The Role Of Occrp's Soft Power In Framing President Joko Widodo Leadership On Corruption

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Abstract

This research analyzes how the Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project (OCCRP), as a transnational actor, frames President Joko Widodo on the issue of corruption and its impact on domestic and international public perception. This research uses a qualitative approach with soft power analysis, framing theory, and boomerang pattern, examining transnational media strategies in constructing corruption narratives. The research results show that OCCRP uses soft power through investigations and voting to nominate Jokowi as a finalist for "Person of the Year in Organized Crime and Corruption," which triggers pressure on the government. Framing is carried out through problem definition, cause diagnosis (political dynasties, conflicts of interest, weakening of the KPK), moral judgment, and solution recommendations. The boomerang pattern shows how local media exploit international reports to criticize the government, trigger media polarization, and the media-power dynamics. OCCRP's soft power shapes public perception and has the potential to influence Indonesia's international reputation. This research contributes to understanding transnational media's role in shaping public perception, influencing domestic politics, and the importance of image in the global media era.

Keyword: Occrp; Framing media; Soft power; Corruption; Joko Widodo.

Introduction

In the era of globalization, the issue of corruption has become a significant concern in many countries, especially in developing nations. Corruption not only undermines the integrity of public institutions but also hinders economic growth, weakens the governance system, and reduces public trust in the government (Nizmi, 2018). Indonesia, as the largest democracy in Southeast Asia, faces significant challenges in combating corruption despite having implemented various anti-corruption policies over the past few decades. This study investigates how corruption is framed in the media, particularly focusing on President Joko Widodo's image as perceived through the lens of the Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project (OCCRP).

Amid these challenges, the role of transnational actors such as the Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project (OCCRP) has emerged, providing global attention to corruption practices in various countries, including Indonesia. On December 31, 2024, OCCRP included President Joko Widodo on the list of the most corrupt leaders in the world. This assessment produced a voting process involving readers, journalists, and judges from the OCCRP's global network (OCCRP, 2024). This decision sparked controversy in Indonesia, with the government and Jokowi's supporters deeming the report biased and unfounded (Muhid, 2025). However, the media framing conducted by OCCRP not only reflects the institution's views on Jokowi but also highlights the challenges faced by Indonesia in building a positive image at the international level. In this context, media framing becomes a highly relevant concept because how media presents information can influence the public perception of a leader (Muttaqien, 2017). Thus, this research addresses the gap in the existing literature by analyzing the interplay between domestic and international media framing dynamics, particularly how these dynamics influence public perception of Jokowi.

According to Robert Entman, framing is how the media organizes and presents information to shape public perception of a particular issue (Entman, 1993). OCCRP, as a transnational media actor, plays an essential role in framing the image of world leaders, including Jokowi, particularly in the context of corruption issues. This study uniquely combines framing and soft power theories and the boomerang pattern concepts to explore how OCCRP's framing impacts both domestic and international perceptions of

Jokowi. The theoretical framework will systematically connect these theories to the research questions, emphasizing how OCCRP's framing can create political and social pressure on domestic policies.

In addition to the framing theory, the soft power theory introduced by Joseph Nye is also relevant for understanding OCCRP's influence. Soft power refers to the ability of an actor to influence others through cultural appeal, political values, and non-coercive policies (Nye, 2004). OCCRP, as a transnational actor, uses soft power through investigative reports and media narratives to shape global perceptions of leaders in developing countries like Jokowi. Studying international relations is essential, particularly in understanding how a country's reputation and image can influence its foreign policy and diplomatic relations (Pan et al., 2019).

The boomerang pattern concept, developed by Keck and Sikkink, offers an essential perspective in this research. This concept explains how non-state actors like OCCRP can leverage international networks to influence domestic policies. In the context of Jokowi, OCCRP functions as part of a global advocacy network that highlights corruption-related issues in Indonesia (Keck & Sikkink, 1998). Using media framing, OCCRP can pressure the Indonesian government through international publications that create political and social pressure on domestic policies. The influence of international media reinforces the relevance of the boomerang pattern in this research, where OCCRP and other international media shape global and domestic public opinion that influences Indonesian policy. Therefore, this research aims to analyze how OCCRP frames President Joko Widodo in the context of corruption issues and how this framing affects public perception domestically and internationally.

