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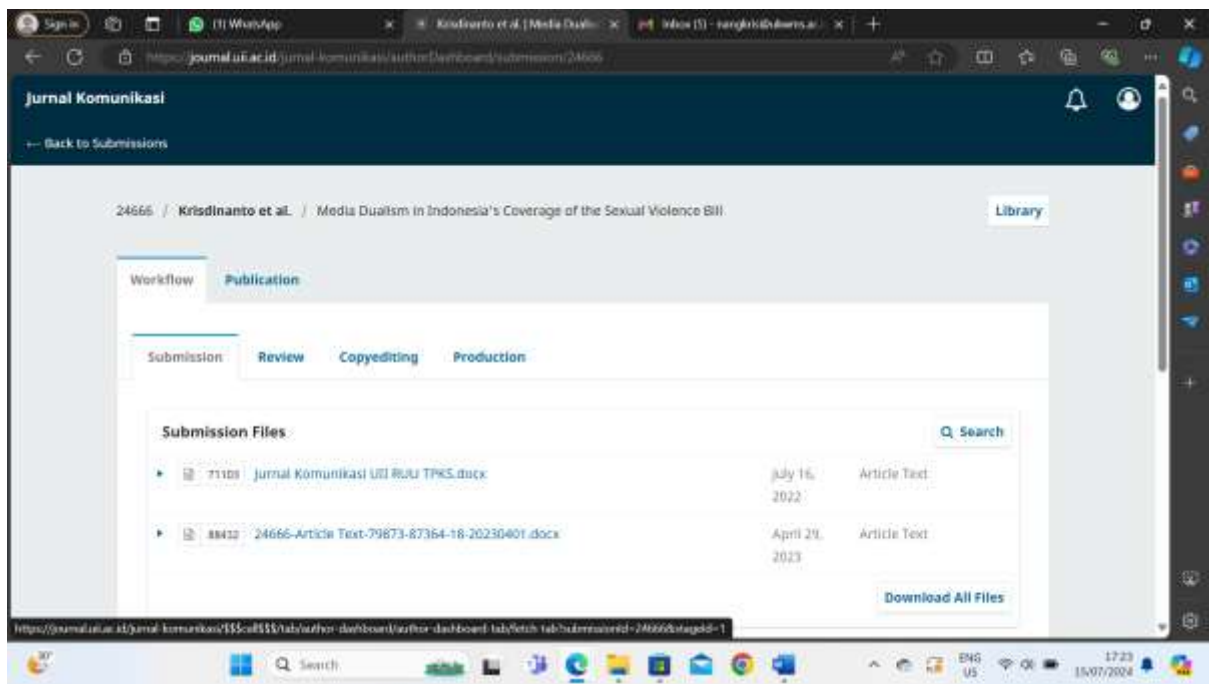
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**Dualisme Wajah Media di Indonesia
dalam Pemberitaan RUU Tindak Pidana Kekerasan Seksual**

***Dualism Face of Media Indonesia in Reporting the Crime of Sexual
Violence Bill***

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Abstract

This research is based on two things. First, the emergence of alternative news media that can be seen as a rival media to professional news media with various tendencies. Second, the protracted legislative process for the Sexual Violence Bill (RUU TPKS) before it was finally ratified. The purpose of this research is to see how the two media groups frame the protracted struggle in the legislative process of the TPKS Bill, considering that the frame reflects the media's perspective that is able to influence public understanding of the issue. The subject of this research is news related to the TPKS Bill which is broadcast by professional media and alternative media in Indonesia. This study uses a qualitative approach and the framing method developed by Robert Entman. The findings of this study indicate that there is a difference in the diametrical frame between professional media and alternative media in reporting the TPKS Bill. Professional media develop a frame that places the protracted discussion of the TPKS Bill in the DPR as a technical-procedural problem. On the other hand, alternative media framed it as a failure or lack of commitment by the DPR in protecting victims of sexual violence.

Keywords: frame, alternative media, professional media, rancangan undang-undang tindak pidana kekerasan seksual

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertitik-tolak dari dua hal. Pertama, munculnya media pemberitaan alternatif yang bisa dilihat sebagai media tandingan dari media pemberitaan profesional dengan berbagai kecenderungan masing-masing. Kedua, berlarut-larutnya proses legislasi RUU Tindak Kekerasan Seksual (RUU TPKS) sebelum akhirnya disahkan. Tujuan riset ini melihat bagaimana kedua kelompok media tersebut membingkai pergulatan yang berlarut-larut dalam proses legislasi RUU TPKS, mengingat bingkai tersebut mencerminkan cara pandang media yang mampu mempengaruhi pemahaman khalayak terhadap isu tersebut. Subjek penelitian ini adalah berita terkait RUU TPKS yang ditayangkan media profesional dan media alternatif di Indonesia. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dan metode pembedaan bingkai yang dikembangkan Robert Entman. Temuan penelitian ini menunjukkan adanya perbedaan bingkai yang diametral antara media profesional dan media alternatif dalam memberitakan RUU TPKS. Media profesional mengembangkan bingkai yang menempatkan berlarut-larutnya pembahasan RUU TPKS di DPR sebagai masalah teknis-prosedural. Sebaliknya, media alternatif membingkainya sebagai kegagalan atau ketiadaan komitmen DPR dalam melindungi korban kekerasan seksual.

Kata Kunci: bingkai, media alternatif, media profesional, rancangan undang-undang tindak pidana kekerasan seksual

PENDAHULUAN

Hadirnya media sosial, keterlibatan pengguna, dan tren berbagi berita, tidak saja membawa perubahan dalam profesi jurnalisme, namun juga berdampak pada pergeseran dalam penciptaan berita. Itulah sebabnya bentuk berita digital harus menjadi fokus penting dalam kajian jurnalisme (Bebić & Volarević, 2016). Penelitian ini bertitik-tolak dari hal tersebut, yang menunjukkan adanya fenomena perubahan dalam profesi jurnalisme terkait perkembangan teknologi digital. Selain media sosial, perkembangan teknologi telah menciptakan kelahiran media online alternatif (yang dikelola oleh non lembaga media profesional) yang menjamur.

Para ahli sendiri tidak memiliki definisi tunggal terkait peran media online alternatif ini dalam konteks jurnalisme. Penyebutannya juga beragam mulai dari *digital news providers*, *blog news*, hingga *online media alternative*. Tapi semua ahli sepakat bahwa ciri dasar praktik media ini berlawanan dari praktik jurnalisme yang normatif dan otonom. Mereka tidak melewati lapisan hierarki yang berlapis untuk menghasilkan konten berita (Ahmad, 2017; Doğu, 2015; Küng, 2015; Stringer, 2020). Penelitian ini menggunakan istilah *online media alternative* (media online alternatif) untuk membedakannya dengan media online profesional sebagai media arus utama. Kehadiran media online alternatif ini di satu sisi menantang monopolisasi berita media profesional khususnya untuk merebut *engagement* di media sosial (Balkan Şahin & Bodur Ün, 2022; Reiter & Matthes, 2021).

Berebut *engagement* media sosial membawa konsekuensi renegotiasi jurnalisme dengan memperkenalkan bentuk berita berstandar viral. Namun, logika viral tidak hanya terkait dengan teknologi, tetapi juga konsekuensinya terhadap konstruksi berita. Idealnya, media adalah sarana komunikasi perantara individu, kelompok, komunitas, institusi dan aktor sosial dalam masyarakat. Pada praktiknya, media mengkonstruksi realitas sosial sedemikian rupa dengan menambah dan membuang fakta atau informasi, sehingga membentuk pemberitaan yang sesuai dengan kebutuhan bahkan harapan dari pusat-pusat kekuasaan dan kelompok kepentingan lainnya (Nišić & Plavšić, 2017).

Pada konteks ini relevan untuk melihat *framing* media di mana realitas tidak diingkari secara total kebenarannya, melainkan dibelokkan secara harus dengan hanya menonjolkan aspek-aspek tertentu saja sementara aspek lain dihilangkan. Hal ini biasanya dilakukan media dengan menggunakan istilah atau konotasi tertentu, pemilihan narasumber, memberikan porsi bicara yang tidak berimbang dalam kutipan serta penggunaan kata sifat. Tujuan utamanya adalah membingkai informasi untuk melahirkan makna atau kesan tertentu kepada pembaca (Sudibyo, 2013).

Merujuk pemikiran klasik Entman (Entman, 1993a), *framing* juga dapat bermakna sebagai tindakan menyeleksi isu maupun peristiwa tertentu agar membuatnya lebih menonjol dalam teks komunikasi untuk mendefinisikan masalah tertentu, interpretasi kausal, evaluasi moral hingga memberi rekomendasi terhadap penanganan masalah tersebut. Artinya, media akan menyoroti informasi tertentu agar dianggap penting oleh khalayak. Sementara disatu sisi, membuat informasi lain terasa tidak bermakna.

Padaahal, struktur kekuatan telah berubah. Dalam waktu kurang dari satu dekade, digitalisasi membuat banyak media di luar media berita profesional terlibat dalam aktivitas jurnalistik. Bagi (Baresch et al., 2012) ini berarti berita dari media arus utama tidak lagi menjadi pilihan baku sebagai unit analisis penelitian. Gambaran realitas yang ditampilkan media online alternatif seringkali menjadi *frame* yang hilang dari konstruksi media berita profesional. Mereka (media online alternatif) juga memiliki standar kebenaran dengan

membatasi atau menonjolkan komentar sumber berita, membatasi porsi pemberitaan, mengemas wacana berita dengan perspektif, retorika dan *common sense* yang mereka kehendaki.

Dalam pemahaman ini, menurut (Holt et al., 2019) media online alternatif memiliki kecenderungan menentang wacana yang dianggap dominan oleh media berita profesional. Media online alternatif dapat memberikan wacana tandingan yang kurang terwakili atau terpinggirkan (menciptakan konten alternatif) untuk mempengaruhi audiens sesuai dengan agenda yang dianggap penting oleh pendiri atau khalayak mereka. Pernyataan ini memberi penekanan bahwa media online alternatif sejatinya mengambil posisi kontra terhadap hegemoni tertentu. Sebaliknya, media berita profesional ditempatkan sebagai media arus utama yang mencerminkan agenda dominan dan elitis.

Dengan demikian, baik media berita profesional maupun media online alternatif memiliki cara pandang saat menyeleksi isu dan menulis berita. Cara pandang ini yang menentukan fakta apa yang harus dihilangkan, isu mana yang harus ditonjolkan dan hendak dibawa kemana berita tersebut. Praktik semacam ini sarat dengan bias kepentingan atau ideologi dibalik masing-masing media, termasuk saat memberitakan isu-isu gender seperti kekerasan seksual.

Pertanyaan yang perlu diajukan kemudian, saat berebut *engagement* di media sosial bagaimana kecenderungan media berita profesional dan media online alternatif memberitakan kasus kekerasan seksual, khususnya terkait Rancangan Undang-Undang Tindak Pidana Kekerasan Seksual (RUU TPKS). *Frame* seperti apakah yang dominan? Mengingat cara pandang media dalam menciptakan berita berstandar viral mampu mempengaruhi pemahaman khalayak. Sehingga dalam kerangka inilah sangat penting melakukan kajian terhadap pemberitaan media terkait isu kekerasan seksual.

Sejak rencana pengesahan RUU TPKS digulirkan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (DPR) di awal tahun 2022 tren pemberitaan meningkat. Dari *analyze competitor content Buzzsumo* terpantau sebanyak 1.839 artikel berita dengan total 47.485 *engagement* terkait kata kunci “RUU TPKS”. Perlu digarisbawahi bahwa jumlah ini terlampaui sedikit jika dibandingkan isu vaksin Covid-19 yang menembus 1.685.782 *engagement* dengan 7.822 artikel berita di bulan Februari 2021.

Keduanya merupakan isu penting, tapi posisi RUU TPKS yang sebelumnya adalah RUU PKS jauh berbeda. Penantian panjang selama enam tahun tidak menjamin isu ini mendapat perhatian media. Sejak awal kemunculan di tahun 2016, RUU ini sudah menuai perdebatan. Dikutip dari laman *beritasatu.com* (Aulia, 2022), di tahun 2017 usulan RUU PKS dari Komnas Perempuan dan Forum Pengadaan Layanan (FPL) telah mendapat persetujuan dari 70 anggota DPR, sehingga resmi menjadi inisiatif DPR. Hingga akhirnya pemerintah dan Badan Legislatif (Baleg) DPR sepakat untuk mencantumkan RUU PKS dalam Prolegnas 2016-2019. Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak (KPPA) sendiri sudah ditugaskan pemerintah untuk menyusun draft inventaris dan secara resmi dibahas bersama Komisi VIII DPR.

Masalahnya, pembahasan RUU terlalu fokus pada judul dan definisi kekerasan seksual tanpa membahas substansi RUU PKS. Hingga akhir periode pertama pemerintahan Presiden Jokowi, RUU ini tidak selesai dibahas. Di tahun 2020, Komnas Perempuan dan komunitas masyarakat sipil kembali membawa draf ke Baleg DPR hingga berhasil masuk dalam Program Legislasi Nasional (Prolegnas) meski dalam perjalanan RUU PKS mengalami perubahan nama menjadi RUU TPKS (Aulia, 2022). Kendati begitu, RUU yang diharapkan mampu

mencegah kekerasan seksual dan melindungi penyintas kembali gagal untuk dibahas. Dalihnya, RUU ini terlalu sulit untuk dilakukan.

Alih-alih mengkritisi, mengutip (Rizky & Mar'iyah, 2021) media justru gagal mendudukkan RUU PKS sebagai usulan produk legislasi yang mendesak untuk disahkan. Media celakanya juga ikut berpolemik terhadap draf RUU yang disebut pro zina dan LGBT. Meskipun sempat marak dalam pemberitaan, saat perubahan nama RUU PKS menjadi RUU TPKS yang menghilangkan 85 pasal dan mendapat 16 catatan kritis dari Lembaga Bantuan Hukum (LBH) Jakarta. Namun, maraknya pemberitaan tidak sejalan dengan upaya serius mendudukkan persoalan pengesahan yang berlarut-larut, hingga menciptakan advokasi kebijakan yang memobilisasi masyarakat agar membuat pemerintah dan DPR jadi lebih reponsif. Begitu juga saat RUU PKS dicabut dari Prolegnas 2020.

Berdasarkan riset Konde Institute (Konde Institute, 2020) terkait pemberitaan pencabutan RUU PKS dari Prolegnas 2020 dan bagaimana konsistensi menuliskan isu kekerasan seksual di tiga media berita profesional berdasarkan peringkat tiga besar Alexa yakni *Okezone*, *Tribunnews* dan *Kompas.com* terdapat beberapa problem pemberitaan RUU PKS. Pertama, kebanyakan berita yang ditulis berformat *hardnews* dan ditulis berdasar peristiwa yang viral atau ramai dibicarakan. Kedua, narasumber yang digunakan belum beragam. Narasumber justru didominasi oleh lembaga negara seperti DPR sebagai pihak yang mencabut RUU PKS dari Prolegnas. Sementara narasumber dari pendamping korban kekerasan seksual dan aktivis perempuan masih minim. Ketiga, isi pemberitaan bersifat normatif yang masih belum menggali informasi tentang manfaat RUU PKS. Selain itu isi pemberitaan terkait isu kekerasan seksual secara umum ditemukan bahwa ketiga media ini belum berperspektif korban seperti penggunaan diksi yang bias (digagahi dan digilir), sensasional (hawa nafsu pelaku) dan melemahkan posisi korban (fakta pilu).

Problem pemberitaan ini bukan tanpa alasan. Selama lebih dari tiga dekade, beberapa penelitian sejauh ini menemukan penyebab struktural dan steoretipe yang melekat dalam pelaporan pemberitaan kekerasan seksual berakar pada misogini, patriarki dan supermasi laki-laki (Noetzel et al., 2022a). Pembingkai berita tentang kekerasan dalam rumah tangga misalnya, ditemukan hanya sedikit surat kabar arus utama yang membahas penyebab kekerasan berasal dari sistem patriarki masyarakat (Bullock, 2007). Penelitian lain juga menunjukkan sumber utama media saat meliput kekerasan seksual berasal dari kepolisian, pengacara, maupun hakim dengan sedikit masukan dari akademisi atau profesional kesehatan mental yang mendampingi korban. Akibatnya, pembingkai media dominan menyebut kekerasan seksual hanya sebatas persoalan hukum ketimbang masalah sistematis (Thakker & Durrant, 2006; Weatherred, 2015, 2017).

Penelitian terbaru dari (Noetzel et al., 2022b) tentang *framing* kekerasan seksual dalam berita media sebelum dan sesudah tagar *Twitter #metoo* masih menunjukkan kekerasan seksual cenderung digambarkan media secara sensasional dan berfokus pada kesalahan korban. Pemberitaan seperti ini lebih menawarkan solusi tentang apa yang dapat dan harus dilakukan korban untuk menghindari kekerasan seksual. Akibatnya, *frame* dominan yang muncul adalah mengucilkan penyintas dan mengecilkan tindakan kekerasan seksual sehingga korban memilih untuk tidak melaporkan kejahatan yang dialaminya. Media terlalu berfokus bahwa kekerasan seksual hanyalah masalah insidental yang membuat masyarakat kurang memahami perlunya perubahan sosial yang lebih besar.

Namun, tidak satu pun dari penelitian terdahulu yang menyandingkan pemberitaan kekerasan seksual media berita profesional dengan media berita alternatif berdasarkan

engagement di media sosial. Meminjam argument (Baresch et al., 2012), informasi yang tidak terbatas dalam jejaring masyarakat digital masih diabaikan oleh banyak penelitian pembingkai. Khalayak yang saat ini memantau berita dari jejaring sosial di dunia maya membuat bingkai berita tidak boleh hanya terbatas pada teks-teks media berita profesional. Sebab, berita kini datang tidak hanya dari ruang redaksi profesional.

