balance his attitudes towards the issues and the involved parties through the language he uses in the articles, that is seen from the comparison ratio of the negative and positive attitude in the appraisal analysis that are not really different. This becomes the focus of the researchers because the KPK's failure or the internal issues in KPK have been erased or not being mentioned in the TJP's news. They become the silence of the absence in TJP, but not in IO. Here, the IO writer tries to bring new point of view to the readers, to see the details and seek the reasons to be critical, rather than complaining, judging and blaming all parties involved. This indicates a good media mass: become the bridge and the neutral party between the government and the common people; not being so politically polarized.

Although both articles have difference ideologies relates to their partisanship towards the old or the new KPK, the government or the new KPK law, both articles share similar ideology on eradicating corruption issues in Indonesia. Both articles promote the importance of eradicating corruption in Indonesia.

It can be seen that the TJP is trying to corner the government as if the government does not want to eradicate corruption in Indonesia by enacting the New KPK Law, while the ideology brought by IO does not bring down certain parties and it is clearly that IO editorial news is trying to invite the readers to investigate other reasons behind the enactment of the New KPK Law and the establishment of a Supervisory Agency, and not only to bring down the government with invalid evidence. Even in a large company there must be a special team related to the company's internal control.

TJP and IO do share 2 different ideologies, but basically, they share the same ideology: eradicating corruption in Indonesia. And the social wrong that happened was the politicization of media, which occurred because of the influence of political interests on the ideology which was finally brought up in the article (it can be seen from the ideological differences shared by TJP and IO). Therefore, the reasons why the two media can contradict each other regarding similar parties and issues need to be revealed. Of course, the conflict exists because of the ideological differences brought, which can be seen from the differences in significances, activities, identities, relationships, politics, connections, and sign systems & knowledge which are interpreted from the two articles.

The reason why the ideologies brought by TJP and IO can be different is because the media want to maintain their political power or political interest. However, this reason can become the obstacles in tackling the social wrongs that occurs, as political interest affects the media to not doing neutrality in informing the information.

Apart from the political interest from the writers and from the editorial news, it turns out that another obstacle can arise because of the sponsorship. Journalists work for the media; the media can continue to run if there is a sponsor. Political parties and political actors are certainly one of the most potential sponsors. Of course, a system like this can also affect the alignments of the mass media in writing articles since there are certain needs for sponsorship in using the media.

However, Zulaikha & Diana (2017) mentions that political interests in media abuses the journalistic principles such as objectivity, fairness, balance and neutrality in informing the information. Since Indonesia is democracy country and ideology in which the justice is highly respected, the balance information should be the standard of the media in informing the fact (Zulaikha & Diana, 2017). In Indonesia, we have the values and principles of journalism set out by Law no. 40/1999 about the press, either in the form of a code of ethics, or the rules and guidelines issued by the Indonesian Press Council. Thus, the media should strive to implement the established journalism

principles and still needs to use the journalism principles even the balance is never perfectly attained. However, at least, the media needs to inform the information even in the near balance.

Another problem that arises in overcoming the politicization of media also comes from Indonesian Press system itself. Along with the advancement of technology, the digitalization of media also makes it possible for anyone (common people, even though they are not journalists) to write anything to be built as a news and delivered freely in the internet. In fact, news writing certainly has its own journalistic principles and ethic codes that must be obeyed by a journalist (Soehardjo, 2011). However, with the digitalization of media, now anyone, even if they are not a journalist, can write anything and spread it on the internet. Of course, in addition to facilitating access to news dissemination, media digitization is double-edged because it does not rule out the possibility of fake news or hoaxes that can circulate freely. In addition, there are three other impacts at once caused by this work pattern: (1) the decrease of fact accuracy (facts and stories do not fit the context and make no sense; and sensational), (2) the increase of news collection method transparency (the news writing method only conveys words, without paying attention to verification), (3) the decrease of appreciation for news copy rights (journalists only rewrite or even plagiarize news that has been published) (Himawan, 2011; Artini, 2017). In this case, the role of the Indonesian Press Council becomes important, because the verification from this agency can help the society to filter the news, they found on the internet by checking the credibility of certain editorial news verified by the Indonesian Press Council.

