JURNAL KOMUNIKASI VOL 18. NO. 1, 2023

The Dualism of Media Faces in Indonesia in the Coverage of the Sexual Violence Bill

CATATAN PERBAIKAN

No.	Hal	Catatan Reviewer 1	Sebelum	Sesudah
1	1	Abstract This research does not explain what kind of alternative media, the subject should be strengthened by the extent of public trust in the media so that alternative media can refer to the information presented.	First, the emergence of alternative news media can be seen as a counter-media to the professional news media with their various tendencies	First is the emergence of alternative news media, which is a counter-media that tends to feature minority voices compared to professional news media.
2	1	Introduction The background of the problem should start with the phenomenon that occurs, not the existing literature. this is a type of framing research, it should present a social discourse on the phenomenon.	The advent of social media, user engagement, and newssharing trends has not only brought about changes in the journalism profession. Still, it has also resulted in a shift in news creation. That is why digital forms of news should be an essential focus in journalism studies (Bebić & Volarević, 2016). This research stems from this, which shows the phenomenon of changes in journalism related to the development of digital technology. In addition to social media, technological developments have created a proliferation of alternative online media (managed by non-professional media organizations).	Twelve years ago, on February 3, 2011, the media in Indonesia was shocked by the news that a woman from Indonesia, Imanda Amalia, was killed amid political struggles in Egypt. Several media outlets displayed photo of women wearing white headscarves, whether Imanda or not. Some media even used the diction "gugur", which placed Imanda heroically with the narrative of witnessing the "keajaiban jihad". Then, out of nowhere, media reports said that Imanda was a UGM student in Yogyakarta and in good health. So, who exactly is the Imanda in question? All online media that reported Imanda's death referred to information in the Science of Universe Facebook group. This page contains photos, comments from someone claiming to be Imanda's friend and Imanda's last message, "Doakan Manda, kami terjebak dalam

baku tembak", which almost all online media quoted. Later it was discovered that the photo of the woman in the white hijab was Farina, not Imanda. Who exactly is Imanda? It is not clear. The media coverage also disappeared (Margianto & Syaefullah, 2012). This phenomenon continued seven years after Imanda's case in 2018; Jawapos.com had to clarify false reporting related to the Muslim Cyber Army, whose source was only based on popular topics on social media (Putranto, 2018).

The story of Imanda and Jawapos.com shows that social media has become a news-breaking tool that makes the news verification process instead of the news content the end of the journalistic verification discipline. This phenomenon is also an affirmation that discourse in online media reflects social media discourse and can be a dominant frame that describes the interpretation of social issues in digital society (Ahmed, Cho, & Jaidka, 2019). This statement is in line with Bebić & Volarević's opinion that the presence of social media, user engagement, and newssharing trends has not only brought changes to the journalism profession but also has an impact on shifts

				in news creation. That is why digital forms of news should be an important focus in journalism studies (Bebić & Volarević, 2016). This research stems from this, which shows the phenomenon of changes in the journalism profession related to the development of digital technology. In addition to social media, technological developments have created a proliferation of alternative online media (managed by non-professional media organizations) organization.
3	2	Introduction Not seen in the background of the problem questioning the confusion of information flows but already giving an opinion	The scramble for social media engagement has the consequence of renegotiating journalism by introducing a standardized viral form of news. However, viral logic is related to technology and its implications for new construction. Ideally, the media communicates 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, thus shaping the news that suits the needs and even expectations of power centers and other interest groups (Nišić & Plavšić, 2017).	Several previous studies have shown that when professional media choose not to reveal important aspects of social and political reality, alternative media take a position to represent realities that are often ignored to represent marginalized individuals and groups. At this point, the construction of alternative media frames tends to criticize the interests of dominant groups, such as issues of capitalism and patriarchy. In contrast, professional media frames tend to be trapped in entrenched norms and values (Doğu, 2015; Kenix & Jean, 2011). This difference in frames is evident in the coverage of the viral staycation case as a condition of the employment