Furthermore, this research will also explore the interaction between OCCRP's framing and local media coverage in Indonesia. This research has high significance, both academically and practically. Academically, this research contributes to the study of the role of international media in global relations and its influence on the domestic politics of developing countries. This research can also provide insights to policymakers and political leaders about the importance of image and reputation in the era of global media. Thus, researchers expect this study to provide a deeper understanding of the dynamics between media, politics, and corruption in Indonesia and their impact on policies and international relations.

Literatur Review

This section will discuss and evaluate previous research on media framing and soft power, particularly those related to President Joko Widodo (Jokowi). By comparing these studies, researchers hope to establish a strong foundation for this research and demonstrate its unique contributions. Research on media framing related to Jokowi shows how the media constructs news about Jokowi, especially concerning corruption issues and public policies. Yuliastina and Kurniawan conducted a framing analysis of news coverage about Jokowi in the context of anti-corruption efforts. In this study, they used a qualitative method with Robert Entman's framing analysis approach, which includes defining elements such as the problem, the source of the problem, moral decisions, and problem resolution. Their findings show that the media often highlights Jokowi's positive actions but does not ignore corruption allegations that lead to a negative image in the eyes of the public (Yuliastina & Kurniawan, 2019). This research emphasizes that media framing can serve as a tool to build or damage a leader's reputation (Wijaya, 2016).

In addition, Pohan and Sirait also highlighted the importance of framing in media coverage regarding Jokowi, focusing on the differences in how online media frame issues related to the president, including corruption allegations. They noted that online media such as Tempo.co and CNN Indonesia have different ways of framing issues related to Jokowi, including corruption allegations. Tempo.co tends to emphasize Jokowi's efforts in combating corruption, while CNN Indonesia focuses more on criticism of government policies that are deemed ineffective (Pohan & Sirait, 2019). This study shows that differences in framing can influence how the public understands and responds to government actions (Karim Amrullah et al., 2024).

On the other hand, Nursitawati and Ari Suseno adds that social media also plays a significant role in shaping Jokowi's image. In her research, she used content analysis to evaluate Jokowi's use of platforms like Instagram. The findings show that Jokowi successfully built a positive image among young voters through engaging and interactive content (Nursitawati & Suseno, 2022). However, criticism of Jokowi often appears on social media, indicating a polarization in public opinion. This research underscores the importance of understanding traditional and social media dynamics in shaping public perception of leaders. The interaction between social media and international media can create a reciprocal effect, where

international media coverage sparks discussions on social media and vice versa (Sabron et al., 2020).

About the theory of soft power, Joseph Nye provides a framework for understanding how international media can influence the image of leaders from developing countries like Jokowi (Nye, 2004). Research by Shanto Iyengar shows that the reputation of political leaders at the international level is greatly influenced by how international media frames their leadership (Iyengar, 1996). In this context, the international press bridges local issues and global attention, affecting how other countries perceive Indonesia and Jokowi's leadership. This research emphasizes that soft power depends on government actions and how international media frame issues related to the country (Tapsell, 2015). In this context, OCCRP, as a transnational actor, uses soft power through investigative reports to shape global perceptions of Jokowi and Indonesia. Research by Ravazzani and Maier shows that framing can be a dynamic process in meaning construction, where various actors interact to shape narratives that influence public perception (Ravazzani & Maier, 2017). Thus, OCCRP not only plays a role in uncovering corruption practices but also in shaping Jokowi's image in the eyes of the world (Ababil et al., 2023). Furthermore, research by Wahyuningtyas reveals a significant interaction between social media and international media in shaping Jokowi's image. In his analysis, he found that when international press such as OCCRP raises corruption issues, it often triggers discussions on social media, where users share their views and shape public opinion. Social media creates feedback by responding to international media coverage and influencing how the issue frames international media (Wahyuningtyas, 2024). The "boomerang pattern" concept developed by Keck and Sikkink explains how non-state actors can leverage international networks to influence domestic policies (Keck & Sikkink, 1998). In this context, OCCRP is part of a transnational advocacy network that uses framing to shape public opinion and influence Indonesian government policy. Through the framing carried out by international media, OCCRP, and other international media play a role in creating pressure on the Indonesian government through the framing they conduct (Dwi Putri et al., 2023).

