



## Dualisme Media di Indonesia dalam Pemberitaan RUU Kekerasan Seksual

### *Media Dualism in Indonesia's Coverage of the Sexual Violence Bill*

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**Abstract:** This research is motivated by two primary factors. First, the emergence of alternative news media can be considered as a counterbalance to the professional news media with their various biases. The second pertains to the protracted legislative process of the Sexual Violence Bill (RUU TPKS) before its eventual enactment. The objective of this study is to see examine these two media categories frame the protracted struggle in the legislative process of the TPKS Bill, given that framing reflects the media's perspective, which subsequently influence the audience's understanding of the issue. The subjects of this research are news related to the TPKS Bill as presented by both professional and alternative media in Indonesia. This research employs a qualitative approach in conjunction with the framing method developed by Robert Entman. This study's findings reveal diametrical contrast in the frames adopted by professional and alternative media in reporting the TPKS Bill. Professional media constructs a frame that characterizes the protracted discussion of the TPKS Bill in the DPR as a technical-procedural problem. In contrast, alternative media framed it as a result of the DPR's failure or lack of commitment to protect victims of sexual violence.

**Abstrak:** Penelitian ini dilatarbelakangi dua hal. Pertama, munculnya media berita alternatif yang dapat dilihat sebagai media tandingan terhadap media berita profesional. Kedua, berlarut-larutnya proses legislasi RUU Kekerasan Seksual (RUU TPKS) sebelum akhirnya disahkan. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah untuk melihat bagaimana kedua jenis media tersebut membingkai perjuangan berlarut-larut dalam proses legislasi RUU TPKS mengingat bingkai tersebut mencerminkan cara pandang media yang dapat mempengaruhi pemahaman khalayak terhadap isu tersebut. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dan metode framing yang dikembangkan oleh Robert Entman. Penelitian ini menunjukkan adanya perbedaan diametral dalam bingkai antara media profesional dan media alternatif yang memberitakan RUU TPKS. Media profesional menciptakan bingkai yang menempatkan berlarut-larutnya pembahasan RUU TPKS di DPR sebagai persoalan teknis-prosedural. Sebaliknya, media alternatif membingkainya sebagai kegagalan atau kurangnya komitmen DPR untuk melindungi korban kekerasan seksual.

## INTRODUCTION

The advent of social media, user engagement, and news-sharing trends has not only brought about transformations in the realm of journalism, but has also resulted in a paradigm shift in news production. That is why digital forms of news should be the focus in journalism studies (Bebić & Volarević, 2016). This research is spurred by this phenomenon, which shows changes in journalism associated with the development of digital technology. In addition to social media, technological advancements have created a proliferation of alternative online media outlets (often managed by non-professional media organizations).

Experts themselves have various definitions of the role of alternative online media in the context of journalism. These terms encompass digital news providers, blog news, and alternative online media. Nevertheless, all experts agree that the fundamental characteristics of these media practices are different from normative and autonomous journalism practices. They do not go through hierarchical layers to produce news content, are smaller in scale, are not restricted by bureaucracy and are usually funded by non-commercial sources (Ahmad, 2017; Doğu, 2015; Küng, 2015; Stringer, 2020). For this research, the term "alternative online media" is employed to distinguish it from professional online media often referred to as mainstream media, which can be defined as news media organizations characterized by a more hierarchical organizational structure, employment of professional journalists, more definite publishing routines and commercial financing (Holt et al., 2019; Reiter & Matthes, 2021). The presence of alternative online media, on one hand, challenges the monopoly of professional media coverage, particularly concerning their effort of winning engagement on

social media (Şahin & Ün, 2022; Reiter & Matthes, 2021).

The race for social media engagement has brought about the renegotiating journalism, introducing a standardized viral form of news. However, this viral logic is linked to technology and its implications for a new construct. Ideally, the media serves as a bridge between individuals, groups, communities, institutions, and social actors. In practice, the media constructs social reality in such a way as to add and remove facts or information, thereby shaping the news to align with the needs and expectations of power centers and other interest groups (Nišić & Plavšić, 2017). It becomes relevant to examine media framing, where reality is not denied entirely but is instead distorted accentuating specific aspects while omitting others. This distortion is usually accomplished using specific terms or connotations, source selection, unbalanced portions of speech in quotes, and adjectives. The primary goal is to frame information to convey a particular meaning or impression to the readers (Sudiby, 2013). Referring to Entman's classic thinking (Entman, 1993), framing involves the selection of specific issues and events to make them more prominent in communication texts to define specific problems, causal interpretations, and moral evaluations to provide recommendations for handling these problems. It means that the media will only highlight certain information that is considered necessary by the audience, while making other information seem meaningless.

