



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Between fear and power : Kompas, Indonesia's most influential daily newspaper, 1965-2010

Wijayanto, W.

Citation

Wijayanto, W. (2019, January 17). *Between fear and power : Kompas, Indonesia's most influential daily newspaper, 1965-2010*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/68274>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/68274>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/68274> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Wijayanto, W.

Title: Between fear and power : Kompas, Indonesia's most influential daily newspaper, 1965-2010

Issue Date: 2019-01-17

Bibliography

Reference List

- Alves, R. C. (2005). From lapdog to watchdog: The role of the press in Latin America's democratization (pp. 181-201). In H. De Burgh (Ed.) *Making journalists: Diverse models, global issues*. London: Routledge.
- Anderson, B. (1994). Rewinding "back to the future": The left and constitutional democracy. In D. Bourchier & J. Legge (Eds.) *Democracy in Indonesia: 1950s and 1990s* (pp. 128-142). Australia: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University.
- Andres, N. (2016). *Media-elite interactions in post-authoritarian Indonesia* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Murdoch University, Murdoch.
- Atmakusumah. (2009). *Tuntutan Zaman: Kebebasan Pers dan Eskpresi* [Demand of the Era: Freedom of Press and Expression]. Jakarta: Spasi & VHR Book, Yayasan Tifa.
- Badan Pusat Statistik [Center Statistical Bureau]. (2014). *Indonesia dalam Angka 2014 [Indonesia in Figures]*. Retrieved from <https://www.bps.go.id/statictable/2014/09/09/952/jumlah-pendapatan-menurut-golongan-rumah-tangga-miliar-rupiah-2000-2005-dan-2008.html>. Accessed on 20 July 2015.
- Baker, J. (2013). The Parman Economy: Post-authoritarian shifts in the off-budget economy of Indonesia's security institutions. *Indonesia*, 96(1), 123-150.
- Benavidez, J. L. (2000). Gacetilla: A keyword for a revisionist approach to the political economy of Mexico's print news media. *Media, Culture and Society*, 22(1), 85-104.

Bibliography

- Benson, R. (1998). Field theory in comparative context: A new paradigm for media studies. *Theory and society*, 28(3), 463-498.
- Benson, R. (2005). Mapping field variation: Journalism in France and the United States. In R. Benson & E. Neveu (Eds.), *Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field* (pp. 85-112). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Benson, R., & Neveu, E. (2005). Introduction: field theory as a work in progress. In R. Benson & E. Neveu (Eds.), *Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field* (pp. 1-25). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Benson, R. (2006). News media as a "journalistic field": What Bourdieu adds to new institutionalism, and vice versa. *Political Communication*, 23(2), 187-202.
- Boudana, S. (2016). Impartiality is not fair: Toward an alternative approach to the evaluation of content bias in news stories. *Journalism*, 17(5), 600–618.
- Bourchier, D. (2015). *Illiberal democracy in Indonesia: The ideology of the family state*. New York: Routledge.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a theory of practice*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1998). *On television*. New York: New Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (2005). The political field, the social science field, and the journalistic field. In R. Benson & E. Neveu (Eds.) *Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field* (pp. 29-47). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bustamante, C. G & Relly, J. E. (2014). Journalism in times of violence: Social media use by US and Mexican journalists working in Northern Mexico. *Digital Journalism*, 2(4), 507-523. doi: 10.1080/21670811.2014.882067
- Champagne, P. (2005). "The double dependency": The journalistic field between politics and markets. In R. Benson & E. Neveu (Eds.), *Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field* (pp. 48-63). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Chua, C. (2008). *Chinese big business in Indonesia: The state of capital*. London

Bibliography

- and New York: Routledge.
- Coronel, S. (2010). Corruption and the watchdog role of the news media. In P. Norris (Ed.), *Public sentinel, news media and governance reform* (pp. 111-137). Washington DC: The World Bank.
- Crouch, M. A. (2012). Law and religion in Indonesia: The constitutional court and the Blasphemy Law. *Asian Journal of Comparative Law*, 7(1), Article 3.
- Darras, E. (2005). Media consecration of the political order. In R. Benson & E. Neveu (Eds.), *Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field* (pp. 156-173). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- De Jong, C. A. M. (1990). *Kompas 1965-1985; Een algemene krant met een katholieke achtergrond binnen het religieus pluralisme van Indonesië* [Kompas 1965-1985; A general newspaper with a Catholic background within the religious pluralism of Indonesia]. Kampen: Kok.
- De Burgh, H. (2000). *Investigative journalism: Context and practice*. London: Routledge.
- Deloire, C. & Hugo S. (1996). *Handbook for journalists during elections*. Paris: Reporters Without Borders for Freedom of Information and Organization Internationale de Francophonie.
- Dhakidae, D. (1991). *The State, the rise of capital and the fall of political journalism* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation], Cornell University, NY.
- Djaeng, J. (2013). *Kompas business philosophy: Thoughts and philosophy of two Kompas founders*. Bogor: Buku Litera.
- Duval, J. (2005). Economic journalism in France. In R. Benson & E. Neveu (Eds.) *Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field* (pp. 135-155). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Ferreira, L. (2006). *Centuries of silence: The story of Latin American journalism*. Westport, Conn: Praeger.
- Fromson, M. (1996). Mexico's struggle for a free press. In R. Cole (Ed.) *Communication in Latin America: Journalism, mass media and society*. Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources.

Bibliography

- Geertz, C. (1960). *The Religion of Java*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- George, C. (2012). *Freedom from the press: Journalism and state power in Singapore*. Singapore: NUS Press.
- George, C. (2016). *Hate spin: The manufacture of religious offense and its threat to democracy*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Hallin, D. C. (2005). Field theory, differentiation theory, and comparative media research. In R. Benson & E. Neveu (Eds.) *Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field* (pp. 48-63). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hanitzsch, T. (2005). Journalist in Indonesia: Educated but tamed watchdogs. *Journalism Studies*, 6(4), 493-508.
- Hanitzsch, T. (2006). Mapping journalism culture: A theoretical taxonomy and case studies from Indonesia. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 16(2), 169-186.
- Hanitzsch, T. (2011). Populist disseminators, detached watchdogs, critical change agents and opportunist facilitators: Professional milieus, the journalistic field and autonomy in 18 countries. *International Communication Gazette*, 73(6) 477-494.
- Haryanto, I. (2011). Media ownership and its implications for journalists and journalism in Indonesia. In K. Sen & D. T. Hill (Eds.), *Politics and the media in twenty-first century Indonesia: Decade of Democracy* (pp. 104-118). New York: Routledge.
- Heryanto, A. & Hadiz, V. R. (2005). Post-authoritarian Indonesia. *Critical Asian Studies*, 37(2), 251-275.
- Hesmondhalgh, D. (2006). Bourdieu, the media and cultural production. *Media, Culture & Society*, 28(2), 211-231.
- Hill, D. T. (1994). *The Press in New Order Indonesia*. Perth: University of Western Australia in Association with Asia Research Institute on Social, Political and Economic Change.
- Hill, D. T. (2007). Maneuvers in Manado: Media and politics in regional Indonesia. *South East Asia Research*, 15(1), 5-28.