contract. Instead of focusing on the sexual harassment experienced by female workers, several professional media highlight titles such as Karyawati yang Diajak Staycation Bos Suka Pamer Gaya Hedon di Medsos", Gaya Hidup AD Karyawati vang Diajak Staycation Bos di Cikarang Terbongkar, Ternyata Sering ke Hotel", and "Terjawab, Barang Mahal Karyawati yang Diajak Ngamar Bos Dibelikan Sosok Ini, Diner Romantis di Hotel". These headlines also tend to be sourced from social media and victim-blaming comments from netizens who consider ADs to be "players" or "pro players" and therefore deserve to be victims of harassment (Bhenageerushtia, 2023). In contrast, alternative media such as *Konde.co*, through the title "Buruh Perempuan Dipaksa 'Staycation': Kontrak Kerja Jadi Celah Eksploitasi", focuses on the construction of sexual violence and exploitation of AD as a female labourer rather than on AD's lifestyle or physique (Ika, 2023).

The difference between mainstream and alternative media frames on viral issues, such as AD's case, shows that there is a struggle in the involvement of construction in social media. This struggle has consequences for

				renegotiating journalism by introducing a standardized form of viral news. However, viral logic is linked to technology and its implications for new constructions. Ideally, the media communicates between individuals, groups, communities, institutions and social actors. In practice, the media constructs social reality in such a way as to add and subtract facts or information, thus shaping news that suits the needs and even expectations of power centers and other interest groups (Nišić & Plavšić, 2017).
4	3	Introduction This issue of information should be highlighted and focused on. This research is that framing should be very focused on the reporting of	When fighting for engagement on social media, the question that needs to be asked is how professional news media and alternative online media's tendency to report sexual violence is primarily related to the Draft Law on Sexual Violence (RUU TPKS). What kind of frame is dominant? The media's perspective in creating viral standard news can influence audience understanding. So in this framework, it is essential to conduct a study of media coverage related to the issue of sexual violence. Since the plan to pass the TPKS Bill was rolled out by the House of Representatives (DPR) in early 2022, the news trend has increased. From Buzzsumo's competitor	When fighting for engagement on social media, the question that needs to be asked is how professional news media and alternative online media's tendency to report sexual violence is primarily related to the Draft Law on Sexual Violence (RUU TPKS). What kind of frame is dominant? The media's perspective in creating viral standard news can influence audience understanding. So in this framework, it is essential to conduct a study of media coverage related to the issue of sexual violence. Since the plan to pass the TPKS Bill was rolled out by the House of Representatives (DPR) in early 2022, the news trend has increased.

content analysis, there were From Buzzsumo's competitor 1,839 news articles with a total content analysis, there were of 47,485 engagements related 1.839 news articles with a to the keyword "RUU TPKS." total of 47,485 engagements It should be underlined that related to the keyword "RUU this number is too small when TPKS." It should be compared to the Covid-19 underlined that this number vaccine issue, which is too small when compared penetrated 1,685,782 to the Covid-19 vaccine engagements with 7,822 news issue, which penetrated articles in February 2021. 1,685,782 engagements with 7,822 news articles in February 2021. A genderperspective news frame also does not follow the number of news reports. Based on Konde.co research on the content of professional media coverage, it was found that the media was inconsistent in reporting on the issue of sexual violence with a justice perspective for victims and dominated sensationalism in diction or sentences. Sentences that invite sensation, such as "disetubuhi", "pelaku punya ilmu hitam", "dicabuli", and "digilir", are dominantly written in the news content. The sources used by professional media are not yet diverse and are still dominated by authoritative sources (Tan, 2020). 5 17 **Conclusion** The findings of this study This study's findings show show sharp differences in the sharp differences in the news frames of the TPKS Bill framing of the TPKS Bill Problem-solving and between professional news news between professional analysis must be improved, media and alternative media. and alternative media. This the lack of criticality of the This difference is related to the difference relates to how the problem becomes a degree to which the two media two media make dominant problem. we see it as create dominant and marginal and marginal frames in systematic literature data, frames in highlighting or emphasizing or obscuring

rather than focusing on the phenomenon.

obscuring specific issues/actors in their news frames. When placed in Entman's analysis scheme, the news texts of the two media types tend to emphasize or highlight diametrically different issues/actors.