This research aims to fill the gap in the existing literature by analyzing how OCCRP frames Jokowi in the context of corruption

issues and how this framing affects public perception, both domestically and internationally. Using framing theory and soft power will provide a new perspective on how international media can influence domestic politics in developing countries. Thus, it will offer a deeper understanding of the dynamics between media, politics, and corruption in Indonesia and provide valuable insights for policymakers and researchers in the future. This research aims to contribute to combating corruption and enhancing transparency and accountability in governance.

Research Method

This study aims to analyze how the Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project (OCCRP) frames President Joko Widodo in the context of corruption issues and how this framing influences public perception, both domestically and internationally. To achieve this objective, the study will employ a qualitative approach with two primary methods: framing and boomerang pattern analysis.

Table 1. Details of Entman Concept

Define Problems (Defining Provlems)	How is an event/issue seen? As a what? Or as matter of what?
Diagnose Causes (Estimating the problem or source of the problem)	What was the event seen as caused? What in considered to be the cause of the problem? Who (the actor) is considered the cause of the problem?
Make moral judgment (Making Moral Decisions)	What moral values is presented to explain the problem? What moral values are used to legitimize or delegetimize an action?

Treatment Recommendation (Emphasizing Completion)	What settlement is offered to resolve the problems/issue? What path is offered and must be taken to overcome the problem?

Source: Adapted from Analisis Framing: Konstruksi, Ideologi, dan Politik Media (Eriyanto, 2002).
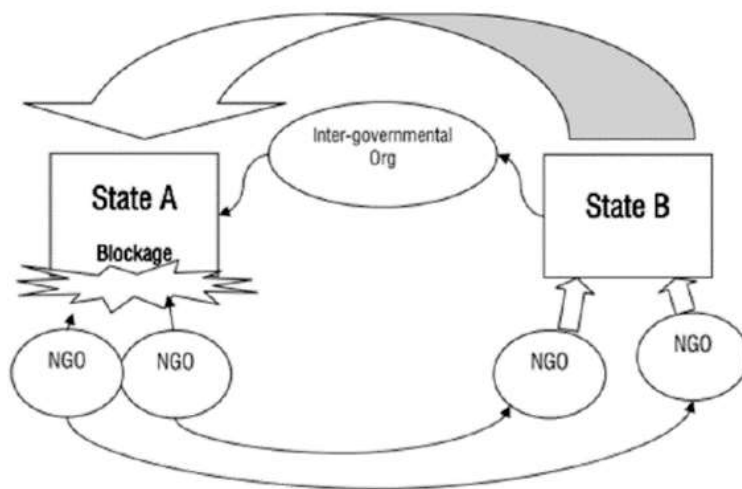
Framing analysis will explore how OCCRP and other media outlets frame Jokowi in the context of corruption issues. The data used in this study includes articles published by OCCRP titled "Person of the Year 2024," which discusses a list of nominees deemed to have significantly contributed to worsening organized crime and corruption, where Joko Widodo is included among several names released by OCCRP. The focus of this research is on articles published within the timeframe of December 2024 to January 2025. Data sources include news articles, opinion pieces, and relevant investigative reports. This research will also analyze local media such as CNN Indonesia, Kompas, Tempo.co, and YLBHI to compare how domestic media frame the issue (CNN, 2024; Tempo, 2025).

Data collection procedures will be carried out through systematic searches on the OCCRP website and local media, using keywords such as "Jokowi," "corruption," and "OCCRP." The criteria for selecting articles include those that directly address corruption issues related to Jokowi and significantly influence public opinion. In this analysis, the approach used is Robert Entman's framing analysis, which includes problem definition, causal interpretation, moral judgment, and treatment recommendation. These framing elements will be operationalized using a framing matrix adapted from Eriyanto. This process involves identifying key elements in each article, such as how the issue of corruption is defined, who is responsible, the moral values presented, and the proposed solutions (Eriyanto, 2002).