However, for editorial news that has been verified by the Indonesian Press Council, are they still being monitored by the Indonesian Press Council? Each editorial news that has been verified must have a White Book as a guidebook for writing news, where before a news is released, it will undergo through several stages depending on the country's regulations and the editorial news' principles itself (Soehardjo, 2011). However, what and where is the role of the

Indonesian Press Council towards the verified editorial news in the stage of checking, monitoring and supervision of this news that will be released? As mentioned before, of course, every editorial news has a journalistic code of ethics and journalistic principles, is the Press Council really able to do supervision of the process of releasing a news by every single verified editorial news? If an editorial news is verified by the Press Council, then what? So, this is the case. This is a new problem. Because so far, the news that has been exposed has only gone through a process of checking and monitoring internally within the editorial news itself, where, although there is a White Book or a separate code of ethics for journalists in each country and the editorial news itself, there is no further supervision from the Press Council towards the verified editorial news. Soehardjo (2011) states that in recent years, there have been challenges in the realm of journalistic principles, codes of ethics, and supervision (if possible), over converged and digitalized media. Of course, the preparation of the code of ethics and supervision of the content will involve more stakeholders considering the breadth of the field and the rapidity of technology as well as the sensitivity of the issues to be discussed.

It obviously becomes a great problem for the Indonesian Press Council and the Alliance of Independent Journalists to monitor and to have a control on every single piece of news that have been published and circulated, supervising every single news released by verified editorial news has not been implemented, let alone monitoring news released by unverified editorial news. In this case, the problem arised specifically refers to the system of monitoring the news publication and circulation.

In fact, it is quite difficult for us to monitor or control the news published in the media, especially in this digitalized era. Everyone can easily write, publish, spread the words and share any news. In Indonesia, actually there has been media verification conducted by the Indonesian Press Council. Quoted from the website of the Indonesian Press Council, the function of the Press Council verification itself is to explain to the media users that the media which becomes the domain of Indonesian Press Council is a

legal media that is standing behind Indonesian legal entity, and whose the name, the addresses, and the authorized officials are publicly announced. Meanwhile, other media that do not comply with the provisions of the Press Law (the unverified media), including social media whose news is accused of defaming or containing hoaxes, lies, intolerance, and hatred are the domain of the law enforcement. However, if a media has been verified by the Indonesian Press Council, then what? Will the verified media continue to be controlled and monitored? Or what?

In this study, it was found that TJP -- a media that has been verified by the Indonesian Press Council (see <https://dewanpers.or.id/data/perusahaanpers>), actually shows more negative attitudes when it compared to IO - a media that has not been verified by the Indonesian Press Council. Thus, actually, what is the function of verification by the Indonesian Press Council itself? Is it only stop until verifying? Or is there further stricter monitoring of the verified media? After verified, what's next? Will the Indonesian Press Council continue to monitor the verified media? Or is it (the verification) only related to the ease of permissions and connections for the verified one? This must be clearer in the work system of Indonesian Press Council.

Before a news is published, the process of filtering a news before it is released is done by the editor of their own editorial news. Each media has its own standards in determining which news is interesting and worthy to be published, and which is not. Each media also has a standard on ways of writing or writing guiding (e. g. The White Book in Kompas), which is also arranged in such a way based on the target market readers. Monitoring every single published news that circulates is obviously very difficult to do for the Indonesian Press Council and the Alliance of Independent Journalists because there are so many editorial news offices, especially online media offices; and every media office or editorial news can produce many story lines and news every single day. These difficulties in monitoring system are also become another obstacle in tackling the social wrong exists.

Thus, as the final summary, there are several obstacles in tackling the social wrong: (1) the existence of the political interests within the media (both personal or editorial), (2) the need for sponsorship in using the media, (3) the difficulties in monitoring the news publication and circulation (by the Press Council, as well as the Alliance of Independent Journalists).