On the one hand, professional media presented the DPR as the leading actor who dominantly framed the discussion of the TPKS Bill. As a result, the frames developed tend to excuse the delay in discussing the TPKS Bill. This delay is even interpreted as the DPR's commitment to protecting victims of sexual violence. The straight news format that lacks in-depth coverage is also the reason for the closed space for a comprehensive discussion. As a result, the substance of the information presented needs to be completed and biased toward the dominant group.

On the other hand, alternative media creates a counter-frame by presenting activists and academics as the main actors who dominantly frame the journey of the TPKS Bill. Consequently, the DPR is the guilty party regarding the slow discussion of the TPKS Bill in Senayan. This accusation is ultimately interpreted as a systematic failure of the DPR to protect victims of sexual violence. In addition, alternative media tend to frame

specific issues/actors in their news frames. If placed in Entman's analysis scheme, the news texts of the two media types tend to emphasize or accentuate diametrically different issues/actors.

Overall, the research findings on professional news media frames show that the dominant media frames focus on legislative discourse, bureaucracy, and political parties. Of the 55 news articles analyzed 34 sources from the political elite, especially the DPR, and as many as 27 elites appeared as the primary source. Meanwhile, 22 sources from non-elite circles are only used as complements and tend to be placed in the final two paragraphs. This fact explains why the issue of the TPKS Bill is still considered a narrow issue and has not become a common urgency. The reason is that the DPR elite has made the professional news media frame more focused on skinning the problems in the TPKS Bill rather than positioning the legislative product as an urgent proposal to be passed. This is reflected in 17 news articles highlighting the rejection of the PKS faction, which considers this bill to legalize adultery and same-sex relationships. In addition, 45

criticizing formal power that provides alternative resistance space for marginalized groups. However, investigations related to the construction of alternative media frames that often criticize the dominant discourse have not been widely carried out. This study argues that critical discoursebased research that looks at journalistic practices not only on news content but also the complexity of alternative media newsrooms needs to be done. To understand how the power relations of these media actors are against the dominant power structure.

news articles focused on constructing the dynamics of the TPKS Bill in the DPR plenary session. At the same time, the rest featured the government's version of construction and the press statement of DPR Deputy Speaker Muhaimin Iskandar. Thus, the news frame of the TPKS Bill in the professional news media shows how the issue of sexuality is so dominantly exploited politically by the elite. Consequently, criticism of the DPR's performance tends to be overlooked by professional mass media coverage. The straight news format lacks depth, and this is also why comprehensive discussion is closed. As a result, the substance of the information presented is incomplete and biased towards the dominant group.

In contrast, the overall findings of alternative media frames show that Nu.or.id and Konde.co dominantly take the victim's perspective frame position. As a result, the frames of these two media focus on advocating for the TPKS Bill, which is considered abandoned in the DPR. This fact brings an important note that Nu.or.id, as a religion-based media, goes against the flow of religious discourse, which opposes these legislative products' existence. Of the 16 news reports, 12 NU

figures appeared as the primary source, with narratives supporting and straightening various religious misunderstandings associated with the TPKS Bill. These figures have a uniform narrative, criticizing the performance of the DPR, which is considered indifferent to victims of sexual violence. As for *Konde.co*, despite appearing with only one news story, the construction depicted always places victims of sexual violence as the main subject in the news frame. With this construction, the frame displayed by *Konde.co* dominantly questions and sues the DPR, which is considered to protect perpetrators of sexual violence and does not play a role in representing the interests of victims. Featuring two female activists as the primary sources who narrate the injustices received by victims, Konde.co frame generally sees the failure of the TPKS Bill to be passed in 2021 as a state deadlock and the systematic sterility of the DPR to protect vulnerable groups.

The frames of *Nu.or.id* and *Konde.co* show that alternative media tend to frame criticism of formal power that provides alternative resistance space for marginalised groups.

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	much investigation into the
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	media actors are against the
	dominant power structure.

