

# The Face of Law Supremacy: A Media Content Analysis on Artalyta's Luxurious Prison Case on The Jakarta Globe Newspaper

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## Abstract

This research looks at the portrayal of the Indonesian government, particularly the law enforcement institution that was responsible for the luxurious prison case of Artalyta and some other wealthy inmates. This issue came to surface when a sudden inspection was conducted by a newly established Judicial Mafia Eradication Task Force on Sunday, 10 January 2010 at Pondok Bambu Penitentiary. The discovery of the inspection was actually no big sudden as it has become a public secret. However, it still disgraced the image of the government since the media blew this issue up and eventually gained public's attention. This research used a quantitative media content analysis method. This method used numbers as the basis of data interpretation and elaboration to the relevant theories. Precisely 53% of the total articles written contained unfavorable impressions of the Indonesian government. Government's dishonest and corrupt were impressions appeared in the news. Nonetheless, some articles appeared favorable toward the Ministry of Justice and Human Rights as a result of strict action taken against corrupted officials.

## Introduction

Life in a jail has always been projected as a nightmare by common people and mass media. The smell, the dirt and even the room-mates are always told to be awful. The jail even might represent the image of the world hell. However, on January 2010, the mass media reported shocking news about a tycoon's life in prison. In contrary to the old belief about living in a jail, a tycoon is able to transform a filthy cage into a palace. As a wizard flicks his wand to transform something, the tycoon can do the same thing by swishing his money to the officers in the prison. Thus they can turn the jail into their second castle. This ironic fact was revealed when the Judicial Mafia Eradication Task Force (*Satuan Tugas Pemberantasan Mafia Hukum*) conducted a

sudden inspection to a women's penitentiary in Pondok Bambu, East Jakarta.

The task force discovered Artalyta, the convict of the bribery to Urip Tri Gunawan case, the prosecutor of BLBI case for *BDNI (Bank Dagang Negara Indonesia)*, was on her facial treatment with a private dermatologist. But apparently Artalyta was not the only convict that received the special privileges in the penitentiary. There were Liem Marita (also known as Aling), Darmawati Dareho, Ines Wulandari, Eri Fuad and Lidya Pratiwi. Four of the six special-privileged convicts were related to graft and bribery cases, which mean they were the Corruption Eradication Commission's (*KPK*) patients.

The newly unveiled truth eventually led to another discovery of aberration conducted by the wardens of penitentiaries. The media even investigated and reported more on the "transactions" conducted under the penitentiary's roof.

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The media even aggressively exposed the ‘public secrets’ which often happen in Indonesia’s penitentiaries such as: when a convict gets a visitor, the guest will have to ‘pay’ some amount of money to the wardens and officers inside the penitentiaries. There are even more fees when the guest and the convict want to have a private meeting.

The most disturbing fact is that the wealthy and powerful can enjoy special privileges and treatments in radical contrast to the average inmates (*The Jakarta Globe* online, 15/01/2010). They can enjoy a luxury life even inside the jail. When the common convicts (such as a thief) have to be crammed inside a 2mx2.5m to 3mx4m cell, the wealthy convict like Artalyta dwelled in an 8mx8m private room with luxurious facilities. The Artalyta’s luxurious-cell case had disgraced the credibility of the Pondok Bambu chief warden, Sarju Wibowo, and resulted to the suspension of the chief warden.

This sudden inspection was actually started by an investigation team of *Tempo Interaktif* media. They previously did the preliminary investigation, visit and interview with Artalyta at her cell. However, what they saw on the scheduled interview day was different from what they had seen previously in the investigation. They found Artalyta had arranged her private luxurious cell to be a workshop room for the inmates before the journalists from *Tempo* came for the interview. Thus, before the publication day of the investigation report, *Tempo* advertised its special edition and eventually attracted the Judicial Mafia Eradication Task Force. The Task Force immediately contacted the press from various media and assembled them for the sudden inspection. “We were afraid that the penitentiary officers would re-arrange their cells after the investigation report published”, said Denny Indrayana, the secretary of the Task Force (*Tempointeraktif.com*, 11/01/2010). The discovery of this inconvenient truth would not have been this shocking without the interference of the media in the sudden inspection with the Judicial Mafia Eradication Task Force. However, most of the Indonesian people might have known about the issue about justice, in Indonesia, that

can be bought with money. This fact is like a slap on the face especially for a law enforcement institution under a president authority.

The Jakarta Globe is an English newspaper, published in Indonesia, especially Jakarta. This paper is commonly read by foreigners who reside in Jakarta. Since the circulation is mostly around Jakarta’s business area, the researcher assumed that it is also mostly read by foreigner business people in Jakarta. Thus what the paper says about one issue might grab their attention and affect the readers’ point of view, especially how the foreigners see the credibility of the Indonesian government. Through the content of the news, people can judge whether the government is strict about the regulation or on the contrary, can easily be bought with money. Then it might determine the foreigners’ attitude towards Indonesian law and regulations. The research problems of this research are: How is the image of the Indonesian government projected by The Jakarta Globe? And what attributes are used by The Jakarta Globe in describing the governmental institutions related to this case?

## Conceptual Framework

### *Government and Politics*

Every group or organization needs a leader to unite, drive and coordinate the group members to achieve their mutual goals. Without a leader, the members will not be united and work together as one to achieve their mutual purpose. They will work as individuals to achieve their individual goals and might also compete against each other. Thus when a nation decides to build its country, they must choose a leader, to whom they can trust the future of their country. A leader to whom people pay respect and look up to be a role model.