Each element will be assessed based on its frequency of occurrence and context within the article to provide a comprehensive picture of the framing conducted. In this context, OCCRP, a transnational actor, employs soft power through investigative reports

and media narratives to influence global perceptions of leaders from developing countries, such as Jokowi. This investigation will investigate the extent to which the framing employed by the OCCRP contributes to the development of Jokowi's international image and the potential impact on Indonesia's foreign policy and reputation.

The second method used is the boomerang pattern analysis developed by Keck and Sikkink. This method will help understand how non-state actors, in this case, OCCRP, can leverage international networks to influence domestic policy (Keck & Sikkink, 1998). This research will identify advocacy networks involved in corruption issues in Indonesia, including OCCRP and other non-governmental organizations. Data will be mapped onto the boomerang model by identifying how OCCRP's reports can trigger public and Indonesian government responses. This process will involve content analysis of articles that show public and governmental reactions generated in response to these reports.

Figure 1. Model of Boomerang Pattern
Source: Adapted from Activist beyond the borders: Advocacy networks in international politics (Keck & Sikkink, 1998).

This method will help understand how non-state actors, in this case, OCCRP, can leverage international networks to influence domestic policies (Keck & Sikkink, 1998). This research will identify advocacy networks involved in corruption issues in Indonesia,

including OCCRP and other non-governmental organizations. By analyzing how OCCRP reports can trigger responses from Indonesian society and government, this research will provide insights into how the framing done by OCCRP can pressure the government to combat corruption further. In the context of the interaction between local media and international media, this study will also examine how local media plays a role in amplifying or mitigating the impact of the framing conducted by OCCRP. This analysis will be conducted by collecting data from local media and comparing it with coverage from international media. By analyzing the interaction between local press and international media, this research will provide insights into how these two platforms influence each other in shaping public perception.

Ethical considerations in this research include the use of publicly available data that does not violate individual privacy. The researchers are committed to reporting findings accurately and not manipulating data to support a particular narrative. In addition, all data used in this research will be analyzed in a manner that respects the rights and privacy of the individuals involved. The limitations of this qualitative approach include bias in article selection and data interpretation, which can affect the research results. Efforts to reduce bias will be made by using clear selection criteria to ensure objectivity. Furthermore, the researchers will conduct data triangulation by comparing findings from various sources to enhance the validity of the results.

Overall, the methods used in this study are expected to provide a deeper understanding of the dynamics between media, politics, and corruption in Indonesia. By combining framing analysis and boomerang pattern analysis, this research will offer a new perspective on how OCCRP frames Jokowi and its impact on public perception. This study is expected to significantly contribute to the academic literature, particularly on international relations and the role of global media in shaping public opinion and political policies in developing countries.

Results and Discussion
Analysis of OCCRPS's Framing of Joko Widodo
Using Robert Entman's model, Framing analysis examined how OCCRP frames President Joko Widodo in the context of corruption issues (Entman, 1993). The analysis results show a systematic pattern

in how OCCRP frames the corruption issue related to Jokowi's leadership through Entman's four framing elements, reflecting the complexity of media and political relations (Wahyuningtyas, 2024). In defining the issue, OCCRP placed Joko Widodo as one of the five finalists for "Person of the Year in Organized Crime and Corruption" for 2024 (OCCRP, 2024). This placement puts Jokowi alongside other leaders such as Kenyan President William Ruto, Nigerian President Bola Ahmed Tinubu, former Bangladeshi Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina, and Indian businessman Gautam Adani. The selection process conducted by OCCRP involves OCCRP readers, investigative journalists, and a jury panel from OCCRP's global network, reflecting a multilateral approach to assessing corruption (OCCRP, 2024). This analysis shows how OCCRP frames Jokowi and how the framing elements interact to shape Jokowi's image as a leader involved in corrupt practices. For example, Jokowi's placement on the finalist list serves as an individual assessment and creates a collective narrative about corrupt leadership in Indonesia.
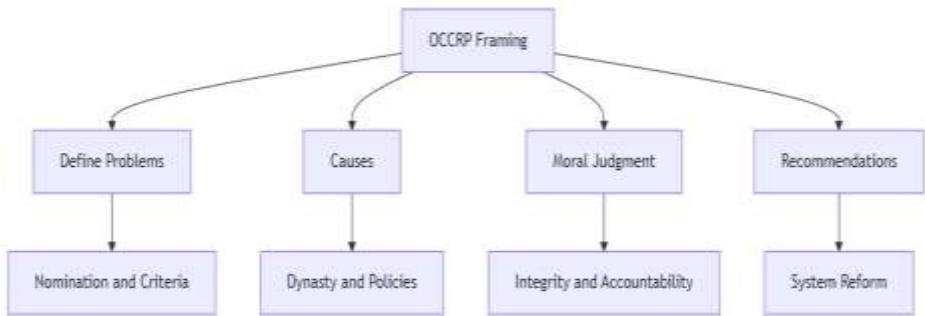
Table 2. OCCRP Framing Analysis Matrix Towards Jokowi