REVIEWER 1

	T		1 2
			only from
			professional
			newsrooms. But also
			alternative media that
			become a
			counterpoint to
			professional media
			discourse.
Metode	Apakah metode telah	Terlalu teknis lupa	In Entman's
	memaparkan dengan jelas	pada kajian kritisnya	conception, framing
	langkah-langkah	sehinga terlihat malah	plays a significant
	penelitian? Apakah metode	seperti penelitian	role in showing the
	yang digunakan sesuai	positivistik	socio-political power
	dengan objek/subjek kajian	Pesteria	of dominant actors or
	dan masalah yang dikaji		groups. In the issue
	dalam penelitian?		of the TPKS Bill, the
	daram penemum.		frames of
			professional media
			and alternative media
			will show 'traces of
			power' that produce
			debates between
			actors or groups.
			Herein lies the power
			of media text framing
			to express the results
			of unevenly
			distributed power.
			This distribution will
			be seen from the
			struggle over the
			discourse of
			professional media
			and alternative media
			that accuse each other
			of being the cause of
			the failure of the slow
			passage of the TPKS
			Bill and religious
			discourse that
			considers it a "sin" if
			this bill is passed.
			This discourse
			struggle illustrates
			how the media
			reinforce or counter-
	<u> </u>		remnotes of counters

			dominant images that exist in society about specific issues.
Hasil dan Pembahasan	Apakah hasil penelitian telah dipaparkan dengan jelas dan menjawab masalah penelitian?	Belum	Overall, the research findings on professional news media frames show that the dominant media frames focus on legislative discourse, bureaucracy, and political parties. In contrast, the
			overall findings of alternative media frames show that Nu.or.id and Konde.co dominantly take the victim's perspective frame position. As a result, the frames of these two media focus on advocating for the TPKS Bill, which is considered abandoned in the DPR.
	Apakah ide penulis yang dikaitkan dengan penelitian-penelitian terdahulu?	Belum	For over three decades, several studies have found the structural causes and stereotypes inherent in news reporting of sexual violence rooted in misogyny, patriarchy, and male supremacy (Noetzel et al., 2022a). For example, news framing of domestic violence found that few

mainstream newspapers discussed the causes of violence stemming from the patriarchal system of society(Bullock, 2007). Other research also shows that the media's primary sources when covering sexual violence come from the police, lawyers, and judges, with little input from academics or mental health professionals who assist victims. As a result, the dominant media framing refers to sexual violence as a legal issue 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 news before and after the Twitter hashtag #metoo still shows that sexual violence tends to be portrayed by the media in a sensationalized manner and focuses on the victim's guilt. This kind of reporting offers more solutions about what victims can and should do to

			avoid sexual violence. As a result, the dominant frame that emerges is to ostracize survivors and minimize acts of sexual violence so that victims choose not to report the crimes they experience. The media focuses too much on sexual violence as an incidental problem that makes people less aware of the need for more significant social change. However, none of the previous studies focused on the frames of professional and alternative media on the issue of sexual violence. In fact, how sexual violence events are constructed in the newsroom can show the ideological tendencies of these two media that shape news frames.
Implikasi	Apakah naskah secara jelas menyebutkan implikasi temuan pada penelitian lanjutan atau pada pengembangan teori atau pada masyarakat? Jika telah menyebutkan implikasi, apakah implikasi naskah sesuai dengan hasil dan kesimpulan?	Belum	No previous research has focused on the frames of professional and alternative media on the issue of sexual violence. In fact, how sexual violence events are constructed in the newsroom can show

	the ideological
	tendencies of the two
	media that shape
	news frames. This is
	also a contribution of
	this research to
	society, which can
	form reader
	awareness regarding
	the media news
	consumed. This
	research can provide
	literacy to the public
	that reading news
	needs to be done
	critically. This is
	because when the
	media delivers news,
	what is conveyed is
	not only about
	information but
	implicitly offers a
	point of view to
	understand the
	information
	displayed. That is
	where the importance
	of media framing
	analysis research lies.