Bibliography

- Hopmann, N.D Aelts, P.V & Legnante, G. (2011). Political balance in the news: A review of concepts, operationalizations and key findings. *Journalism*, 13(2), 240-257.
- Hsieh, H., & Shannon, S.E. (2005). Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. *Qualitative Health Research*, 15(9), 1277-1288. doi: 10.1177/1049732305276687.
- Hughes, S. & Lawson, C. (2005). The barriers to media opening in Latin America. *Political Communication*, 22(1), 9-25.
- Hughes, S. (2006). *Newsrooms in conflict: journalism and the democratization of Mexico*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh.
- Ida, R. (2011). Reorganization of media power in post-authoritarian Indonesia: Ownership, power and influence of local entrepreneurs. In K. Sen and D. T. Hill (Eds.), *Politics and the media in twenty-first century Indonesia: Decade of democracy* (pp. 13-25). New York: Routledge.
- Ishwara, H. (2013). P.K. Ojong: Hidup Sederhana, Berpikir Mulia [PK Ojong: Plain living, noble thinking]. In St Sularto (Ed.) *50 Tahun Kompas Gramedia, Mengembangkan Indonesia Kecil* [50 Years of Kompas Gramedia, developing the Miniature of Indonesia]. Jakarta: Kompas Media Nusantara.
- Ishwara, H. (2014). PK Ojong: *Hidup Sederhana Berpikir Mulia* [PK Ojong: Plain living, nobel thinking]. Jakarta: PT Kompas Media Nusantara.
- Ismail, A., Ahmad, M. K. & Mustaffa C. S. 2014. Conceptualization of investigative journalism: The perspectives of Malaysian media practitioners, *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 155, 165-170.
- Jay, R. R. (1969). *Javanese Villagers: Social Relations in Rural Modjokuto*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- Jensen, R. (1992). Fighting objectivity: The illusion of journalistic neutrality in coverage of the Persian gulf war. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 16(1), 20-32.
- Keller, A. (2009). *Tantangan Dari Dalam, Otonomi Redaksi di 4 Media Cetak Nasional Kompas, Koran Tempo, Media Indonesia, Republika*

Bibliography

- [Challenges from within, Editorial autonomy in 4 printing national media: Kompas, Koran Tempo, Media Indonesia, Republika]. Jakarta: FES Indonesia Office.
- Klinenberg, E. (2005). Channeling into the journalistic field: Youth activism and the media justice movement. In R. Benson & E. Neveu (Eds.) *Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field* (pp. 174-194). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Klinken, G. Van. (2014, April 27). Prabowo and human rights. *Inside Indonesia*. Retrieved from <http://www.insideindonesia.org/twenty-candles-for-inside-indonesia-2>
- Koentjaraningrat. (1989). *Javanese Culture*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.
- Kompas Media Kit*. (2014). [ebook] Jakarta: Kompas. Available at: https://kompasinteractivedisplay.files.wordpress.com/2014/02/mediak_it-2014-small.pdf. Accessed on 17 June 2014.
- Kovach, B. & Rosenstiel T. (2007). *The elements of journalism: What journalists should know and the public should expect*. New York : Crown.
- Krippendorf, K. (2004). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology*. London: Sage Publication.
- Lang, J. S. (2016). *Foreign policy and the media: The US in the eyes of the Indonesian press*. London: MacMillan.
- Lateef, K S. & Sherlock, S. J. (2003). Fighting corruption in Indonesia: Obstacles to developing investigative journalism. In S. C. Simons & M. Seda (Eds.) *The enemy within: Combating corruption in Asia* (pp. 181-205). Singapore: Eastern Universities Press.
- Laughey, D. (2007). *Key themes in media theory*. New York: Open University Press.
- Lavieri, O. (1996). The media in Argentina: Struggling with the absence of a democratic tradition. *Latin America: Journalism, mass media and society*, 183-198.
- Leavy, P. (2011). *Oral history: Understanding qualitative research*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Bibliography

- Lee, O. H. (1971). *Indonesian government and press during guided democracy*. Zug Switzerland: Inter Documentation.
- Leksono, N. (2016). *85 Tahun Jakob Oetama: Yuk, Simak Pak jakob Berujar* [85 Years of Jakob Oetama: Let's Hear What He Wishes To Say]. Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas.
- Lim, M. (2011). *@Crossroad: Democratization and corporatization of media in Indonesia*. Arizona: Arizona State University and Ford Foundation.
- Lim, M. (2012). *The league of thirteen: Media concentration in Indonesia*. Arizona: Arizona State University and Ford Foundation.
- Lim, M. (2017). Freedom to hate: social media, algorithmic enclaves, and the rise of tribal nationalism in Indonesia. *Critical Asian Studies*, 49(3), 411-427.
- Luhulima, J. (2001). *Hari-Hari Terpanjang Menjelang Mundurnya Presiden Suharto Dan Beberapa Peristiwa Terkait* [The Longest Days Approaching the Resignation of President Suharto and Some Related Events]. Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas.
- Mackie, J. & MacIntyre, A. (1994). Politics. In H. Hill (Ed.), *Indonesia's new order: the dynamics of socio-economic transformation* (pp. 1-53). Sydney: Allen and Unwin.
- Marchetti, D. (2005). Subfield of specialized journalism. In R. Benson & E. Neveu (Eds.) *Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field* (pp. 64-84). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Marliére, P. (1998). The rules of the journalistic field: Pierre Bourdieu's contribution to the sociology of the media. *European Journal of Communication*. 13(2), 219-234.
- Marliére, P. (2000). The impact of market journalism: Pierre Bourdieu on the media. *The Sociological Review*, 49 (S1), 199-211.
- Marquez-Ramirez, M. (2012). *Change or continuity: The culture and practices of Journalism in Mexico(2000–2007)* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Goldsmiths University, London.

Bibliography

- Massey, B. L. & Chang, L. A. (2002). Locating Asian values in Asian journalism: A content analysis of web newspapers. *Journal of Communication*, 52(4), 987-1003.
- Maton, K. (2008). Habitus. In M. Grenfell (Ed.), *Pierre Bourdieu Key Concepts* (49-66). Stocksfield: Acumen Publishing.
- McCargo, D. (2003). *Media and politics in Pacific Asia*. London: Routledge Curzon.
- McLeod, Ross H. (2000). Suharto's Indonesia: A Better Class of Corruption. *Agenda*, 7(2), 99-112.
- Mulder, N. (1978). *Mysticism and everyday life in contemporary Java*. Singapore: Singapore University Press.
- Nainggolan, J. B. (2007). Kompas Dalam Rentang Waktu dan Angka [Kompas in Time and Numbers]. In St. Sularto (Ed.) *Kompas: Menulis Dari Dalam* [Kompas: Writing from within] (pp. 139-172). Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas.
- Nugroho, Y., Putri, D. A. & Lakshmi, S. (2012). *Memetakan Lansekap Industri Media Kontemporer di Indonesia* [Mapping the landscape of the media industry in contemporary Indonesia]. Jakarta: Centre for Innovation Policy and Governance (CIPG) and HIVOS.
- Oetama, J. (2001). *Pers Indonesia: Berkommunikasi Dalam Masyarakat Tidak Tulus* [The Indonesian press: Communicating in an insincere community]. Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas.
- Oetama, J. (1987). *The perspective of the Indonesian press*. Jakarta: LP3ES.
- Ojong, P. K. (1981). *Kompasiana, Esei Jurnalistik Tentang Berbagai Masalah* [Kompasiana, Journalistical Essays on Various Issues]. Jakarta: Gramedia.
- Patterson, T.E., & Donsbach, W. (1996). News decisions: Journalists as partisan actors. *Political Communication*, 13(4), 455-468.
- Pemberton, J. (1994). *On the subject of "Java."* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Pintak, L. & Setiyono, B. (2011). The mission of Indonesian journalism:

Bibliography

- Balancing democracy, development, and Islamic values. *International Journal of Press/Politics* 16(2), 185– 209.
- Pinto, J. G. (2009). Diffusing and translating watchdog journalism: Organizational response of Argentine media. *Media History*, 15(1), 1-16.
- Pontoh, C. H. (2013). Amanat Hati Nurani Karyawan [The mandate of worker's conscience]. In B. Triharyanto & F. Salam (Eds.) *Dapur Media Antologi Liputan Media di Indonesia* [The media's kitchen: The anthology of media reportage in Indonesia] (pp. 19-42) Jakarta: Pantau.
- Potter, D. (2016). *Handbook of independent journalism*. Bureau of International Information Program: US Department of State.
- Robison, R. & Hadiz, V. R. (2004). *Reorganizing power in Indonesia: the politics of oligarchy in an age of markets*. New York: RoutledgeCurzon.
- Reeve, D. (1987). *Golkar of Indonesia: An alternative to the party system*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Romano, A. (2003). *Politics and the Press In Indonesia : Understanding an evolving political culture*. London: Routledge.
- Romano, A. (2005). Asian journalism: news, development and the tides of liberalization and technology. In A. Romano and M. Bromley. *Journalism and Democracy in Asia* (pp. 15-28). London: Routledge.
- Roosa, J. (2006). *Pretext for mass murder: The September 30th movement and Suharto's coup d'état in Indonesia*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Sambrook R. J. (2012). *Delivering trust: Impartiality and objectivity in the digital age* (Working Paper). Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, University of Oxford.
- Schudson, M. (1989). The sociology of news production. *Media, Culture, Society*, 11(3), 263-282.
- Schudson, M. (2005). Autonomy from what? In R. Benson & E. Neveu (Eds.) *Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field* (pp. 124-223). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Schultz, I. (2007). The journalistic gut feeling: journalistic doxa, news habitus

Bibliography

- and orthodox news values. *Journalism Practice*, 1(2), 190-207.
- Semetko, H. A. (2010). Election campaigns, partisan balance, and the news media. In P. Norris (Ed.) *Public sentinel: Media and governance reform*. Washington DC: The World Bank.
- Shiraishi, S. (1997). *Young heroes: The Indonesian family in politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Shoemaker, P. & Reese, S. D. (1996). *Mediating the message: Theories of influences on mass media content*. New York : Longman.
- Sopian, Agus. (2002). *Wendo dan Tujuh Samurai* [Wendo and Seven Samurais]. Retrieved from <http://www.pantau.or.id/?=/d/99>. Accesed on 20 June 2015.
- Stange, P. (1984). The logic of rasa. *Indonesia*, 38, 113-134.
- Steele, J. (2005). *Wars within : The story of Tempo, an independent magazine in Soeharto's Indonesia*. Jakarta: Equinox Publishing.
- Sudibyo, A. (2004). *Ekonomi Politik Media Penyiaran* [The political economy of broadcasting media]. Jakarta : ISAI.
- Sudibyo, A. (2009). *Kebebasan Semu : Penjajahan Baru di Jagat Media* [Fake freedom: New colonialism in the media world]. Jakarta : Kompas.
- Sudibyo, A. & Patria, N. (2013). The television industry in post-authoritarian Indonesia. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 43(2), 257-275. DOI:10.1080/00472336.2012.757434.
- Sularto, St. (2007). *Kompas: Menulis Dari Dalam* [Writing from within]. Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas.
- Sularto, St. (2011). *Syukur Tiada Akhir, Jejak Langkah Jakob Oetama* [Endless gratitude, footsteps of Jakob Oetama]. Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas.
- Sularto, St. (2013). *Mengembangkan Indonesia Kecil* [Developing the miniature of Indonesia]. Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas.
- Sularto, St & Harianto S. (2016). *Kompas way: Jakob's legacy*. Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas.

Bibliography

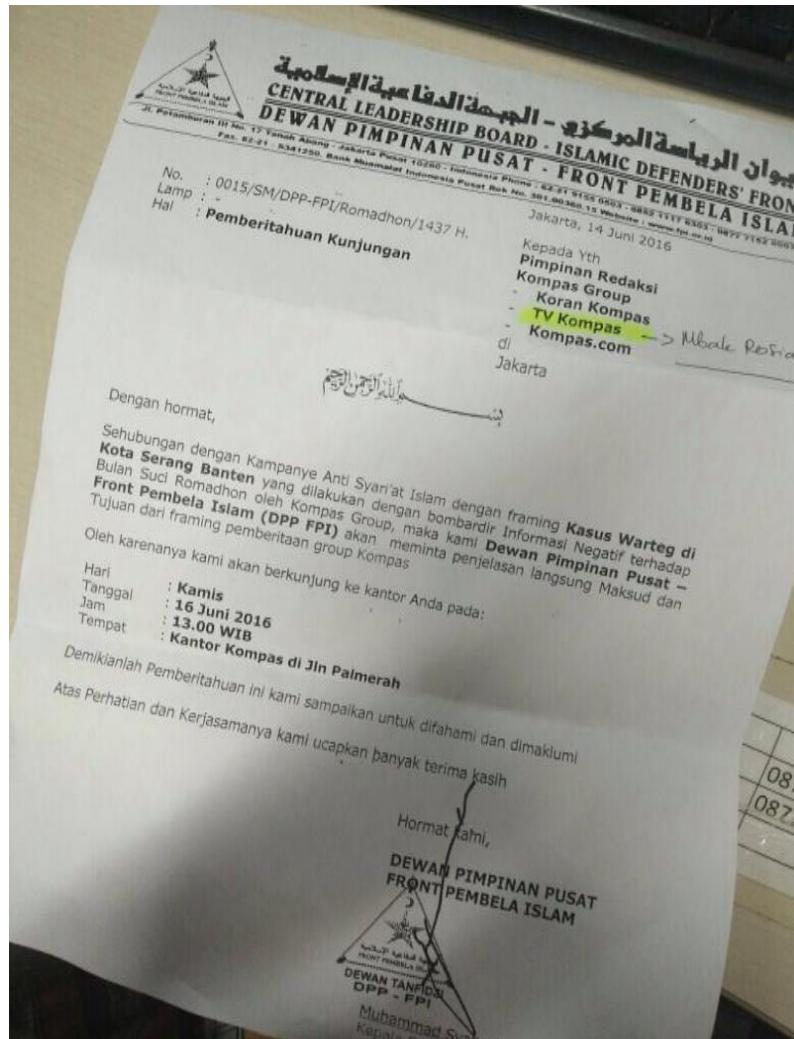
- Suseno, F. M. (1997). *Javanese ethics and world-view: The Javanese idea of the good life*. Jakarta : PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Sutamat, M. (2012). *Kompas Menjadi Perkasa Karena Kata* [Kompas becomes powerful because of words]. Yogyakarta: Percetakan Galang Press.
- Tapsell, R. (2012). Old tricks in a new era: Self-censorship in Indonesian journalism, *Asian Studies Review*, 36(2), 227–245.
- Tapsell, R. (2017). *Media power in Indonesia*. London: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Tekwani, S. (2008). Media and conflict in Asia. In S. Tekwani (Ed.) *Media and Conflict Reporting in Asia*. Singapore: Asian Media Information and Communication Centre (AMIC) and Nanyang Technological University.
- Tong, J. (2011). *Investigative journalism in China: Journalism, power and society*. London: Continuum.
- Waisbord, S. R. (2000). *Watchdog journalism in South America: News, accountability and democracy*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Whitten-Woodring, J. (2009). Watchdog or lapdog? Media freedom, regime type, and government respect for human rights. *International Studies Quarterly*, 53(3), 595–625.
- Wieringa, S. E. (2015). Catholic Anti Communism. Unpublished manuscript, Amsterdam Institute for Social Sciences, University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam.
- Wiratraman, H. P. (2014). *Press Freedom, Law and Politics in Indonesia: a Socio-Legal Study* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Leiden University, Leiden.

List of studied newspaper articles available on request.