Literally, the word ‘government’ means a person who drives the ship or sees forward (the future). Then, ‘govern’ means looking forward, deciding policies in order to achieve society-national goals, estimating the national development in the future, organizing and directing the society to the determined goals” (Nurtjahjo, 2005, p.4). According to the above definition and explanation, the researcher conducted a re-

search about the 'government image' which covers the President; the House of Representative; government's law and justice enforcement institutions that established by the national constitutions (Ministry of Justice and Human Rights, Corruption Eradication Commission, the Directorate General of Penitentiary and the officials) or by the President's mandate (the Judicial Mafia Eradication Task Force); the government's activities, actions or efforts in order to accomplish its duties in enforcing the law and justice towards the 'luxurious prison case'.

#### *Indonesian Law Enforcement Institutions* Attorney General

"Attorney general is a functional government that is given the authority to act as a general prosecutor and executor of the final sentence. The attorney general who acts as the prosecutor has to be independent and uninfluenced by another party. He or she must not be under influence of government officials. The attorney general, as the law enforcer, must uphold the law supremacy; protect the public interest and human rights, and eradicate corruption, graft, and nepotism" (Hartanti, 2005, p. 32).

An attorney, as the prosecutor in a criminal case, must know every activity that has to be conducted by the investigators, from the beginning to the end, all must be done based on constitution. The prosecutor will be responsible for all treatments to the convict, from the preliminary investigation to the session of the court, until the imprisonment period.

#### Investigator

"The investigator is the police officer or certain civil official whom is given a special authority by the constitutions to conduct an investigation. The investigation itself is a series of investigator activity, in constitutional procedures, in order to find and collect evidence to reveal a criminal case and find the suspect. In Indonesia, the institution that acts as the investigator is Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia, also known as POLRI (Hartanti, 2005, p. 38).

#### Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK)

In order to realize the law supremacy in Indonesia, the government has put a strong fundament of policy to fight against corruption. All policies are included in the constitutions. Thus, the Corruption Eradication Commission or Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi (KPK) was established based on Undang-Undang no. 30/2002 Tentang Komisi Pemberantasan Tindak Pidana Korupsi. KPK has the authority to conduct the investigation, prosecution, coordination and supervision with other law enforcement institutions. The formation of the organizational structure, working procedures and authority of each member are regulated by the constitution. The vision of the KPK is to become an institution that is capable to realize Indonesia as a corruption free country. In order to achieve that vision, the mission of the KPK is to lead the changes that can eventually bring Indonesia out of corruption.

#### *Imprisonment*

Prison is a specially-built place for the convicts to do their punishment during a detention period according to the verdict. Prison consists of cage-like cells that limit the inmates from communicating with each other. This way, the convicts are isolated from society, thus they are expected to regret their own mistakes and prevent themselves to do more crimes in the future. However, lately the prisons are considered to give psychologically negative impacts towards the prisoners, so that the Indonesian government changed the main idea of the prison into a penitentiary.

What is the objective of penitentiary? Basically a penitentiary period is a preparation time before the convicts return to the society. "In a penitentiary, the convicts are put together into workshops, social and spiritual development activities inside the penitentiary with certain schedules. From the punishment period and activities in the penitentiary, the government expects the convicts to return to the society with better behavior and ability to get a proper employment. The imprisonment periods are various from one day to a life time, according to how significant

the crime that they have done and the verdict of the judge” (Djamali, 2006, p. 189).

Having seen the above explanation, the researcher can infer that: when a convict lose their rights to be employed at any company, then they are also not allowed to run their own business inside the penitentiary; if a convict lose their rights to be in a marriage bond or rights to get married, then they are also not allowed to get any conjugal visits nor get intimate; when a convict lose their rights to obtain certain permissions, this should include the rights to enter and exit the penitentiary without any guards.

### *Political Communication*

Practically, the main actor in political communication is the government, especially the executive institution (the president and his/her assistants: vice president and board of ministry, who govern the country). Communication itself is a part of governance management. There are four functions of the management: planning, organizing, leading and controlling. Communication is the attached instrument to all functions of the management. A good result will be obtained when the right decision is taken. The person who makes the decision is the leader (Nimmo, 1999, p. 32).

The government is responsible not only in making the right decision, but also in communicating the decision towards the society. When communicating with the society, the government cannot do an interpersonal communication. Otherwise, it has to do a mass communication through mass media since it is objected to heterogeneous people in widespread area. Through mass media, it is possible for the government to reach its target audience.

Corruption is a depraved action that can affect many aspects of life in the society. It does not only deprive other people’s rights but also threaten social welfare. In the Artalyta’s sudden inspection case, the corruption took place in the prison. The officers in the penitentiary might have taken the bribe so they gave a special treatment towards Artalyta and some other convicts in the penitentiary.

### *Image*

Frank Jefkins (1998, p. 13) classifies image into five categories:

1. The Mirror image: This image is the one people in an organization, especially its leaders, believe to be the impression outsiders have of the organization.
2. The current image: This is what is actually held by people outside the organization and it may be based on experience or on poor information and understanding. This image is usually a negative one, because public opinions are full of prejudice, hostility, apathy and ignorance. The current image depends on how much or how little people know, thus their knowledge will be less perfect than those people within the organization. The mirror and current image can be very different.
3. The wish image: This is the desired image, the one management wish to achieve.
4. The corporate image: The image of the organization, not of the products or services.
5. The multiple images: A number of individuals, branches or other representations can each create a particular image for the total organization.