Penelitian ini juga berangkat dari kekhawatiran (Al-Rawi, 2019) bahwa obsesi berlebihan terhadap apa yang ingin dibaca atau dilihat pembaca akan memaksa media untuk menyesuaikan cerita dan laporan agar sesuai keinginan dan kebutuhan audiens. Akibatnya, apa yang menjadi selera audiens bertentangan dengan tanggung jawab sosial institusi media untuk memberi pembaca apa yang perlu dibaca. Akibat pemilihan ini akan ada peristiwa atau isu yang terpinggirkan dan kelas atau kelompok sosial tertentu mendapati permasalahan mereka secara halus disingkirkan ke dalam agenda media. Berita yang lebih populis dan sarat akan emosi pembaca lebih diprioritaskan daripada informasi.

Hal tersebut menjadi tujuan spesifik penelitian ini untuk melihat sejauh mana pemberitaan media terkait RUU TPKS sudah berperspektif gender. Pembingkai dominan yang dilakukan media jelas akan bertahan dari waktu ke waktu di benak khalayak, sehingga saat media mengaburkan atau mengabaikan masalah, praktis khalayak tidak dapat membuat penilaian yang relevan terkait isi dan substansi RUU TPKS dan Permendikbut No.30. Sebab, pembingkai media dapat mempengaruhi isu-isu sosial seperti kekerasan seksual, dengan demikian, penelitian ini menjadi penting untuk memeriksa struktur pemberitaan media apakah turut mendukung atau justru “menggembosi” RUU TPKS dan Permendikbut No.30.

Penelitian akan dilakukan terhadap berita tentang RUU TPKS di 21 media online dengan *engagement* di media sosial terbanyak pada periode 2020-2021. Seperti diuraikan sebelumnya, perkembangan terbaru di media online menunjukkan kemunculan apa yang disebut sebagai media online alternatif atau “media kontra-oligarki.” Media online profesional yang beritanya akan menjadi subjek penelitian diantaranya *Tempo.co*, *kompas.com*, *republika.co*, *cnnindonesia.com*, *bbcindonesia.com*, *detik.com*, *okezone.com*, *suara.com* dan media-media lain yang dikelola oleh perusahaan pers profesional. Sedangkan media online alternatif yang dimaksud adalah *konde.co* dan *nu.or.id*. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menguraikan perbedaan frame berita tentang isu tersebut di dua jenis media online ini, yaitu media online profesional dan media online alternatif tersebut.

Dengan bersandar pada paradigma konstruktivis, penelitian ini akan menggunakan metode analisis framing model Entman. Metode analisis ini menawarkan empat perangkat analisis yakni *define problems* (pendefinisian masalah), *diagnoses causes* (mendiagnosis penyebab masalah), *make moral judgement* (membuat penilaian moral) dan *suggest remedies* (menyarankan solusi). Empat kerangka analisis ini akan melihat bagaimana frame media menonjolkan suatu realitas dengan mengaburkan realitas yang lain (Entman, 1993a).

METODE

Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif-deskriptif yang menempatkan peneliti sebagai instrumen kritis dan data akan dianalisis secara induktif (Lune, H. & Berg, 2017). Data diambil dari berita-berita yang ditayangkan media profesional (seperti *tempo.co*, *kompas.com*, *republika.co*, *cnnindonesia.com*, *bbcindonesia.com*, *detik.com*, *okezone.com*, *suara.com* dan lainnya) dan media online alternatif (*konde.co* dan *nu.or.id*).

Penelitian ini berfokus pada pemberitaan 21 media (media berita profesional dan

media online alternatif) dengan *engagement* media sosial diatas 50. Menggunakan kata kunci “RUU TPKS” di *analyze competitor content Buzzumo*, peneliti menemukan 55 berita dari 19 media berita profesional. Sementara media alternatif yang menembus *engagement* diatas 50 adalah *Nu.or.id* dan *Konde.co* dengan jumlah 17 berita.

Metode yang digunakan adalah framing yang dikembangkan Robert Entman, yang digunakan untuk melihat bagaimana media mengorganisasikan fakta, menonjolkan suatu isu hingga mengaburkan aspek tertentu, Entman menawarkan empat elemen analisis. Pertama, *define problems*, yang berfokus pada bagaimana media memahami suatu isu, atau peristiwa. Seperti apa isu atau peristiwa tersebut didefinisikan oleh media. Kedua, *diagnose causes*, yang mendiagnosis faktor penyebab atau mengidentifikasi kekuatan yang menciptakan masalah tertentu. Ketiga, *moral evaluation*, yang merupakan penilaian terhadap penyebab masalah dan apa dampak yang ditimbulkan. Keempat, *treatment recommendation*, yang berfokus pada solusi apa yang disarankan atau ditawarkan media. Terkait empat elemen ini, Entman menyebut empat kemungkinan yakni satu berita dapat mengandung keempat elemen ini, satu berita hanya mengandung elemen tertentu dan satu teks berita bisa tidak mengandung satu pun dari keempat elemen tersebut (Entman, 1993, p. 52). Berikut tabel perangkat pengolah data yang digunakan:

<i>Define problems</i>	Bagaimana suatu peristiwa/isu dilihat? Sebagai apa? Atau sebagai masalah apa?
<i>Diagnose causes</i>	Peristiwa itu dilihat disebabkan oleh apa? Apa yang dianggap sebagai penyebab dari suatu masalah? Siapa (aktor) yang dianggap sebagai penyebab masalah?
<i>Make moral judgement</i>	Nilai moral apa yang disajikan untuk menjelaskan masalah? Nilai moral apa yang dipakai untuk meligitimasi atau mendelegitimasi suatu tindakan?
<i>Treatment Recommendation</i>	Penyelesaian apa yang ditawarkan untuk mengatasi masalah? Jalan apa yang ditawarkan dan harus ditempuh untuk mengatasi masalah

Tabel 1: Perangkat Pengolah Data (Entman, 1993b)

HASIL DAN PEMBAHASAN

a. Posisi Diametral Bingkai Media Profesional dan Media Alternatif

Secara umum, temuan penelitian ini menunjukkan begitu berbedanya strategi pengemasan pesan media berita profesional dan alternatif. Penelitian ini menemukan bingkai utama media berita profesional yang selalu menonjolkan komitmen DPR dalam melindungi kelompok rentan. Bingkai ini imbas dari media berita profesional yang banyak mewawancarai

aktor legislatif. Dengan demikian, secara tidak langsung media berita profesional telah menempatkan para elite politik di Senayan sebagai sumber penting dan dominan. Sebaliknya, media alternatif hadir untuk mengisi kesenjangan liputan media berita profesional terhadap kelompok rentan. Konsekuensinya, bingkai utama media alternatif melihat lambatnya pengesahan RUU TPKS sebagai kegagalan sistematis DPR dalam melindungi kelompok rentan. Pada konteks ini, media alternatif memegang peranan menyebarkan wacana kontra hegemonik untuk meningkatkan kesadaran publik terkait substansi kepentingan pengesahan RUU TPKS. Untuk melihat elemen-elemen bingkai lebih detail, peneliti akan mendeskripsikan data melalui tahapan-tahapan yang dikemukakan Entman di atas.

Define Problems

Secara umum, baik media profesional maupun alternatif memiliki kecenderungan yang sama dalam mendefinisikan persoalan di seputar RUU TPKS. Keduanya sama-sama melihat pengesahan RUU TPKS berjalan lambat dan prosesnya berlarut-larut, namun memiliki perbedaan dalam memberi penekanan. Hal ini bisa dilihat di tabel berikut.

	Media Profesional	Media Alternatif
<i>Define Problems</i>	Pengesahan RUU TPKS berjalan lambat dan berlarut-larut.	Pengesahan RUU TPKS berjalan lambat dan melelahkan.

Tabel 2. Perbandingan *Define Problems* Media Profesional dan Alternatif (Sumber: Olahan peneliti, 2022)

Dari 19 media berita profesional, ditemukan sebelas media, yakni *Kompas.com*, *Detik.com*, *Tempo.co*, *Tirto.id*, *Antaranews.com*, *Kumparan.com*, *Republika.co.id*, *Voi.id*, *Cnnindonesia.com*, *Bbcindonesia.com* dan *Voa.com*, yang secara spesifik menampilkan frame *define problems*. Delapan diantaranya cenderung melihat belum disahkan RUU TPKS merupakan akibat DPR ingin memastikan pembahasan RUU ini sesuai mekanisme. Artinya, kelambanan ini lebih disebabkan oleh problem teknis atau mekanisme perundang-undangan, bukan hal-hal yang bersifat substansial.

Hal ini terlihat dari penonjolan pimpinan DPR sebagai aktor utama untuk menjawab kritik tentang keterlambatan pembahasan RUU yang dimotori Komnas Perempuan. Terdapat tiga pimpinan yang mendominasi pemberitaan, yakni Ketua DPR RI Puan Maharani, Wakil Ketua DPR RI Sufmi Dasco Ahmad, dan Ketua Panitia Kerja (Panja) Willy Aditya. Saat menampilkan pernyataan Puan Maharani, media profesional cenderung menggambarkan sikap waspada agar RUU ini tidak menimbulkan polemik karena kesalahan teknis. Secara tidak langsung, media berita profesional mencoba menggiring pengetahuan pembaca bahwa DPR telah berusaha maksimal menghindari cacat prosedur. Praktis, media-media tersebut mendefinisikan hal-hal teknis dan prosedural sebagai penyebab lambatnya pengesahan RUU TPKS.

Meski demikian, pendefinisian masalah ini tidak menjawab secara pasti mengapa RUU TPKS lama menggantung di DPR. Salah satunya tercermin lewat pemuatan pernyataan Willy dan Dasco berikut:

“...saya (Willy) pikir tidak banyak perubahan ya, tinggal bagaimana penyempurnaan kiri dan kanan, tapi secara substansi semua sama...” (Detik.com, 8 Desember 2021a).

Ada dua poin yang dapat dilihat dari kutipan tersebut. Pertama, ketidakjelasan informasi. *Detik.com* tidak berusaha menjelaskan maksud “*penyempurnaan kiri dan kanan*” dan mempertanyakan penyempurnaan seperti apa yang membutuhkan waktu enam tahun untuk dibahas dan jadi polemik di Senayan.

Kedua, sumber yang tidak *cover both side*. Saat Willy menyebut “*secara substansi semua sama*”, *Detik.com* tidak mencoba menghadapkan dengan fakta hilangnya dua substansi tindak pidana yang diusulkan Jaringan Pembela Hak Perempuan Korban Kekerasan Seksual (JPHPKKS) yakni pemaksaan aborsi dan pemerkosaan. Padahal, melansir data Komnas Perempuan, sepanjang tahun 2021 dari 2.363 kasus kekerasan seksual, pemerkosaan mendominasi dengan 597 kasus atau 25% dari total kasus kekerasan seksual.

Memperkuat bingkai penggambaran pembahasan RUU TPKS yang sesuai mekanisme, aktor eksekutif turut ditonjolkan untuk melengkapi pernyataan DPR. Dari delapan media, lima diantaranya yakni *Kompas.com*, *Detik.com*, *Tirto.id*, *Antaranews.com* dan *Kumparan.com* menonjolkan pernyataan Wakil Menteri Hukum dan HAM sekaligus Ketua Gugus Tugas RUU TPKS Edward Omar Sharief dan Kepala Staf Kepresidenan Moeldoko yang optimis RUU TPKS bisa segera disahkan. Bingkai utama menggambarkan upaya dialog pihak legislatif dan eksekutif untuk mempercepat pembahasan RUU TPKS. Saat mengutip eksekutif, media berita profesional cenderung menampilkan pernyataan yang menggambarkan komitmen kedua lembaga negara ini. Kecenderungan ini mengabaikan upaya JPHPKKS yang mendorong pemerintah segera menerbitkan surat presiden dan menyusun DIM secara transparan. Suara para aktivis yang mengkritisi keengganan pemerintah melibatkan masukan publik dalam proses penyusunan DIM menjadi salah satu isu yang marjinal. Padahal, transparansi penyusunan DIM dalam penyusunan RUU TPKS dapat mengakomodasi kepentingan korban dan menutup celah bagi kelompok yang ingin menyelundupkan pasal untuk membelokan substansi RUU.

Sebaliknya, media alternatif, yakni *Nu.or.id* dan *Konde.co*, cenderung mengidentifikasi problem dalam pembahasan RUU TPKS adalah proses yang panjang dan melelahkan. Bingkai ini terlihat dalam beberapa kalimat yang ditampilkan *Nu.or.id* seperti “*berliku-liku, dinamikanya luar biasa, berbagai langkah sudah diupayakan*”. *Konde.co* sendiri menggambarkan panjangnya pembahasan produk legislasi ini dengan judul “*Dear DPR, Lihatlah Kasus Kekerasan Seksual di Unsri dan Mojokerto: Kapan RUU TPKS Disahkan?*” (Konde.co, 6 Desember 2021). Lewat judul ini, *Konde.co* mempertanyakan RUU TPKS yang tak kunjung disahkan meski kasus kekerasan seksual terus terjadi.

Secara khusus, *Nu.or.id* melihat proses panjang pembahasan RUU ini membawa kebingungan publik tentang komitmen DPR melindungi korban kekerasan seksual. Hal ini tampak dari kutipan berikut:

Baleg DPR menunda rapat pleno untuk menetapkan draft RUU TPKS yang sedianya digelar pada Kamis (25/11/2021) kemarin. Penundaan ini menimbulkan kebingungan publik. Terutama mengenai posisi kebijakan yang sebelumnya diharapkan untuk melindungi dan memberikan akses bagi korban kekerasan seksual dan keluarganya (Nu.or.id, 30 November 2021).

Kutipan diatas tentu saja menimbulkan efek negatif terhadap kredibilitas DPR sebagai lembaga legislatif. Kesan yang timbul adalah tidak ada kata sepakat di DPR untuk melindungi korban kekerasan seksual dan keluarganya. Dari kutipan ini *Nu.or.id* mencoba meminggirkan fakta berbagai tahapan prosedural yang harus dilalui dalam pembahasan produk legislasi. Justru yang ditampilkan adalah kritik bahwa tahapan prosedural yang “*harusnya sudah dalam tahap finalisasi*”. Dibandingkan menjelaskan teknis prosedural di DPR sebagai faktor lamanya pembahasan RUU TPKS, *Nu.or.id* memilih fokus pada pro-kontra di masyarakat sebagai faktor utama yang menunda pengesahan RUU ini:

Pembahasan RUU TPKS pun berlanjut di tahun 2018. Namun sayang, di tahun ini (2021) RUU tersebut harus menghadapi jalan yang berliku, banyak pro-kontra mulai bermunculan di tengah masyarakat.

Sayangnya, setelah berhasil masuk ke Prolegnas Prioritas 2021, kini pengesahan yang dijanjikan pada akhir November tahun ini (2021) kembali mengalami penundaan lantaran ada beberapa pihak yang tidak sepakat (Nu.or.id, 30 November 2021).

Berita diatas menggunakan sumber utama dari kalangan aktivis yakni Direktur Asian Muslim Action Network (AMAN) Dwi Rubiyanti Kholifah. Alhasil, *Nu.or.id* tampak secara sengaja menampilkan pihak kontra sebagai faktor penghambat pembahasan dan pengesahan RUU TPKS di DPR. Penggunaan diksi “*sayangnya*” juga mengesankan penyesalan bahwa DPR terlalu terpengaruh oleh penolakan beberapa kalangan yang menilai RUU ini melegalkan LGBT. *Nu.or.id* mencoba membangun kesan pengesahan yang dijanjikan harus kembali tertunda karena pendapat bersebrangan ini membuat DPR gagal paham dalam memahami isu kekerasan seksual dan mengaburkan substansi awal disusunnya RUU TPKS oleh Komnas Perempuan.

Diagnoses Causes

Dalam hal ini, juga muncul perbedaan kedua jenis media dalam menggambarkan aspek penyebab lambannya pengesahan RUU TPKS. Perbedaan ini bisa dilihat di tabel berikut.

	Media Profesional	Media Alternatif
<i>Diagnose Causes</i>	Akibat problem teknis-prosedural, lambannya	Akibat ketiadaan komitmen atau pengabaian sistematis

	kesepahaman bersama di tingkat fraksi	terhadap perlindungan korban kekerasan seksual
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Tabel 3. Perbandingan *Diagnoses Causes Media Profesional dan Alternatif* (Sumber: Olahan peneliti, 2022)

Sebanyak 19 media berita profesional cenderung menempatkan perdebatan antar fraksi di DPR sebagai penyebab RUU TPKS lamban disahkan. Hampir semua sepakat lamanya pembahasan RUU TPKS karena seluruh fraksi belum mencapai kesepahaman. Konstruksi ini melahirkan diskusi yang tidak produktif dalam teks berita karena frame yang seragam menghadirkan sumber berita dari kalangan DPR.

Aspek penyebab kelambanan ini ditampilkan media berita profesional untuk merespon atensi Presiden Joko Widodo yang meminta RUU TPKS segera disahkan oleh DPR. Alih-alih membuka ruang diskusi terhadap kegelisahan dan kegeraman masyarakat terkait proses legislasi RUU yang mengendap selama 7 tahun di DPR ini, media profesional memilih menampilkan sikap defensif aktor legislatif yang berlandung di balik retorika legal-formal. Salah satunya ditampilkan *Detik.com* dalam kutipan berikut:

Dasco menegaskan parlemen tidak menghambat pengesahan payung hukum kasus kekerasan seksual tersebut. Menurutnya, RUU TPKS belum disahkan hingga kini lantaran menghindari cacat prosedur jika tak sesuai mekanisme pembentukan perundang-undangan.

Melalui penonjolan kalimat “*parlemen tidak menghambat pengesahan*”, *Detik.com* seolah ingin menjawab tuduhan pihak pro RUU TPKS yang selama ini mengkritik lambannya pembahasan produk legislasi tersebut. Yang kemudian terabaikan adalah gambaran tentang dampak terhadap korban jika RUU ini terus ditunda untuk alasan menghindari cacat prosedur. Isu lain yang turut terpinggirkan adalah kritikan sejumlah aktivis bahwa tarik ulur di DPR disebabkan ada upaya beberapa pihak yang menginginkan RUU TPKS hanya mengatur aspek pencegahan daripada menitikberatkan pada aspek penanganan, perlindungan dan pemulihan korban (Utami, 2021).