Appendices

Appendix 1

The FPI's Letter to *Kompas*



Appendices

Appendix 2

Table 1: Coding Result of *Kompas'* coverage on corruption 1965

No.	Date and Title	News Source	Theme
	(1)	(2)	(3)
1	9 August Bantu Tundjuk Hidung *Para Pentjoleng Ekonomi	1. Wakil Gubernur Djakarta 2. Perwakilan Ormas Pemuda	O ⁴³
2	5 August Korupsi Minjak Rp. 4,5 djuta	1. Jaksa Penuntut Umum 2. Terdakwa 3. Jaksa Agung	L
3	25 August Tergelintjir Minjak	1. Hakim 2. Jaksa	L
4	23 November MH Lukman Korupsi 250 Djuta Uang Rakjat	Unclear	GM
5	31 August Koruptor Dihukum	1. Jaksa 2. Hakim	L
6	27 October PKI Larikan Rp. 700 Djuta *Sumut Tuntut Pembubaran PKI dan Ormas2 Nja	1. CSO's 2. Observation	CSO
7	31 August Koruptor Dihukum	1. Jaksa 2. Terdakwa	L
8	10 September Usaha Pemberantasan Pentjoleng	Panglima Kotrar	O
9	29 September Hajo, Tundjuk Hidung dengan Bukti-bukti nja	Aparat (pihak berwajib)	O
10	14 September	-	O

⁴³ Other refers here to articles framed in an anti corruption campaign theme: for instance, stating that corruption can be dangerous for economic development.

Appendices

No.	Date and Title	News Source	Theme
	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Pentjolengan Ekonomi		
11	25 September Dituntut Hukuman Mati	Jaksa	L
12	14 October Manipulator Diperiksa	Terdakwa	L

Table 2
Coding Result of *Kompas'* coverage on corruption 1967

No.	Date	News Source	Theme
	(1)	(2)	(3)
1	1 July ⁴⁴ (no title)	-	L
2	13 July (no title)	CSO (Another newspaper) → Harian Kami (judul beritanya)	O
3	12 July Djendral Soeharto tak Tjukup Djauh Bertindak?	CSO → harian Honkong Standard	O
4	18 November Segera Tindak Koruptor-koruptor	CSO activists	CSO
5	12 July	-	O
6	10 April Wawantjara Pres Djend. Soeharto: Pemerintah Bersedia Kerdjasama Dgn Pers Dalam Bongkar Korupsi	President	O
7	14 March (no title)	-	O
8	20 February Tinggalan Soekarno	-	O
9	25 November Pidato Presiden Suharto Bila Ada Korupsi Laporkan Kepada Jang Berwadjib	Pedjabat presiden	O

⁴⁴ An article without a title usually taken the form of short satirable commentary, only 1-2 sentences, usually placed in the opinion section. This rubric is called *Mang Usil*.

Appendices

No.	Date	News Source	Theme
	(1)	(2)	(3)
10	30 November Perlukah Tindakan Spektakuler	Jaksa Agung	O
11	16 October Pembersihan Mendobrak Kematjetan	Ketua MPRS	O
12	7 November Manipulator Uang Beras di Muka Hakim	1. Hakim 2. Terdakwa	L

Appendices

Table 3
Coding Result of *Kompas'* coverage on corruption 1971

No.	Date / Title (1)	News Source (5)	Theme (6)
1	12 October Tidak ada Perkara Korupsi Baru	Jaksa Agung	L
2	22 October Sidang Perkara Korupsi di Sulsel: Menteri Mashuri Setuju Dengan Beleid Terdakwa	1. Hakim 2. Penasehat hukum 3. Menteri 4. Jaksa	L
3	27 October Djaksa Senior Menerima Hukuman 8 Bln	1. Hakim 2. Jaksa 3. Terhukum	L
4	23 January Pegawai Departemen Keuangan Terima Tundjangan Chusus *Kalau Masih Njeleweng, Ditindak Tegas	Menteri	O
5	17 March Koruptor di Direktorat Djendral Urusan Hadji	Jaksa	O
6	15 July Korupsi Ratusan Djuta Rupiah di Dept Keuangan	1. Terdakwa 2. Polisi	L
7	18 February Korupsi di PLN dituntut hukuman bersjarat	Jaksa	L
8	20 March Tidak Akan segan-segan Menindak	Aparat pemerintah	O
9	17 March Koruptor di Direktorat Urusan Jadji digandjar 3 tahun	Hakim	O
10	6 October Perkara Korupsi Rp 10 Djuta Djaksa "S" Mulai Disidang	1. Hakim 2. Jaksa 3. Terdakwa	L
11	20 October Tahun 1971 Ini Korupsi di Djatim Berkurang	Jaksa	L
12	25 November Sembilan perkara Korupsi Besar Digarap di Sulut	Jaksa	L

Appendices

Table 4
Coding Result of *Kompas'* coverage on corruption 1974

No.	Date / Title (1)	News Source (5)	Theme (6)
1	9 January Kunci-kunci Pembangunan *Pembersihan Aparatur	President	O
2	12 January Mahasiswa2 Undip Kecam Pedas Situasi Sekarang	Mahasiswa	O
3	6 March Korupsi di Departemen PUTL ditutut hukuman 7 tahun penjara	Jaksa Terdakwa	L
4	16 February Jaksa Agung Ali Said: Kejaksaan Masih Kecewa Terhadap Penyelesaian Hukum Perkara2 Korupsi	Jaksa	L
5	27 April Korupsi Rp. 56,4 juta di PT-HII	Jaksa Terdakwa	L
6	8 July Korupsi Rp. 6.900.000,- di Knator Kotamadya Surabaya	Jaksa Terdakwa	L
7	30 July Perkara Manipulasi Rp. 320 juta disidangkan lagi	Jaksa Hakim Terdakwa	L
8	30 July Mahmiliti II Periksa Perkara Korupsi Rp.231 juta	Jaksa Terdakwa	L
9	19 July Diharapkan Bantuan Masyarakat	Menteri	O
10	17 July Presiden Instruksikan Para Menteri Untuk Menindak Pegawai2 yang nyeleweng	Presiden Menteri	O
11	25 July Merugikan Negara Rp.200 juta lebih dihukum 5 tahun	Jaksa	L
12	22 November Perkara Korupsi Rp. 320 Juta di Bank Indonesia Selesai diperiksa	Jaksa Terdakwa Saksi	L

Appendices

Table 5
Coding Result of *Kompas'* coverage on corruption 1978

No.	Date / Title	News Source	Theme
	(1)	(2)	(3)
1	29 November Sidang "Pluit": Bekas Walikota Jakarta Utara akan didengar untuk ketiga kalinya	Saksi Hakim Pengacara	L
2	1 November Sidang Korupsi di Polri: Semua Saksi selesai diperiksa *tertuduh Swdj cabut permintaan untuk menghadapkan bekas kapolri	Hakim Saksi	L
3	27 October Dari Sidang Korupsi di Polri: Saksi Sungkono bagi keuntungan untuk para tertuduh	Saksi	L
4	26 October Ketua Mahkamah Agung: Tindak-tindak Pidana Korupsi diterapkan tak lepas dari keadaan sekeliling	Ketua MA	L
5	28 October Dari Sidang Korupsi di Polri: Faktur Rp. 200 Juta Tak ada Barangnya	Saksi Hakim	L
6	27 September Tertuduh Minta Bekas Kapolri dihadapkan sebagai saksi	Terdakwa	L
7	14 September Dari Sidang Korupsi 4,8 Miliar: Letjen Swdj Ungkapkan Penggunaan Sisa Anggaran	Terdakwa	L
8	18 May Jaksa Dituntut Hukuman Percobaan	Jaksa Penutut	L
9	25 February Sidang Lanjutan Perkara Minardi Utomo: Dua Pejabat Dolog diberikan kesaksian	Hakim Pengacara Saksi Tertuduh	L
10	11 February Korupsi Rp. 228 Juta di Kobangdiklat Polri: Tertuduh dituntut 8 tahun 10 bulan	Jaksa Pembela	L
11	9 January Opstibda Jabar Tangani Korupsi di Kodim Bandung	Jaksa(Aparat militer)	L
12	9 January Pemborosan di Pemda Kodya Bandung Mulai Diusut	Jaksa (Aparat militer)	L