In the pursuit of engagement on social media, it is imperative to inquire how professional news media and alternative online media's tendency in reporting sexual violence is primarily related to the Draft Law on Sexual Violence (RUU TPKS). What kind of frame dominates the

discourse? The media's perspective in crafting viral standard news can significantly influence audience understanding. Therefore, it is crucial to conduct a study of media coverage related to the issue of sexual violence.

Since the introduction of the TPKS Bill plan by the House of Representatives (DPR) in early 2022, there has been an upsurge in news coverage. According to Buzzsumo's competitor content analysis, there were 1,839 news articles with a total of 47,485 engagements related to the keyword "RUU TPKS." It's noteworthy that this number is too small in comparison to the Covid-19 vaccine issue, comprising 1,685,782 engagements with 7,822 news articles in February 2021.

Both issues are important, but the status of the TPKS Bill, formerly known as the PKS Bill, is different. The six-year wait did not guarantee that this issue would receive media attention. Since its initial introduction in 2016, this bill has been a subject of debate. As reported on the *beritasatu.com* page (Aulia, 2022), in 2017, the PKS Bill proposal from Komnas Perempuan and the Service Procurement Forum (FPL) received approval from 70 DPR members, officially making it a DPR initiative. Subsequently, the government and the Legislative Body (Baleg) of the DPR agreed to include the PKS Bill in the 2016-2019 Prolegnas. The government has assigned the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (KPPA) to compile an inventory draft, which was officially discussed with Commission VIII of the DPR.

However, the discussion of the bill primarily focused on its title and definition of sexual violence, hence neglecting the substance of the PKS bill. Even when President Jokowi's first term concluded, the bill remained unfinished. In 2020, Komnas Perempuan and the civil society community reintroduced the draft to the House of Representatives Baleg until it was

eventually included in the National Legislation Program (Prolegnas). However, on the way, the PKS Bill changed its name to the TPKS Bill (Aulia, 2022). However, the bill, which is expected to prevent sexual violence and protect survivors, remained undiscussed. The pretext is that this bill needs to be revised.

Regrettably, instead of criticizing, citing Rizky and Mar'iyah (2021), the media failed to position the PKS Bill as a proposed legislative product that is urgent to pass. Furthermore, the media engaged in polemics associating the draft bill with issues of adultery and LGBT. However, it was reported on the news when the name of the PKS Bill was changed to the TPKS Bill, which eliminated 85 articles and received 16 critical notes from the Jakarta Legal Aid Institute (LBH). However, the extensive media coverage did not align with substantial efforts to place the issue of protracted ratification to create policy advocacy that mobilizes the community for a more responsive government and DPR. A similar situation unfolded when the PKS Bill was removed from the 2020 National Legislation Program.

Based on Konde Institute's research (Konde Institute, 2020) related to the withdrawal of the PKS Bill from the 2020 National Legislation Program and the consistency in reporting the issue of sexual violence in three professional news media outlets with the top three Alexa rankings, namely Okezone, Tribunnews, and Kompas.com, there are several problems found in the coverage of the PKS Bill. First, most of the news is written in a hard news format and relies on viral or widely discussed events. Second, the sources diversity remains limited. In fact, sources are dominated by state institutions such as the DPR, the party that revoked the PKS Bill from the National Legislation Program. Meanwhile, sources from organizations assisting victims of sexual violence and women activists are still minimal. Third,

the news content is normative, which does not explore information about the benefits of the PKS Bill. Furthermore, the news content related to the issue of sexual violence largely lacks victim's perspective, such as the use of biased diction (*digagahi* and *digilir*), sensational (the perpetrator's lust) and weakening the victim's position (sad facts).

This reporting problem is not without reason. Over three decades, several studies have unveiled that the structural causes and stereotypes embedded in news reporting of sexual violence is underpinned by misogyny, patriarchy, and male supremacy (Noetzel et al., 2022a). For instance, the framing of domestic violence by mainstream newspapers rarely discussed its root causes, stemming from the patriarchal structure of society (Bullock, 2007). Other research also shows that the media's primary sources for covering sexual violence includes the police, lawyers, and judges, with limited input from academics or mental health professionals who aid victims. Consequently, the dominant media framing treats sexual violence as a legal matter rather than a systematic problem (Thakker & Durrant, 2006; Weatherred, 2015, 2017).

