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COMMODIFICATION AND FRAMING OF NEWS IN THE ISSUE OF RATIFICATION OF THE RUU TPKS

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ABSTRACT

The Sexual Violence Crime Bill (RUU TPKS) was ratified by Indonesia's Parliament (DPR RI) on April 12, 2022, generating significant public interest that peaked between April 10-16, 2022. Online media outlets capitalized on this momentum. This study examines news framing by three media outlets using framing theory and expression concepts through qualitative framing analysis. Results show that during April 10-16, 2022, Suaramerdeka.com published 3 articles on RUU TPKS, while Kompas.com published 35 and CNNIndonesia.com published 18. Kompas.com's extensive coverage reflects its business-oriented approach, engaging in commodification practices for political-economic interests. Nevertheless, Kompas.com maintained balanced reporting with sufficient moral content to educate the public about protection for sexual crime victims, unlike CNNIndonesia.com and Suaramerdeka.com, whose coverage lacked moral framing.

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INTRODUCTION

Issues related to the ratification of the Draft Law on the Crime of Sexual Violence (RUU TPKS) have been issues that have been reported by the media for a long time and discussed by the public. In a report published on tempo.com (2022) it was explained that this RUU TPKS had been initiated since 2012 by the National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan). At the beginning of the initiation, the RUU TPKS previously had the name RUU PKS (Elimination of Sexual Violence). The preparation of the draft was carried out from 2014 until 2016 the draft law was discussed in the DPR RI. However, in the process, the RUU PKS has repeatedly been in and out of the DPR's Priority National Legislation Program (Prolegnas). After undergoing a fairly long process, approximately 10 years, the RUU TPKS was finally officially ratified as a Law on Tuesday, April 12, 2022. The ratification of the RUU TPKS was through the Plenary Meeting of the Indonesian House of Representatives. The TPKS Law contains regulations aimed at protecting victims of sexual violence, which is still common. In addition, this law is able to provide legal certainty to the community and become a protector for victims of sexual violence.

Efforts made by Komnas Perempuan, women activists, and other communities related to the struggle so that the RUU TPKS can be passed are very important. In a study written by Huda (2021) it was found that the protection for victims of sexual harassment in Indonesia still faces many problems. These problems are related to the legal culture and the unclear protection provided by the law. With these conditions in the end, it can provide space for perpetrators of sexual crimes to carry out their actions without fear of dealing with the applicable law.

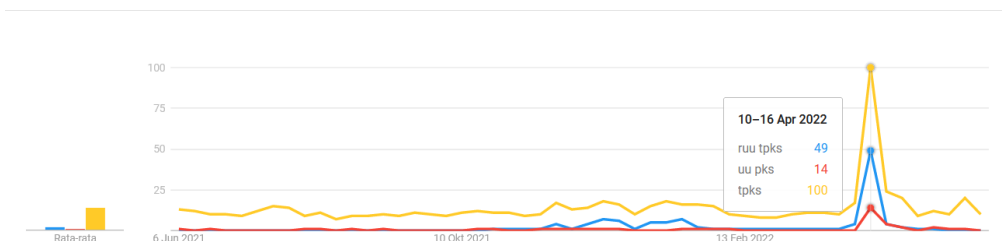
What is very concerning regarding sexual crimes is a phenomenon that occurs in the workplace. Sexual harassment occurs not only in public places, but also in the workplace. In a study conducted by Yie & Ping (2021) sexual harassment in the workplace makes it difficult for employees to move and express themselves. This can have a negative impact on the mental and psychological conditions of victims of sexual harassment, especially women. As a result of the treatment they experience at work, in the end the victims may experience harassment, not only at work but also at home and in their personal lives. In this way, the safe space for women becomes narrower and even non-existent. This problem is one of the important reasons in the struggle for the ratification of the TPKS Law.

The ratification of the RUU TPKS is a legal umbrella that is strong enough to protect the community, especially for women. This is because victims of sexual harassment who wish to report incidents that have happened to them previously have a consideration that their actions can hit back the complainant (Triwijati, 2007). This situation makes victims of previous abuse

silent and difficult to speak, so they tend to be silent about the treatment they experience. However, with the legal umbrella of the TPKS Law, it is believed that this can be avoided and victims of sexual harassment can report safely.