Table 6
Coding Result of *Kompas'* coverage on corruption 1983

No.	Date / Title	News Source	Theme
	(1)	(5)	(6)
1	21 March Juru Tulis Korupsi 2 Juta Dihukum 18 Bulan	Hakim Terdakwa Jaksa	L
2	19 March Sidang Perkara Bekas Walikota Jakarta Utara: Majelis Hakim Periksa Rumah dan Mobil di Pluit	Jaksa Hakim Terdakwa	L
3	23 March Manipulasi Rp 584 Juta di BKKBN Sulsel Terbongkar	Polisi Kepala BKKBN	L
4	9 April Mulai Diperiksa, Kasus Korupsi Percetakan Sawah di Jambi	Jaksa Ketua pengadilan Majelis Hakim Terdakwa	L
5	16 April Korupsi Sekitar Rp 500 juta di Agraria Bojonegoro Terbongkar *Seorang Pejabat Akan Diajukan ke Pengadilan	Jaksa Intel (polisi)	L
6	9 September Kasus Manipulasi di Kanwil Depsol Kaltim: Sebagian Pungutan untuk Pejabat Pusat	Saksi Hakim	L
7	10 September Kasus Manipulasi di Kanwil Depsol Kaltim: Pemotongan Uang Proyek Diperintahkan Atasan	Hakim Saksi (4 orang)	L
8	4 November Sidang Terpaksa Ditunda: Bekas Walikota Sabang maju ke Pengadilan Berseragam Jabatan	Hakim Terdakwa Jaksa	L
9	20 December Kasus Korupsi Baru di Sulsel	Jaksa agung Kejati Kepala Dinas	L
10	12 January	Hakim	L

Appendices

No.	Date / Title	News Source	Theme
	(1)	(5)	(6)
	Juru Tulis Desa Gelapkan Angsuran Bimas 7 Tahun	Jaksa Tertuduh	
11	20 January Manipulasi Dana Proyek SD Ditangani Kejaksaan Negeri Maros ⁴⁵	Orang Dalam (Whistle Blower) Kejaksaan	L
12	14 June Sidang Manipulasi Anggaran PRRPTE	Hakim Jaksa terdakwa	L

Appendices

Tabel 7
Coding Result of *Kompas'* coverage on corruption 1994

No.	Date/Title	News Source	Theme
	(1)	(2)	(3)
1	6 January Isu Kebocoran Dana Pembangunan: FPDIP akan Ajukan Pertanyaan Langsung Kepada Pemerintah	Aparat Pemerintah (politisi) Aktivis LSM (YLBHI)	Other (wacana anti korupsi)
2	6 January Jakgung Singgih: Tiga Kualifikasi Tindak Pidana Perlu Perhatian	Jakgung	L
3	7 January DPR Sebaiknya Bentuk Komisi Kebocoran Dana Pembangunan	CSO (peneliti) Politisi	Other (wacana pemberantasan korupsi)
4	8 January Isu "Kebocoran 30%": Tak Perlu Dibentuk Komisi Khusus di DPR	Politisi DPR CSO's (YLBHI) Menteri Peneliti	O
5	4 January Sebaiknya Ada Tanggapan Pemerintah Atas Sinyalemen "Kebocoran 30 Persen"	Aktivis YLBHI Politisi Aktivis LSM Pengamat Ekonomi	O
6	20 May Perkara Presdir GKG. Hakim: Dakwaan Jaksa Tak Menyimpang dari Prosedur	Jaksa Pembela Hakim	L

Appendices

No.	Date/Title	News Source	Theme
	(1)	(2)	(3)
7	20 May Berbuntut Panjang, Manipulasi Rp 1 Milyar di Puskud Lampung	CSO activists (Pengurus Koperasi)	CSO
8	26 May DPRD DKI Jakarta: Kebocoran Rp. 1,2 M di PAM Jaya Harus Diusut	Politisi Pengacara	L
9	21 December Kasus Penjualan Tanah Negara ke GKG. Jaksa: terdakwa Merekayasa Penjualan Tanah Negara	Jaksa	L
10	23 September Sidang Terdakwa SI Bapindo Pernah Terima Surat Kaleng Yang Dideskreditkan GKG	Direktur Bapindo (aparat BUMN) Jaksa Saksi	L
11	28 September Sidang Kasus GKG-Bapindo: Diragukan, Kebenaran Rapat 2 Juni	Jaksa Saksi Hakim Pembela Pegawa Bank (aparat pem)	L
12	Kilasan Hukum: ABD Tersandung Uang Rapel Karyawan	Jaksa	L

Appendices

Table 8
Coding Result of *Kompas'* coverage on corruption 1998

Num	Date/Title	News Source	Theme
	(1)	(2)	(3)
1	2 January Kadispen Polda Metro Jaya: Polri Juga Menyidik Kasus Korupsi	Polisi Jaksa Agung CSO activists	L
2	22 May Mahasiswa tetap pada tuntutannya	Mahasiswa	CSO
3	3 January Penahanan Tiga Mantan Direktur BI Bukan Keharusan	Polisi Humas Kejaksaan	L
4	29 June Mar'ie Muhammad: Perlu Dibentuk Komnas KKN	Mantan Menteri	O
5	10 July Hilangkan Pejabat KKN	Walikota Jakpus	O
6	15 July Pro dan Kontra tentang Presiden Timbulkan Ketidakstabilan Politik	Jenderal Militer	O
7	7 September Konsistensi Jaksa Agung Usut Korupsi Dipertanyakan	CSO activists	L
8	8 September Sebanyak 27 Proyek Tol Berbau KKN	Sekjend DPU	O
9	23 May Setelah Soeharto Berhenti, Dunia Internasional Bertanya "what's next"?	-	O
10	8 May Membersihkan "Mafia Peradilan": Masih Dibutuhkan Keberanian	Menteri	L
11	4 August Bupati Maros Tersangka Korupsi	Jaksa	L
12	12 December Soeharto Diarahkan Jadi Tersangka * Beddu dan Sanyoto Diperiksa	Jaksa terdakwa	L

Appendices

Table 9
Coding Result of *Kompas'* coverage on corruption 2000

Num	Date / Title	News Source	Theme
	(1)	(2)	(3)
1	3 January KKN Dephutbun akan Diserahkan ke Pengadilan Rakyat	Sekjen Dephutbun Menhubtun	O
2	4 January Mabes Polri Janji Tuntaskan Kasus Korupsi BI	Kapolri	L
3	22 February Waspadai KKN di Pemerintahan Baru	Ketua Kadin Pengamat ekonomi Politisi Ketua Gapensi	O
4	23 February Ketua Umum Kadin: KKN Tak Boleh Terjadi Lagi	Ketua Kadin	O
5	24 February Diuji Coba, Simtap untuk Cegah Korupsi	Aparat Pemda	O
6	8 April Pemeriksaan Soeharto Dijadwalkan Senin	Jaksa Direktur Tipikor	L
7	10 April Soal Pemalsuan Vonis di MA: Khawatir Pegawai Kecil Jadi Korban	Ketua PBHI (LSM) Sekjend MA Saksi	L
8	29 June Ada Indikasi Korupsi di BPPN	Anggota Komisi Ombudsman	O
9	19 December Mahasiswa Minta Pansus DPR Ungkap KKN Bulog Orde Baru	Mahasiswa	CSO
10	16 December Kejaksaan Akan Gugat Tommy Soeharto	Jaksa	L
11	3 July Syahril Sabirin Bisa Mengajukan Praperadilan	Praktisi Hukum	L
12	4 April Joko Tjandra akan Disidang Lagi	Jaksa	L