Elemen Framing	Highlighted Aspect	Implication
Define Problems	Nomination in the list of finalist for the most corrupt leaders	Indicating the presence of systemic issues in leadership
Diagnose Causes	Political dinasty practices and Conflict of interest	Indicating structured abuse of power
Moral Judgment	Weakening of institutions and Democracy backsliding	Emphasizing the long-term impact on the system
Treatment	System reform and institutional strengthening	Suggesting fundamental changes

Source: Adapted from Analisis Framing: Konstruksi, Ideologi, dan Politik Media (Eriyanto, 2002).

In diagnosing the cause, OCCRP highlights the practice of political dynasties being run by placing family members in strategic government positions (Dwi Putri et al., 2023). The influence is

evident from the position of the eldest son as the Mayor of Solo, the youngest son as the Mayor of Surakarta, and the son-in-law as the Mayor of Medan. OCCRP also raised the issue of conflicts of interest in various strategic policies, such as the National Capital City project and the nickel-down streaming policy. The weakening of anti-corruption institutions through revising the KPK Law and dismissing 57 KPK employees has also become a significant focus (YLBHI, 2025). The moral assessment conducted by OCCRP emphasizes the erosion of leadership integrity, reflected in the use of power for family interests and the weakening of the checks and balances system (Sabron et al., 2020). Public accountability is also a serious concern, especially regarding the lack of transparency in policy-making and obstacles to investigating corruption cases. OCCRP sees a systemic impact in the form of the normalization of nepotism practices and the weakening of democratic institutions, ultimately leading to the erosion of public trust (Ababil et al., 2023).

Figure 2. Mapping Issues in OCCRP Framing
Source: Adapted from Analisis Framing: Konstruksi, Ideologi, dan Politik Media (Eriyanto, 2002).

In providing recommendations for resolution, OCCRP emphasizes the importance of strengthening anti-corruption institutions by restoring KPK's independence and enhancing the oversight system (Nursitawati & Suseno, 2022). Political system reform is also considered crucial, especially in limiting political dynasties and increasing transparency in policy-making. OCCRP also highlights the importance of law enforcement through independent investigations into alleged corruption and the resolution of strategic cases (Tapsell, 2015). The framing carried out by OCCRP