This research will talk about the current image of the government, especially those related to the law enforcement. After the sudden inspection, the Indonesian law enforcement institutions of course, have to deal with public outrage on their unfair treatment towards inmates at the penitentiary. They might have lost their credibility and degraded their reputation as law enforcers. Hence, it is a big duty for the government’s public relations to shape the current image to be the best representation of the organization. Before doing so, it is sure necessary to figure out what people think about the Indonesian government, because it is important that people’s impression about the government is correct. The image is an impression received by public; it can be created intentionally in order to be liked or disliked by the public.

### *Political Image*

Regarding an old belief that people often judge a book by its cover, the impression of a politician could determine whether people could build trust on that person. If the image of the

government is not well established, people might not believe in its capability in doing such a great task. If a negative image is already drawn in people's minds, they will always hesitate and disagree to whatever the government decides and sets as policies. Thus the public could become very disobedient to the law and the government.

In the modern political democracy, image is reality. Communication is the most effective tool in establishing and destructing someone's image. Any publicity about former Indonesian government had a big impact on their political career (Dwidjowijoto, 2004, p. 60). In *Popular Images of Politics*, written by D. Nimmo (1999, p. 27), "creating a political imagery is mentioned to be the most crucial thing for a politician. When a political imagery is well-established, then the social trust will be founded." This is very important for the government in order to accomplish its duties effectively.

Therefore in conducting governmental actions, it is important to give attention to some points (Dwidjowijoto, 2004, p. 62):

1. The image will determine the outcome in political actions, more than the reality itself.
2. Communication is the core aspect of creation of an image.
3. In the creation of image process, mass media has the most significant role.
4. "News" as the core of mass communication media is full of misleading illusion.
5. The particular reality is shaped from the illusion games played by the politicians, journalists (and editors) and on behalf of the media business itself.
6. In the future, the government's role in the battle of image on media will be seen more distinctly; therefore the media management will have to be the main issue in the government's management.

Since mass media play the most significant role in building an image, it is essential for a politician, especially the government, to check and analyze publicities on mass media. By looking at what the media write and publish, it is easy to figure out the public opinion about certain subject. The existence of mass media, can either strengthen or destruct the reputation of a politician. A politician can speak his or her ideas

through mass media, or the mass media can write about bad attitude or dark past of a politician. Therefore, a politician should really build strong relationships with mass media so that hopefully they will not write too many bad stories about him or her.

### Agenda Setting Theory

This theory was invented by McComb and Donald L. Shaw in around 1968. They believe that the mass media have the ability to transfer the salience of items on their news agendas to the public agenda (Griffin, 1997, p. 376). This theory has been developed by conducting researches to prove the hypothesis of the theory, and the results have proven that the articles in the media have indeed become determining variables that influence the talk of the people.

There are broad-scope and narrow-scope definitions of agenda setting theory (Miller, 2005, p. 270). "The broad-scope definition of agenda setting involves the consideration of three related agendas: the media agenda, the public agenda, and the policy agenda." Each agenda consists of topics that are considered important:

1. The media agenda: the set of topics addressed by media sources (newspapers, radio, television).
2. The public agenda: the set of topics that members of the public believe is important.
3. The policy agenda: represents issues that decision makers (legislators, government) believe are particularly salient.

Each of these three agendas can be seen as dependent variable in a causal equation. The media agenda can affect the public agenda then the public agenda brings impact to the policy. The narrow-scope definition of agenda setting, stated by Zhu & blood, is "the process whereby the news media lead the public in assigning relative importance to various public issues" (Miller, 2005, p. 271). In conclusion, agenda setting of the media takes a significant role in building its public agenda. Stanley J. Baran even mentioned that this especially occurs in political communication through printed media. The previous studies and research of agenda setting have proven the agenda setting of the printed media impact towards its public agenda (2009, p. 188).

At the second level, agenda settings do not only suggest people what to think about, but also influence how people should think about the issue. This is where the framing concept takes the role. In the context of agenda setting, framing is a process through which the media emphasize some aspects of reality and downplay other aspects (Miller, 2005, p. 275). This is the reason why one similar event can be narrated in different ways and presented in positive, negative or neutral tone. According to Winter and Eyal, the strongest correlation between the media agenda and the public agenda occurs between the fourth to sixth week. In addition, Stone and McCombs stated that it takes 2 to 6 months for the media agenda to result the intended public

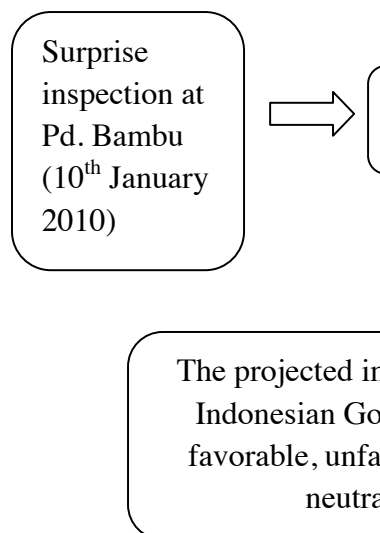
come according to the data found and relevant theories.