Appendices

Table 10
Coding Result of *Kompas'* coverage on corruption 2003

Num	Date / Title	News Source	Theme
	(1)	(2)	(3)
1	20 December Ketua KPK Soal Pemberantasan Korupsi	Ketua KPK Politisi Pakar Hukum	L
2	30 December Indonesia Harus Dibebaskan dari Pemimpin Yang Korup	Aktivis HMI	O
3	10 November Tindak Korupsi di NTT Lebih Vulgar	BPK	L
4	12 October Wapres Hamzah Haz: Indonesia Negeri Korup	Wapres	O
5	11 October Diprotes, Usulan Calon Pimpinan KPK dari Partai	ICW Pansel KPK	O
6	29 August Pemilu Selalu Identik dengan Korupsi	LSM Politisi	O
7	27 August Ketua DPR Cianjur Ditetapkan Jadi Tersangka	Jaksa Pengacara	L
8	17 February Diproses, 194 Kasus Korupsi Para Pejabat	Jaksa	L
9	2 January Pidato Akhir Tahun Presiden Megawati *Perlu Bangun Rasa Saling Percaya untuk Selesaikan soal Aceh-Papua	Presiden	O
10	12 March Kwik Paparkan Gerakan Antikorupsi PDI-P	Elit Partai	O
11	22 May Megawati Dinilai Gagal Menyelesaikan KKN	Akademisi Elit Partai	O
12	17 June Jaksa Agung Tak Serius Tuntaskan KKN Pertamina	Anggota dewan	O

Appendices

Table 11
Coding Result of *Kompas'* coverage on corruption 2009

Num	Date / Title	News Source	Theme
	(1)	(2)	(3)
1	2 January Pemberantasan Korupsi: KPK Dinilai Masih Mengejar Popularitas	CSO	Others (Corruption Eradication Campaign)
2	3 January Penertiban Anggaran: Rekening Dephukham Dilaporkan	Inspektorat Jenderal Depkeu Hekinus Manao	L
3	4 January Korupsi di Kalangan Eksekutif Dapat Meluas	CSO	O
4	14 April Korupsi APBD Manado: Kepala Daerah Tak Berhak Kelola Keuangan Daerah	Pengacara	L
5	3 June Oentarto Ditahan KPK *MA Tolak Permohonan PK dari Saleh Djasit	KPK Pengacara	L
6	4 June Kilas Politik dan Hukum: MA Tolak PK Fahanari	Hakim MA	L
7	11 September Dugaan Penyuapan: KPK Penuhi Panggilan Polisi	Polisi	L
8	17 October Tim Advokasi Keberatan *Polisi Akan Sita Dokumen dan Barang dari Gedung KPK	Pengacara Jaksa	L
9	16 December Pertimbangan KPK *Menkominfo dan KPK Juga Terima Masukan Masyarakat	Menteri	O
10	1 July Korupsi di Jawa Barat: Mantan Gubernur Jabar Dihukum	Hakim Terdakwa	L
11	2 July Kilas Politik & Hukum: DPD Laporkan Kasus Dugaan Korupsi	Anggota DPD	L
12	22 August Korupsi Alat Kesehatan: Mantan Menteri Kesehatan Ditahan	Jubir KPK	L

Appendices

Table 12
Coding Result of *Kompas'* coverage on corruption 2015

Num	Date / Title	News Source	Theme
	(1)	(2)	(3)
1	12 December Dugaan Korupsi: Polda Sulut Tahan Sekda Bolaang Mongondow Utara	Polisi Aparat pemerintah Politisi	L
2	29 October Pemberantasan Korupsi: KPK Klarifikasi Muhaimim Iskandar	Politisi	L
3	2 January MA: PK Pidana Hanya Satu Kali *Putusan MK Tak Dapat Dikesampingkan	Hakim Agung CSO's activists	L
4	4 January Pemberantasan Korupsi 2015: Di Antara Bayangan Politik	ICW	O
5	6 January Duduk Bersama Bahas PK *MA Diminta Tak Batasi PK Sekali, Tetapi Atur Novum yang Bisa Diajukan	Menkuham MA official MK member	L
6	22 May Sembilan Srikandi Penentu KPK	-	L
7	25 August Serapan Anggaran dan Korupsi	Menteri Penulis buku	O
8	26 August Korupsi Bansos Sumut: Kejagung Periksa Gatot Pujo Nugroho	Jaksa	L
9	27 August Korupsi ESDM: Waryono Kaget Dituntut 9 Tahun Penjara	Jaksa	L
10	23 November Pencatutan Nama Presiden: KPK Telaah Dugaan Permintaan Saham	KPK member Said Didu (government official)	L
11	24 November Laporan Keuangan: BPK Lengkapi Hasil Pemeriksaan	Humas BPK Gubernur	L
12	1 December Dugaan Suap: Rio Capella: Hancur Apa yang Saya Bangun	Hakim Terdakwa	L

Appendices

Appendix 3

Table 1

Kompas' Coverage on Pairs of Presidential Candidates Running in the Indonesian Presidential Election 2014, 4 June to 9 July 2014 (articles)

No	Date	Page Number	Number of Paragraphs	Main Theme	Orientation
				JW = Jokowi PS = Prabowo C = covers both candidates	N = neutral Fav = favorable Unfav =unfavorable JK = Jusuf Kalla
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
1	4 June	2	12	JW	Fav to JW
2		3	9	C	N
3		1	24	C	N
4		5	15	JW	Fav to JW
5		5	9	JW	Fav to JW
6		4	14	PS	Fav to PS
7		4	8	PS	Fav to PS
8		1	22	C	N
9		5	9	JW	Fav to JW
10	5 June	2	10	JK	N
11		4	13	JW	Fav to JW
12		4	11	JW	Fav to JW
13		5	12	PS	Fav to PS
14		5	8	PS	Fav to PS

Appendices

No	Date	Page Number	Number of Paragraphs	Main Theme	Orientation
				JW = Jokowi PS = Prabowo C = covers both candidates	N = neutral Fav = favorable Unfav =unfavorable JK = Jusuf Kalla
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
15		5	15	PS	Unfav to PS
16		6	7	C	N
17		6	-	C	N
18	6 June	4	17	PS	Fav to PS
19		5	15	JW	Fav to JW
20		5	15	C	N
21		7	13	C	N
22	7 June	1	22	PS	N
23		2	18	C	N
24		4	12	JK	Fav to JK
25		5	9	PS	Fav to PS
26		5	8	JW	Fav to JW
27		5	9	PS	Fav to PS
28		6	8	C	N
29	8 June	1	25	JW	Fav to JW
30		2	15	C	N
31	9 June	2	14	C	N

Appendices

No	Date	Page Number	Number of Paragraphs	Main Theme	Orientation
				JW = Jokowi PS = Prabowo C = covers both candidates	N = neutral Fav = favorable Unfav =unfavorable JK = Jusuf Kalla
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
32		2	10	C	N
33		4	17	PS	Fav to PS
34		4	8	PS	N
35		5	15	JW	Fav to JW
36		5	9	JK	Fav to JK
37	10 June	1	28	C	Fav to JW
38		3	12	PS	Fav to PS
39		4	11	C	N
40	11 June	4	11	C	N
41		4	6	PS	N
42		5	17	C	N
43		6	8	C	N
44		6	11	C	N
45	12 June	1	24	C	N
46		3	14	PS	Unfav to PS
47		4	8	PS	Fav to PS
48		4	10	PS	Fav to PS