REVIEWER 2

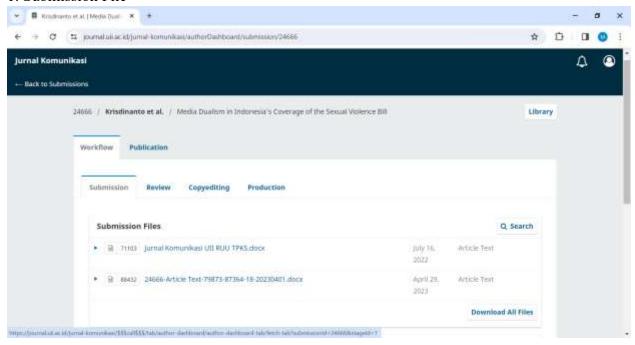
No	CATATAN REVISI	SEBELUM REVISI	SETELAH REVISI
1	Abstrak:	frame, alternative media,	alternative media,
	It should be alphabetical order	professional media, sexual violence bill	frame, professional media, sexual violence bill
2	<u>Pendahuluan:</u>		Peneliti telah
			menambahkan studi
	Clarify professional and		literatur berupa
	alternative media concepts		penelitian terkini untuk
	based on literature review		memperjelas konsep
			media profesional dan
			media alternative
3	<u>Pendahuluan:</u>		Meanwhile, the
			alternative online media

	Why konde.co and nu.or.id as the object of alternative media? It should have a reasons also		in question are konde.co and nu.or.id. The reason is that the frames of these two media are synonymous with grassroots political movements and political activism that reflect the populist movement of the media (Harcup, 2011; Howard & Hussain, 2013; Leung & Lee, 2014).
4	Pendahuluan: Theory that been used to analysis the problem should be elaborate	Leaning on the constructivist paradigm, this research will use the Entman model of framing analysis. This analysis method offers four analytical tools: define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgment, and suggest remedies. These four analytical frameworks will see how media frames accentuate one reality by obscuring another (Entman, 1993).	Based on the constructivist paradigm, this research will use Entman's framing analysis model. This method of analysis offers four analytical tools: problem definition, problem cause diagnosis, moral decision-making, and problem solving. These four analytical frameworks will look at how the media frames one reality by obscuring another (Entman, 1993). The reason is that framing studies remain a strong area of research in political communication, especially as the emergence of social media such as Twitter and Facebook has made media narratives now viral in nature (López-Rabadán, 2021). That is, there are important consequences created by the presence of social media on the framing of media texts (Chadwick, Vaccari, & O'Loughlin, 2018; Entman & Usher, 2018; Knüpfer & Entman, 2018).

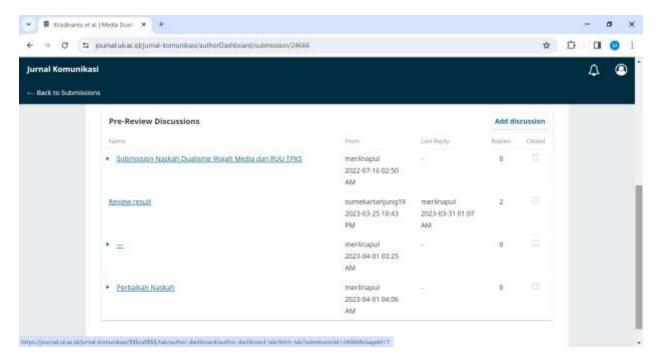
5	Temuan:		Peneliti telah melakukan
	T-::-::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::		verifikasi data dengan
	Is it verified to make judgement that all		menambahkan prosentase untuk
	professional had the same		menjelaskan
	diagnose causes and moral		kecenderungan yang
	evaluation?		sama dalam frame
			diagnose causes dan
			moral evaluation
6	<u>Diskusi:</u>	In fact, of the 19	In fact, of the 19
		professional news media	professional news media
	It should be shown about	studies, 16 were full of elitist	studies, 16 were full of
	this fact with data, not just	frames, poor debate, and	elitist frames, poor
	an summary without scientific data	closed access to the voices	debate, and closed
	scientific data	of community groups.	access to the voices of
		Professional news media	community groups.
		chose to "play it safe" with	Professional news media
		inconsistent frames when	chose to "play it safe"
		constructing news related to	with inconsistent frames
		the TPKS Bill. Meanwhile,	when constructing news
		the construction of three	related to the TPKS Bill.
		professional news media	Meanwhile, the
		such as CNNindonesia.com,	construction of three
		BBCindonesia.com, and	professional news media
		VOA.com, which opened up	such as
		space for debate by	CNNindonesia.com,
		providing a place for	BBCindonesia.com, and
		community groups in the	VOA.com, which opened
		news text, had to be	up space for debate by
		"drowned" by the frames of	providing a place for
		the 16 dominant media that	community groups in
		gave birth to news on	the news text, had to be
		hegemonic political power.	"drowned" by the frames
		negemonic pontical power.	of the 16 dominant
			media that gave birth to
			news on hegemonic
			political power. The
			argument is shown by
			the dominant citation of
			political elites as news
			sources, with 84.2% of
			news texts citing DPR
			elites.