Kritisme terhadap fakta ini terabaikan dalam pemberitaan RUU media berita profesional. Apalagi retorika-retorika legal-formal terkait mekanisme legislasi yang belum dipahami masyarakat umumnya seperti pleno panja, usulan inisiatif, *judicial review*, surpres, DIM, dan AKD. Persoalan lain dari bingkai utama belum adanya kesepemahaman DPR adalah media berita profesional tidak berusaha menjelaskan substansi dibalik perdebatan antar fraksi.

Kebalikannya, media alternatif secara jelas menunjuk DPR gagal dan mengecewakan sebagai imbas batalnya pengesahan RUU TPKS di tahun 2021. Kegagalan ini dianggap *Nu.or.id* sebagai bukti ketidakadilan yang harus ditanggung korban kekerasan seksual:

“Tentu saja ini sangat mengecewakan bagi korban kekerasan seksual dan keluarganya, yang selama ini sangat menantikan keadilan,” kata Ruby, demikian sapaan karibnya lewat keterangan yang dikirim kepada NU Online, Sabtu (18/12/2021).

Proses yang sudah panjang dalam merespons usulan masyarakat ini menunjukkan kerja tidak efektif di internal DPR. Dugaannya, bisa disebabkan karena pemahaman dan pengetahuan yang kurang luas terkait isu tersebut, atau tidak ada dukungan memadai untuk menyelesaikannya. “Tapi saya rasa tidak mungkin yang kedua, karena keberadaan dewan itu mendapatkan dukungan penuh dari negara,” ucap Direktur AMAN Indonesia itu (Nu.or.id, 18 Desember 2021a).

Melalui diksi “*kembali menunda*” Nu.or.id mencoba memberikan penegasan bahwa penundaan yang dilakukan DPR sudah terjadi berulang kali, yang menimbulkan kekecewaan tidak hanya bagi korban tapi juga keluarga dan pendampingnya. Selain itu, kecenderungan media ini mengutip kalangan aktivis dan akademisi membuat DPR menjadi sasaran kritik dalam bingkai Nu.or.id. Lewat pernyataan “*selama ini sangat menantikan keadilan*”, Nu.or.id ingin memberi bantahan pada wacana defensif aktor legislatif yang menyebut institusi tersebut tidak menghambat pembahasan RUU TPKS, karena *toh* belum ada keadilan yang didapat korban. Bantahan terhadap alasan DPR bahwa RUU TPKS belum siap untuk dibahas turut ditampilkan Nu.or.id dalam pernyataan Rubiyanti:

“Bagaimana mungkin masalah yang urgen ini tidak siap dibahas. Sementara proses sudah lama, dan semua perangkat negara maupun fasilitas ada dan bisa dimaksimalkan,” sergahnya (Nu.or.id, 18 Desember 2021a).

Melalui pernyataan Rubiyanti, Nu.or.id secara tidak langsung ingin mengatakan terlalu banyak dalih dari DPR untuk menunda pembahasan dan pengesahan produk legislasi ini. Pengawasan dan peran pemerintah untuk mendesak DPR juga menjadi catatan Nu.or.id.

Berbeda dari bingkai media berita profesional yang memilih tidak secara intensif mempermasalahkan tahapan prosedural di DPR, Nu.or.id memilih menampilkan Anita Wahid untuk mengkritik berbagai tahapan prosedural di Senayan yang gagal menciptakan ruang aman dan perlindungan bagi warga negaranya:

Bagi dia, jalan terjal untuk menciptakan keadilan bagi para korban dan penyintas semakin berat dengan kegagalan DPR mengesahkan RUU TPKS. Situasi ini membuat setiap orang mempertanyakan komitmen para pembuat kebijakan dalam menciptakan solusi perwujudan ruang aman dan perlindungan bagi warga negaranya (Nu.or.id, 17 Desember 2021a).

Kutipan berita diatas secara tidak langsung menggambarkan DPR yang tidak berempati terhadap korban kekerasan seksual. Berbagai tahapan prosedural yang dilalui RUU ini digambarkan sebagai jalan terjal dari sistem yang gagal menciptakan keadilan, ruang aman dan perlindungan bagi warga negara.

Realitas lain yang ditonjolkan dari kinerja DPR yang mengecewakan adalah penonjolan diksi “*maskulinitas pelaku*” sebagai bentuk kritik terhadap lambatnya proses

pembahasan RUU TPKS.

Peristiwa yang terjadi di Mojokerto ini menunjukkan maskulinitas laki-laki yang bisa semena-mena menentukan hidup perempuan. Maskulinitas dalam kasus ini menempatkan posisi dominan laki-laki dan menempatkan subordinasi perempuan. Kasus di Mojokerto ini memperlihatkan bahwa pelaku selalu berada di atas angin dan seolah kebal terhadap hukum. Maka banyak pelaku seolah didukung oleh lingkungannya, didukung pemerintah yang tak memberikan sanksi hukum, DPR yang tak serius membahas dan segera mengesahkan RUU TPKS. Jadi pelaku merasa bahwa ia bisa terbebas dari hukuman (Konde.co, 6 Desember 2021).

Pada kutipan berita diatas, *Konde.co* tampak berusaha menggiring pembaca untuk melihat maskulinitas pelaku hadir karena lingkungan dan sistem negara yang tidak berpihak pada korban kekerasan seksual. Media ini seolah ingin mengatakan penegakan hukum dan perlindungan korban sering tidak terpenuhi. Penggunaan diksi maskulinitas pelaku juga menjadi catatan kritis dari *Konde.co* bahwa relasi kuasa antara laki-laki dan perempuan telah membuat kasus kekerasan seksual sulit ditangani. Pasalnya, subordinasi perempuan membuat korban sering tidak melaporkan kekerasan yang dialaminya karena *trust issues* yang didapat dari aparat negara. Hal ini diperparah oleh pemerintah yang tidak memberikan sanksi hukum dan DPR yang menggantung pengesahan RUU TPKS.

Bingkai demikian membuat *Konde.co* berusaha menempatkan wacana kebenaran menjadi 'hak prerogatif' kelompok marjinal dengan tedensi menjaga kepentingan korban kekerasan seksual. Hal ini diperkuat dengan fakta pembahasan RUU TPKS di Senayan yang dikonstruksi sedemikian rupa dengan tujuan memberikan sentiment negatif terhadap kinerja DPR. Misalnya dengan menuding DPR menganggap kasus kekerasan seksual tidak penting, membiarkan korban berjatuh dan melindungi pelaku kekerasan seksual. Dengan konstruksi realitas ini *Konde.co* secara tidak langsung ingin memunculkan kesadaran bagi pembaca tentang substansi kepentingan pengesahan RUU TPKS.

Moral Evaluation

Dalam konteks ini, lagi-lagi posisi yang diametral ditunjukkan media profesional dan media alternatif. Perbedaan posisi ini bisa disaksikan di tabel berikut.

	Media Profesional	Media Alternatif
<i>Moral Evaluation</i>	DPR sudah menunjukkan komitmen politik untuk mengesahkan RUU TPKS dengan menganggap Indonesia memasuki darurat kekerasan seksual	DPR tidak memiliki komitmen terhadap perlindungan korban kekerasan seksual

Tabel 4. Perbandingan *Moral Evaluation Media Profesional dan Alternatif*
(Sumber: Olahan peneliti, 2022)

Terkait hal ini, peneliti menemukan hanya terdapat 11 media profesional yang tercatat memiliki penilaian moral. Bingkai dominan yang ditunjukkan adalah komitmen politik DPR di tengah situasi darurat kekerasan seksual. Lagi-lagi, dalam konstruksi realitasnya, media berita profesional belum menghadirkan diskusi komperhensif yang menunjukkan komitmen politik DPR. Media berita profesional cenderung membatasi diri dan tergantung pada narasumber legislatif. Praktis, pemaknaan terhadap komitmen politik DPR dan darurat kekerasan seksual cenderung dogmatis. Seperti yang ditampilkan *Detik.com* berikut:

“DPR RI sendiri terus berkomitmen memberikan perlindungan kepada perempuan melalui berbagai regulasi yang berpihak kepada perempuan,” ungkap Puan (*Detik.com*, 24 November 2021).

Berita di atas mencerminkan dominannya penggunaan sumber dari kalangan DPR yang membuat *Detik.com* cenderung menampilkan berita tidak lengkap dalam merekam komitmen politik DPR. Akibatnya, tidak ada keragaman perspektif. Dengan mengutip pernyataan Puan, *Detik.com* tidak berusaha mempertanyakan lebih jauh mengapa regulasi yang berpihak pada perempuan harus terkatung-katung di DPR.

Pemberitaan *Detik.com* dan 11 media berita profesional lainnya juga tampak terlalu dogmatis, terkesan “apa adanya”. Pemberitaan *Detik.com* di atas misalnya, seakan-akan hanya memberitahukan kepada pembaca pendapat elite politik, namun tidak memberikan informasi yang memadai tentang sepak terjang partai ini dalam pembahasan RUU TPKS dan gagal mempertanyakan komitmen DPR untuk mendukung korban kekerasan seksual. Kurangnya liputan mendalam dan ketergantungan mengutip sumber tertulis resmi DPR menjadi salah satu penyebabnya:

Dalam konteks ini, menjadi suatu keniscayaan bahwa media berita profesional akan berprasangka positif terhadap DPR dengan memarjinalkan wacana tandingan seperti substansi RUU TPKS yang masih belum berpihak pada penyandang disabilitas. Patut diketahui dalam pasal 25 ayat 4 RUU TPKS, kesaksian korban disabilitas dapat dikecualikan. Hal ini oleh aktivis disebut bentuk diskriminasi oleh negara (Gracia, 2022). Konstruksi yang terlalu bias dengan komitmen politik DPR, pada akhirnya membuat bingkai media berita profesional kurang berani berkonfrontasi dengan elite DPR. Salah satu penyebabnya bisa jadi karena ‘simbiosis mutualisme’ yang tumbuh subur antara media berita profesional dan elite DPR.

Sebaliknya, media alternatif justru lebih berani berkonfrontasi dengan memberdayakan wacana tandingan. Hal ini tercermin dari bingkai utama yang menuding DPR masih tutup mata meskipun mulai muncul para korban kekerasan seksual yang berani berbicara di depan umum. Menariknya, aksi korban kekerasan seksual disandingkan *Konde.co* dengan *quote* Malala Yousafzai:

Jika kamu membaca salah satu *quote* Malala Yousafzai, aktivis perdamaian Pakistan, kamu pasti bakal tergetar.

Coba simak quote Malala ini: “*Aku menaikkan suaraku bukan supaya aku bisa berteriak, tetapi agar mereka yang tidak bersuara bisa didengar.*”

Aktivist Perempuwan Mahardhika, Vivi Widyawati menyatakan, banyaknya korban yang berani bersuara adalah pertanda bahwa Indonesia saat ini sedang berada dalam situasi darurat kekerasan seksual, dan ini harus jadi prioritas pemerintah, pihak kampus dan aparat negara. Jika tak pernah menjadikan korban sebagai prioritas, maka akan makin banyak korban lain yang berjatuh (Konde.co, 6 Desember 2021).

Penyandingan ini bukan tanpa alasan. Malala adalah aktivis perempuan pemenang nobel perdamaian termuda asal Pakistan. Malala menjadi buronan kelompok bersenjata Taliban dan ditembak kepalanya di usia 14 tahun karena berani bersuara dan memperjuangkan hak perempuan dalam pendidikan. Dengan struktur bingkai ini *Konde.co* ingin mengatakan bahwa aksi perlawanan akan selalu diikuti oleh perlakuan intimidatif yang diterima korban. Pesan utama yang juga ditegaskan *Konde.co* dengan kutipan “*agar mereka yang tidak bersuara bisa didengar*” adalah saat ada korban kekerasan seksual yang berani bicara, maka akan membuat korban lainnya ikut berani bicara dan melakukan perlawanan. Jika begitu, ini akan menjadi kekuatan bersama bagi para korban kekerasan seksual.

Memperkuat konstruksi ini, *Konde.co* secara khusus menonjolkan kasus mahasiswa korban pelecehan seksual dari dosennya yang disekap di toilet dan dicoret namanya dari daftar yudisium. Bagi *Konde.co* kasus yang dialami mahasiswa ini adalah bentuk perlawanan.

Senada dengan *Konde.co*, bingkai utama *Nu.or.id* memotret kompleksitas yang dialami penyintas kekerasan seksual yang berani *speak up* karena didorong mayoritas kasus yang berakhir tanpa kepastian. Kenyataan ini membuat *Nu.or.id* menyayangkan sikap DPR:

"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 (Nu.or.id, 30 November 2021c).

Menyampaikan kasus traumatis di media sosial bagi *Nu.or.id* adalah bentuk kekecewaan korban terhadap proses penegakan hukum yang tidak pernah tuntas. Hal tersebut turut menjadi kegagalan negara untuk memberi ruang aman bagi warga negaranya. Fakta ini sekaligus menjadi kenyataan pahit yang menunjukkan sulitnya kelompok rentan atau terpinggirkan menembus akses media massa untuk mengekspresikan perspektif mereka. Media sosial dianggap lebih terbuka dan inklusif yang membuat korban memiliki keleluasaan mengadu pengalaman traumatisnya.

Padahal, media berkontribusi membentuk cara pandang masyarakat luas terhadap kelompok marginal seperti korban kekerasan seksual.

Treatment Recommendation

Posisi diametral juga didapati pada elemen *treatment recommendation* sebagaimana digambarkan pada tabel berikut:

	Media Profesional	Media Alternatif
Treatment Recommendation	DPR harus mengesahkan RUU TPKS untuk mengisi kekosongan hukum materil dan formil terkait kekerasan seksual	DPR wajib mengesahkan RUU TPKS agar korban kekerasan seksual tidak kehilangan hak hidup

Tabel 5. Perbandingan *Treatment Recommendation* Media Profesional dan Alternatif (Sumber: Olahan peneliti, 2022)

Seperti tertera pada Tabel 4, Temuan penelitian menunjukkan hanya 11 media berita profesional yang eksplisit menawarkan solusi agar RUU TPKS perlu disahkan. RUU TPKS dianggap dapat mengisi kekosongan hukum materil dan formil yang tidak difasilitasi dalam produk undang-undang. Yang perlu diperhatikan, ketergantungan media berita profesional pada sumber DPR membuat bingkai rekomendasi berfokus pada kerja keras DPR menjadikan produk legislasi ini sebagai RUU inisiatif DPR, seperti dilihat contoh berita berikut ini:

“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 (Kompas.com, 6 Desember 2021).

Ada satu hal yang luput dari pemberitaan *Kompas.com* di atas. Saat menonjolkan kerja keras DPR, *Kompas.com* luput mendesak DPR dan pemerintah untuk membahas RUU TPKS secara transparan dengan melibatkan pendamping korban, aktivis, akademisi, dan perwakilan kelompok rentan. Konsekuensinya, bingkai rekomendasi *Kompas.com* masih gagal menawarkan rekomendasi yang komperhensif seperti memastikan tidak terdapat isu-isu kesusilaan yang tumpang tindih dengan UU KUHP yang selama ini dikhawatirkan akan merugikan korban kekerasan seksual.

Adapun bingkai rekomendasi yang ditawarkan media alternatif *Nu.or.id* dan *Konde.co* cenderung bernada mendesak DPR untuk segera mengesahkan RUU TPKS agar korban tidak kehilangan hak hidupnya sebagai manusia. Bagi *Konde.co*, pengesahan RUU TPKS merupakan wujud kehadiran negara untuk memastikan tidak ada lagi korban kekerasan seksual. Menguatkan rekomendasinya, *Konde.co* menggarisbawahi maraknya kasus kekerasan seksual di institusi agama maupun pendidikan menjadi bukti makin sempitnya ruang aman bagi perempuan. Maka, RUU TPKS yang sudah tujuh tahun diadvokasi tanpa hasil, harus segera disahkan sebagai payung hukum untuk mencegah kekerasan seksual dan

melindungi para korbannya (Konde.co, 6 Desember 2021). Pernyataan bernada mendesak juga ditampilkan *Nu.or.id* dalam kutipan berikut:

“Di DPR agendanya akan ada paripurna yang mengesahkan RUU ini sebagai inisiatif DPR RI. Kita buktikan besok pagi, kalau diketok artinya dia serius, kalau tidak kita pertanyakan komitmennya,” tegas Komisioner Komnas Perempuan Maria Ulfah Anshor (*Nu.or.id*, 24 November 2021c).

Menampilkan pernyataan Komnas Perempuan, *Nu.or.id* ingin menunjukkan jika RUU tak kunjung disahkan maka itu akibat dari konflik kepentingan elite politik. *Nu.or.id* seakan mengingatkan para legislator untuk tidak sibuk dengan kepentingan kelompoknya dan menjadikan RUU ini sebagai komoditas politik semata. Dengan kalimat “*kalau tidak kita pertanyakan komitmennya*” *Nu.or.id* ingin menegaskan jika DPR tidak cukup reponsif maka akan membuat kepercayaan publik terhadap DPR menjadi rendah.

Sikap mendesak agar RUU TPKS segera disahkan demi kepentingan korban juga tampak saat *Nu.or.id* menampilkan isu transparansi yang diabaikan oleh media berita profesional. Menonjolkan perspektif aktivis dan pendamping korban kekerasan seksual, *Nu.or.id* menggarisbawahi ketidakjelasan status RUU TPKS menimbulkan kebingungan karena sulit untuk diawasi publik. Dengan menonjolkan isu ini, *Nu.or.id* secara tidak langsung menuntut agar DPR memberi kesempatan kepada publik untuk didengar dan dipertimbangkan agar RUU ini tidak digembosi oleh isu-isu yang merugikan korban kekerasan seksual. (*Nu.or.id*, 18 Desember 2021b).

b. Dualisme Wajah Media dan Pertarungan Kuasa Media

Paparan temuan yang menyandingkan bingkai media berita profesional dan media online alternatif telah membawa satu konsekuensi utama yakni dualisme wajah media dalam pemberitaan RUU TPKS, yaitu wajah elitisme yang direpresentasikan oleh media profesional dan wajah populis yang direpresentasikan media alternatif.