The Place of Social Wrong

The similar ideology shared by TJP, and IO is eradicating corruption in Indonesia. Thus, both editorial news actually mainly aims to get support from society in eradicating corruption in Indonesia. Therefore, the social wrong that appears, namely the politicization of the media is not needed, because it makes the media no longer neutral as it is politically polarized. Evidence for attitude polarization—individuals changing their issue positions, ideological convictions, or partisan sentiments to produce less centrist, more sharply opposed aggregate distributions of the most politically relevant attitudes (Prior, 2013). Moreover, there are parties and phenomena that are silenced, in both mass media. In *The Jakarta Post*, the absence is related to the KPK's failures. In *Independent Observer*, the absence is related to the clarity of the Supervisory Councils and KPK's leaders' status regarding to the position of the highest investigator and public prosecutor. The presence of silenced parties/phenomena shows that the media are no longer transparent, some are covered up and do not match the facts, which means they have violated journalistic principles and deviated from the main function of the media. That way, the politicization of the media is not necessary.

With this evidence, the media are greatly deviating from its function as it provokes the community excessively, siding with a certain party without prioritizing to explain the facts. According to Campante & Hojman (2013) the media may affect citizens' political motivation (motivation effect) and change the ideological composition (ideology effect). As cited in Campante & Hojman (2013), polarization is associated with increased levels of political gridlock (Binder, 1999; Jones, 2001), implying much reduced rates of policy innovation and a decreased

ability to adapt to changes in economic, social, or demographic circumstances (McCarty, 2007). Tucker et al. (2018) states that political polarization causes disinformation and misperception among public, means that it makes people more vulnerable to disinformation, and it decreases the quality of policymaking in democracies, as well as whether it might decrease the overall quality of democracy itself. Those misperception and disinformation have the potential to harm democratic quality and policymaking through political engagement. Those three variables can cause public distrust / doubt / public distrust of the mass media, even to the politic itself. Media has been touted as a way of increasing political participation, but it is equally possible that in an era of hyper partisanship, experiences on social media could also drive people away from politics. Similarly, it might be the case that polarization itself makes politics less attractive for people (Tucker et al., 2018), although there are many political and financial scandals outside media polarization that have all dented public confidence in traditional political institutions (Neudert & Marchal, 2019). However, such concerns are not limited to the developed democracies: polarization in developing countries is often linked to social and political unrest, with implications for economic development (e.g. Huntington, 1968; Keefer and Knack, 2002; Montalvo and Reynal-Querol, 2005; Esteban and Ray, 2011, as mentioned in Neudert & Marchal, 2019).

To sum up, as the main problem or the social wrong found in both articles is about politicization of the media, the previous explanation shows that the social wrong actually does not constitute the social order in Indonesia and do necessarily need a change.

The Possible Ways to Past the Obstacles

As a bridge between the government and the common people, mass media should be able to provide other point of views without being polarized, move from negative to positive critique in identifying the issues. It also should be able to educate the readers about the issues, related to the basic knowledge, terminologies and the concepts of the issues raised, -in this case, corruption issues.

Further, since the mass media like The Jakarta Post and Independent Observer holds the legitimization to conduct news and to share information both nationally and internationally, it has a big role to construct the perception through the language. The interaction between supporting and opposing the issues raised in both articles can be properly represented by the mass media without being politically polarized. The main issue is actually about anti-corruption movement, as it is the similar ideology shared by TJP and IO. Thus, it needs more proportions views from neutral groups which represent the anti-corruption movements. Involving proportions views from neutral groups which represent the anti-corruption movements in news texts can make the articles more neutral and not politically polarized, but still put forward the main ideology brought eradicating corruption in Indonesia.

The second solution that can be offered is enhancing the news publication system related to monitoring the published and circulated news in Indonesia. In this case, it should be done by Indonesian Press Council and the Alliance of Independent Journalists. By that, the media that have been already verified do not stop at the verification stage but are more accountable after the media has been verified. For example, more monitoring from Indonesian Press Council and the Alliance of Independent Journalists on verified media, so that the news published or circulated is more verified in quality. Therefore, the politically polarization in media can be minimized.