When the RUU TPKS was passed into the TPKS Law, many Indonesians were enthusiastic to know this information. This is shown in the google search engine through the trends.google.com facility. It can be seen in Figure 1, the trend of increasing the search for information increased very rapidly in the period from 10 to 16 April 2022. This increase coincided with the momentum when the RUU TPKS was passed by the Indonesian House of Representatives. The increase in searches cannot be separated from the role of online media in reporting information related to the RUU TPKS.

Figure 1: RUU TPKS Trends in Google



Source : trends.google.com, 2022

Many online media report information or issues related to the RUU TPKS from various perspectives. Several online media that also publish the news include Suaramerdeka.com, kompas.com, and cnnindonesia.com. The three media are also the media studied in this study. Each media certainly has a different point of view in packaging the information. Although there are still many media reporting on this issue, these three media are media that are well known and known to the public, so that the published news must be read by many audiences.

The news is certainly inseparable from the interests of the media, both in terms of political economy and the formation of public opinion. Therefore, the theory used in this research is news framing theory. Tewksbury and Scheufele (2020) explain that framing can affect the way audiences interpret or react to the information they get. In the context of reporting, framing can have an effect in the form of actions or ways of thinking of a person after consuming published information.

In the news production process, journalists are often not aware of framing the news and deciding how they want to present the news (Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2020). The choice of words and images in the news production process ultimately affects the way the audience

interprets the issues and policies contained in certain news. Included in the news related to the issue of the RUU TPKS. Online media does not only report this information from one point of view. Rather, these media report from various points of view within a certain period of time. This gave rise to various news framing related to the ratification of the RUU TPKS, from the political, business perspective, to the entertainment context.

In addition to the theory of news framing, the researcher also uses the political concept of ekphrasis. In image theory, W. J. T. Mitchell (1994) defines and formulates simply that ekphrasis is a verbal representation of a visual representation (O'Gorman, 2021). Furthermore, Mitchell specifically places the politics of ekphrasis as verbal utterance in a dominant position over silent visual representations. This ultimately becomes a power struggle between verbal words and images. According to Mitchell, ekphrasis provides an opportunity to expose the social structure of representation as activities and relations of power, knowledge, and desire.

In the news on online media, the political ekphrasis described by Mitchell is very visible. Where in the structure of the news is more dominated by verbal words than photos that become a visualization of the phenomenon being reported. Although there are photojournalism works that are considered to represent an event that occurred, the photos are also supported and strengthened by captions in the form of words. Thus, the choice of words used in this report is very important to observe in order to understand the efforts of online media in shaping public opinion on the issue of the ratification of the RUU TPKS.

Based on the background that has been described, the purpose of this study is to determine the news framing formed by the three media in this study. This research is expected to add insight and knowledge in consuming information and analyzing it, especially news related to the context of the government's political interests.

METHODOLOGY

This study uses a qualitative method that aims to analyze and disassemble the construction of information produced by online media. This study took three online media, namely Suaramerdeka.com, kompas.com, and cnnindonesia.com. The objects studied in this study are news texts from the three online media from April 10 to 16, 2022. The timing of the news is based on the trend of increasing searches on Google with the keywords RUU TPKS, UU TPKS, and TPKS. From the results of the analysis of the three keywords, it was found that the search trend increased very rapidly during that period.

The data retrieval technique is carried out by researchers by documenting published news by utilizing the search engine facilities contained in the online media. After the documentation is done, the researcher then collects the data by including the link, the date of the news, the origin of the media, and the category of the news. It is important to attach this news category to determine the tendency of the online media to view the issue of the ratification of the RUU TPKS as a form of politics, events, entertainment, or just national news.

After data collection was completed, the researchers conducted an analysis using the Robert N. Entman news framing method (Eriyanto, 2011). This news framing analysis is carried out by looking at the issues raised by the media and the emphasis on the news content. This is important to see because for the media both processes can highlight the meaning and reality of the news that is displayed. The analysis of Robert N. Entman's news framing was carried out through 4 processes, namely defining problems, diagnosing causes, making moral judgments, and treatment recommendations. Furthermore, the results and findings in this study were analyzed descriptively to show the facts that were highlighted.