Dalam konteks wajah elitis media profesional, temuan penelitian ini menyiratkan wacana bahwa media apapun bentuknya selalu dibumbui unsur kuasa serta negosiasi aktor dan kelompok yang ingin mendapat pengaruh. Meminjam gagasan kekuasaan Foucault, dualisme wajah media menunjukkan bagaimana berbagai institusi mengerahkan kekuatan untuk menegaskan identitas dan perlawanan terhadap kekuasaan (Heizmann & Olsson, 2015; Krasmann, 2017; Portschi, 2020; Sergiu, 2010; Shimal & Hanif, 2020).

Sementara dalam konteks wajah populis, jila mengacu pada empat elemen inti populisme yakni (a) rakyat; (b) muatan moral; (c) pertempuran melawan; (d) elite; maka populisme berarti pertempuran moral orang biasa (orang-orang tertindas) melawan elite. Konsepsi ini membuat media alternatif identik dengan gerakan populis. Sebab, apa yang disebut media alternatif memiliki potensi untuk membentuk wacana tandingan terhadap wacana politik media berita profesional (Müller & Schulz, 2021).

Penelitian ini menunjukkan media berita profesional amat bergantung pada sumber elite sebagai penentu utama. Mereka menjadi sumber eksklusif yang memiliki akses menentukan bingkai media dan membentuk makna jangka panjang. Monopoli sumber elite dalam frame media jelas akan menutup akses pada suara yang lebih heterogen dalam debat

publik (Kleemans et al., 2015; Splendore, 2017).

Temuan penelitian ini juga meneguhkan gagasan kekuasaan Foucault sekaligus menyanggah pendapat Strömbäck yang menyebut media berita selain wajib menginformasikan isu-isu yang berpotensi krusial, juga berperan sebagai forum perdebatan, menginspirasi orang untuk berpartisipasi dalam wacana publik dan jurnalisme harus memberikan suara kepada kelompok-kelompok yang perlu mengekspresikan diri di depan umum (Trappel & Tomaz, 2021).

Kenyataannya, dari 19 media berita profesional yang diteliti, 16 diantaranya sarat bingkai yang elitis, miskin perdebatan, dan menutup akses bagi suara kelompok masyarakat. Media berita profesional memilih “bermain aman” dengan *frame* yang tidak konsisten saat mengkonstruksi pemberitaan terkait RUU TPKS. Sementara konstruksi tiga media berita profesional seperti *CNNIndonesia.com*, *BBCIndonesia.com* dan *VOA.com* yang membuka ruang perdebatan dengan memberi tempat bagi kelompok masyarakat dalam teks beritanya, harus “tenggelam” dengan bingkai ke-16 media yang dominan melahirkan pemberitaan pada kekuatan politik yang hegemonik.

Hal tersebut mengukuhkan pandangan Gitlin bahwa dengan mengistimewakan suara elite yang memegang kekuasaan formal, media secara tidak langsung telah memanipulasi publik dengan konstruksi yang dibingkainya. Menempatkan DPR sebagai pihak yang ‘heroik’ menunjukkan bagaimana akses sumber elite ke wacana berita memungkinkan mereka mengatur kerangka dimana cerita tertentu dibahas. Konstruksi ini sekaligus sebagai langkah elite memanfaatkan berita untuk mempertahankan otoritas dan memperkuat kekuatan sosial mereka (Carlson, 2009; Chang et al., 2020; Groshek & Han, 2011). Pada ranah teoritis, fungsi media yang ideal adalah penyambung lidah bagi kelompok tertindas (Mast & Temmerman, 2021; Simons & Strovsky, 2019), tetapi pada ranah praksis, praktik ideal ini sering mengalami kegagalan. Rutinitas media berita profesional yang lebih berpihak pada struktur kekuasaan formal membuat fungsi ideal ini mengalami kerumitan serius bagi media untuk menghadirkan ruang dialog yang beragam.

Media berita profesional pada titik ini lebih memilih untuk menjadi saluran komunikasi antar elite partai. Artinya, media jauh lebih dekat dengan kekuatan politik partai sehingga menjadi masuk akal *frame* media didominasi pandangan elite partai (Lau, 2012; Lopez, 2016). Dalam pandangan Bourdieu, praktik media menggunakan pendapat elite adalah praktik terselubung untuk melegitimasi pendapatnya sendiri. Jadi, media berita profesional bukanlah arena terbuka melainkan arena terbatas yang berpihak pada kelompok dominan dengan meninggalkan suara aktor atau kelompok yang menentang wacana dominan (Anastasiou, 2017; Lindell, 2015; Wijayanto, 2019).

Di sisi lain, *frame* media alternatif yang identik dengan munculnya gerakan politik akar rumput dan aktivisme politik (Harcup, 2011; Howard & Hussain, 2013; Leung & Lee, 2014) tercermin dalam *frame* *Nu.or.id* dan *Konde.co*. Kedua media ini hadir dari latar belakang kepentingan yang berbeda. *Nu.or.id* lahir dari rahim organisasi masyarakat (Ormas) berbasis agama Islam yakni Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) (Fahrudin, 2021). Adapun *Konde.co* lahir dari inisiasi sejumlah individu yang mempunyai keresahan yang sama terhadap marjinalisasi, diskriminasi, subordinasi, kekerasan dan stigma negatif kepada perempuan dan masyarakat marjinal (Martalena & Yoetadi, 2019).

Dengan latar belakang ini, meminjam argumen Müller, tidak heran jika *Nu.or.id* dan *Konde.co* cenderung mengusung narasi kerakyatan atau tandingan (Müller & Schulz, 2021). Dalam catatan Laclau dan Mouffe, populisme hadir ketika sekelompok besar masyarakat telah

menetapkan dirinya sebagai “rakyat” dan melihat dirinya dalam pertempuran moral melawan elite. Mereka adalah kelompok yang memiliki kepentingan dan nilai signifikan yang diabaikan oleh elite politik (Mansbridge & Macedo, 2019). Dalam konteks ini, bingkai *Nu.or.id* mencoba mengajak masyarakat untuk melawan elite politik di DPR yang menunda pembahasan RUU TPKS.

Karakter media alternatif yang melibatkan khalayak dan memungkinkan ruang publik kontra hegemonik (Groshek & Han, 2011) juga tampak saat media alternatif menghadirkan aktivis perempuan yang menyodorkan fakta lika-liku perjalanan panjang yang mengendap di DPR. Dengan konstruksi seperti ini, ada konten oposisional yang diberikan untuk melawan monopoli informasi. Ini adalah bentuk penyajian berita yang tidak satu dimensi dan memberikan informasi yang kompleks bagi pembacanya (Fuchs, 2010).

Merujuk pendapat Groshek dan Han tentang liputan media alternatif yang berkontribusi besar pada kebangkitan gerakan feminisme (Groshek & Han, 2011), media alternatif lewat framenya menunjukkan bentuk perlawanan terhadap dominasi maskulinitas. Ini tergambarkan dari penggunaan diksi “*maskulinitas pelaku*” sebagai bentuk kritik terhadap DPR. Bagi media alternatif, maskulinitas pelaku berarti adanya “kenormalan” jika laki-laki dapat mengontrol tubuh perempuan. Secara tidak langsung maskulinitas pelaku melibatkan hubungan kekuasaan antara individu dan faktor kontekstual di luar dirinya (Wang et al., 2019).

Melihat permasalahan ini, media alternatif seolah ingin mengatakan wajar jika pemerintah dituduh gagal melindungi kelompok rentan seperti perempuan dan anak. Dalam perspektif kritis, apa yang dilakukan media alternatif adalah fungsi media alternatif sebagai kekuatan pemberdayaan bagi suara-suara terpinggirkan secara sosial dan budaya yang kesulitan menyampaikan pesan mereka kepada khalayak luas (Holt, 2020). Suara-suara terpinggirkan ini adalah korban atau penyintas kekerasan seksual yang tidak memiliki akses ke wacana media berita profesional. Media alternatif terlihat memposisikan diri sebagai kekuatan korektif bagi media berita profesional dengan *frame* yang cenderung dogmatis dan tanpa kritik (Holt, 2020; Reiter & Matthes, 2021).

Secara umum penelitian ini menunjukkan kecenderungan *frame* media berita profesional yang elitis, menandakan ada kebutuhan besar akan media alternatif untuk mengimbangnya. Gerakan populis yang memprotes dan menuntut pengesahan RUU TPKS membutuhkan perhatian lebih dari media berita profesional. Namun, aspek ini sering kali gagal dipenuhi media arus utama. Sehingga, *frame* media berita profesional tidak selalu dapat memenuhi harapan para aktivis teristimewa korban dan penyintas kekerasan seksual. Akibatnya, agenda RUU TPKS masih menjadi isu terpinggirkan bahkan disesatkan oleh gagal pahamiannya sebagian besar masyarakat.

Hal ini tercermin dari *engagement keyword* “RUU TPKS” di media alternatif yang gagal bersaing dengan media berita arus utama. Hanya *Nu.or.id* dan *Konde.co* dengan produk berita yang secara substansi mewakili kepentingan RUU TPKS, mendapat *engagement* media sosial diatas 50. Jumlah ini terlampu kecil dibandingkan media berita profesional yang meraih *engagement* media sosial sebesar 13K. Dalam kasus ini, media alternatif dapat memainkan peran penting untuk menyorot isu atau masalah yang terpinggirkan dalam rangka mempromosikan, sehingga masalah tersebut menjadi terlihat oleh media berita profesional. Media alternatif di Indonesia dalam konteks ini merupakan instrumen penting menyediakan agenda publik dengan konten berita kritis.

KESIMPULAN

Temuan penelitian ini menunjukkan tajamnya perbedaan bingkai pemberitaan RUU TPKS antara media berita profesional dan media alternatif. Perbedaan ini terkait derajat kedua media menciptakan bingkai dominan dan marjinal dalam penonjolan atau pengaburan isu/ aktor tertentu dalam *frame* beritanya. Ketika diletakkan dalam skema analisis Entman, teks-teks berita dua jenis media tersebut menunjukkan kecenderungan penekanan atau penonjolan isu/aktor yang berbeda secara diametral.

Di satu sisi, media profesional memunculkan DPR sebagai aktor utama yang dominan membingkai pembahasan RUU TPKS. Alhasil, *frame* yang dikembangkan cenderung memaklumi keterlambatan pembahasan RUU TPKS. Keterlambatan ini bahkan dimaknai sebagai komitmen DPR melindungi korban kekerasan seksual. Format berita *straight news* yang minim liputan mendalam juga menjadi alasan tertutupnya ruang diskusi yang komperhensif. Akibatnya, substansi informasi yang disajikan tidak lengkap dan bias pada kelompok dominan.

Di sisi lain, media alternatif memunculkan *frame* tandingan dengan menampilkan aktivis maupun akademisi sebagai aktor utama yang dominan membingkai perjalanan RUU TPKS. Konsekuensinya, DPR ditempatkan sebagai pihak yang bersalah terkait lambatnya pembahasan RUU TPKS di Senayan. Tuduhan ini pada akhirnya dimaknai sebagai kegagalan sistematis DPR dalam melindungi korban kekerasan seksual. Selain itu, media alternatif juga memiliki kecenderungan *frame* yang mengkritik kekuasaan formal yang memberikan ruang perlawanan alternatif bagi kelompok marjinal. (*)

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**2. Bukti Konfirmasi Review
dan Hasil Review Pertama
(25 Maret 2023)**

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Review result

Participants

Sumekar Tanjung, S.Sos., M.A. (sumekartanjung19)

Merlina Maria Barbara Apul Merlin (merlinapul)

Messages

Note	From
Dear author, terlampir hasil review pada file terlampir. Mohon agar segera dilakukan perbaikan dalam jangka waktu maksimal satu pekan. Naskah dapat dikirimkan kembali sebelum 2 Maret 2023. Terima kasih. 24666-Article Text-65426-71103-3-20220715.docx	sumekartanjung19 2023-03-25 10:43 PM
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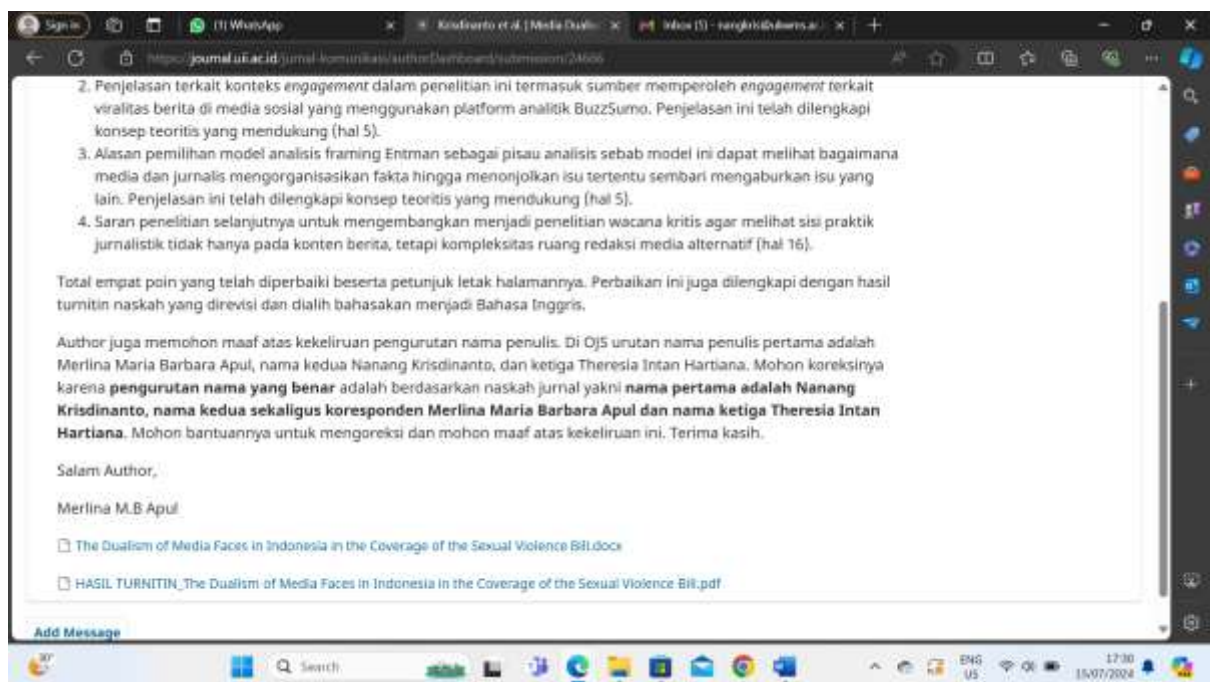
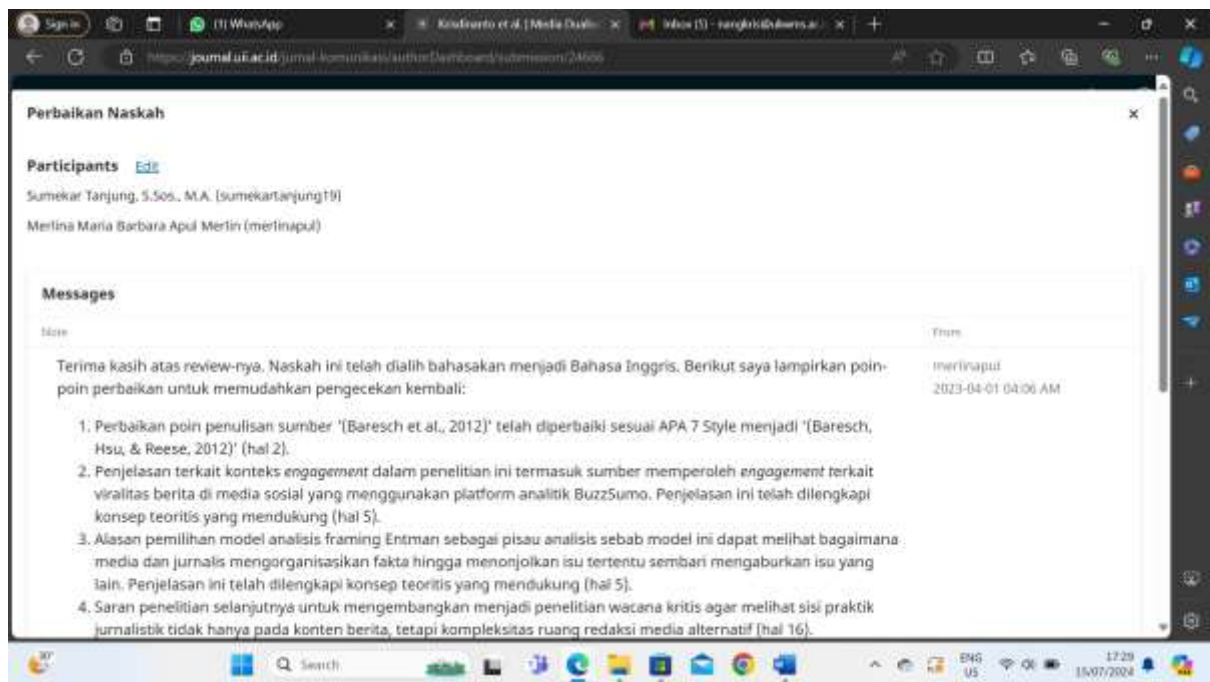
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**3. Bukti Konfirmasi Submit Revisi Pertama,
Respon kepada Reviewer,
dan Artikel yang Diresubmit
(1 April 2023)**



Respon terhadap reviewer

Keterangan	Pertanyaan	Catatan Reviewer	Respon Penulis
Originalitas	Apakah naskah mengandung nilai kebaruan dan signifikansi sehingga layak dipublikasikan dalam jurnal? Apakah penulis	Belum	No previous research has juxtaposed professional news media coverage of sexual violence with alternative news

	telah menyatakan adanya kebaruan artikel?		media based on social media engagement. To borrow an argument from (Baresch et al., 2012), much framing research still needs to pay attention to the comprehensiveness of information in a networked digital society. Audiences now monitoring news from social networks in cyberspace mean that news framing cannot be limited to professional media texts. This is because news now comes not only from professional newsrooms. But also alternative media that become a counterpoint to professional media discourse.
Metode	Apakah metode telah memaparkan dengan jelas langkah-langkah penelitian? Apakah metode yang digunakan sesuai dengan objek/subjek kajian dan masalah yang dikaji dalam penelitian?	Terlalu teknis lupa pada kajian kritisnya sehingga terlihat malah seperti penelitian positivistik	In Entman's conception, framing plays a significant role in showing the socio-political power of dominant actors or groups. In the issue of the TPKS Bill, the 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-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
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			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	Belum	No previous research has focused on the

	implikasi temuan pada penelitian lanjutan atau pada pengembangan teori atau pada masyarakat? Jika telah menyebutkan implikasi, apakah implikasi naskah sesuai dengan hasil dan kesimpulan?		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.
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Bukti artikel yang diresubmit

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

Abstract

This research stems from two things. First, the emergence of alternative news media can be seen as a counter-media to the professional news media with their various tendencies. The second was the protracted legislative process of the Sexual Violence Bill (RUU TPKS) before it was finally passed. The purpose of this research is to see how the two media groups frame the protracted struggle in the legislative process of the TPKS Bill, considering that the frame reflects the media's perspective that can influence the audience's understanding of the issue. The subjects of this research are news related to the TPKS Bill aired by professional and alternative media in Indonesia. This research uses a qualitative approach and the framing method developed by Robert Entman. This study's findings show diametrical differences in frames between professional and alternative media reporting the TPKS Bill. Professional media created a frame that placed the protracted discussion of the TPKS Bill in the DPR as a technical-procedural problem. In contrast, alternative media framed it as a failure or lack of commitment from the DPR to protect victims of sexual violence.