Appendices

No	Date	Page Number	Number of Paragraphs	Main Theme	Orientation
				JW = Jokowi PS = Prabowo C = covers both candidates	N = neutral Fav = favorable Unfav =unfavorable JK = Jusuf Kalla
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
49		5	10	JW	Fav to JW
50		5	9	JK	Fav to JK
51		5	7	PS	Unfav to PS
52		6	13	PS	Unfav to PS
53		6	1	PS	Unfav to PS
54		7	17	C	N
55	13 June	2	19	JW	Fav to JW
56		2	9	C	N
57		4	13	JW	Fav to JW
58		5	14	PS	Fav to PS
59	14 June	2	15	C	N
60		2	23	JW	Fav to JW
61		4	13	PS	Fav to PS
62		5	11	JW	Fav to JW
63		6	20	C	N
64	15 June	2	23	C	N
65	16 June	1	15	C	N

Appendices

No	Date	Page Number	Number of Paragraphs	Main Theme	Orientation
				JW = Jokowi PS = Prabowo C = covers both candidates	N = neutral Fav = favorable Unfav =unfavorable JK = Jusuf Kalla
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
66		1	13	JW	Fav to JW
67		2	12	C	N
68		4	8	C	N
69		5	15	C	Fav to JW
70		6	17	JW	Fav to JW
71	17 June	2	15	JW	Fav to JW
72		2	1	C	N
73		2	9	C	N
74		4	10	PS	Fav to PS
75		4	7	PS	N
76		5	10	JW	Fav to JW
77		6	7	C	N
78		7	16	C	N
79	18 June	4	15	JW	Fav to JW
80		5	9	PS	Fav to PS
81		5	8	C	N
82		1	27	PS	Unfav to PS

Appendices

No	Date	Page Number	Number of Paragraphs	Main Theme	Orientation
				JW = Jokowi PS = Prabowo C = covers both candidates	N = neutral Fav = favorable Unfav =unfavorable JK = Jusuf Kalla
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
83	19 June	3	11	JW	Fav to JW
84		4	12	PS	Fav to PS
85		5	12	JW	Fav to JW
86		6	1	PS	Unfav to PS
87		7	17	C	N
88	20 June	1	18	PS	Unfav to PS
89		4	10	JW	Fav to JW
90		5	5	PS	Fav to PS
91		6	8	C	N
92		7	19	JW	Fav to JW
93	21 June	1	20	C	Fav JW
94		1	14	PS	Fav to PS
95		2	9	C	N
96		2	9	JW	Fav to JW
97		4	9	JW	Fav to JW
98		4	13	JK	Fav to JK
99		5	9	PS	Fav to PS

Appendices

No	Date	Page Number	Number of Paragraphs	Main Theme	Orientation
				JW = Jokowi PS = Prabowo C = covers both candidates	N = neutral Fav = favorable Unfav =unfavorable JK = Jusuf Kalla
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
100		5	12	PS	Unfav to PS
101		6	13	C	Fav to JW
102		6	1	PS	Unfav to PS
103		7	15	C	Fav to JW
104	22 June	2	14	C	Fav to JW
105		2	7	PS	Fav to PS
106		2	9	JW	Fav to JW
107	23 June	1	26	C	Fav to JW
108		2	6	JW	Fav to JW
109		2	14	C	Fav to JW
110		4	21	C	Fav to JW
111		4	11	PS	Fav to PS
112		4	10	JW	Fav to JW
113		5	13	C	N
114		6	22	JW	Fav to JW
115	24 June	2	14	JW	Fav to JW
116		3	11	C	Fav to JW

Appendices

No	Date	Page Number	Number of Paragraphs	Main Theme	Orientation
				JW = Jokowi PS = Prabowo C = covers both candidates	N = neutral Fav = favorable Unfav =unfavorable JK = Jusuf Kalla
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
117		4	12	PS	Fav to PS
118		5	12	JW	Fav to JW
119		5	11	JW	Fav to JW
120	25 June	2	21	C	Fav to JW
121		2	14	JK	Fav to JK
122		2	9	C	Fav to JW
123		3	11	JW	Fav to JW
124		4	10	JW	Fav to JW
125		5	9	PS	Fav to PS
126	26 June	1	30	C	Fav to Jw
127		2	22	JW	Fav to JW
128		2	10	C	Unfav to PS
129		3	10	PS	Fav to PS
130		6	19	C	N
131		6	-	C	Fav to JW
132		6	-	C	N
133	27 June	4	10	PS	Fav to PS

Appendices

No	Date	Page Number	Number of Paragraphs	Main Theme	Orientation
				JW = Jokowi PS = Prabowo C = covers both candidates	N = neutral Fav = favorable Unfav =unfavorable JK = Jusuf Kalla
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
134		4	14	C	Fav to JW
135		5	10	JW	Fav to JW
136		7	14	C	N
137	28 June	2	24	JW	Fav to JW
138		2	10	PS	Unfav to PS
139		3	12	JW	Fav to JW
140		3	1	PS	Unfav to PS
141		4	12	JW	Fav to JW
142		5	10	PS	Fav to PS
143	30 June	1	19	C	N
144		2	9	PS	Fav to PS
145		3	11	JW	Fav to JW
146		3	11	C	Fav to JW
147		4	15	C	N
148		5	18	C	N
149		5	10	JW	Fav to JW
150	1 July	2	13	C	N

Appendices

No	Date	Page Number	Number of Paragraphs	Main Theme	Orientation
				JW = Jokowi PS = Prabowo C = covers both candidates	N = neutral Fav = favorable Unfav =unfavorable JK = Jusuf Kalla
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
151		4	8	PS	Fav to PS
152		4	9	JW	Fav to JW
153		5	11	JW	Fav to JW
154		6	9	C	N
155	2 July	2	13	C	N
156		4	11	C	N
157		4	12	JW	Fav to JW
158		4	8	JK	Fav to JK
159		4	7	PS	Fav to PS
160		5	8	PS	Fav to PS
161	3 July	2	17	JW	Fav to JW
162		4	15	PS	Fav to PS
163		4	9	PS	Fav to PS
164		5	12	JW	Fav to JW
165		6	19	JW	Fav to JW
166	4 July	1	8	C	N
167		4	12	C	Fav to PS

Appendices

No	Date	Page Number	Number of Paragraphs	Main Theme	Orientation
				JW = Jokowi PS = Prabowo C = covers both candidates	N = neutral Fav = favorable Unfav =unfavorable JK = Jusuf Kalla
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
168		4	9	JW	Fav to JW
169		5	15	PS	Fav
170		6	23	C	N
171	5 July	2	14	C	N
172		2	9	PS	Fav to PS
173		3	12	JW	Fav to JW
174		3	7	C	N
175		5	9	JW	Fav to JW
176		6	8	C	N
177	6 July	1	20	JW	Fav to JW
178		2	11	C	N
179		2	11	C	N
180		2	3	C	N
181	7 July	4	12	PS	Fav to PS
182		5	21	JW	Fav to JW
183		5	17	C	Fav to JW
184		6	7	C	N

Appendices

No	Date	Page Number	Number of Paragraphs	Main Theme	Orientation
				JW = Jokowi PS = Prabowo C = covers both candidates	N = neutral Fav = favorable Unfav =unfavorable JK = Jusuf Kalla
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
185	8 July	4	11	JW	Fav to JW
186		5	13	C	N
187		6	18	C	N
188	9 July	2	19	C	Fav to JW
189		2	8	PS	Fav to PS
190		2	13	JW	Fav to JW

Appendices

Table 2
Kompas' Coverage on Pairs of Presidential Candidates Running in the
 Indonesian Presidential Election 2014, From 4 June to 9 July 2014
 (photos/pictures/diagrams/cartoons)