Recent research from Noetzel et al. (2022b) on the framing of sexual violence in media before and after the #metoo Twitter hashtag shows that sexual violence tends to be portrayed by the media in a sensationalized manner and focuses on the victim's guilt. This style of reporting offers more solutions about what victims can and should do, to avoid sexual violence. Consequently, the dominant frame that emerges tends to isolate survivors and downplay acts of sexual violence, discouraging victims from reporting the crimes they experienced. The media fixation on sexual violence as an incidental problem reduces the awareness of the need for more extensive social change. However,

none of the prior studies have compared professional news media's coverage of sexual violence with alternative news media based on engagement on social media. Echoing an argument put forth by Baresch et al. (2012), many framing studies still need to pay more attention to comprehensive information in the networked digital society. Audiences now access news from various social networks in cyberspace, meaning that news framing should not be confined to professional news media texts, because today news comes not only from professional newsrooms.

The primary objective of this research is to assess the extent to which media coverage of the TPKS Bill includes gender perspective. The dominant framing employed by the media tends to endure in the minds of audiences. Consequently, when the media obscures or ignores issues, audiences are practically unable to make an informed assessment regarding the content and substance of both the TPKS Bill and Permendikbut No. 30. Given that media framing can significantly impact social issues, including matters related to sexual violence, this research is important in scrutinizing the nature of media coverage whether it supports or "undermines" the TPKS Bill and Permendikbut No.30.

## **METHODS**

This research focuses on the news coverage provided by 21 media outlets, comprising professional news media and alternative online media, maintaining social media engagement over 50k. The definition of "engagement" may significantly vary in journalism practice. Some interpretations revolve around transactional interactions on social media, while others encompass the development of deeper relationships, and community organization transforming community members into a more participatory role in

news production (Denisova, 2022; Wenzel & Nelson, 2020). Given the objectives, this research adopts the former definition, namely transactional interaction on social media. In this context, “engagement” in this study refers to various forms of involvement and interaction on social media as measured by metrics such as likes, dislikes, comments, shares, visits, views, clicks, and tags (Perreault & Mosconi, 2018). The measurement of engagement relies on analytics and content research platform, BuzzSumo, renowned for its capability to collect billions of articles and their level of engagement. Using the keyword "TPKS Bill" on BuzzSumo, researchers found 55 news articles from 19 professional news media outlets. Additionally, alternative media achieving engagement level above 50k were Nu.or.id and Konde.co, accounting for a total of 17 news.

The method employed in this research is framing, developed by Robert Entman. This model proves invaluable for

examining how the media and journalist organize factual information and accentuates an issue to certain obscure aspects. Entman’s framework comprises four key elements of analysis. First, it involves defining problems by examining how the media comprehend an issue or event and how the media subsequently portray the issue or event. Second, it involves diagnosing causes, which diagnoses causal factors or forces responsible for generating specific problems. Third, moral evaluation is an assessment of the causes of the problem and their resulting impacts. Fourth, treatment recommendation focuses on the solutions or suggestions put forth by the media in response to the issue at hand. Related to these four elements, Entman in his work mentions that a news can contain all four parts, includes only certain features, or lacks any of the four aforementioned element of analysis (Entman, 1993). The following table provides an overview of the data processing tools employed in this research.

**Table 1.** Data Processing Tool (Entman, 1993)

<b><i>Define problems</i></b>	How is an event/issue seen? As what? Or as what problem?
<b><i>Diagnose causes</i></b>	What is the event seen to be caused by? What is considered to be the cause of the problem? Who (actors) are perceived as the cause of the problem?
<b><i>Make moral judgement</i></b>	What are moral values presented to explain the problem? What are moral values used to legitimize or delegitimize an action?
<b><i>Treatment Recommendation</i></b>	What solutions are offered to overcome the problem? What paths are shown and should be taken to overcome the problem

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Diametral Position of Professional Media Frames and Alternative Media

The findings of this study reveal the distinctive message packaging strategies used by professional and alternative news media. This research reveals that the main

frame of professional news media, which emphasizes the DPR's commitment to protecting vulnerable groups, is a result of their interviewing numerous legislative actors. Consequently, professional news media indirectly position political elites in Senayan as pivotal and dominant information sources. In contrast,

alternative media serves to fill the gap in the coverage of vulnerable groups left by professional news media. As a result, alternative media's main frame views the TPKS Bill's slow passage as a systematic failure of the DPR to protect vulnerable groups. In this context, alternative media assumes the role of disseminating counter-hegemonic discourse to enhance public awareness regarding the interests of the TPKS Bill ratification. For a more detailed exploration of the frame elements,

researchers will describe the data using the stages outlined by Entman above.

### Define Problems

In general, both professional and alternative media define the problems surrounding the TPKS Bill similarly. They both view the ratification of the TPKS Bill as slow and the process as protracted, but they differ in their emphasis, as shown in the following table 2.

**Table 2.** Comparison of Define Problems between Professional and Alternative Media

	<b>Professional Media</b>	<b>Alternative Media</b>
<b>Define Problems</b>	The ratification of the TPKS Bill has been slow and protracted.	The passage of the TPKS Bill needs to be faster and more laborious.