Keywords: frame, alternative media, professional media, sexual violence bill

INTRODUCTION

The advent of social media, user engagement, and news-sharing 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).

Experts themselves have a variety of definitions of the role of alternative online media in the context of journalism. The terms vary from digital news providers, and blog news, to alternative online media. But all experts agree that this media practice's essential characteristics differ from normative and autonomous journalism practices. They do not go through layers of hierarchy to produce news content (Ahmad, 2017; Doğu, 2015; Küng, 2015; Stringer, 2020). This research uses the term alternative online media to distinguish it from professional online media as mainstream media. On the one hand, the presence of this alternative online media challenges the monopolization of professional media news, especially to win engagement on social media (Balkan Şahin & Bodur Ün, 2022; Reiter & Matthes, 2021).

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).

In this context, it is relevant to examine media framing, where reality is not denied entirely but distorted by only emphasizing certain aspects while other aspects are omitted. This is usually done by the media using specific terms or connotations, selecting sources, giving unbalanced portions of speech in quotes, and using adjectives. The main goal is to frame information to create a particular meaning or impression on readers (Sudibyo, 2013).

Referring to Entman's classic thinking (Entman, 1993), framing can also mean selecting 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. This means that the media will highlight certain information that is considered necessary by the audience. While on the one hand, making other information seem meaningless.

The power structure has changed. In less than a decade, digitalization has allowed many media outside of professional news media to engage in journalistic activities. For (Baresch, Hsu, & Reese, 2012), this means that news from the mainstream media is no longer the default research unit of analysis choice. The picture of reality presented by alternative online media is often the frame that is missing from the construction of professional news media. They (alternative online media) also have standards of truth by limiting or emphasizing news source comments, limiting the portion of the news, and packaging news discourse with the perspective, rhetoric, and common sense they want.

In this understanding, according to (Holt, Figenschou, & Frischlich, 2019), alternative online media tend to challenge the discourse that is considered dominant by professional news media. Alternative online media can provide a counter-discourse that is underrepresented or marginalized (creating alternative content) to influence audiences according to the agenda that their founders or audiences consider essential. This statement emphasizes that alternative online media takes a counter position to particular hegemony. In contrast, professional news media are positioned as mainstream media that reflect a dominant and elitist agenda.

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 content analysis, there were 1,839 news articles with a total of 47,485 engagements related to the keyword "RUU TPKS." It should be underlined that this number is too small when compared to the Covid-19 vaccine issue, which penetrated 1,685,782 engagements with 7,822 news articles in February 2021.

Both are important issues, but the position of the TPKS Bill, which was previously the PKS Bill, is much different. The six-year wait did not guarantee that this issue would receive media attention. Since its initial appearance in 2016, this bill has reaped debate. Quoted from 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, so it officially became a DPR initiative. Finally, 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 officially discussed with Commission VIII of the DPR.

The problem is that the discussion of the bill is too focused on the title and definition of sexual violence without discussing the substance of the PKS bill. Until President Jokowi's first term ended, the bill was not completed. In 2020, Komnas Perempuan and the civil society community again brought the draft to the House of Representatives Baleg until it was successfully 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, again failed to be discussed. The pretext is that this bill needs to be revised.

Instead of criticizing, citing (Rizky & Mar'iyah, 2021), the media failed to place the PKS Bill as a proposed legislative product that is urgent to pass. Unfortunately, the media also polemicized against the draft bill called pro-adultery and LGBT. However, it was in 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 rampant news coverage was not in line with serious efforts to place the issue of protracted ratification to create policy advocacy that mobilizes the community so that the government and DPR are more responsive. This was also the case when the PKS Bill was removed from the 2020 National Legislation Program.

Based on Konde Institute's research (Konde Institute, 2020) related to the news of the withdrawal of the PKS Bill from the 2020 National Legislation Program and how the consistency of writing on the issue of sexual violence in three professional news media based on the top three Alexa rankings, namely Okezone, Tribunnews, and Kompas.com, there are several problems in the coverage of the PKS Bill. First, most of the news is written in a hard news format and written based on events that are viral or widely discussed. Second, the sources used are not yet diverse. 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 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. In addition, the content of the news related to the issue of sexual violence, in general, was found that these three media had not yet taken a 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. 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 juxtaposed professional news media's coverage of sexual violence with alternative news media based on engagement on social media. To borrow an argument from (Baresch et al., 2012), many framing studies still need to pay attention to the complete information in the networked digital society. Audiences who now monitor news from social networks in cyberspace mean that news frames should not be limited to professional news media texts. This is because news now comes not only from professional newsrooms.

This research also stems from the concern (Al-Rawi, 2019) that excessive obsession with what readers want to read or see will force the media to customize stories and reports to suit the audience's wants and needs. As a result, what the audience prefers conflicts with the social responsibility of media institutions to provide readers with what they need to read. As a result of this selection, there will be events or issues that are marginalized, and certain classes or social groups find their problems subtly pushed off the media agenda. News that is more populist and appeals to readers' emotions is prioritized over information.

This is the specific purpose of this study to see the extent to which media coverage of the TPKS Bill has a gender perspective. The dominant framing done by the media will persist over time in the minds of audiences so that when the media obscures or ignores issues, audiences are practically unable to make relevant judgments regarding the content and substance of the TPKS Bill and Permendikbut No. 30. Because the media framing can influence social issues such as sexual violence, this research is essential to examine the structure of media coverage whether it supports or "undermines" the TPKS Bill and Permendikbut No.30.

The research will be conducted on the news about the TPKS Bill in 21 online media with the most social media engagement in the 2020-2021 period. As described earlier, recent developments in online media show the emergence of what is referred to as alternative online media or "counter-oligarchy media." The professional online media whose news will be the subject of the study include Tempo.co, Kompas.com, Republika.co, CNNIndonesia.com, BBCIndonesia.com, Detik.com, Okezone.com, Suara.com and other media managed by professional press companies. Meanwhile, the alternative online media in question are Konde.co and Nu.or.id. This study aims to

describe the differences in news frames on the issue in these two types of online media: professional online and alternative online media.

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).

METHODS

This research uses a qualitative-descriptive approach that places the researcher as a critical instrument, and the data will be analyzed inductively (Lune, H. & Berg, 2017). The data were from news published by professional media (such as tempo.co, Kompas.com, Republika.co, CNNIndonesia.com, BBCIndonesia.com, detik.com, okezone.com, suara.com, and others) and alternative online media (Konde.co and nu.or.id).

This research focuses on the news coverage of 21 media (professional news media and alternative online media) with social media engagement above 50k. The definition of engagement tends to vary in journalism practice. Some refer to transactional interactions on social media, while others refer to developing deeper relationships, and community organizing to a more participatory role in news production for community members (Denisova, 2022; Wenzel & Nelson, 2020).

Based on these definitions, this research refers to the first definition, namely transactional interaction on social media. This means that engagement in this study is a form of involvement or interaction on social media as measured by the number of likes, dislikes, comments, shares, visits, views, clicks, and tags (Perreault & Mosconi, 2018). The measurement of engagement uses an analytics and content research platform, BuzzSumo, which is able to collect billions of articles and their engagement. Using the keyword "TPKS Bill" on BuzzSumo, researchers found 55 news articles from 19 professional news media. While alternative media that penetrated engagement above 50k were Nu.or.id and Konde.co with a total of 17 news.

The method used is framing, developed by Robert Entman. The reason is this model can see how the media and journalist organizes facts and accentuates an issue to certain obscure aspects; Entman offers four elements of analysis. First, define problems, focusing on how the media understand an issue or event and how the media portray the issue or event. Second, diagnose causes, which diagnoses causal factors or identifies the forces that create specific problems. Third, moral evaluation is an assessment of the causes of the problem and what impact it has. Fourth, treatment recommendation focuses on what solutions are suggested or offered by the media. Related to these four elements, Entman mentions four possibilities. Namely, one news can contain all four parts, one news can only include certain features, and one news text can not have any of the four elements (Entman, 1993). The following table shows the data processing tools used:

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

Table 1: Data Processing Tool (Entman, 1993)

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

a. Diametral Position of Professional Media Frames and Alternative Media

In general, the findings of this study show the different message packaging strategies of professional and alternative news media. This research found that the main frame of professional news media always emphasizes the DPR's commitment to protecting vulnerable groups. This frame results from the professional news media interviewing many legislative actors. Thus, professional news media have indirectly placed political elites in Senayan as important and dominant sources. In contrast, alternative media is present to fill the gap in professional news media coverage of vulnerable groups. Consequently, the alternative media main frame sees the TPKS Bill's slow passage as a systematic failure of the DPR to protect vulnerable groups. In this context, alternative media plays a role in spreading counter-hegemonic discourse to increase public awareness regarding the substance of the interests of the ratification of the TPKS Bill. To see the frame elements in more detail, researchers will describe the data through the stages proposed by Entman above.

Define Problems

In general, both professional and alternative media have the same tendency to define the problems surrounding the TPKS Bill. Both see the ratification of the TPKS Bill as slow and the process as protracted but have differences in emphasis. This can be seen in the following table:

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

Table 2. Comparison of Define Problems of Professional and Alternative Media (Source: Processed by researchers, 2022)

Of the 19 professional news media, eleven media were found, namely 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, which specifically displayed the frame of define problems. Eight of them tend to see that the TPKS Bill has yet to be passed due to the DPR wanting to ensure that the discussion of this bill is by the mechanism. This inaction is more due to technical problems or legislative mechanisms rather than substantial matters.

This can be seen from the prominence of DPR leaders as the main actors in answering 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 displaying Puan Maharani's statement, professional media tend to portray a cautious attitude so that this bill can avoid polemics due to technical errors. Indirectly, professional news media try to lead readers' knowledge that the DPR has made maximum efforts to prevent procedural defects. Practically, these media 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 been hanging in the House for so long. This is reflected in the following statements from Willy and Dasco:

“...saya (Willy) pikir tidak banyak perubahan ya, tinggal bagaimana penyempurnaan kiri dan kanan, tapi secara substansi semua sama...” (Detik.com, 8 Desember 2021a).

Two points can be seen from the quote. First, the need for more clarity of information. Detik.com does not try to explain what "*left and right refinement*" means and questions what kind of refinement took six years to be discussed and became a polemic in Senayan.

Second, sources that do not cover both sides. When Willy mentions "substantially all the same", Detik.com does not try to confront the fact that two criminal offenses proposed by the Network of Defenders of the Rights of Women Victims of Sexual Violence (JPHPKKS) are missing, namely forced abortion and rape. In fact, according to Komnas Perempuan data, throughout 2021 out of 2,363 cases of sexual violence, rape dominated with 597 cases or 25% of the total cases of sexual violence.

Strengthening the frame of depicting the discussion of the TPKS Bill by the mechanism, executive actors were also highlighted to complement the DPR's statement. Of the eight media, five of them, namely Kompas.com, Detik.com, Tirto.id, Antaranews.com, and Kumparan.com, highlighted the words 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 are optimistic that the TPKS Bill can be passed soon. The main frame describes the legislative and executive dialog efforts to accelerate the discussion of the TPKS Bill. When quoting the executive, professional news media tend to present statements that illustrate the commitment of these two state institutions. This tendency ignores JPHPKKS's efforts 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. Transparency in the preparation of DIM in drafting the TPKS Bill can accommodate the interests of victims and close the gap for groups who want to smuggle articles to deflect the substance of the Bill.

In contrast, alternative media, namely Nu.or.id and Konde.co, tend to identify problems in discussing the TPKS Bill as a long and tiring process. This frame can be seen in several sentences by Nu.or.id, such as "tortuous, the dynamics are extraordinary, various steps have been attempted." Meanwhile, Konde.co describes the lengthy discussion of this legislative product with the title questioning the TPKS Bill, which has never been passed even though cases of sexual violence continue to occur.

Meanwhile, Nu.or.id sees the long process of discussing this bill as bringing public confusion about the DPR's commitment to protecting victims of sexual violence. This frame certainly has a negative effect on the credibility of the DPR. The impression emerges that there is no agreement in the DPR to protect victims of sexual violence and their families. From this quote, Nu.or.id tries to marginalize the various procedural stages that must be passed in discussing legislative products.

Rather than explaining the procedural process in the DPR, Nu.or.id chose to focus on the pros and cons in the community as the main factor delaying the ratification of this bill. As a result, it presents the opposition as the guilty party. Nu.or.id tries to build the impression that the promised ratification must be postponed again because opposing opinions make the DPR fail to understand the issue of sexual violence and obscure the initial substance of the TPKS Bill drafted by Komnas Perempuan.

Diagnoses Causes

In this case, there are also differences between the two types of media in describing aspects of the causes of the slow ratification of the TPKS Bill. This difference can be seen in the following table:

	Professional Media	Alternative Media
<i>Diagnose Causes</i>	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

**Table 3. Comparison of Professional and Alternative Media Diagnoses Causes
(Source: Researcher's Process, 2022)**

A total of 19 professional news media tend to place the debate between factions in the DPR as the cause of the slow passage of the TPKS Bill. Most of them agree that the TPKS Bill has been discussed for a long time because all factions have yet to reach an understanding. This construction creates an unproductive discussion in the news text because it dominantly quotes news sources from the DPR elite.

One of them is shown by Detik.com in the phrase "DPR does not hinder the ratification," Detik.com seems to want to answer the accusations of pro-TPKS Bill parties who have been

criticizing the slow discussion of these legislative products. What is then overlooked is the description of the impact on victims if this bill continues to be delayed to avoid procedural defects. Another issue that has also been marginalized is the criticism of several activists that the tug-of-war in the DPR is caused by the efforts of several 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).

Criticism of this fact has been neglected in professional news media coverage of the bill. Moreover, legal-formal rhetoric is related to legislative mechanisms that need to be understood by the general public, such as plenary committees, initiative proposals, judicial review, presidential letters, DIM, and AKD. Another problem with the main frame of DPR's lack of understanding is that professional news media must try to explain the substance behind the debates between factions.

Instead, alternative media pointed to the failure and disappointment of the DPR as a result of the inability to pass the TPKS Bill in 2021. This failure is considered by Nu.or.id as evidence of the injustice that victims of sexual violence must endure (Nu.or.id, 18 Desember 2021a).

Through the diction "again postponed," Nu.or.id tries to emphasize that the DPR's postponement has occurred repeatedly, which has caused disappointment not only for victims but also for their families and companions. In addition, the media's tendency to quote activists and academics makes the DPR a target of criticism in Nu.or.id's frame. Through the statement "all this time we have been waiting for justice," Nu.or.id wanted to provide a rebuttal to the defensive discourse of legislative actors who said that the institution did not hinder the discussion of the TPKS Bill (Nu.or.id, 18 Desember 2021a).

Unlike the professional news media frame that chooses not to intensively question the procedural stages in the DPR, 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 her, the steep road to creating justice for victims and survivors is getting harder with the DPR's failure to pass the TPKS Bill. This situation makes everyone 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 that the DPR does not empathize with 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" by Konde.co 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 seems to be trying to lead readers to see that the masculinity of the perpetrator is present because of the environment and the state system that does not favor victims of sexual violence. The use of the diction of the perpetrator's masculinity is also a critical note from Konde.co that the power relations between men and women have made cases of sexual

violence difficult to handle. This is exacerbated by the government not providing legal sanctions and the DPR not passing the TPKS Bill (Konde.co, December 6, 2021).

Such a frame makes Konde.co try to place the discourse of truth into the 'prerogative' of marginalized groups with a tendency to protect the interests of victims of sexual violence. This is reinforced by the fact that the discussion of the TPKS Bill in Senayan is constructed in such a way as to provide negative sentiment toward the DPR's performance. For example, by accusing the DPR of considering sexual violence cases unimportant, allowing victims to fall, and protecting perpetrators of sexual violence. With the construction of this reality, Konde.co indirectly wants to provide awareness for readers about the substance of the interests of the ratification of the TPKS Bill.

Moral Evaluation

In this context, the professional and alternative media have diametrical positions. The difference in this position can be seen in the following table:

	Professional Media	Alternative Media
<i>Moral Evaluation</i>	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

Table 4. Comparison of Moral Evaluation of Professional and Alternative Media (Source: Researcher's Process, 2022)

In this regard, researchers found that only 11 media professionals were recorded as having moral judgment. The dominant frame shown is the political commitment of the House of Representatives amid an emergency of sexual violence. Again, in the construction of reality, professional news media have yet to present a comprehensive discussion that shows the political commitment of the DPR. Professional news media tend to limit themselves and depend on legislative sources. Practically, the interpretation of the DPR's political commitment and the sexual violence emergency tends to be dogmatic. As shown below by Detik.com:

“DPR RI sendiri terus berkomitmen memberikan perlindungan kepada perempuan melalui berbagai regulasi yang berpihak kepada perempuan,” ungkap Puan (Detik.com, 24 November 2021).