shows a systematic effort to construct a narrative about systemic corruption under Jokowi's leadership (Karim Amrullah et al., 2024). Using various framing elements demonstrates how OCCRP not only highlights specific cases but also links them to broader impacts on the democratic system and governance in Indonesia. The construction of this narrative has significant implications for public perception and the legitimacy of leadership, both at the national and international levels (Wijaya, 2016).
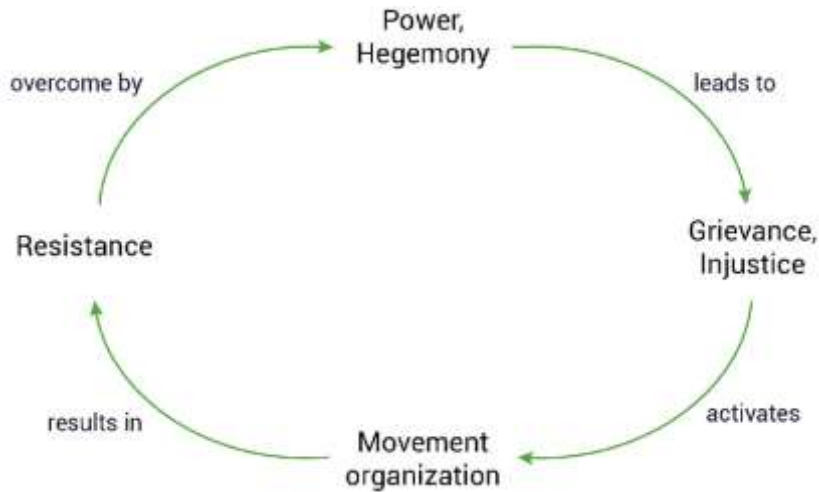
Boomerang Patterns and Media Polarization

The analysis of the boomerang pattern in the OCCRP's framing of President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) reflects the complex dynamics between local and international media in confronting power hegemony. In this context, OCCRP acts as a transnational actor that facilitates a bypass of domestic obstacles, as conceptualized by Keck and Sikkink. Local media that face limitations in criticizing the government can use international channels to voice their concerns, creating a backlash against domestic authorities (AJI, 2024). This phenomenon is evident in the interaction between local media and OCCRP. Media such as Tempo, Kompas, and CNN Indonesia, which may face domestic pressure in reporting on leadership corruption issues, utilize OCCRP's reports as legitimacy to bring these issues into the public sphere (CNN, 2024; Hidayat, 2025; Setuningsih, 2025).

However, it is important to note that the CNN Indonesia news article titled "Jokowi Enters the List of the World's Most Corrupt Figures 2024 According to OCCRP," published on December 31, 2024, has now been removed and results in a 404 page (not found). Additionally, another article titled "Jokowi Named World's Most Corrupt Leader 2024, What is the OCCRP Institution?" which was also published on the CNN Indonesia website, has been retitled "Getting to Know the OCCRP Institution that Released the World's Blacklist" indicating self-censorship, which is one of the categories of violence against the press. The removal of this news reflects hegemonic pressure that limits the dissemination of critical information and simultaneously demonstrates the effectiveness of the boomerang pattern in revealing power dynamics (AJI, 2024).

The theory of hegemony reflects the concept of the social movement cycle, where dissatisfaction with corrupt practices drives the formation of resistance organizations that ultimately produce

resistance to power (Gramsci, 1971; McPhail, 1989; Tilly, 1978). In addition, the OCCRP report titled "Corrupt Person of the Year 2024" was published in various national media on the same afternoon, December 31, 2024. This shows that despite efforts to limit information, the OCCRP report still received widespread attention in national media, reinforcing the narrative about corruption under Jokowi's leadership. Thus, the removal of the news and the change of title reflect pressure on the media and highlight the importance of the OCCRP report in shaping public discourse on corruption in Indonesia.

Figure 3. The social movement cycle
Source: Adapted from Collective behaviour, From mobilization to revolution, and Selection from the prison notebooks (Gramsci, 1971; McPhail, 1989; Tilly, 1978).

This dynamic is evident in the media's response to the OCCRP publication. Tempo.co, for example, consistently covered Jokowi's nomination in the OCCRP's list of the most corrupt figures, using the international report to raise issues that are difficult to discuss directly (Hidayat, 2025; Tempo, 2025). On the other hand, CNN Indonesia deleted its news related to this issue, showing hegemonic pressure to limit the dissemination of critical information and simultaneously proving the effectiveness of the boomerang pattern in exposing power dynamics (AJI, 2024). In addition to the media, civil society