**Source:** Processed by researchers, 2022

Of the 19 professional news media, 11 media outlets (including Kompas.com, Detik.com, and Tempo.co, Tirto.id, Antaranews.com, Kumparan.com, Republika.co.id, Voi.id, Cnnindonesia.com, Bbcindonesia.com, and Voa.com) specifically displayed the frame of problem definition. Eight of these outlets tend to view the TPKS Bill as having not yet been passed because the DPR wants to ensure that the bill is discussed in accordance with the proper procedures. This inaction is more due to technical issues or legislative mechanisms than to substantial matters.

This is evident in the prominence of DPR leaders as the main actors in responding to criticism about the delay in discussing the bill led by Komnas Perempuan. Three leaders dominate the news: Speaker of the House of Representatives (Puan Maharani), Deputy Speaker (Sufmi Dasco Ahmad), and Chairman of the Working Committee (Panja) (Willy Aditya). When reporting Puan Maharani's statement, professional media tend to portray a cautious attitude so that this bill can avoid polemics due to technical errors. This indirectly leads

readers to believe that the DPR has exerted every possible effort to prevent procedural discrepancies. In practical terms, these media outlets define technical and procedural matters as the cause of the slow ratification of the TPKS Bill. However, this definition of the problem needs to provide a definitive answer as to why the TPKS Bill has remained in legislative stall for an extended duration.

To strengthen the frame of depicting the discussion of the TPKS Bill by the mechanism, professional media also highlighted executive actors to complement the DPR's statement. Five of eight media outlets, including Kompas.com, Detik.com, Tirto.id, Antaranews.com, and Kumparan.com, highlighted the statements of Deputy Minister of Law and Human Rights and Chair of the TPKS Bill Task Force Edward Omar Sharief and Presidential Chief of Staff Moeldoko, who expressed optimism that the TPKS Bill could be passed soon. The main frame describes the legislative and executive dialog efforts to accelerate the discussion of the TPKS Bill. When quoting executive officials, professional news media tend to highlight statements that illustrate the

commitment of these two state institutions. This tendency ignores the efforts of the JPHPKKS to encourage the government to issue a presidential letter and transparently compile the DIM immediately. The voices of activists criticizing the government's reluctance to involve public input in the DIM drafting process became one of the marginal issues. Transparent DIM preparation in the TPKS Bill drafting can accommodate the interests of victims and bridge the gap for groups attempting to smuggle articles to divert the substance of the Bill. In contrast, alternative media outlets, specifically Nu.or.id and Konde.co, tend to identify problems in discussing the TPKS Bill as a protracted and laborious process. This frame is evident in several sentences by Nu.or.id, such as "tortuous, the dynamics are extraordinary, various steps have been attempted." Meanwhile, Konde.co questions the lengthy discussion of this legislative product with a title that challenges the TPKS Bill, which remains unpassed despite ongoing cases of sexual violence.

Nu.or.id sees the protracted nature of the bill discussion as generating public confusion regarding the DPR's commitment to protecting victims of sexual

violence. This frame undoubtedly damages the DPR's credibility, creating the impression that there is no consensus within the DPR to protect victims of sexual violence and their families. This quote shows how Nu.or.id downplays the various procedural stages that must be passed in discussing legislative products. Instead of explaining the procedural process in the DPR, Nu.or.id spotlights the pros and cons prevalent in the community as the primary factor delaying the bill ratification, thus presenting the opposition as the guilty party. Nu.or.id attempts to construct the narrative that the promised ratification is likely to be postponed again due to the presence of opposing opinions, which hinder the DPR comprehension of the issue of sexual violence and obscure the initial substance of the TPKS Bill drafted by Komnas Perempuan.

### Diagnoses Causes

In the context of diagnosing the causes, there are notable distinctions between the two categories of media in describing factors contributing to the protracted ratification of the TPKS Bill. This difference is shown in table 3.

**Table 3.** Comparison of Professional and Alternative Media in Diagnosing Causes

	<b>Professional Media</b>	<b>Alternative Media</b>
<b>Diagnose Causes</b>	Due to technical-procedural problems, the slow pace of mutual understanding at the faction level	Due to a lack of commitment or systematic neglect to the protection of victims of sexual violence

**Source:** Researcher's Process, 2022

A total of 19 media professionals tend to frame the debate between factions in the DPR as the primary cause behind the delayed passage of the TPKS Bill, while 16 other media outlets agreed that the TPKS Bill's protracted deliberation is a consequence of the failure all factions to reach a common understanding. This framing creates unproductive discussions

in news narratives, as it dominantly quotes news sources from the elites within the DPR. From a total of 55 news articles, 84.2% quotes were sourced from political elites, while merely 15.8% included input from activists and survivors of sexual violence. For example Detik.com wrote "The DPR does not hinder ratification." Detik.com seems to present this statement

as a response to the accusations of pro-TPKS Bill parties who have been criticizing the slow progress of the legislative product. However, it neglects to describe the impact on victims of further delays to avoid procedural defects. It also marginalizes the criticism of several activists that the tug-of-war in the DPR is caused by the efforts of certain parties who want the TPKS Bill to only regulate aspects of prevention rather than emphasizing aspects of handling, protection, and recovery of victims (Utami, 2021).