### Hypothesis of research

In relevance to the background case of the research, and the theories of communications, a hypothesis can be pulled out as:  $H_0$ : the major tone of the sentences/quotation related to the government institutions is neutral.  $H_1$ : the major tone of the sentences/quotation of the government institutions is either favorable or unfavorable.

### Research Framework

#### Research Methodology



agenda (Gerbner *et al.*, 1969, p. 47). However, since the first report on the sudden inspection was on 12<sup>th</sup> January 2010, and the researcher could not find any more news reports relevant to the analysed case after 27 January 2010, so the research period would be from 12<sup>th</sup> January (one day after the sudden inspection) to 27<sup>th</sup> January 2010.

Through content analysis, the researcher expected to find the actual numbers that indicate the image of the Indonesian government related to this case. The analysis was also related to the quantitative numbers to the theories of communications and Indonesian law in order to seek for a proof to the theories and explain the out-

This research was conducted by analysing the articles published in *The Jakarta Globe* newspaper from 12-27 January 2010, since the publications of the relevant issue were published within this period. Content analysis is one of the most common research methodologies used when dealing with the media. Straubhaar and LaRose explained that content analysis quantifies the content of the media. Researchers begin with systematic samples of media content and apply objective definitions to classify its words, images, and themes (2004, p. 366).

Regarding the fact that every organization has to build a good relationship with its customers or common people, they also need to create a good image through a mass commu-

nication process. Here the mass media play a big role as a third party, which has influence to alter people's minds. Thus the media content analysis is required to evaluate what message do the media send to the audience. By evaluating and analysing the message communicated, a certain public opinion can be figured out.

### *Analysis Unit*

The analysis unit is the research object that is taken as a sample that will be analyzed. The analysis unit in this research therefore would be the articles about the Indonesian government related to the sudden inspection at Pondok Bambu Penitentiary on January 10<sup>th</sup> 2010, and the luxury privileges given to wealthy inmates of the penitentiary.

The researcher used 2 sorts of unit in this content analysis:

1. Physical unit: The measurement is based on the sentence or quotation (in favorable/neutral/unfavorable tone, which will be interpreted by the verbs, adverbs and adjectives used in the paragraph), the length of the sentence (in line) and the positioning of the article (front page, back page or inside page).
2. Referential unit: Series of paragraph which indicate certain meaning fits to a category. There are 3 types of categories: the sudden inspection report, the governmental institutions related to the law enforcement and the actions taken to eradicate the judicial mafia.

### *Evaluation Criteria of Research*

The primary data was used as the object of the research, since all the analysed data came from the newspaper, in the form of visual and textual elements. The secondary data was used as the basic theories of the research. These theories were the basis of the measurement and determination during data collection. In this research, the content validity was used. The content validity requires the measure to represent the conceptual definitions (Neuman, 2006, p. 193). The concept of the government, particularly the law enforcement institutions, has been defined. Then the categories of the data sampling were defined in 'Method of Data Analy-

sis'. The researcher will use particular variables to measure the unit analysis. The variables used are based on the relevant theories written in part before. Content analysis has to be conducted objectively. It means there should be a very minimum different interpretation between coders. The measurement instruments applied to observations must be highly consistent over time, place and circumstance. Therefore, the researcher has to define the concepts of each tone. The concept will be defined later on based on the theories of the government, law and agenda setting.

The inter coder for this research was Allen Onu-Njoku, one of foreign lecturers at STIKOM London School of Public Relations Jakarta. He has a deep interest in governance matter and lectures the communication theory subject, therefore the researcher believed that he would be suitable to be the inter coder for this research. The researcher used the Holsti's formula to test the reliability of the measurement used in data coding (Eriyanto, 2006, p. 50). The formula is as followed:

$$\text{Inter coder reliability} = \frac{2M}{(N1 + N2)}$$

M represents similar sentences with similar tone (agreed by both coders), N1 is the total coding made by the first coder (the researcher) and N2 is the total coding made by the second coder. The result will be presented in percentage. If all the coding result made by the researcher is similar to the second coder, so the reliability value is 100%. The higher the percentage, the more reliable the measurement is. "In order to be considered as a reliable measurement, the minimum percentage of the reliability test is 70%" (Eriyanto, 2006: 49).

### *Sampling*

This research used the content analysis method with quantitative approach. The documents to be analysed are *The Jakarta Globe* and *The Jakarta Post* printed papers during 12<sup>th</sup> January 2010 to January 27<sup>th</sup> period. This period of time is determined since the news about the sudden inspection and the reformation of the penitentiary's official were also published during this period, there was no more news related to this issue after January 2010. So, the variables

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measured in this research are: the length of the article (in line); the quoted or cited statements from government officials, experts and other influencing parties and all the sentences in the article which represent favorable, unfavorable or neutral tone. In the way of presenting the issue, researcher will also count the number of names or institution (that is related to the governmental institution) and major tones of presenting their performance. Through this analysis method, we can find out which person or institution has a good image through the publication and which one is not and how the major tone of the news related to who is behind *The Jakarta Globe* newspaper.

The articles to be analysed should be in one of these categories:

1. Sudden inspection report: Report articles related to the 10<sup>th</sup> January 2010 sudden inspection at Pondok Bambu Penitentiary.
2. Governmental institutions related to justice and law enforcement: The Judicial Mafia Eradication Task Force, Directorate-General of Penitentiaries, Ministry of Law and Human Rights. Actions taken by the government to recover the credibility of the justice and law enforcement institutions in Indonesia: Efforts to eradicate the infringements conducted by the judicial mafia and plans on improvement and expansion of the penitentiaries.