The news above reflects the dominant use of sources from within the DPR, which makes Detik.com tend to present incomplete news in recording the DPR political commitment. As a result, there needs to be more diversity of perspectives. By quoting Puan's statement, Detik.com did not attempt to question further why regulations that favor women should be stuck in the DPR.

The coverage of Detik.com and 11 other professional news media also seemed too dogmatic, seemingly "as is". Detik.com's range above, for example, seems only to tell readers the opinions of political elites but does not provide adequate information about the party's actions in

discussing the TPKS bill and fails to question the DPR commitment to supporting victims of sexual violence. The need for more in-depth coverage and reliance on quoting official DPR written sources is one of the reasons for this.

In this context, inevitably, 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. It should be noted that in Article 25, paragraph 4 of the TPKS Bill, the testimony of victims with disabilities can be excluded. This is called a form of discrimination by the state by activists (Gracia, 2022). The construction that is too biased towards the political commitment of the DPR ultimately makes the professional news media frame less courageous in confronting the DPR elite. One of the reasons for this could be the 'symbiotic mutualism' that thrives between professional news media and the DPR elite.

On the contrary, alternative media are more courageous in confronting the DPR elite by empowering counter-discourse. This is reflected in the main frame that accuses the DPR of still turning a blind eye despite the emergence of victims of sexual violence who dare to speak out in public. Interestingly, the actions of victims of sexual violence are juxtaposed by Konde.co with Malala Yousafzai's quote:

Jika kamu membaca salah satu *quote Malala Yousafzai, aktivis perdamaian Pakistan*, kamu pasti bakal tergetar.

Coba simak quote Malala ini: *"Aku menaikkan suaraku bukan supaya aku bisa berteriak, tetapi agar mereka yang tidak bersuara bisa didengar."*

Aktivist Perempuan Mahardhika, Vivi Widyawati menyatakan, banyaknya korban yang berani bersuara adalah pertanda bahwa Indonesia saat ini sedang berada dalam situasi darurat kekerasan seksual, dan ini harus jadi prioritas pemerintah, pihak kampus dan aparat negara. Jika tak pernah menjadikan korban sebagai prioritas, maka akan makin banyak korban lain yang berjatuh (Konde.co, 6 Desember 2021).

This juxtaposition is not without reason. Malala is the youngest Nobel Peace Prize-winning female activist from Pakistan. Malala was wanted by the Taliban and shot in the head at the age of 14 for daring to speak out and fight for women's rights in education. With this frame structure, Konde.co wants to say that the intimidating treatment victims receive will always follow acts of resistance. The main message that Konde.co also emphasizes with the quote "so that those who do not speak out can be heard" is that when there are victims of sexual violence who dare to speak out, it will make other victims also dare to speak out and fight back. If so, this will be a common strength for victims of sexual violence.

Strengthening this construction, Konde.co specifically highlighted the case of a student victim of sexual harassment from her lecturer who was held in a toilet, and her name was removed from the list of judges. For Konde.co, the case experienced by this student is 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 dare to speak up because they are driven by the majority of cases that end without certainty. This fact makes Nu.or.id regret the DPR attitude:

"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 (Nu.or.id, 30 November 2021c).

Conveying traumatic cases on social media for Nu.or.id is a form of victim disappointment with the law enforcement process that is never complete. This is also a failure of the state to provide a safe space for its citizens. This fact is also a harsh reality that shows vulnerable or marginalized groups' difficulty in accessing mass media to express their perspectives. Social media is considered more open and inclusive, which allows victims to complain about their traumatic experiences. The media shapes how the broader community perceives marginalized groups such as victims of sexual violence.

Treatment Recommendation

The diametrical position is also found in the treatment recommendation element, as illustrated in the following table:

	Professional Media	Alternative Media
Treatment Recommendation	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.

Table 5. Comparison of Professional and Alternative Media Treatment Recommendation (Source: Researcher's Process, 2022)

As shown in Table 4, the research findings show that only 11 professional news media explicitly offer solutions, so the TPKS Bill needs to be passed. The TPKS Bill is considered to fill a material and formal legal vacuum not facilitated by legislation. Notably, the reliance of professional news media on DPR sources makes the recommendation frame focus on DPR's hard work to make 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 (Kompas.com, 6 Desember 2021).

There is one thing missing from Kompas.com's coverage above. While highlighting the hard work of the DPR, Kompas.com failed to urge the DPR and the government to discuss the TPKS Bill transparently by involving victim advocates, activists, academics, and representatives of vulnerable groups. Consequently, Kompas.com's recommendation frame fails to offer

comprehensive recommendations such as ensuring that there are no issues of decency that overlap with the Criminal Code Law, which has been feared to harm victims of sexual violence.

The frame of recommendations offered by the alternative media Nu.or.id and Konde.co tends to urge the DPR to immediately pass the TPKS Bill so that victims do not lose their rights as human beings. For Konde.co, ratifying the TPKS Bill is a form of state presence to ensure that there are no more victims of sexual violence. Strengthening its recommendations, Konde.co underlines the rampant cases of sexual violence in religious and educational institutions as evidence of the increasingly narrow 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, 6 Desember 2021). Nu.or.id also displayed an urgent statement in the following quote:

“Di DPR agendanya akan ada paripurna yang mengesahkan RUU ini sebagai inisiatif DPR RI. Kita buktikan besok pagi, kalau diketok artinya dia serius, kalau tidak kita pertanyakan komitmennya,” tegas Komisioner Komnas Perempuan Maria Ulfah Anshor (Nu.or.id, 24 November 2021c).

Showing Komnas Perempuan's statement, Nu.or.id wants to show that if the bill is not passed, it is due to the conflict of interest of the political elite. Nu.or.id reminds legislators not to be busy with the interests of their groups and make this bill a mere political commodity. With the sentence "if not we question his commitment," Nu.or.id wants to emphasize that if the DPR is not responsive enough, it will lower public confidence in the DPR.

The attitude of urging the TPKS Bill to be passed immediately for the benefit of victims is also evident when Nu.or.id displays the issue of transparency ignored by professional news media. Highlighting the perspectives of activists and advocates for victims of sexual violence, Nu.or.id underlines that the unclear status of the TPKS Bill creates confusion because it is difficult for the public to monitor. By highlighting this issue, Nu.or.id indirectly demanded that the DPR allow the public to be heard and considered so that this bill would not be undermined by problems that harm victims of sexual violence (Nu.or.id, 18 Desember 2021b).

b. Dualism of Media Faces and the Battle for Media Power

The presentation of findings that juxtapose the frames of professional news media and alternative online media has brought one main consequence, namely the dualism of media faces in the coverage of the TPKS Bill, namely the face of elitism represented by professional media and the populist face represented by alternative media.

In the context of the elitist face of professional media, this study's findings imply that media in any form is always flavored with elements of power and negotiations of actors and groups who want to gain influence. Borrowing Foucault's idea of power, the dualism of media faces shows how various institutions exert power to assert identity and resistance to power (Heizmann & Olsson, 2015; Krasmann, 2017; Portschi, 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. This is because the so-called alternative media has the potential to form a counter-discourse to the political discourse of the professional news media (Müller & Schulz, 2021).

This research shows that professional news media rely heavily on elite sources as crucial determinants. They are the only sources that have access to determine media frames and shape long-term meanings. The monopoly of select sources in media frames will close access to more heterogeneous voices in public debates (Kleemans, Schaap, & Hermans, 2015; Splendore, 2017).

The findings of this study also affirm Foucault's idea of power and refute Strömbäck's opinion that the news media, apart from being obliged to inform potentially crucial issues, also acts as a forum for debate, inspiring people to participate in public discourse and journalism must give voice to groups that need to express themselves in public (Trappel & Tomaz, 2021).

In fact, of the 19 professional news media studies, 16 were full of elitist frames, poor debate, and closed access to the voices of community groups. Professional news media chose to "play it safe" with inconsistent frames when constructing news related to the TPKS Bill. Meanwhile, the construction of three professional news media such as CNNIndonesia.com, BBCIndonesia.com, and VOA.com, which opened up space for debate by providing a place for community groups in the news text, had to be "drowned" by the frames of the 16 dominant media that gave birth to news on hegemonic political power.

This confirms Gitlin's view that by privileging the voices of elites who hold formal power, the media has indirectly manipulated the public with the constructions it frames—placing the DPR as the 'heroic' party shows how the elite's access to news discourse allows them to set the framework in which specific stories are discussed. This construction is also a way for elites to utilize news to maintain their authority and strengthen their social power (Carlson, 2009; Chang, Gitlin, & Schudson, 2020; Groshek & Han, 2011). In the theoretical realm, the ideal function of the media is to speak for oppressed groups (Mast & Temmerman, 2021; Simons & Strovsky, 2019), but in the realm of praxis, this ideal practice often fails. The routines of professional news media that favor formal power structures make this superior function seriously complicated for the media to present a diverse space for dialogue.

Professional news media, at this point, prefer to be a channel of communication between party elites. This means that the media is much closer to the political power of the party, so it makes sense that the media frame is dominated by the views of the party elite (Lau, 2012; Lopez, 2016). In Bourdieu's theory, the media's practice of using elite opinions is covert to legitimize its ideas. So, professional news media is not an open arena but a limited arena that favors the dominant group by leaving out the voices of actors or groups that oppose the dominant discourse (Anastasiou, 2017; Lindell, 2015; Wijayanto, 2019).

On the other hand, alternative media frames 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 come from different interest backgrounds. Nu.or.id was born from the womb of an Islamic religious-

based community organization, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) (Fahrudin, 2021). Konde.co was taken from the initiation of some individuals who share the same concerns about marginalization, discrimination, subordination, violence, and negative stigma towards women and marginalized communities (Martalena & Yoetadi, 2019).

With this background, borrowing Müller's argument, it is not surprising that Nu.or.id and Konde.co tend to carry populist or counter-narratives (Müller & Schulz, 2021). In Laclau and Mouffe's notes, 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. They are groups with significant interests and values ignored by the political elite (Mansbridge & Macedo, 2019). In this context, the Nu.or.id frame tries to invite the public to fight the political elite in the DPR who delayed the discussion of the TPKS Bill.

The character of alternative media that involves audiences and allows counter-hegemonic public space (Groshek & Han, 2011) is also evident when alternative media presents women activists who offer facts about the twists and turns of the long journey that has settled in the DPR. This kind of construction provides oppositional content to counter the information monopoly. This form of news presentation is not one-dimensional and provides complex information for readers (Fuchs, 2010).

Referring to Groshek and Han's opinion that alternative media coverage has significantly contributed to the rise of the feminist movement (Groshek & Han, 2011), the alternative media, through its frames, shows a form of resistance to the dominance of masculinity. This is illustrated by the diction "masculinity of the perpetrator" as a form of criticism of the DPR. For alternative media, perpetrator masculinity means it is "normal" if men can control women's bodies. Indirectly, perpetrator masculinity involves power relations between individuals and contextual factors outside themselves (Wang, Fang, & Li, 2019).

Seeing this problem, alternative media seems to want to say that it is normal if the government is accused of failing to protect vulnerable groups such as women and children. From a critical perspective, alternative media empowers socially and culturally marginalized voices who have difficulty conveying their messages to a broad audience (Holt, 2020). These marginalized voices are victims or survivors of sexual violence who do not have access to professional news media discourse. Alternative media appears to position itself as a corrective force for professional news media with frames that tend to be dogmatic and uncritical (Holt, 2020; Reiter & Matthes, 2021).

In general, this research shows the tendency of professional news media frames to be elitist, signaling a great need for alternative media to compensate. The populist movement protesting and demanding the passage of the TPKS Bill requires more attention from professional news media. However, this aspect often fails to be fulfilled by the mainstream media. Thus, professional news media frames do not always meet activists' expectations, especially for victims and survivors of sexual violence. As a result, the agenda of the TPKS Bill is still a marginalized issue and even misled by the failure of most people to understand.

This is reflected in the engagement of the keyword "TPKS Bill" in alternative media, which fails to compete with mainstream news media. Only Nu.or.id and Konde.co with news products

that substantially represent the interests of the TPKS Bill got social media engagement above 50. This number needs to be bigger than professional news media that achieved social media engagement of 13K. In this case, alternative media can be essential in highlighting marginalized issues or problems to promote them to become visible to professional news media. Alternative media in Indonesia, in this context, is a vital instrument to provide the public agenda with critical news content.

CONCLUSIONS

The findings of this study show sharp differences in the news frames of the TPKS Bill between professional news media and alternative media. This difference is related to the degree to which the two media create dominant and marginal frames in highlighting or 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 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 discourse-based 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. (*)

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**4. Bukti konfirmasi review
dan hasil review kedua
(6 Mei 2023)**

Sign in

11 WhatsApp

Kusnanto et al. (Media Dialek)

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Hasil review 1

Participants

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Merlina Maria Barbara Apul Merlin (merlinapul)

Messages

From	To
sumekartanjung19	merlinapul
2023-06-06 01:59 AM	2023-06-13 03:42 AM

Dear authors,

terlampir hasil review dari reviewer pertama. Dimohon untuk mencermati dan melakukan perbaikan sesuai dengan catatan.

Terimakasih.

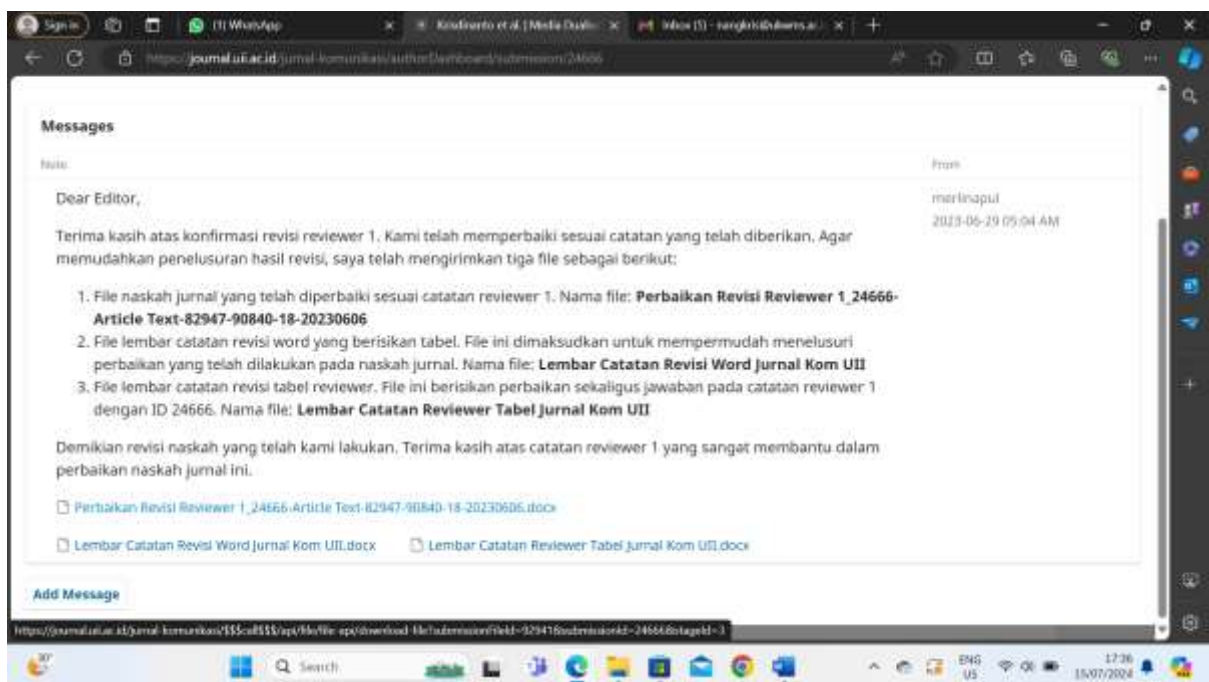
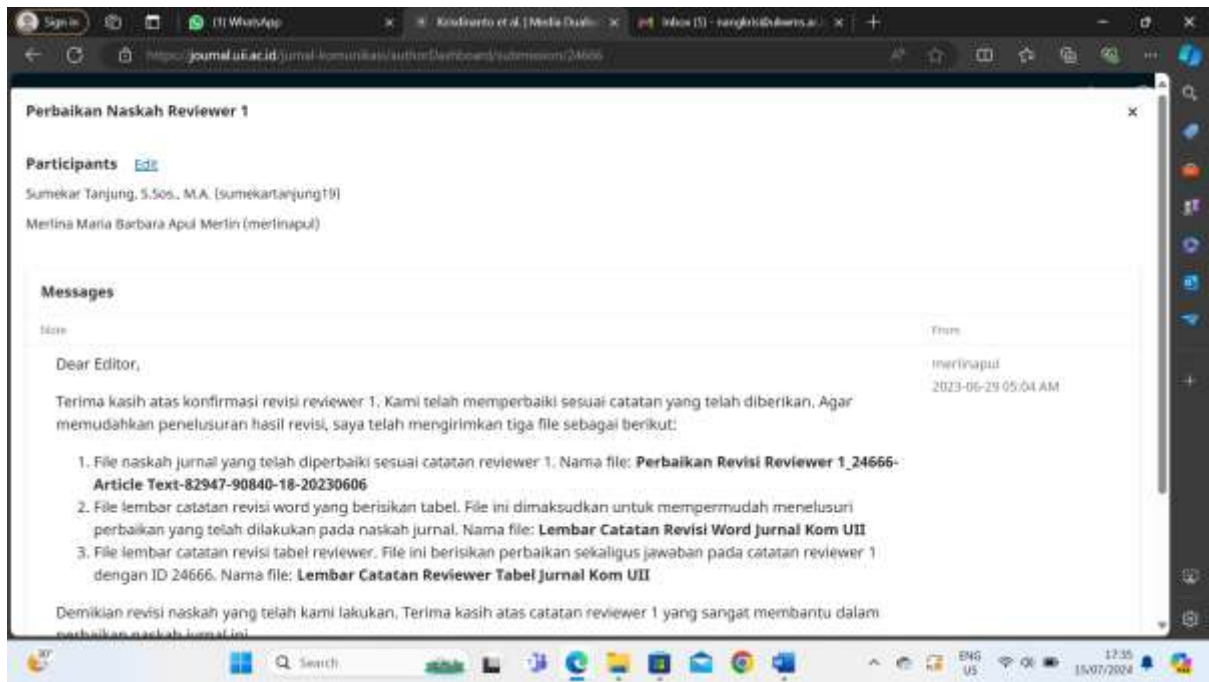
24666-82934-90827-5-20230606.docx Hasil Review 1.docx

Terima kasih atas hasil review-nya. Kami akan memperbaiki naskah sesuai saran dari Reviewer 1.