Critics have neglected this fact in professional news media coverage of the bill. Furthermore, legal-formal rhetoric is related to legislative mechanisms that need to be understood by the public, such as plenary committees, initiative proposals, judicial review, presidential letters, DIM, and AKD. Another issue with the main frame of DPR's lack of understanding is that professional news media should strive to explain the substance behind the debates between factions. Conversely, alternative media attributed the failure and disappointment of the DPR to its inability to pass the TPKS Bill in 2021. Nu.or.id considers this failure to be <sup>OBJ</sup>. The use of the phrase "again postponed," by Nu.or.id is intended to emphasize that the DPR's repeatedly postponed the bill, which has disappointed victims, their families, and supporters. Moreover, the media's tendency to quote activists and academics makes the DPR a target of criticism in Nu.or.id's frame. Through statements such as "all this time we have been waiting for justice," Nu.or.id seeks to counter the defensive discourse by legislative actors who state <sup>OBJ</sup>.

In contrast to the framing adopted by the professional news media frame, which avoid intensive scrutiny of the DPR procedural stages, Nu.or.id quotes Anita Wahid to criticize the various procedural steps in *Senayan* that fail to create a safe space and protection for its citizens. For

Wahid, the DPR's failure to pass the TPKS Bill makes the steep road to creating justice for victims and survivors even harder. This situation raises everyone to question policymakers' commitment to developing solutions to realize safe spaces and protection for their citizens (Nu.or.id, December 17, 2021a).

The news quoted above indirectly illustrates the DPR's lack of empathy for victims of sexual violence. The various procedural stages the bill goes through are portrayed as the steep path of a system that fails to create justice, safe spaces, and protection for citizens. Another reality highlighted is the prominence of the diction "masculinity of the perpetrator" in *Konde.co*'s news coverage, which serves as a form of criticism of the slow process of discussing the TPKS Bill. This news was published in response to the incident in Mojokerto.

In the news quote, *Konde.co* appears to be attempting to lead readers to see that the masculinity of the perpetrator is influenced by the environment and the state system that does not favor victims of sexual violence. *Konde*'s use of the phrase "perpetrator's masculinity" also serves as a critical commentary on how gender power relations have made sexual violence cases difficult to handle. This is exacerbated by the government's failure to provide legal sanctions and the DPR's refusal to pass the TPKS Bill (*Konde.co*, December 6, 2021). By framing the issue in this way, *Konde.co* is seeking to position the discourse of truth within the "prerogative" of marginalized groups, with a focus on protecting the interests of victims of sexual violence. This is further reinforced by the fact that *Konde.co*'s coverage of the TPKS Bill discussion in *Senayan* is constructed in a way that generates negative sentiment towards the DPR's performance. For example, *Konde.co* accuses the DPR of considering sexual violence cases to be unimportant, allowing victims to suffer,

and protecting perpetrators of sexual violence. By constructing this reality, *Konde.co* is indirectly seeking to raise awareness among readers about the substance of the interests behind the ratification of the TPKS Bill.

**Moral Evaluation**

In relation to moral evaluation, the professional and alternative media have diametrically opposite positions. Researchers found that only 58% of news texts from professional media outlets had moral judgment, and only 11 media professionals were recorded as having moral judgment. The dominant frame

displayed in the professional media is the political commitment of the DPR amid a sexual violence emergency. However, the professional media have not presented a comprehensive discussion that shows the DPR's political commitment. Out of a total of 55 news texts, only 13 (24%) articles have in-depth coverage. In contrast, 42 (76%) news articles are hard news. Professional news media tend to limit themselves and rely on legislative sources, which may lead to a dogmatic interpretation of the DPR's political commitment and the sexual violence emergency. The difference in this position is shown in table 4.