After all the variables counted, the researcher will interpret the tone of the articles mostly presented and the governmental institution that is mostly mentioned (in positive/favorable, negative/unfavorable or neutral tone). From the output, the researcher will explain the image of the government as projected by the papers.

#### *Coding protocol*

The following definitions are important in selecting and analyzing the content under study:

1. News Story: A scandal story about the luxurious penitentiary of Artalyta and some other wealthy inmates at Pondok Bambu Penitentiary. The main subject of the story is the government institutions responsible of the penitentiary and its residents. News story is defined as all non-advertising matter in a news product. In a newspaper, this includes all-staff produced news stories

found in the first section (section A), but excludes “International”, “Opinion & Letters” and “My Jakarta” pages. It may include relevant features produced by the staff reporters.

2. The Luxurious Penitentiary Issue: The issue which is started by the discovery of the luxurious penitentiaries and privileges given to certain inmates at Pondok Bambu Penitentiary. The issue involves the government institutions such as the Ministry of Justice, KPK, Directorate General and officials of the Penitentiary, and the Judicial Mafia Eradication Task Force.

3. Source: Source is a person or organization, who gives information to news reporters. An expert source is one who does not take a side but has credible knowledge about law and governance. Sources are explicitly identified when news reporters quote or paraphrase information from them in stories. When a reporter publicly credits an information source, it is called attribution. Such attribution is signaled when a person or an organization’s name is linked in a story sentence with verbs denoting a person speaking such as said, claimed, stated and so forth. Attribution might also be made by verbs denoting a source’s state of mind, such as thinks, feels, wants and so forth. Story information not clearly attributed to a source is assumed to originate from a reporter’s direct observation of actions and events.

4. Procedures :

- a. Story identification
- b. Story day (month and day)
- c. News prominence:

The story locations are coded with these associated numbers: headline = 2; page one = 1; Inside page = 0.

- d. Story origin:

A story can be originated from a news reporter or editor, and other media as cited in “Comment” section of the newspaper. It can be coded with these numbers: from the newspaper’s own reporter/editor = 2; from other media = 1.

- e. Tables

There are two analysis tables per-article, the first table consists of any sentence in the article, while the second table quotes statements



from the officials, experts and other influencing parties.

### **Profile of *The Jakarta Globe***

*The Jakarta Globe* was firstly launched in November 2008. *The Jakarta Globe*'s language and international outlook also gives it a high-level of visibility to residents' expatriates and visitors from overseas, and the attendant deep well of spending power. *The Jakarta Globe* aims to appeal to everyone, from teenagers to the long-retired. That is why they present news and feature pages everyday that inform and update the readers about issues that are relevant to all their lives, from education, law and society, to spirituality, health and the environment. As leisure time is when urban people spend time to socialize, *The Jakarta Globe* also provides information on entertainment, arts, sports and travel in order to fulfil urban people's needs for lifestyle. Whatever the readers need, they can just turn to the paper or website to help them plan trips, learn activities, search for bargains, tickets and so on. *The Jakarta Globe* present news and tips, leisure and travel features, as well as entertainment reviews.

Considering the price and the language used by *The Jakarta Globe*, it certainly has a specific target audience. "*The Jakarta Globe*'s readers are located around Indonesia, divided in the following percentage: Indonesians (59%), visitors (22%) and Expatriates (19%). The primary readers of *The Jakarta Globe* are: 60% are male; 53% live in households with monthly income of IDR 4.5 million or more; 24% are aged 15-24, 39% are 25-34 and 37% are above 35 years old; 52% are white-collar workers, 19% are students and 7% are entrepreneurs; 88% have bank account, 69% use the internet, 98% have a mobile phone and 41% have a car" (*The Jakarta Globe* Media Kit, 2010: 14).

There are several reasons why *The Jakarta Globe* uses English as its medium language; despite the fact it is published in Indonesia. "There were 75,000 foreign workers in Indonesia in 2007. From this figure, there are about 15 nationalities represented with a majority, in particular those from Australia, the United States,

India, Britain and Malaysia, displaying a high degree of English fluency. About 65% are located in and around Jakarta. After including workers' family members but considering only those comfortable reading in English, the number of potential English-language newspaper readers reaches 80,000" (*The Jakarta Globe* Media Kit, 2010, p. 15).

"In 2007, Indonesia hosted 5.5 million visitors who stayed an average of nine days each, according to Ministry of Culture and Tourism figures. This length was affected by short-break visitors from Malaysia and Singapore entering Sumatra and staying an average of just four days; by contrast, long-haul visitors from Australia, Europe and North America stay for an average of more than two weeks. Almost a quarter of visitors arrive in Indonesia through Jakarta, and just over a quarter come to Bali. The potential to reach English-literate readers among this number is huge: averaged over a year (total annual visitor days divided by 365), it reaches a daily figure as high as 87,000" (*The Jakarta Globe* Media Kit, 2010, p. 15). *The Jakarta Globe* is a newspaper standing under the umbrella of Globe Media Group. The group also owns several other mass media such as: Suara Pembaruan, Campus Asia, Globe Asia and Investor Daily. Two of the media, Globe Asia and Campus Asia, use English as the medium language while the others use bahasa Indonesia.