Salam

17:33 15/07/2024

**5. Bukti konfirmasi submit revisi kedua,
respon kepada reviewer,
dan artikel yang diresubmit
(29 Mei 2023)**



Respon terhadap reviewer

No	CATATAN REVISI	SEBELUM REVISI	SETELAH REVISI
1	<u>Abstrak:</u> It should be alphabetical order	<i>frame, alternative media, professional media, sexual violence bill</i>	<i>alternative media, frame, professional media, sexual violence bill</i>

2	<u>Pendahuluan:</u> Clarify professional and alternative media concepts based on literature review		Peneliti telah menambahkan studi literatur berupa penelitian terkini untuk memperjelas konsep media profesional dan media alternative
3	<u>Pendahuluan:</u> Why konde.co and nu.or.id as the object of alternative media? It should have a reasons also		Meanwhile, the alternative online media 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	<u>Pendahuluan:</u> 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	<u>Temuan:</u> Is it verified to make judgement that all professional had the same diagnose causes and moral evaluation?		Peneliti telah melakukan verifikasi data dengan menambahkan prosentase untuk menjelaskan kecenderungan yang sama dalam frame diagnose causes dan moral evaluation
6	<u>Diskusi:</u> It should be shown about this fact with data, not just an summary without scientific data	In fact, of the 19 professional news media studies, 16 were full of elitist frames, poor debate, and closed access to the voices of community groups. Professional news media chose to "play it safe" with inconsistent frames when constructing news related to the TPKS Bill. Meanwhile, the construction of three professional news media such as CNNIndonesia.com, BBCIndonesia.com, and VOA.com, which opened up space for debate by providing a place for community groups in the news text, had to be "drowned" by the frames of the 16 dominant media that gave birth to news on hegemonic political power.	In fact, of the 19 professional news media studies, 16 were full of elitist frames, poor debate, and closed access to the voices of community groups. Professional news media chose to "play it safe" with inconsistent frames when constructing news related to the TPKS Bill. Meanwhile, the construction of three professional news media such as CNNIndonesia.com, BBCIndonesia.com, and VOA.com, which opened up space for debate by providing a place for community groups in the news text, had to be "drowned" by the frames 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.
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Bukti naskah yang diresubmit

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

Abstract

This research is motivated by two things. First is the emergence of alternative news media, which is a counter-media that tends to feature minority voices compared to professional news media. Second, the protracted legislative process of the Draft Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence (RUU TPKS) before it was finally passed. The purpose of this study is to see how the two media groups frame the protracted struggle in the legislative process of the TPKS Bill, considering that the frame reflects the media's perspective, which can affect the audience's understanding of the issue. The subjects of this research are news stories related to the TPKS Bill aired by professional and alternative media in Indonesia. This research uses a qualitative approach and the framing method developed by Robert Entman. The findings of this study show a diametrical difference in frames between professional and alternative media in reporting the TPKS Bill. Professional media made a frame that placed the protracted discussion of the TPKS Bill in the DPR as a technical-procedural problem. In contrast, alternative media framed it as a failure or lack of commitment by the DPR to protect victims of sexual violence.

Keywords: frame, alternative media, professional media, sexual violence bill

INTRODUCTION

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 news-sharing 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.

Experts themselves have various definitions of the role of alternative online media in the context of journalism. The terms used vary, ranging from digital news providers and blog news to alternative online media. However, all experts agree that these media practices' essential characteristics differ from normative and autonomous journalism practices. They do not go through hierarchical layers to produce news content (Ahmad, 2017; Doğu, 2015; Küng, 2015; Stringer, 2020). This research uses the term alternative online media to distinguish it from professional online media as mainstream media. On the one hand, the presence of alternative online media challenges the monopoly of professional media coverage, especially to win engagement on social media (Balkan Şahin & Bodur Ün, 2022; Reiter & Matthes, 2021).

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 yang 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).

In this context, it is relevant to examine media framing, where reality is not denied entirely but distorted by only emphasizing certain aspects while other aspects are omitted. This is usually done by the media using specific terms or connotations, selecting sources, giving unbalanced portions of speech in quotes, and using adjectives. The main goal is to frame information to create a particular meaning or impression on readers (Sudibyo, 2013).

Referring to Entman's classic thinking (Entman, 1993), framing can also mean selecting 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. This means that the media will highlight certain information that is considered necessary by the audience. While on the one hand, making other information seem meaningless.

The power structure has changed. In less than a decade, digitalization has allowed many media outside of professional news media to engage in journalistic activities. For (Baresch, Hsu, & Reese, 2012), this means that news from the mainstream media is no longer the default research unit of analysis choice. The picture of reality presented by alternative online media is often the frame that is missing from the construction of professional news media. They (alternative online media) also have standards of truth by limiting or emphasizing news source comments, limiting the portion of the news, and packaging news discourse with the perspective, rhetoric, and common sense they want.

In this understanding, according to (Holt, Figenschou, & Frischlich, 2019), alternative online media tend to challenge the discourse that is considered dominant by professional news media. Alternative online media can provide a counter-discourse that is underrepresented or marginalized (creating alternative content) to influence audiences according to the agenda that their founders or audiences consider essential. This statement emphasizes that alternative online media takes a counter position to particular hegemony. In contrast, professional news media are positioned as mainstream media that reflect a dominant and elitist agenda.

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 content analysis, there were 1,839 news articles with a total of 47,485 engagements related to the keyword "RUU TPKS." It should be underlined that this number is too small when compared to the Covid-19 vaccine issue, which penetrated 1,685,782 engagements with 7,822 news articles in February 2021. A gender-perspective 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).

Both are important issues, but the position of the TPKS Bill, which was previously the PKS Bill, is much different. The six-year wait did not guarantee that this issue would receive media attention. Since its initial appearance in 2016, this bill has reaped debate. Quoted from 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, so it officially became a DPR initiative. Finally, 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 officially discussed with Commission VIII of the DPR.

The problem is that the discussion of the bill is too focused on the title and definition of sexual violence without discussing the substance of the PKS bill. Until President Jokowi's first term ended, the bill was not completed. In 2020, Komnas Perempuan and the civil society community again brought the draft to the House of Representatives Baleg until it was successfully 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, again failed to be discussed. The pretext is that this bill needs to be revised.

Instead of criticizing, citing (Rizky & Mar'iyah, 2021), the media failed to place the PKS Bill as a proposed legislative product that is urgent to pass. Unfortunately, the media also polemicized against the draft bill called pro-adultery and LGBT. However, it was in 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 rampant news coverage was not in line with serious efforts to place the issue of protracted ratification to create policy advocacy that mobilizes the community so that the government and DPR are more responsive. This was also the case when the PKS Bill was removed from the 2020 National Legislation Program.

Based on Konde Institute's research (Konde Institute, 2020) related to the news of the withdrawal of the PKS Bill from the 2020 National Legislation Program and how the consistency of writing on the issue of sexual violence in three professional news media based on the top three Alexa rankings, namely Okezone, Tribunnews, and Kompas.com, there are several problems in the coverage of the PKS Bill. First, most of the news is written in a hard news format and written based on events that are viral or widely discussed. Second, the sources used are not yet diverse. 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 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. In addition, the content of the news related to the issue of sexual violence, in general, was found that these three media had not yet taken a 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. 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. This is also the contribution of this research to society, which can form readers' awareness regarding the media news consumed. This research can provide literacy to the public that reading news needs to be done with criticism. 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.

However, none of the previous studies juxtaposed professional news media's coverage of sexual violence with alternative news media based on engagement on social media. To borrow an argument from (Baresch et al., 2012), many framing studies still need to pay attention to the complete information in the networked digital society. Audiences who now monitor news from social networks in cyberspace mean that news frames should not be limited to professional news media texts. This is because news now comes not only from professional newsrooms.

This research also stems from the concern (Al-Rawi, 2019) that excessive obsession with what readers want to read or see will force the media to customize stories and reports to suit the audience's wants and needs. As a result, what the audience prefers conflicts with the social responsibility of media institutions to provide readers with what they need to read. As a result of this selection, there will be events or issues that are marginalized, and certain classes or social groups find their problems subtly pushed off the media agenda. News that is more populist and appeals to readers' emotions is prioritized over information.

This is the specific purpose of this study to see the extent to which media coverage of the TPKS Bill has a gender perspective. The dominant framing done by the media will persist over time in the minds of audiences so that when the media obscures or ignores issues, audiences are practically unable to make relevant judgments regarding the content and substance of the TPKS Bill and Permendikbut No. 30. Because the media framing can influence social issues such as

sexual violence, this research is essential to examine the structure of media coverage whether it supports or "undermines" the TPKS Bill and Permendikbut No.30.

The research will be conducted on the news about the TPKS Bill in 21 online media with the most social media engagement in the 2020-2021 period. As described earlier, recent developments in online media show the emergence of what is referred to as alternative online media or "counter-oligarchy media." The professional online media whose news will be the subject of the study include Tempo.co, Kompas.com, Republika.co, CNNIndonesia.com, BBCIndonesia.com, Detik.com, Okezone.com, Suara.com and other media managed by professional press companies. Meanwhile, the alternative online media in question are Konde.co and Nu.or.id. This study aims to describe the differences in news frames on the issue in these two types of online media: professional online and alternative online media.

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).

METHODS

This research uses a qualitative-descriptive approach that places the researcher as a critical instrument, and the data will be analyzed inductively (Lune, H. & Berg, 2017). The data were from news published by professional media (such as tempo.co, Kompas.com, Republika.co, CNNIndonesia.com, BBCIndonesia.com, Detik.com, Okezone.com, Suara.com, and others) and alternative online media (Konde.co and Nu.or.id).

This research focuses on the news coverage of 21 media (professional news media and alternative online media) with social media engagement above 50k. The definition of engagement tends to vary in journalism practice. Some refer to transactional interactions on social media, while others refer to developing deeper relationships, and community organizing to a more participatory role in news production for community members (Denisova, 2022; Wenzel & Nelson, 2020).

Based on these definitions, this research refers to the first definition, namely transactional interaction on social media. This means that engagement in this study is a form of involvement or interaction on social media as measured by the number of likes, dislikes, comments, shares, visits, views, clicks, and tags (Perreault & Mosconi, 2018). The measurement of engagement uses an analytics and content research platform, BuzzSumo, which is able to collect billions of articles and their engagement. Using the keyword "TPKS Bill" on BuzzSumo, researchers found 55 news articles from 19 professional news media. While alternative media that penetrated engagement above 50k were Nu.or.id and Konde.co with a total of 17 news.

The method used is framing, developed by Robert Entman. The reason is this model can see how the media and journalist organizes facts and accentuates an issue to certain obscure aspects; Entman offers four elements of analysis. First, define problems, focusing on how the media understand an issue or event and how the media portray the issue or event. Second, diagnose causes, which diagnoses causal factors or identifies the forces that create specific problems. Third, moral evaluation is an assessment of the causes of the problem and what impact

it has. Fourth, treatment recommendation focuses on what solutions are suggested or offered by the media. Related to these four elements, Entman mentions four possibilities. Namely, one news can contain all four parts, one news can only include certain features, and one news text can not have any of the four elements (Entman, 1993). The following table shows the data processing tools used:

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

Table 1: Data Processing Tool (Entman, 1993)

In Entman's conception, framing plays a significant role in showing the socio-political power of dominant actors or groups. In the issue of the TPKS Bill, the 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-dominant images that exist in society about specific issues.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

a. Diametral Position of Professional Media Frames and Alternative Media

In general, the findings of this study show the different message packaging strategies of professional and alternative news media. This research found that the main frame of professional news media always emphasizes the DPR's commitment to protecting vulnerable groups. This frame results from the professional news media interviewing many legislative actors. Thus, professional news media have indirectly placed political elites in Senayan as important and dominant sources. In contrast, alternative media is present to fill the gap in professional news media coverage of vulnerable groups. Consequently, the alternative media main frame sees the TPKS Bill's slow passage as a systematic failure of the DPR to protect vulnerable groups. In this context, alternative media plays a role in spreading counter-hegemonic discourse to increase public awareness regarding the substance of the interests of the ratification of the TPKS Bill. To see the frame elements in more detail, researchers will describe the data through the stages proposed by Entman above.

Define Problems

In general, both professional and alternative media have the same tendency to define the problems surrounding the TPKS Bill. Both see the ratification of the TPKS Bill as slow and the process as protracted but have differences in emphasis. This can be seen in the following table:

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

Table 2. Comparison of Define Problems of Professional and Alternative Media (Source: Processed by researchers, 2022)

Of the 19 professional news media, eleven media were found, namely 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, which specifically displayed the frame of define problems. Eight of them tend to see that the TPKS Bill has yet to be passed due to the DPR wanting to ensure that the discussion of this bill is by the mechanism. This inaction is more due to technical problems or legislative mechanisms rather than substantial matters.

This can be seen from the prominence of DPR leaders as the main actors in answering 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 displaying Puan Maharani's statement, professional media tend to portray a cautious attitude so that this bill can avoid polemics due to technical errors. Indirectly, professional news media try to lead readers' knowledge that the DPR has made maximum efforts to prevent procedural defects. Practically, these media 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 been hanging in the House for so long. This is reflected in the following statements from Willy and Dasco:

“...saya (Willy) pikir tidak banyak perubahan ya, tinggal bagaimana penyempurnaan kiri dan kanan, tapi secara substansi semua sama...” (Detik.com, 8 Desember 2021a).

Two points can be seen from the quote. First, the need for more clarity of information. Detik.com does not try to explain what "*left and right refinement*" means and questions what kind of refinement took six years to be discussed and became a polemic in Senayan.

Second, sources that do not cover both sides. When Willy mentions "substantially all the same", Detik.com does not try to confront the fact that two criminal offenses proposed by the Network of Defenders of the Rights of Women Victims of Sexual Violence (JPHPKKS) are missing,

namely forced abortion and rape. In fact, according to Komnas Perempuan data, throughout 2021 out of 2,363 cases of sexual violence, rape dominated with 597 cases or 25% of the total cases of sexual violence.

Strengthening the frame of depicting the discussion of the TPKS Bill by the mechanism, executive actors were also highlighted to complement the DPR's statement. Of the eight media, five of them, namely Kompas.com, Detik.com, Tirto.id, Antaranews.com, and Kumparan.com, highlighted the words 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 are optimistic that the TPKS Bill can be passed soon. The main frame describes the legislative and executive dialog efforts to accelerate the discussion of the TPKS Bill. When quoting the executive, professional news media tend to present statements that illustrate the commitment of these two state institutions. This tendency ignores JPHPKKS's efforts 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. Transparency in the preparation of DIM in drafting the TPKS Bill can accommodate the interests of victims and close the gap for groups who want to smuggle articles to deflect the substance of the Bill.

In contrast, alternative media, namely Nu.or.id and Konde.co, tend to identify problems in discussing the TPKS Bill as a long and tiring process. This frame can be seen in several sentences by Nu.or.id, such as "tortuous, the dynamics are extraordinary, various steps have been attempted." Meanwhile, Konde.co describes the lengthy discussion of this legislative product with the title questioning the TPKS Bill, which has never been passed even though cases of sexual violence continue to occur.

Meanwhile, Nu.or.id sees the long process of discussing this bill as bringing public confusion about the DPR's commitment to protecting victims of sexual violence. This frame certainly has a negative effect on the credibility of the DPR. The impression emerges that there is no agreement in the DPR to protect victims of sexual violence and their families. From this quote, Nu.or.id tries to marginalize the various procedural stages that must be passed in discussing legislative products.

Rather than explaining the procedural process in the DPR, Nu.or.id chose to focus on the pros and cons in the community as the main factor delaying the ratification of this bill. As a result, it presents the opposition as the guilty party. Nu.or.id tries to build the impression that the promised ratification must be postponed again because opposing opinions make the DPR fail to understand the issue of sexual violence and obscure the initial substance of the TPKS Bill drafted by Komnas Perempuan.

Diagnoses Causes

In this case, there are also differences between the two types of media in describing aspects of the causes of the slow ratification of the TPKS Bill. This difference can be seen in the following table:

	Professional Media	Alternative Media
<i>Diagnose Causes</i>	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

**Table 3. Comparison of Professional and Alternative Media Diagnoses Causes
(Source: Researcher's Process, 2022)**

A total of 19 professional news media tend to place the debate between factions in the DPR as the cause of the slow passage of the TPKS Bill. Most of them agree that the TPKS Bill has been discussed for a long time because all factions have yet to reach an understanding. This construction creates an unproductive discussion in the news text because it dominantly quotes news sources from the DPR elite.

One of them is shown by Detik.com in the phrase "DPR does not hinder the ratification," Detik.com seems to want to answer the accusations of pro-TPKS Bill parties who have been criticizing the slow discussion of these legislative products. What is then overlooked is the description of the impact on victims if this bill continues to be delayed to avoid procedural defects. Another issue that has also been marginalized is the criticism of several activists that the tug-of-war in the DPR is caused by the efforts of several 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).

Criticism of this fact has been neglected in professional news media coverage of the bill. Moreover, legal-formal rhetoric is related to legislative mechanisms that need to be understood by the general public, such as plenary committees, initiative proposals, judicial review, presidential letters, DIM, and AKD. Another problem with the main frame of DPR's lack of understanding is that professional news media must try to explain the substance behind the debates between factions.

Instead, alternative media pointed to the failure and disappointment of the DPR as a result of the inability to pass the TPKS Bill in 2021. This failure is considered by Nu.or.id as evidence of the injustice that victims of sexual violence must endure (Nu.or.id, 18 Desember 2021a).