**Table 4.** Comparison of Moral Evaluation of Professional and Alternative Media

	<b>Professional Media</b>	<b>Alternative Media</b>
<b><i>Moral Evaluation</i></b>	The House of Representatives has demonstrated its political commitment to passing the bill by deeming Indonesia to have entered a sexual violence emergency.	Parliament lacks commitment to the protection of victims of sexual violence

**Source:** Researcher's Process, 2022

As a result, professional media such as *detik.com* appear to only inform readers of the opinions of political elites, without providing adequate information about the party's actions in discussing the TPKS bill or questioning the DPR's commitment to supporting victims of sexual violence. This is likely due to the need for more in-depth coverage and the reliance on quoting official DPR written sources. In this context, it is inevitable that professional news media will positively prejudice the DPR by marginalizing counter-discourses, such as the substance of the TPKS Bill, which is still not in favor of persons with disabilities. For example, Article 25, paragraph 4 of the TPKS Bill allows for the exclusion of testimony from victims with disabilities. This has been called a form of state discrimination by activists (Gracia, 2022). The construction of news frames

that are too biased towards the political commitment of the DPR ultimately makes the professional news media frame less courageous in confronting the DPR elites. One of the reasons for this could be the 'symbiotic mutualism' that thrives between professional news media and the DPR elites. On the contrary, alternative media outlets are more courageous in confronting the DPR elite by empowering counter-discourses. This is reflected in the main frame that accuses the DPR of still turning a blind eye to the emergence of victims of sexual violence who dare to speak out in public. Interestingly, *Konde.co* juxtaposes the actions of victims of sexual violence with a quote from Malala Yousafzai, "*Jika kamu membaca salah satu quote Malala Yousafzai, aktivis perdamaian Pakistan, kamu pasti bakal tergetar* (If you read one of the quotes by Malala Yousafzai, a

Pakistani peace activist, you will definitely be moved)". Coba simak quote Malala ini: "Aku menaikkan suaraku bukan supaya aku bisa berteriak, tetapi agar mereka yang tidak bersuara bisa didengar" (Take a look at this Malala quote: "I raise my voice not so that I can shout, but so that those who do not speak can be heard)."

This juxtaposition is not without reason. Malala is the youngest Pakistani Nobel Peace Prize-winning female activist, who was targeted and shot in the head at the tender age of 14 by the Taliban for daring to speak out and fight for women's rights in education. By juxtaposing Malala's story with that of victims of sexual violence in Indonesia, *Konde.co* is suggesting that the intimidating treatment experienced by victims is a common experience for those who resist oppression. *Konde.co* also emphasizes the importance of speaking out, with the quote "so that those who do not speak out can be heard." When victims of sexual violence dare to speak out, it inspires other victims to do the same, creating a collective strength. This construction is strengthened by the specific case of a student victim of sexual harassment from her lecturer who was held in a toilet and had her name removed from the list of judges. *Konde.co* sees this case as a form of resistance.

In line with *Konde.co*, *Nu.or.id*'s main frame portrays the complexity experienced by survivors of sexual violence who find the courage to speak up, driven by the realization that a majority of cases end without certainty. This fact makes *Nu.or.id* regret the DPR's stance, as shown in the following quote.

*Sebagai masyarakat, saya kecewa dengan sikap DPR yang tidak melihat ini sebagai hal yang urgen untuk direspon. Padahal, kasus kekerasan seksual ini sudah banyak sekali,"*terang Anggota Majelis Kongres Ulama Perempuan Indonesia (KUPI) ini (As a member of the community, I am disappointed with the DPR's failure to see this as an urgent matter that requires a response. In fact, cases of sexual violence are alarmingly prevalent," explained the member of Anggota Majelis Kongres Ulama Perempuan Indonesia (KUPI) (*Nu.or.id*, 2021c).

### Treatment Recommendation

The diametrically opposed position professional and alternative media are also evident in their treatment recommendations, as illustrated in table 5.

**Table 5.** Comparison of Professional and Alternative Media in Treatment Recommendation

	Professional Media	Alternative Media
<b>Treatment Recommendation</b>	The House of Representatives must pass the TPKS Bill to fill the material and formal legal vacuum related to sexual violence.	Parliament must pass the TPKS bill so that victims of sexual violence do not lose their right to life.

**Source:** Researcher's Process, 2022

As shown in Table 4, the research findings show that only 11 professional news media explicitly offer solutions, namely the passage of the TPKS Bill, which is considered to fill a material and formal

legal vacuum not facilitated by other legislation. Notably, the reliance of professional news media on DPR sources makes the recommendation frame focus on the DPR's work in making this legislation

product a DPR initiative bill, as seen in the following news example:

*“Jadi ketika DPR mengetuk palu mensahkan RUU TPKS ini sebagai RUU usulan DPR, kerja keras kita selama ini tidak sia-sia. Tinggal nanti kita kawal terus sejauh mana pembahasan antara DPR dan pemerintah untuk RUU TPKS ini,” kata Willy (So when the DPR ratified the TPKS Bill as a bill proposed by the DPR, our hard work so far was not in vain. We just have to monitor the extent of the discussions between the DPR and the government regarding this TPKS Bill, said Willy (Kompas.com, 2021).*

There is one thing missing from Kompas.com's coverage above. While highlighting the DPR's hard work, Kompas.com fails to urge the DPR and the government to discuss the TPKS Bill transparently with the participation of victim advocates, activists, academics, and representatives of vulnerable groups. Consequently, Kompas.com's recommendation frame is incomplete and fails to offer comprehensive recommendations, such as ensuring that the TPKS Bill does not contain any provisions that conflict with the Criminal Code Law in a way that could harm victims of sexual violence.