*The Jakarta Globe* is a paper for Indonesia, with long-term plans to extend circulation to cities with large Indonesians population, starting to launch in Singapore. English-speaking readers are concentrated in Indonesia's urban and resort industry areas, and *The Jakarta Globe* is continuing to publish in: Jakarta, Bandung, Surabaya, Bali, Pekanbaru, Medan, Balikpapan and surrounded areas.

### **Presentation and Interpretation of data**

#### *Data Analysis: Coding Instructions*

As previously mentioned, there are three (3) tones used in classifying the tones of the message. They are: favorable (positive), unfavorable (negative), and neutral tone. These are instruc-

tions to put the sentence/quotation into the coding tables:

1. A sentence/quotation is considered as favorable (positive) if:

a. It reports, mentions, explains or describes the government's efforts in taking strict actions (enforcing the law) toward the officers of the penitentiary.

b. It reports, mentions, explains or describes the government's actions in enforcing the law toward convicts, without giving any privileges to special or high-profile inmates.

c. It reports, mentions, explains or describes the government's plans on improving current conditions of law enforcement institutions and penitentiaries.

2. A sentence/quotation is considered as unfavorable (negative) if:

c. It describes how there are contrasts in terms of treatments and circumstance between the wealthy and average inmates, such as: the space and the facilities inside the cells.

d. It explains or describes how the officers and the wealthy inmates tried to cover or justify their faults by giving reasons upon the discovery, for example: those special cells have changed after the sudden inspection.

3. A sentence/quotation is considered as neutral if:

a. The sentence has both positive and negative tone aspects.

b. The sentence has neither positive nor negative tone aspects.

#### *Coding Sheets*

In order to count all the sentences and quotations in the articles, the researcher gathered all the sentences and classified them in cod-

#### Table coding sheets summary

a. It reports, mentions, explains or describes the penitentiary's officers' actions against the law, such as: giving special privileges to certain inmates, the corrupt habit of the officers through taking illegal fees from the inmates and their families.

b. It reports or describes the privileges and luxuries enjoyed by certain convicts inside their cells and how this infringement is actually a public secret but there had been no legal handling to solve the problem and punish the officers.

ing tables. The coding tables are divided by sentences and quotations per article. There are eleven articles in *The Jakarta Globe* that relevant to the issue. The following tables are the coding sheet for the first article, "Prison Pamper the Rich", and the rest will be attached at the end of the research.

The coding sheet contains the required data for the research analysis: type of article, day/date, page, title, position of article, length of article, story source, sentence table, source and

attribution table, summaries of favorable, unfavorable and neutral tone, and finally the major tone in the article. The sentence table contains all sentences, other than people's statement, written in the article, while the source and attribution table contains all statements mentioned by a particular party or person. All the sentences and quotations are classified and put into the right tone, based on the instructions given previously. After all the sentences and quotations are classified, the total lines of the sentences in each tone are summarized. This shows the length of the sentences (unit analysis) of each tone. The tone with the lengthiest sentences is considered the major tone in an article. The following page is a sample of the coding table. The other tables will be put at the back as attachments.

#### Inter Coder Reliability Test

There are three articles cross-coded by a second coder. The followings are the articles which have been coded by the second coder:

##### 1. Inter coder agreement test I

Prison Pampers the Rich (Padded Cells: Wealthy Inmates Buy Creature Comforts).

Total number of sentences (units) for each coder ( $N_1 = N_2$ ) = 24 sentences; total number of tones agreed by both coders ( $M$ ) = 14.  
Inter coder reliability =

$$\frac{2(14)}{48} \times 100\% = \frac{28}{48} \times 100\% = 58.34\%$$

##### 2. Inter coder agreement test II

For Rent: Prison Cells, Serviced and Luxuriously Appointed

$N_1 = N_2 = 26$  sentences;  $M = 26$ .

Inter coder reliability =

$$\frac{2(26)}{52} \times 100\% = \frac{52}{52} \times 100\% = 100\%$$

##### 3. Inter coder agreement test III

Artalyta's Days of Luxury Over

$N_1 = N_2 = 7$  sentences;  $M = 7$ .

Inter coder reliability =

$$\frac{2(7)}{14} \times 100\% = \frac{14}{14} \times 100\% = 100\%$$

Based on the coding agreement test, the average reliability is:

$$58\% + 100\% + 100\% = 258\% : 3 = 86\%$$

The minimum percentage of the reliability test, based on Holsti's formula is 70%. Therefore, the data coding measurement from the researcher is considered reliable.

#### Discussion

According to the analyzed articles, the articles published within the first week after the inspection show mostly unfavorable tone (accepted the alternatives hypothesis/ $H_1$ ). From the total length of all analyzed articles, which consist of 1,002 lines, there are 534 lines of unfavorable quotations and sentences. It means, 53% of the total content of the news represents negative image of the government, particularly the officials of penitentiaries in Indonesia. Mostly, the unfavorable sentences mention the corruption inside the penitentiaries, which involves the officers of the penitentiaries and the wealthy inmates. There are 286 lines of sentences and quotations mentioning the dark side of the penitentiaries across Indonesia, and 131 lines particularly talking about the Pondok Bambu Penitentiary's officers including Sarju Wibowo (ex-director of Pondok Bambu). Other government institutions mentioned in negative tones are the House of Representative (26 lines), the Ministry of Justice (and the Minister himself, Patrialis Akbar), the Judicial Mafia Eradication Task Force (21 lines), Mr. President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (15 lines), and the Directorate General of Penitentiaries (14 lines). Based on this statistics, the researcher can see indication of the paper to put responsibility of this issue on the penitentiaries' officials. *The Jakarta Globe* obviously stated that the penitentiary system in Indonesia is such a mess and full of corruption.