organizations like YLBHI reinforce this boomerang pattern by releasing documents that validate OCCRP's assessment through 10 factors indicating organized corruption practices (YLBHI, 2025). The interaction between OCCRP, local media, and civil society organizations creates a transnational advocacy network capable of transcending domestic boundaries and exerting adequate pressure on the government. In this case, the boomerang pattern reveals how transnational actors influence domestic political dynamics and shows the complex relationship between media, power, and social movements. Local media, which face structural barriers in criticizing the government, leverage the legitimacy of international reports to frame sensitive issues and open broader public discussion spaces. The government's defensive response, including Jokowi's statement calling the report "slander and framing," as well as efforts to limit media coverage, actually strengthened the effectiveness of this boomerang pattern (CNN, 2024). This underscores how international bypass mechanisms can exert significant pressure on the government, even in an environment where domestic control over the media is quite strong. This phenomenon also reflects the shifting dynamics of global power, where transnational advocacy networks and international media become essential instruments in elevating domestic issues to the worldwide level. In the context of Indonesia, the boomerang pattern helps open broader discussions about leadership corruption despite resistance from the existing power structures. In the context of the social movement cycle related to OCCRP's framing of Jokowi, there is a clear polarization in the Indonesian media landscape. Media coverage analysis shows a dynamic between power hegemony and resistance, which can be categorized as follows:

Table 3. Media Categorization and Framing Patterns in Responding to the OCCRP Case

Category	Media	Characteristics of Reporting	Framing Pattern
Pro-Government	CNN Indonesia	Removal of news related to OCCRP, Focus on the government's denial, Minimizing the impact of news coverage	Defensive

Category	Media	Characteristics of Reporting	Framing Pattern
Critical Media	Kompas	Limited and cautious coverage, Emphasis on government clarification, and A neutral approach tend to be pro-status quo.	Moderate
	OCCRP	In-depth investigation, Systematic documentation, Critical framing of power	Eksposive
	Tempo	In-depth and consistent coverage, Further investigation, Multilateral perspective	Investigative
	YLBHI	Documentation support, Critical analysis, Human rights, and anti-corruption perspective	Advocacy

Source: Adapted from a newspaper article (AJI, 2024; BBC, 2025; CNN, 2025; Muhid, 2025; Setuningsih, 2025; Wienanto A, 2025; YLBHI, 2025)

This analysis shows that the cycle of social movements operates within the media context. The government's hegemony, which creates grievances in the form of corruption and nepotism practices, triggers movement organizations that manifest in critical media coverage and OCCRP investigations (Gramsci, 1971). The resulting resistance was then met with various media control mechanisms, including news deletion and coverage restrictions. Pro-government media such as CNN Indonesia depict efforts to limit the spread of information detrimental to the government, while Kompas takes a more moderate approach. Meanwhile, critical media such as Tempo remain consistent in their investigative coverage. OCCRP, as an external actor, acts as a catalyst that strengthens the resistance movement through its investigative and critical framing. YLBHI, with a human rights and anti-corruption perspective, strengthens domestic legitimacy over OCCRP's findings. This media polarization reflects the complexity of power dynamics in Indonesia, where the

struggle of narratives between government hegemony and resistance is mirrored in media coverage. The cycle of social movements that has formed shows that the media can act as an instrument of hegemony or as a means of resistance, depending on its position and interests within the existing political constellation. The analysis of the OCCRP's framing of Jokowi shows a complex interaction between boomerang patterns and media polarization, reflecting the power dynamics in the context of contemporary Indonesia. OCCRP, as a transnational actor, exerted pressure on the government through the nomination of Jokowi as "Person of the Year in Organized Crime and Corruption" for 2024 (OCCRP, 2024). This reflects a bypass mechanism where local media, facing limitations in criticizing the government, use international channels.

This phenomenon is evident from the polarization of domestic media, where Tempo.co consistently covers the nomination, while CNN Indonesia removes related news (AJI, 2024). This deletion reinforces Hakim's argument about the existence of hegemonic pressure in Indonesia's mainstream media (Sabron et al., 2020). YLBHI strengthens the boomerang pattern by releasing a document that validates the OCCRP report through 10 factors indicating organized corruption practices (YLBHI, 2025), reflecting efforts to build domestic legitimacy within the transnational anti-corruption movement. Media polarization in responding to OCCRP's framing can be categorized into two main poles: pro-government media that adopt the narrative that the report is "slander and framing," and critical media that provide space for investigative perspectives. Digital media and social media allow information to spread more widely, creating a multiplier effect that increases pressure on the government. However, as Ravazzani and Maier noted, media framing not only reflects power dynamics but also contributes to shaping them (Ravazzani & Maier, 2017). The government's defensive response reinforces the boomerang pattern, affirming the relevance of the criticism conveyed by OCCRP and other resistance actors.