Next, let's move on to the spotlight institution of anti-corruption movements: the KPK. KPK itself is not a super body with powerful authority since it also has internal issues that must be solved. The initiative of the supervisory institution over KPK should be able to bring justice so that the possibility of corruptor inversion in the body of governments would be eliminated. Thus, the selection of the Supervisory Council must involve the common people/the society. The term of democracy should be defined clearly within the contexts. Because the main ideology brought by the TJP and IO is about eradicating corruption, the context they bring should always be on the side of the people.

Instead of vilifying the government as an individual, it would be better for the mass media to provide constructive criticism for the government and cover both pro and contra. For instance, if it is seen that the Supervisory Council's function towards the KPK is unclear, transparency should be done in the selection of candidates for Supervisory Council members.

Besides, in the process of selecting new KPK's candidates, it is also important to make sure its transparency in the KPK working system. It happens due to the fact that KPK is an organization that is expected to reveal the corruption cases in Indonesia. It means KPK should be a neutral organization. As a neutral organization, it requires them to be more transparent to public. It happens due to the fact that the citizens are hoping KPK to be a trusted organization. By being transparent in the selection process and policy making process, it will make citizens including the journalists will get a clearer understanding about what is going on inside the organization. Therefore, enhancing the internal quality of the KPK itself is a way to solve the social wrong.

The politicization of the media commonly occurs in the mainstream media (e.g., TJP, Kompas, etc.). One of the solutions that can be done is establishing an alternative media, so that the community is not polarized on one mainstream media which may have been ridden by certain political interests of certain politicians. Unfortunately, this solution is not permanent. Why? Because basically the media is the most appropriate tools to gain power in politic, to spread political ideas/interests. The emergence of an alternative media also could not guarantee that the information provided will be balanced regarding political understanding. In the end, whether due to demands or the target market, alternative media can also be used for political campaigns that can make common people easy to believe in certain idea because they do not know who the people behind these alternative media are and what kind of interests they are pursuing.

In fact, digitalization of media can ease and facilitate the establishment of an alternative media. However, the initial presence/emergence of an alternative media often only provides temporary relief for

people who are already bored with the former media that have been clearly politically polarized. Over time, these new alternative media can also suffer the same fate as other former media that have been politically polarized because of many possible factors. At the end, it depends on the value that is brought by the alternative media itself.

The main thing is, as long as there are political interests, political tools (including the media) will definitely be used by certain parties or persons who have certain political aims. The existence and role of Indonesian Press Council may indeed be more towards regulating the press's code of ethics and matters of the journalistic principles; however, looking at the first function of Indonesian Press Council which says, 'protecting press freedom from interference from other parties', raises a question; is it actually allowed for journalists to have sides? Because it will be unbalanced, when journalists' press freedom is protected and guaranteed by the Press Council, but there is no further action from the Press Council towards the verified media so that we as the readers are not protected from biased political information conveyed by the journalist.

Is it actually allowed for journalists to have sides? Ideally, the question can be easily answered by; NO - it is not allowed for journalist to take side. It refers to the journalistic code of ethics that has been agreed upon and has been published by the Indonesian Press Council. News writing must cover both sides, so that both pros and cons must be shown; but back again to the fact that journalists work for the media, which of course is again driven by the interests of the media owner. The fact that journalists are working for the media that has its own ideology, sponsorship demands and/or target market readers, it seems impossible for journalist to be 100% neutral. According to the researchers, journalists are actually allowed to take side, or to have partiality, as long as they are taking sides on the oppressed parties. In this case, the oppressed party is the people. When in fact, in democracy we know that people actually have to take side, as at the end there must be elections which upholds freedom of choice to determine which political figures will lead. This shows that actually democracy itself requires people to

take sides. Thus, if indeed journalists have to side with the people, then, which part of society, journalists should take a side?

Therefore, the emerge of an alternative media is only a temporary solution, considering that over time alternative media may change. Worse, it will also suffer the same fate as other media that have been ridden by certain political aims. However, it may or may not happen, depending on the value brought by the media.