From the very beginning, it is found that the stories reported by *The Jakarta Globe* are mostly in unfavorable tone. Thus the negative image of the government is projected through the news stories in the newspaper. The government institution that is mostly mentioned in negative tone is the penitentiaries officers, since they are mostly mentioned giving special privileges to high-profile convicts. This can be seen through these articles: "Prison Pampers the Rich", "For Rent: Prison Cells, Serviced and Luxuriously Ap-

pointed”, “Pondok Bambu Warden Suspended after Luxury Prison Expose”, “Artalyta Wakes up to Prison Reality” and “Extent of Prison Corruption Suddens Task Force”. Here are the points in which the paper projected the negative image of the government.

As previously mentioned, there are some rights that the convicts lose when they are imprisoned, such as: rights to be employed at any company and rights to be in a marriage bond. However, it was mentioned in one of the articles, that Tommy Soeharto enjoyed long conjugal visits in his private cell during his serving time at Nusa Kambangan penitentiary, and so did other inmates who could just pay the guards to get intimate in the toilets. Another privilege was also given to Ricardo Gelael and also Artalyta, who have conducted several business meetings inside their cells. This shows the infringements conducted inside the prisons by the penitentiary officers and those high-profile inmates. It also implies that the officers (one of the law enforcement institutions) do not obey the law.

When someone is imprisoned, he or she is isolated from the society. But it did not seem to happen to certain inmates like Bob Hasan, Abdullah Puteh and Schapelle Corby (the Australian drug smuggler), who reportedly had access to get in and out of their cells anytime. By the articles published by *The Jakarta Globe*, it is obviously seen that they emphasize to the officers of the penitentiaries, who have acted beyond limits of the law, by giving privileges to special convicts who are wealthy. This infringement is associated with corruption since the paper also explained how the bribery rules and procedures inside the penitentiaries. The paper often mentioned that the officers (wardens and guards) could be or have to be bribed with certain amount of money, in order to give permission to the inmates’ families when they want to meet the prisoners. This habit has become rampant in penitentiaries across the country. The corrupt habit is shown through articles “For Rent: Prison Cells, Serviced and Luxuriously Appointed”, which revealed the inner face of the Indonesian penitentiary system and thus disgraced the reputation of the Indonesian government explicitly.

The negative impression of the government got worse when the chief warden of Pondok Bambu Penitentiary, Sarju Wibowo, denied that there were infringements inside the penitentiary. In the article “Prison Pampers the Rich”, Sarju gave some excuses, such as: the karaoke room was dedicated for all inmates and used for karaoke practices, kasidah and Koranic recitals. But the following day, all the karaoke equipments were removed and the room was emptied for the inmates to make handicrafts on the floor. There is an implication that Sarju, Aling and Muryani (an officer in charge of convicts’ activities) only made excuses and lied in order to justify or cover what they have done inside the penitentiary. This also implies that this government institution is filled with dishonest members who are irresponsible for their own mistakes and unreliable.

The negative image of the government is also projected through the description of the luxurious rooms and facilities for certain convicts in contrasts with the cells of average inmates. Through the paragraphs, the paper shows how the officers make different treatments toward ‘high-class’ inmates and ‘low-class’ ones. In fact, those convicts are supposed to have similar rights and duties inside the penitentiary. In the articles, the paper describes how the special cells were designed and furnished. In the other hand, the common cells were in poor condition. Through the descriptions, it implies that the penitentiary, the place where convicts get punishment for their crimes, can be changed into a palace full of service and comfort, as long as the inmates are willing to pay for the “luxury charge”.

The governmental institutions which are often mentioned in negative tone in *The Jakarta Globe* are: the wardens/officers and Sarju Wibowo, the chief officer of the Pondok Bambu penitentiary and the officers of the penitentiaries across the country.

Some statements quoted in the articles represent unfavourable tone. Those statements are mostly made by the officials of the Indonesia Corruption Watch, KPK’s officials, senior lawyer and investigative journalist. They often mentioned how the bribery has been rampant and

often happen inside any prisons all over the country. It has become a public secret for a long time, but no one has taken a strict action against this infringement. The KPK officials also blamed the government (the House of Representatives) for having turned down their proposal to build a special penitentiary for the corruption convicts, by saying this actually happened because the government had not put attention to this matter before it was finally exposed through the media.

Based on the sentences written by the paper's journalists, the unfavourable tone is mostly associated with the officials of the penitentiaries (this includes the director of Pondok Bambu Penitentiary, Sarju Wibowo, his subordinates and some other penitentiaries' officers across Indonesia). Based on the articles analysed by the researcher, the news report mostly concentrated on the negative issues about the penitentiary system and officers. The articles often mentioned about how the wealthy inmates could enjoy special privileges and live a lavish life in jails if only they bribe the guards and prison officials in charge. This obviously shows how the corrupt habit is rampant and the officials are disobedient to the law when it comes to money.