OCCRP's Soft Power in Shaping Public Perception

Soft Power OCCRP in Shaping Public Perception can be analyzed using the theoretical framework developed by Joseph Nye on soft power (Nye, 2004). OCCRP, as a transnational media organization, uses its investigative capabilities and global network to

influence public perception of corruption issues in Indonesia. In influencing international reputation, OCCRP leverages its position as a credible investigative journalism institution to frame the narrative about corruption in Indonesia (Wahyuni, 2025). Through publications that place President Joko Widodo on the list of the most corrupt leaders, OCCRP significantly impacts Indonesia's image in the international arena. Entman's framing theory explains how OCCRP defines issues and provides moral judgments that contribute to global perceptions about governance in Indonesia (Eriyanto, 2002). Regarding the impact on domestic public trust, the boomerang pattern theory developed by Keck and Sikkink helps explain how OCCRP publications can influence domestic public opinion (Keck & Sikkink, 1998). When domestic media face limitations in criticizing the government, OCCRP reports become an alternative reference that legitimizes public discussions about corruption issues.

Pan and Kosicki, in their framing analysis theory, demonstrate how the discourse structure built by the media can influence public understanding of an issue (Pan et al., 2019). The effectiveness of OCCRP's use of soft power in raising the issue of corruption can be understood through the perspective of communication power as proposed by Manuel Castells (Castells, 2013). OCCRP uses a global communication network to build a credible narrative about corruption practices, influencing public perception and policymakers. OCCRP's success in building credibility as a reliable source of information strengthens the effectiveness of its soft power in influencing public discourse on corruption.

The implications of OCCRP's framing are not limited to public perception but also have a broader impact on the legitimacy of Jokowi's government at the international level. By placing Jokowi in the context of a leader involved in corrupt practices, OCCRP can affect Indonesia's diplomatic relations with other countries, especially regarding economic cooperation and investment. In this context, it is important to compare these findings with previous studies, such as those conducted by Yulistina & Kurniawan, demonstrating how media framing can influence public perception and government policy. This also opens up a discussion on how the boomerang pattern can operate in other political contexts, providing broader relevance for this research.

Furthermore, it is important to consider how OCCRP's framing differs from the soft power used by the state. OCCRP, as a

transnational media actor, uses soft power through investigative reports and media narratives to shape global perceptions of Jokowi's leadership. By placing Jokowi in the context of a leader involved in corrupt practices, OCCRP reveals issues that domestic media may overlook and creates international pressure that can influence domestic policies. Although this analysis provides valuable insights, it is important to acknowledge the limitations of this research, including potential bias in the selection of media sources and the subjective nature of framing analysis. Further research could explore how these biases affect outcomes and interpretations. Additionally, it is important to consider how OCCRP's framing differs from the soft power used by states and how this can influence domestic and international political dynamics.

Conclusion

This research underscores the pivotal role of the Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project (OCCRP) in shaping President Joko Widodo's image regarding corruption through a unique blend of framing analysis, soft power, and the boomerang pattern. By constructing narratives that expose political dynasties and conflicts of interest, OCCRP has influenced public perception and generated international pressure, empowering domestic media and civil society to address previously marginalized corruption issues. The study highlights the novelty of transnational media's impact on domestic political dynamics in Indonesia. While pro-government media often take a defensive stance, critical media utilize international reports to stimulate broader public discourse, illustrating the complex interplay between media, power, and public opinion.

For policymakers and media practitioners, the findings emphasize the need to engage with international narratives to enhance governance transparency and accountability. Future research should explore longitudinal studies on the long-term effects of OCCRP's framing and comparative analyses with other non-Western leaders to deepen our understanding of transnational media's role in domestic politics. This research also contributes to constructivist discourse in international relations by demonstrating how social interactions shape perceptions and identities, enriching our understanding of power dynamics and accountability in developing countries.

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