The frame of recommendations offered by the alternative media Nu.or.id and Konde.co urges the DPR to immediately pass the TPKS Bill so that victims do not lose their human rights. For Konde.co, ratifying the TPKS Bill is a way for the state to ensure that there are no more victims of sexual violence. Konde.co strengthens its recommendations by highlighting the rampant cases of sexual violence in religious and educational institutions as evidence of the increasingly shrinking safe space for women. Therefore, the TPKS Bill, which has been advocated for seven years without success, must be

passed immediately as a legal umbrella to prevent sexual violence and protect its victims (Konde.co, 2021). In line with Konde.co, Nu.or.id also published an urgent statement from Maria Ulfah Anshor of the Komisi Nasional Perempuan (Nu.or.id, 2021b).

By quoting Komnas Perempuan's statement, Nu.or.id aims to suggest that the failure to pass the TPKS Bill is due to a conflict of interest among the political elite. Nu.or.id reminds legislators not to be preoccupied with the interests of their groups and to avoid making this bill a mere political commodity. With the sentence "if not we question his commitment," Nu.or.id emphasizes that the DPR's lack of responsiveness will erode public confidence in the institution.

Nu.or.id's call for the immediate passage of the TPKS Bill for the benefit of victims is also evident in its coverage of the issue of transparency, which is ignored by professional news media. Highlighting the perspectives of activists and advocates for victims of sexual violence, Nu.or.id emphasizes that the unclear status of the TPKS Bill creates confusion and makes it difficult for the public to monitor. By highlighting this issue, Nu.or.id is indirectly demanding that the DPR allow the public to be heard and considered, so that the bill is not undermined by problems that harm victims of sexual violence. (Nu.or.id, 2021a).

### **Dualism of Media Faces and the Battle for Media Power**

The juxtaposition of professional news media and alternative online media frames in the coverage of the TPKS Bill has resulted in a dualism of media faces, with professional media representing an elitist perspective and alternative media representing a populist perspective.

Within the context of the elitist face of professional media, this study's findings imply that media of any form is always

imbued with elements of power and negotiations between actors and groups seeking to gain influence. Drawing on Foucault's conception of power, the dualism of media faces reveals how various institutions exercise power to assert identity and resist power. (Heizmann & Olsson, 2015; Krasmann, 2017; Portschy, 2020; Sergiu, 2010; Shimal & Hanif, 2020).

Meanwhile, in the context of the populist face, if it refers to the four core elements of populism, namely (a) the people; (b) moral content; (c) battle against; (d) the elite; then populism means the moral battle of ordinary people (oppressed people) against the elite. This conception makes alternative media synonymous with populist movements, as so-called alternative media has the potential to form a counter-discourse to the political discourse of the professional news media (Müller & Schulz, 2021a).

This research reveals that professional news media rely heavily on elite sources as crucial determiners. Only elite sources have access to determine media frames and shape long-term meanings. The monopoly of select sources in media frames restricts access to more heterogeneous voices in public debates (Kleemans et al., 2015; Splendore, 2017).

Indeed, of the 19 professional news media studies, 16 were replete with elitist frames, poor debate, and limited access to the voices of community groups. When constructing news related to the TPKS Bill, professional news media opted for "playing it safe" by using inconsistent frames. Meanwhile, the three professional news media outlets that opened space for debate by providing a platform for community groups in the news text, namely CNNIndonesia.com, BBCIndonesia.com, and VOA.com, were "drowned out" by the frames of the 16 dominant media outlets that produced news that reflected hegemonic political power. This argument

is supported by the fact that DPR elites were the dominant news sources, cited in 84.2% of news texts. This confirms Gitlin's argument that by privileging the voices of elites who hold formal power, the media indirectly manipulates the public with the constructions it frames — portraying the DPR as the "heroic" party demonstrates how elite access to news discourse allows them to set the framework in which specific stories are discussed. This construction also serves as a means for elites to use news to maintain their authority and reinforce their social power (Carlson, 2009; Chang et al., 2020; Groshek & Han, 2011a). In the theoretical realm, the media's ideal function is to speak for oppressed groups (Mast & Temmerman, 2021; Simons & Strovsky, 2019), but this ideal practice often fails in the real world. Professional news media routines that favor formal power structures make it difficult for the media to fulfill this superior function of providing a diverse space for dialogue.