Wim Tangkilisan, the chief editor and president of *The Jakarta Globe* newspaper is one of the President Yudhoyono's supporters. This can be seen through his statement, "But if you are looking for someone who has a track record at wielding soft power for Indonesia and making the country a respected emerging economy, it has to be Yudhoyono", in one of his articles in *The Jakarta Globe* online on last year's June 29. It was published before the presidential election (July 5, 2009), and it clearly showed his support toward the president. Based on this statement in "Which of the Presidential Candidates Gives Indonesia a 'Soft Power' Edge?" article, and the agenda setting theory, *The Jakarta Globe* is supposed to give favourable tone in most sentences, implying that the new government is improving its performance on enforcing the law and eradicating the judicial mafia. *The Jakarta Globe* did quote the statements from the Justice and Human Rights Minister, Patrialis Akbar, mentioning that the government

is struggling to revamp the country's penitentiary system and the mechanism of the new penitentiary regulations for the officers.

As stated before, Wim Tangkilisan, the president of *The Jakarta Globe* is the president Yudhoyono's supporter. However, in one of the quoted statements from the opponent party's official (PDI-P), it mentioned that the president was only trying to distort the public's attention on Century's case. The president was trying to build a positive image through the Judicial Mafia Eradication Task Force and the sudden inspection. The PDI-P official also said that if the president wanted to eradicate the corruption thoroughly and seriously, he was not supposed to only do the sudden inspection in one prison and fail to clean the mess. The official also hesitated the quality of the Task Force's members in accomplishing the given tasks. He also said that the government was only covering its embarrassment on Century's case. This implies that the president only wanted to show that he wasn't doing nothing at the back, watching the corruption going rampant throughout the country, in fact that he was indeed doing nothing effective to eradicate the corruption.

Besides the tone of the sentences in the articles, the researcher also analysed the importance of the issue based on the positioning in the newspaper and the length of articles. From the sampling taken, apparently this issue only made the headline once. That was the first news report right after the inspection took place. After that first report, the issue came out twice at the front page, while the other eight articles were only put on inside page. The major tone of the headline was unfavourable, and the other front page articles' major tones were also unfavourable. The rest of the articles show either favourable or unfavourable tone.

From this evidence, the researcher could conclude that this issue was only considered very important at the very first report on the sudden inspection. Moreover, the title of the headline sounds very negative or unfavourable towards the government's image, "Prison Pampers the Rich (Padded Cells: Wealthy Inmates Buy Creature Comforts)". The title explicitly implies unfair

treatment towards rich inmates and how the privileges inside the prison can be bought, which indirectly means bribery. After the first news report, the articles only came twice on the first pages and the rest were only put on inside pages. It means there were other issues considered more important than the Artalyta's prison issue.

Having seen the result of the research, it could be seen that *The Jakarta Globe* does not really take on one side in making news stories. It is proven through the unfavourable tone of the most sentences mentioning the government on this issue. Regardless the chief editor is a big supporter of the President; the government still get criticized from the media. This is actually a good sign that such a media could be neutral in making news stories.

### Conclusion

From the total of 1,002 lines of articles, there are 532 lines of unfavourable sentences and quotations, or 53% of the total amount of article is written unfavourably. The Indonesian government's image is projected as corrupt and dishonest. Mostly the negative report is about the Pondok Bambu penitentiary officials and other penitentiaries' officers across the country. The newspaper wrote a lot about the mechanism of the bribery inside the penitentiaries and how the rich inmates are treated like kings inside their furnished and luxurious cells, in contrasts to the average inmates.

However, the image of the Ministry of Justice and Human Rights is rather positive, as well as the image of the Minister, Patrialis Akbar. This can be seen through the sentences and quotations that mention how the ministry was trying to revamp the penitentiary system and started to make good on his promise by moving the privileged convicts to Tangerang Penitentiary, where those convicts would no longer enjoy luxuries and privileges in their cells. The Ministry of Justice and Human Rights also terminated the prison director, Sarju Wibowo, and planned to revamp the penitentiary system. The new system is expected to minimize the possibility of the same case to happen again in the future.

From the position of the articles written on the paper, it can be concluded that *The Jakarta Globe* did not consider this issue as the most important issue, except for the first report of the sudden inspection. The articles were mostly located in inside pages. There were 2 articles on the first page and only 1 article made the headline. The rest 8 articles were on inside pages.

The researcher also concluded that in this case, *The Jakarta Globe* did not take on the government's side, although the president and the chief editor of *The Jakarta Globe*, Wim Tangkilisan, is a supporter of our present President, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. In fact, the chief editor has a significant role in setting the media agenda and deciding which news can go public and which cannot, but apparently *The Jakarta Globe* does not make that personal preference rule its news. Still it wrote and published bad news and created bad image of the government.

Also in order to fully comprehend the techniques of quantitative content analysis, it is suggested that other research along the field of quantitative content analysis are conducted in the future. To conduct more research on textual communication articles of the government's performance issue in the future. As communication practitioners in the future, it is essential for students of communication to understand all forms of messages whether it is verbal or non-verbal. From this research using quantitative content analysis approach to analyze the articles and understanding the implicit meanings that are shown through the text and how it can create a certain image of a governmental institution. It is hoped that it can be used as input towards public relations practitioners, political parties, government, advisors, or future government in the future to understand the use of verbal and non-verbal signs that can be used to create a certain image and send positive messages to the audience.

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