BUKTI KORESPONDENSI

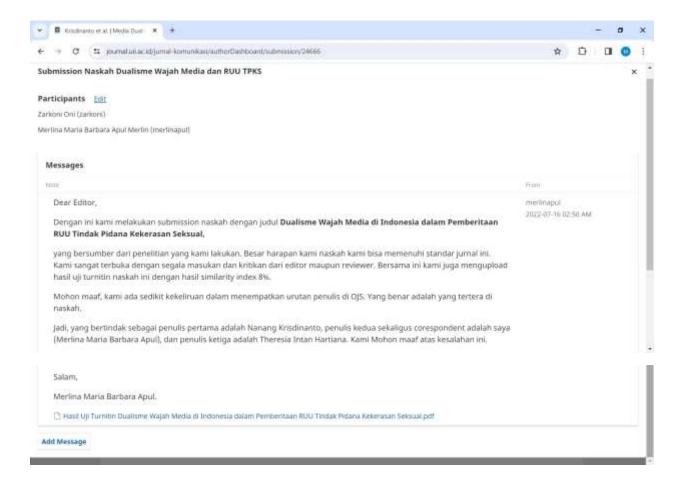
1. Submission File



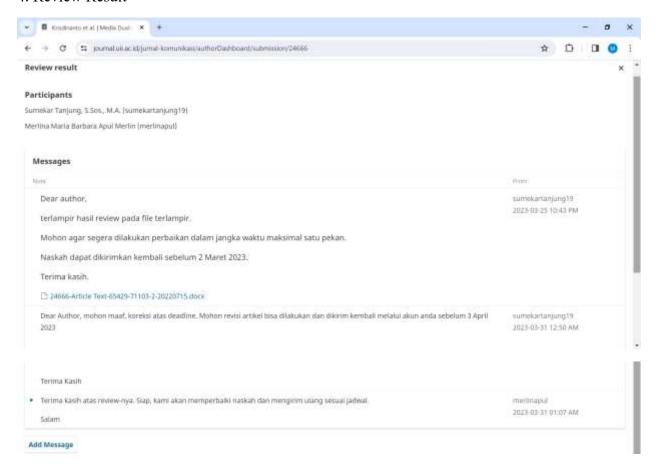
2. Pre Review Discussions



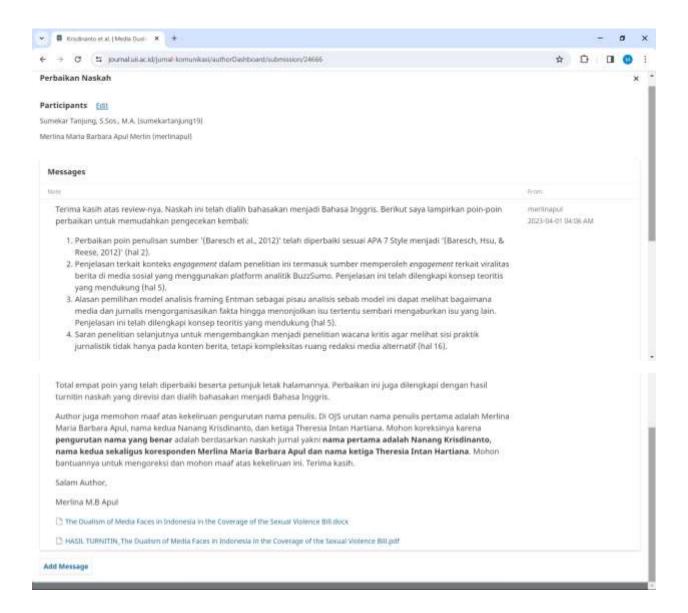
3. Chat Submisson Naskah



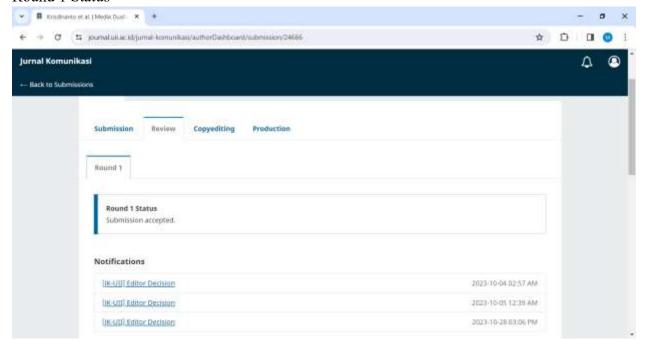
4. Review Result



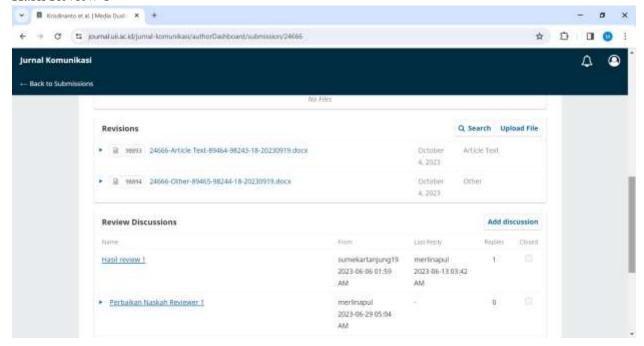
5. Perbaikan Naskah