Number	Date	Page Number	Type of news	Main Theme JW = Jokowi PS = Prabowo C = covers both candidates	Orientation
					(1) (2) (3) (4) (5)
1	4 June	1	Photo	C	N
2	5 June	4	Photo	JW	Fav to JW
3		5	Photo	PS	Fav to PS
4	6 June	4	Photo	PS	Fav to PS
5		5	Photo	JW	Fav to JW
6	7 June	4	Photo	JK	Fav to JK
7	9 June	2	Photo	C	N
8		4	Photo	PS	Fav to PS
9		5	Photo	JW	Fav to JW
10	10 June	1	Photo	C	N
11		1	Diagram	C	N
12		4	Photo	C	N
13	11 June	5	Diagram	C	Fav to JW

Appendices

Number	Date	Page Number	Type of news	Main Theme JW = Jokowi PS = Prabowo C = covers both candidates	Orientation
					(1) (2) (3) (4) (5)
14	12 June	4	Photo	PS	Fav to PS
15		5	Photo	JW	Fav to JW
16	13 June	4	Photo	JW	Fav to JW
17		5	Photo	PS	Fav to PS
18	14 June	4	Photo	PS	Fav to PS
19		5	Photo	JW	Fav to JW
20		6	Cartoon	C	N
21	16 June	1	Photo	C	Fav to JW
22	17 June	4	Photo	PS	Fav to PS
23		5	Photo	JW	Fv to JW
24	18 June	4	photo	JW	Fav to JW
25		5	Photo	PS	Fav to PS
26		1	Photo	PS	Fav to PS
27	19 June	4	Photo	PS	Fav to PS
28		5	Photo	JW	Fav to JW
29	20 June	1	Photo	PS	Unfav to PS

Appendices

Number	Date	Page Number	Type of news	Main Theme JW = Jokowi PS = Prabowo C = covers both candidates	Orientation
					(1) (2) (3) (4) (5)
30		1	Picture	PS	Unfav to PS
31		4	Photo	PS	Fav to PS
32		5	Photo	JW	Fav to JW
33	21 June	1	Photo	C	Fav JW
34		3	Photo	C	N
35		3	Photo	C	N
36		4	Photo	JW	Fav to JW
37		4	Photo	JK	Fav to JW
38		5	Photo	PS	Fav to PS
39		5	Photo	PS	Fav to PS
40		15	Photo	C	N
41	23 June	1	Photo	JW	Fav to JW
42		1	Photo	PS	Fav to PS
43		2	Photo	C	Fav to JW
44		3	Photo	C	Fav to JW
45		4	Photo	C	N

Appendices

Number	Date	Page Number	Type of news	Main Theme JW = Jokowi PS = Prabowo C = covers both candidates	Orientation
					(1) (2) (3) (4) (5)
46		4	Photo	JW	Fav to JW
47		4	Photo	PS	Fav to PS
48		5	Diagram	C	Fav to JW
49	24 June	2	Photo	C	Fav to PS
50		4	Photo	PS	Fav to PS
51		5	Photo	JW	Fav to JW
52	25 June	3	Photo	PS	N
53		4	Photo	JW	Fav to JW
54		5	Photo	PS	Fav to PS
55	26 June	2	Photo	JW	Fav to JW
56		3	Photo	PS	Fav to PS
57	27 June	4	Photo	PS	Fav to PS
58		5	Photo	JW	Fav to JW
59	28 June	4	Photo	JW	Fav to JW
60		5	Photo	PS	Fav to PS
61	30 June	1	Picture	C	N

Appendices

Number	Date	Page Number	Type of news	Main Theme JW = Jokowi PS = Prabowo C = covers both candidates	Orientation
					(1) (2) (3) (4) (5)
62		2	Photo	PS	Fav to PS
63		3	Photo	JW	Fav to JW
64		3	Picture	C	Fav to JW
65		4	Photo	C	N
66		5	Photo	C	N
67	1 July	4	Photo	PS	Fav to PS
68		5	Photo	JW	Fav to JW
69	2 July	4	Photo	JW	Fav to JW
70		5	Photo	PS	Fav to PS
71	3 July	1	Picture	C	N
72		4	Photo	PS	Fav to PS
73		5	Photo	JW	Fav to JW
74	4 July	4	Photo	JW	Fav to JW
75		5	Photo	PS	Fav to PS
76		2	Photo	PS	Fav to PS
77		3	Photo	JW	Fav to JW

Appendices

Number	Date	Page Number	Type of news	Main Theme	Orientation
				JW = Jokowi PS = Prabowo C = covers both candidates	N = neutral Fav = favorable Unfav = unfavorable
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
78	6 July	1	Photo	JW	Fav to JW
79		2	Photo	C	N
80		2	Photo	PS	Fav to PS
81		2	Photo	PS	Fav to PS
82		2	Photo	JW	Fav to JW
83		2	Photo	JW	Fav to JW
84	7 July	4	Photo	PS	Fav to PS
85		4	Picture	C	N
86		5	Photo	JW	Fav to JW
87	8 July	4	Photo	JW	Fav to JW
88		5	Photo	PS	Fav to PS

Appendix 4

**Advertisement of Indonesian Presidential Candidates During Presidential
Campaign 4 June – 9 July 2014
in *Kompas'* Daily Newspaper**

Date	Prabowo Hatta	Jokowi - JK
9 June, Monday		Page 1 ➔ 7 x 100 mm ² = 399.000.000
11 June, Monday		Page 1 ➔ 7 x 100 mm ² = 399.000.000
12 June, Wednesday		Page 4 ➔ 4 column x 540 mm ² x 120.000 = 259.200.000
15 June, Sunday	Page 10, full page ➔ 7 column x 540 mm ² x Rp. 146.500 = Rp. 553.770.000,-	
18 June, Wednesday		Page 4 ➔ 4 column x 540 mm ² x 120.000 = 259.200.000 Page 9 ➔ 4 column x 540 mm ² x 120.000 = 259.200.000

Appendices

21 June, Saturday		Page 1 → 7 x 100 mm ² = 399.000.000
23 June, Monday		Page 1 → 7 x 100 mm ² = 399.000.000
25 June, Wednesday		Page 16 → 4 column x 540 mm ² x 120.000 = 259.200.000
28 June, Saturday	Page 5 → 4 column x 540 mm ² x 215.000 = 464.000.000	Page 1 → 7 x 100 mm ² = 399.000.000
2 July, Wednesday		Page 1 → 7 x 100 mm ² = 399.000.000
3 July, Thursday		Page 1 → 7 x 100 mm ² = 399.000.000 Page 4 → 4 column x 540 mm ² x 120.000 = 259.200.000
4 July, Friday		Page 1, Friday → 7 x 100 mm ² = 399.000.000 Page 10, Friday, full page → 7 column x 540 mm ² x Rp. 146.500 = Rp. 553.770.000,-
5 July, Saturday		Page 1 → 7 x 100 mm ² =

Appendices

		399.000.000 Page 10, full page → 7 column x 540 mm ² x Rp. 215.000 = Rp. 821.700.000
Total in rupiahs	1.017.770.000 IDR	6.253.470.000 IDR

The calculation above is a simulation which is done based on the *Kompas Media Kit* released in 2014. It aims to give a comparison of the relative amount of advertising spending between the two candidates. So the price above is not the actual price as there might be a special discount price for one or both candidates.

- Price for a banner on page 1 with size 7 x 100 mm² as stated in the **Media Kit** is = 399.000.000
- Price for regular advertising outside page 1, and not in Saturday/Sunday, is 120.000/mm²
- Price for regular advertising outside page 1 at Saturday/Sunday is 215.000/mm²