In order to solve (or at least, minimize) the problem, it is not only about the organization that is being criticized and about the media who are being the critics, but also it is about the readers of the articles. At the end, they get the effect from both the articles and the organization. Hence, in order to minimize this problem, citizens, as the readers, must also enhance themselves with some understandings that news articles contain many click-baits to attract the viewers. Moreover, they can read the same articles from different sources. It enables them to see different way of writings. In short, it would be better for people to read any information from several sources. This will allow people to see certain idea more objectively. Do not let the low literacy make it easy for people to be provoked, especially regarding political alignments.

To sum up, there are four solutions offered by the researchers in tackling the obstacles, they are: (1) involving more proportions views from neutral groups which represent the anti-corruption movements; (2) enhancing the news publication system related to monitoring by the Indonesian Press Council and the Alliance of Independent Journalists, (3) enhancing the internal quality of the KPK itself (related to public transparency); (4) establish alternative media; and (5) improve public literacy.

CONCLUSION

As mentioned before, the aims of this research is to look for and to compare the the social wrongs and ideologies brought by the writers from the chosen texts by using four steps of Bhaskar explanatory critiques presented by Fairclough (Fairclough, 2013; Meyer & Wodak, 2009).

As for the conclusions, the article produced by *The Jakarta Post*, as a verified news editorial by the Indonesian Press Council, apparently seem to share more negative attitudes compared to *Independent Observer* which was not verified yet. TJP article has a greater range of percentage differences compared to IO article related to the authors' positive and negative attitudes, as the TJP writer's attitude are more negative and likely taking side too much to corner Jokowi, the new KPK, the new KPK law and the Supervisory Agency existence; and spreading distrust towards those parties. Meanwhile, the IO writer tries to be the neutral party by balancing his positive and negative attitudes in the article; and does not only blindly disagree, complain or protest the new KPK law, but also criticize and stress other possibilities the reasons behind the new rules, like questioning how the old KPK has gone so far, what has happened that has led to consideration and urgency to establish a Supervisory Agency. By thus, for the first stage, from this appraisal analysis of the writers' attitudes, the researchers reveal one social wrong from the texts: politicization of the media, as the media is politically polarized which can be seen from the writers' attitudes in the articles.

By using Gee's Seven Building Tasks of Language, as it is analyzed from their significances, activities, identities, relationship, connections, politics, and sign system & knowledge, it can be concluded that TJP and IO shares different ideologies. The ideologies shared by TJP: (1) *the government unwillingness in eradicating corruption by establishing the new KPK law and Supervisory Agency* and (2) *the limitation of KPK's authority after The New Law*. Meanwhile, the ideologies shared by IO are: (1) *the old KPK has internal issues that are needed to be upgraded and Instead of weakening KPK*, and (2) *the new KPK law is able to upgrade and improve KPK*. However, they both also share similar ideology too, namely *the importance of eradicating corruptions in Indonesia*. Departing from the different ideologies shared by TJP and IO, which exist because of the political interests of the media themselves, several obstacles are found in overcoming the social wrongs emerged, namely (1) *the existence of the*

political interests within the media (both personal or editorial), (2) *the need for sponsorship in using the media*, (3) *the difficulties in monitoring the news publication and circulation (by the Press Council, as well as the Alliance of Journalists)*. The third stage considers whether the social order needs the problems/the social wrong. As politicization of media has a bad effect on public trust and the quality of democracy, therefore, the finding performs that media politicization actually does not constitute the social order in Indonesia and do necessarily need a change.

In order to solve the problem, there are four solutions offered by the researchers in tackling the obstacles, they are: (1) *involving more proportions views from neutral groups which represent the anti-corruption movements*; (2) *enhancing the news publication system related to monitoring by the Indonesian Press Council and the Alliance of Independent Journalists*, (3) *enhancing the internal quality of the KPK itself (related to public transparency)*; (4) *establish alternative media*; and (5) *improve public literacy*. Further, the media should not polarize the news since media functions as the bridge between the government and public. Besides, in order to minimize the problem, the readers should not only rely on one single source when they read news articles about the government.

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