Professional news media, at this point, prefer to serve as a channel of communication between party elites. This close relationship with political power means that the media frame is dominated by the views of the party elites (Lau, 2012; Lopez, 2016). In Bourdieu's theory, the media's covert use of elite opinions legitimizes its ideas. Thus, professional news media is not an open arena but a limited one that favors the dominant group by silencing the voices of actors or groups that oppose the dominant discourse (Anastasiou, 2017; Lindell, 2015; Wijayanto, 2019).

Alternative media frames, which are synonymous with the emergence of grassroots political movements and political activism (Harcup, 2011; Howard & Hussain, 2013; Leung & Lee, 2014) are reflected in the frames of Nu.or.id and Konde.co. These two media outlets have different interest backgrounds. Nu.or.id is affiliated with Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), an

Islamic religious-based community organization (Fahrudin, 2021). Konde.co was founded by a group of individuals who share concerns about marginalization, discrimination, subordination, violence, and negative stigma towards women and marginalized communities (Martalena & Yoetadi, 2019). Given these backgrounds, it is not surprising that Nu.or.id and Konde.co tend to carry populist or counter-narratives (Müller & Schulz, 2021b). In Laclau and Mouffe's conceptualization, populism is present when a large group of people has defined themselves as "the people" and sees themselves in a moral battle against the elite. These people are groups with significant interests and values that are ignored by the political elite (Mansbridge & Macedo, 2019). In this context, Nu.or.id's frame attempts to mobilize the public to fight against the political elite in the DPR, who delayed the discussion of the TPKS Bill.

Alternative media's capacity to involve audiences and facilitate counter-hegemonic public space (Groshek & Han, 2011b) is also evident in its presentation of women activists who provide facts about the twists and turns of the TPKS Bill's long journey through the DPR. This construction offers oppositional content that counters the information monopoly and provides readers with complex, non-one-dimensional news (Fuchs, 2010).

According to Groshek and Han, alternative media coverage has significantly contributed to the rise of the feminist movement (Groshek & Han, 2011b). This is evident in the way alternative media frames the TPKS Bill, which shows a form of resistance to the dominance of masculinity. For example, alternative media uses the term "masculinity of the perpetrator" to criticize the DPR, implying that the DPR believes it is "normal" for men to control women's bodies. Indirectly, perpetrator masculinity involves power relations between

individuals and contextual factors outside themselves (Wang et al., 2019).

In light of this issue, alternative media appears to normalize accusations of government failure to protect vulnerable groups such as women and children. From a critical perspective, alternative media empowers socially and culturally marginalized voices who struggle to convey their messages to a broad audience (Holt, 2020a). These marginalized voices may be victims or survivors of sexual violence who lack access to professional news media discourse. Alternative media positions itself as a corrective force for professional news media, but its frames tend to be dogmatic and uncritical (Holt, 2020b; Reiter & Matthes, 2021).

## CONCLUSIONS

The findings of this study reveal stark differences in the news framing of the TPKS Bill between professional news media and alternative media. This difference is closely linked to the extent to which these two media outlets establish dominant and marginal frames, either in highlighting or obscuring specific issues/actors in their news coverage. When subjected in Entman's analytical framework, the narratives from these two media categories consistently emphasize or prioritize divergent issues/actors. Professional media predominantly present the DPR as the central figure in framing the discussion of the TPKS Bill. Consequently, their frames often exonerate the delay in discussing the TPKS Bill, interpreting them as the DPR's commitment to safeguarding victims of sexual violence. The predominance of a straightforward news format, lacking in-depth coverage is a key factor limiting comprehensive discussions. As a result, the substance of the information presented needs to be completed and biased toward the dominant group. In contrast, alternative media counteract this narrative by highlighting

activists and academics as the primary actors shaping the trajectory of the TPKS Bill. Consequently, they often present DPR responsible for the protracted discussion of the TPKS Bill in Senayan. This accusation is ultimately seen as a systematic failure of the DPR to protect victims of sexual violence. Additionally, alternative media often frame their coverage by criticizing formal power structures, thereby providing alternative space for resistance to marginalized groups. However, investigations into the construction of

alternative media frames that frequently challenge dominant discourses remain unexplored.

This study argues that there are compelling need for critical discourse-based research that examines journalistic practices not only in terms of news content but also delve into the complexity of alternative media newsrooms. Such research is vital for comprehending the power relations between these media actors and the dominant power structures.

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