Through the diction "again postponed," Nu.or.id tries to emphasize that the DPR's postponement has occurred repeatedly, which has caused disappointment not only for victims but also for their families and companions. In addition, the media's tendency to quote activists and academics makes the DPR a target of criticism in Nu.or.id's frame. Through the statement "all this time we have been waiting for justice," Nu.or.id wanted to provide a rebuttal to the defensive discourse of legislative actors who said that the institution did not hinder the discussion of the TPKS Bill (Nu.or.id, 18 Desember 2021a).

Unlike the professional news media frame that chooses not to intensively question the procedural stages in the DPR, 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 her, the steep road to creating justice for victims and survivors is getting harder with the DPR's failure to pass the TPKS Bill. This situation makes everyone 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 that the DPR does not empathize with 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" by Konde.co 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 seems to be trying to lead readers to see that the masculinity of the perpetrator is present because of the environment and the state system that does not favor victims of sexual violence. The use of the diction of the perpetrator's masculinity is also a critical note from Konde.co that the power relations between men and women have made cases of sexual violence difficult to handle. This is exacerbated by the government not providing legal sanctions and the DPR not passing the TPKS Bill (Konde.co, December 6, 2021).

Such a frame makes Konde.co try to place the discourse of truth into the 'prerogative' of marginalized groups with a tendency to protect the interests of victims of sexual violence. This is reinforced by the fact that the discussion of the TPKS Bill in Senayan is constructed in such a way as to provide negative sentiment toward the DPR's performance. For example, by accusing the DPR of considering sexual violence cases unimportant, allowing victims to fall, and protecting perpetrators of sexual violence. With the construction of this reality, Konde.co indirectly wants to provide awareness for readers about the substance of the interests of the ratification of the TPKS Bill.

Moral Evaluation

In this context, the professional and alternative media have diametrical positions. The difference in this position can be seen in the following table:

	Professional Media	Alternative Media
<i>Moral Evaluation</i>	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

**Table 4. Comparison of Moral Evaluation of Professional and Alternative Media
(Source: Researcher's Process, 2022)**

In this regard, researchers found that only 11 media professionals were recorded as having moral judgment. The dominant frame shown is the political commitment of the House of Representatives amid an emergency of sexual violence. Again, in the construction of reality, professional news media have yet to present a comprehensive discussion that shows the political commitment of the DPR. Professional news media tend to limit themselves and depend on

legislative sources. Practically, the interpretation of the DPR's political commitment and the sexual violence emergency tends to be dogmatic. As shown below by Detik.com:

“DPR RI sendiri terus berkomitmen memberikan perlindungan kepada perempuan melalui berbagai regulasi yang berpihak kepada perempuan,” ungkap Puan (Detik.com, 24 November 2021).

The news above reflects the dominant use of sources from within the DPR, which makes Detik.com tend to present incomplete news in recording the DPR political commitment. As a result, there needs to be more diversity of perspectives. By quoting Puan's statement, Detik.com did not attempt to question further why regulations that favor women should be stuck in the DPR.

The coverage of Detik.com and 11 other professional news media also seemed too dogmatic, seemingly "as is". Detik.com's range above, for example, seems only to tell readers the opinions of political elites but does not provide adequate information about the party's actions in discussing the TPKS bill and fails to question the DPR commitment to supporting victims of sexual violence. The need for more in-depth coverage and reliance on quoting official DPR written sources is one of the reasons for this.

In this context, inevitably, professional news media will positively prejudge the DPR by marginalizing counter-discourses such as the substance of the TPKS Bill, which is still not in favor of persons with disabilities. It should be noted that in Article 25, paragraph 4 of the TPKS Bill, the testimony of victims with disabilities can be excluded. This is called a form of discrimination by the state by activists (Gracia, 2022). The construction that is too biased towards the political commitment of the DPR ultimately makes the professional news media frame less courageous in confronting the DPR elite. One of the reasons for this could be the 'symbiotic mutualism' that thrives between professional news media and the DPR elite.

On the contrary, alternative media are more courageous in confronting the DPR elite by empowering counter-discourse. This is reflected in the main frame that accuses the DPR of still turning a blind eye despite the emergence of victims of sexual violence who dare to speak out in public. Interestingly, the actions of victims of sexual violence are juxtaposed by Konde.co with Malala Yousafzai's quote:

Jika kamu membaca salah satu *quote Malala Yousafzai, aktivis perdamaian Pakistan*, kamu pasti bakal tergetar.

Coba simak quote Malala ini: “*Aku menaikkan suaraku bukan supaya aku bisa berteriak, tetapi agar mereka yang tidak bersuara bisa didengar.*”

Aktivist Perempuan Mahardhika, Vivi Widyawati menyatakan, banyaknya korban yang berani bersuara adalah pertanda bahwa Indonesia saat ini sedang berada dalam situasi darurat kekerasan seksual, dan ini harus jadi prioritas pemerintah, pihak kampus dan aparat negara. Jika tak pernah menjadikan korban sebagai prioritas, maka akan makin banyak korban lain yang berjatuh (Konde.co, 6 Desember 2021).

This juxtaposition is not without reason. Malala is the youngest Nobel Peace Prize-winning female activist from Pakistan. Malala was wanted by the Taliban and shot in the head at the age of 14 for daring to speak out and fight for women's rights in education. With this frame structure, Konde.co wants to say that the intimidating treatment victims receive will always follow acts of resistance. The main message that Konde.co also emphasizes with the quote "so that those who do not speak out can be heard" is that when there are victims of sexual violence who dare to speak out, it will make other victims also dare to speak out and fight back. If so, this will be a common strength for victims of sexual violence.

Strengthening this construction, Konde.co specifically highlighted the case of a student victim of sexual harassment from her lecturer who was held in a toilet, and her name was removed from the list of judges. For Konde.co, the case experienced by this student is 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 dare to speak up because they are driven by the majority of cases that end without certainty. This fact makes Nu.or.id regret the DPR attitude:

"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 (Nu.or.id, 30 November 2021c).

Conveying traumatic cases on social media for Nu.or.id is a form of victim disappointment with the law enforcement process that is never complete. This is also a failure of the state to provide a safe space for its citizens. This fact is also a harsh reality that shows vulnerable or marginalized groups' difficulty in accessing mass media to express their perspectives. Social media is considered more open and inclusive, which allows victims to complain about their traumatic experiences. The media shapes how the broader community perceives marginalized groups such as victims of sexual violence.

Treatment Recommendation

The diametrical position is also found in the treatment recommendation element, as illustrated in the following table:

	Professional Media	Alternative Media
Treatment Recommendation	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.

Table 5. Comparison of Professional and Alternative Media Treatment Recommendation (Source: Researcher's Process, 2022)

As shown in Table 4, the research findings show that only 11 professional news media explicitly offer solutions, so the TPKS Bill needs to be passed. The TPKS Bill is considered to fill a

material and formal legal vacuum not facilitated by legislation. Notably, the reliance of professional news media on DPR sources makes the recommendation frame focus on DPR's hard work to make 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 (Kompas.com, 6 Desember 2021).

There is one thing missing from Kompas.com's coverage above. While highlighting the hard work of the DPR, Kompas.com failed to urge the DPR and the government to discuss the TPKS Bill transparently by involving victim advocates, activists, academics, and representatives of vulnerable groups. Consequently, Kompas.com's recommendation frame fails to offer comprehensive recommendations such as ensuring that there are no issues of decency that overlap with the Criminal Code Law, which has been feared to harm victims of sexual violence.

The frame of recommendations offered by the alternative media Nu.or.id and Konde.co tends to urge the DPR to immediately pass the TPKS Bill so that victims do not lose their rights as human beings. For Konde.co, ratifying the TPKS Bill is a form of state presence to ensure that there are no more victims of sexual violence. Strengthening its recommendations, Konde.co underlines the rampant cases of sexual violence in religious and educational institutions as evidence of the increasingly narrow 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, 6 Desember 2021). Nu.or.id also displayed an urgent statement in the following quote:

“Di DPR agendanya akan ada paripurna yang mengesahkan RUU ini sebagai inisiatif DPR RI. Kita buktikan besok pagi, kalau diketok artinya dia serius, kalau tidak kita pertanyakan komitmennya,” tegas Komisioner Komnas Perempuan Maria Ulfah Anshor (Nu.or.id, 24 November 2021c).

Showing Komnas Perempuan's statement, Nu.or.id wants to show that if the bill is not passed, it is due to the conflict of interest of the political elite. Nu.or.id reminds legislators not to be busy with the interests of their groups and make this bill a mere political commodity. With the sentence "if not we question his commitment," Nu.or.id wants to emphasize that if the DPR is not responsive enough, it will lower public confidence in the DPR.

The attitude of urging the TPKS Bill to be passed immediately for the benefit of victims is also evident when Nu.or.id displays the issue of transparency ignored by professional news media. Highlighting the perspectives of activists and advocates for victims of sexual violence, Nu.or.id underlines that the unclear status of the TPKS Bill creates confusion because it is difficult for the public to monitor. By highlighting this issue, Nu.or.id indirectly demanded that the DPR allow the public to be heard and considered so that this bill would not be undermined by problems that harm victims of sexual violence (Nu.or.id, 18 Desember 2021b).

b. Dualism of Media Faces and the Battle for Media Power

The presentation of findings that juxtapose the frames of professional news media and alternative online media has brought one main consequence, namely the dualism of media faces in the coverage of the TPKS Bill, namely the face of elitism represented by professional media and the populist face represented by alternative media.

In the context of the elitist face of professional media, this study's findings imply that media in any form is always flavored with elements of power and negotiations of actors and groups who want to gain influence. Borrowing Foucault's idea of power, the dualism of media faces shows how various institutions exert power to assert identity and resistance to 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. This is because the so-called alternative media has the potential to form a counter-discourse to the political discourse of the professional news media (Müller & Schulz, 2021).

This research shows that professional news media rely heavily on elite sources as crucial determinants. They are the only sources that have access to determine media frames and shape long-term meanings. The monopoly of select sources in media frames will close access to more heterogeneous voices in public debates (Kleemans, Schaap, & Hermans, 2015; Splendore, 2017).

The findings of this study also affirm Foucault's idea of power and refute Strömbäck's opinion that the news media, apart from being obliged to inform potentially crucial issues, also acts as a forum for debate, inspiring people to participate in public discourse and journalism must give voice to groups that need to express themselves in public (Trappel & Tomaz, 2021).

In fact, of the 19 professional news media studies, 16 were full of elitist frames, poor debate, and closed access to the voices of community groups. Professional news media chose to "play it safe" with inconsistent frames when constructing news related to the TPKS Bill. Meanwhile, the construction of three professional news media such as CNNIndonesia.com, BBCIndonesia.com, and VOA.com, which opened up space for debate by providing a place for community groups in the news text, had to be "drowned" by the frames of the 16 dominant media that gave birth to news on hegemonic political power.

This confirms Gitlin's view that by privileging the voices of elites who hold formal power, the media has indirectly manipulated the public with the constructions it frames—placing the DPR as the 'heroic' party shows how the elite's access to news discourse allows them to set the framework in which specific stories are discussed. This construction is also a way for elites to utilize news to maintain their authority and strengthen their social power (Carlson, 2009; Chang, Gitlin, & Schudson, 2020; Groshek & Han, 2011). In the theoretical realm, the ideal function of the media is to speak for oppressed groups (Mast & Temmerman, 2021; Simons & Strovsky, 2019), but in the realm of praxis, this ideal practice often fails. The routines of professional news media that favor formal power structures make this superior function seriously complicated for the media to present a diverse space for dialogue.

Professional news media, at this point, prefer to be a channel of communication between party elites. This means that the media is much closer to the political power of the party, so it makes sense that the media frame is dominated by the views of the party elite (Lau, 2012; Lopez, 2016). In Bourdieu's theory, the media's practice of using elite opinions is covert to legitimize its ideas. So, professional news media is not an open arena but a limited arena that favors the dominant group by leaving out the voices of actors or groups that oppose the dominant discourse (Anastasiou, 2017; Lindell, 2015; Wijayanto, 2019).

On the other hand, alternative media frames 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 come from different interest backgrounds. Nu.or.id was born from the womb of an Islamic religious-based community organization, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) (Fahrudin, 2021). Konde.co was taken from the initiation of some individuals who share the same concerns about marginalization, discrimination, subordination, violence, and negative stigma towards women and marginalized communities (Martalena & Yoetadi, 2019).

With this background, borrowing Müller's argument, it is not surprising that Nu.or.id and Konde.co tend to carry populist or counter-narratives (Müller & Schulz, 2021). In Laclau and Mouffe's notes, 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. They are groups with significant interests and values ignored by the political elite (Mansbridge & Macedo, 2019). In this context, the Nu.or.id frame tries to invite the public to fight the political elite in the DPR who delayed the discussion of the TP PKS Bill.

The character of alternative media that involves audiences and allows counter-hegemonic public space (Groshek & Han, 2011) is also evident when alternative media presents women activists who offer facts about the twists and turns of the long journey that has settled in the DPR. This kind of construction provides oppositional content to counter the information monopoly. This form of news presentation is not one-dimensional and provides complex information for readers (Fuchs, 2010).

Referring to Groshek and Han's opinion that alternative media coverage has significantly contributed to the rise of the feminist movement (Groshek & Han, 2011), the alternative media, through its frames, shows a form of resistance to the dominance of masculinity. This is illustrated by the diction "masculinity of the perpetrator" as a form of criticism of the DPR. For alternative media, perpetrator masculinity means it is "normal" if men can control women's bodies. Indirectly, perpetrator masculinity involves power relations between individuals and contextual factors outside themselves (Wang, Fang, & Li, 2019).

Seeing this problem, alternative media seems to want to say that it is normal if the government is accused of failing to protect vulnerable groups such as women and children. From a critical perspective, alternative media empowers socially and culturally marginalized voices who have difficulty conveying their messages to a broad audience (Holt, 2020). These marginalized voices are victims or survivors of sexual violence who do not have access to professional news media discourse. Alternative media appears to position itself as a corrective force for professional

news media with frames that tend to be dogmatic and uncritical (Holt, 2020; Reiter & Matthes, 2021).

In general, this research shows the tendency of professional news media frames to be elitist, signaling a great need for alternative media to compensate. The populist movement protesting and demanding the passage of the TPKS Bill requires more attention from professional news media. However, this aspect often fails to be fulfilled by the mainstream media. Thus, professional news media frames do not always meet activists' expectations, especially for victims and survivors of sexual violence. As a result, the agenda of the TPKS Bill is still a marginalized issue and even misled by the failure of most people to understand.

This is reflected in the engagement of the keyword "TPKS Bill" in alternative media, which fails to compete with mainstream news media. Only Nu.or.id and Konde.co with news products that substantially represent the interests of the TPKS Bill got social media engagement above 50. This number needs to be bigger than professional news media that achieved social media engagement of 13K. In this case, alternative media can be essential in highlighting marginalized issues or problems to promote them to become visible to professional news media. Alternative media in Indonesia, in this context, is a vital instrument to provide the public agenda with critical news content.

CONCLUSIONS

This study's findings show sharp differences in the framing of the TPKS Bill news between professional and alternative media. This difference relates to how the two media make dominant and marginal frames in emphasizing or obscuring 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 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. However, there has not been much investigation into the construction of alternative media frames that often criticize dominant discourses. This study argues that critical discourse-based research that looks at journalistic practices on news content and 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. (*)

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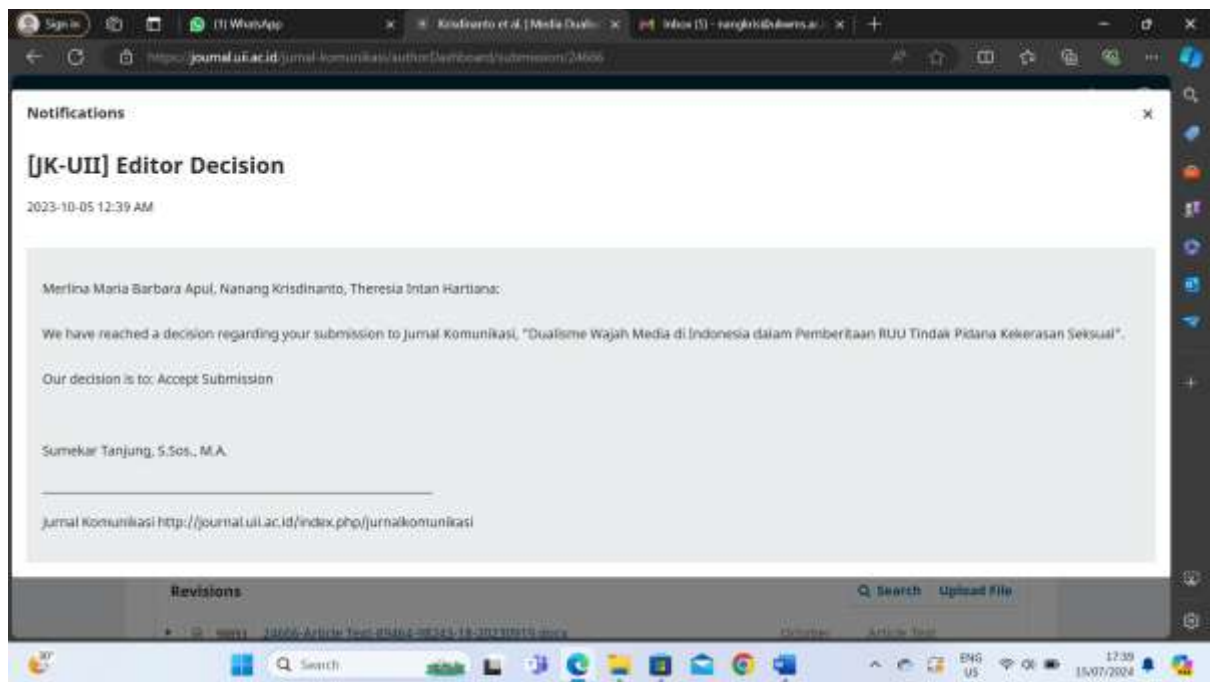
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