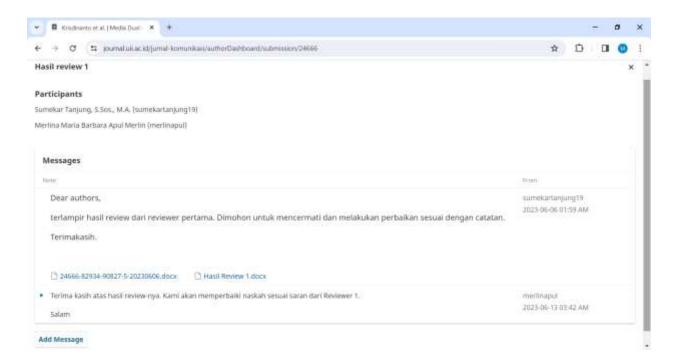


1. Round 1 Status

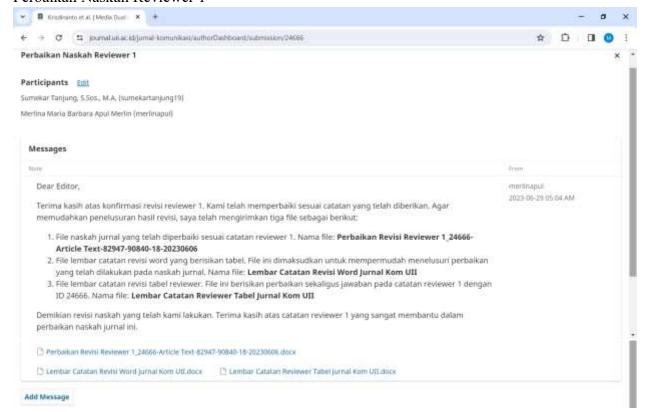


2. Hasil Review 1

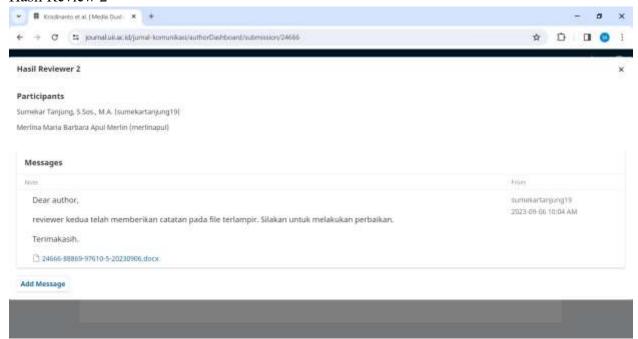




3. Perbaikan Naskah Reviewer 1



4. Hasil Review 2



5. Perrbaikan Naskah Reviewer 2

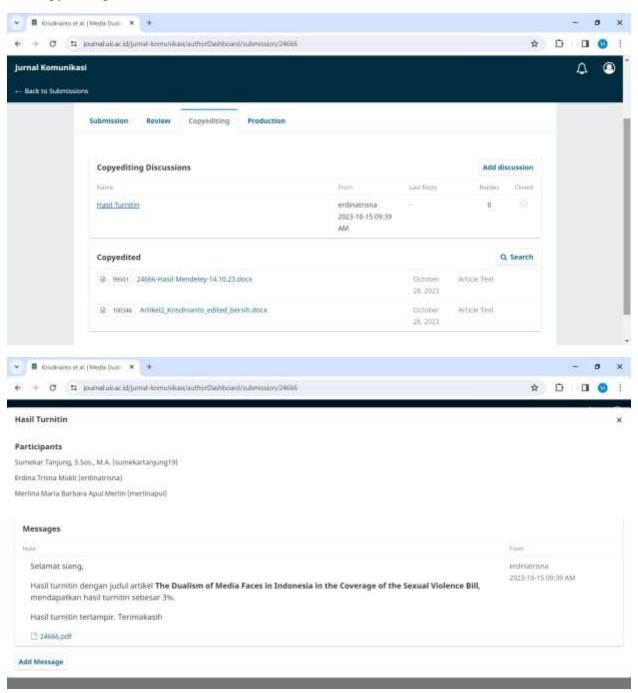


6. Konfirmasi Urutan Penulis



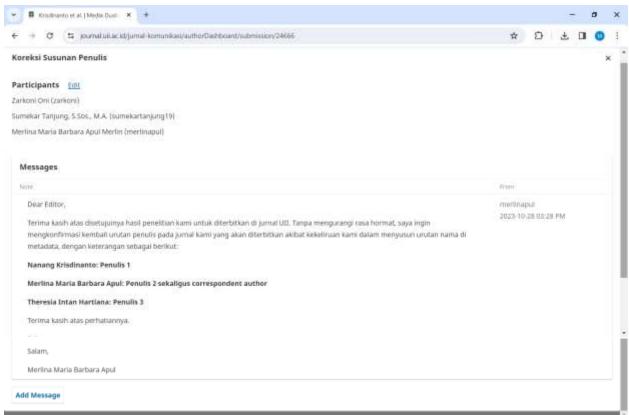
Copyediting

1. Copyediting Discussions Hasil Turnitin

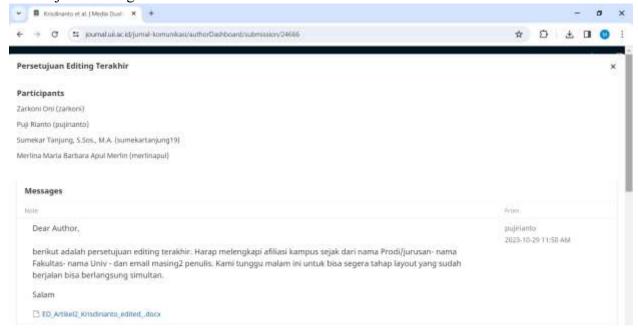


Production

1. Koreksi Susunan Penulis



2. Persetujuan Editing Terakhir



13	Nanang Kristlinante ¹	mermaput		
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	mohon untuk dapat disesualkan dengan metadata kontributor. Terima kasih Safam,			
			Merin Apul	