FINDINGS & DISCUSSION

The three reports certainly have different backgrounds. Suara Merdeka, which currently has an online media, namely Suaramerdeka.com, is a media in Indonesia that has lasted a very long time. This media has been operating since February 11, 1950 in Semarang City (Novitasari, 2012). This media is one of the oldest media in Indonesia which until now has been able to continue to survive and adapt to the times, so that Suaramerdeka.com emerged. Historically, Suara Merdeka is considered to have played a major role in political developments in Central Java, especially in the city of Semarang. However, with the transformation of Suara Merdeka into an online media, its scope has also expanded. Not only consumed by the public in Central Java, but also on a national scale.

Unlike the online media *kompas.com*. This media appears in the scope of reporting nationally. *Kompas.com* exists as a result of the increasing number of advertisers on online sites (Haq & Fadilah, 2018). With the shift in advertisers, *Kompas.com* media continues to strive to improve its media performance in order to attract advertisers to advertise on the news pages it provides. However, *kompas.com* also provides paid services, so that audiences do not need to enjoy news that is covered by existing advertisements.

While CNN Indonesia is an online media owned by PT. Transmedia Corpora (Naqqiyah, 2020).

This is different from Kompas and Suara Merdeka, which from the start were media based in Indonesia. CNN Indonesia is a media that emerged because of the partnership with CNN International. In the process of its establishment, CNN Indonesia bought a license from CNN International so that the news broadcast on CNN Indonesia could have legality. In the reporting process, CNN Indonesia is required to meet the standards given by CNN International so that the broadcast permit granted is not revoked.

From the brief history described from the three media, it can be seen that each media has a different background. Suara Merdeka emerged as a political moderator in Semarang City. Kompas emerged on the basis of seeking profit from the media business through incoming advertisements. Meanwhile, CNN Indonesia emerged from the collaboration with CNN International. Although in general the three online media also share the same political economy interests, namely being present to gain economic benefits. However, each media has different political interests. This can then distinguish the discourse that they build through the published news.

Analysis of News Publication Data

In the period from 10 to 16 April 2022, Suara Merdeka, kompas.com, and cnnindonesia.com have published various reports, especially those that raised the issue of the ratification of the RUU TPKS. However, the amount of news that is broadcast by each media is very different. Of course this is also based on the interests and priorities of the information they want to convey to the public. Based on the search results through search engines from each of these media, the following data were obtained.

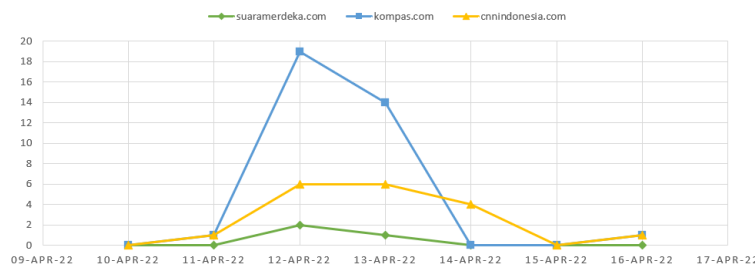
Table 1: RUU TPKS News Search Table

Dates	suaramerdeka.com	kompas.com	cnnindonesia.com
10 April 2022	0	0	0
11 April 2022	0	1	1
12 April 2022	2	19	6
13 April 2022	1	14	6
14 April 2022	0	0	4
15 April 2022	0	0	0
16 April 2022	0	1	1
Total	3	35	18

Based on the data shown in table 1, it can be seen that in general the number of news related to the ratification of the RUU TPKS was published by kompas.com. The difference in the number of reports looks very significant, especially on April 12, 2022, when the RUU TPKS was ratified by the Indonesian House of Representatives. The comparison of the number of

reports can also be seen in the following graph.

Figure 2: Graph of News on the RUU TPKS



Source : Research findings, 2022

This very significant comparison of the number of reports can be caused by differences in political economy interests, especially in obtaining profits. As described earlier, the emergence of online media Kompas is due to the strong economic and business interests of the company. This makes the news on the issue of the RUU TPKS very high. From a political economy perspective, this issue cannot be seen as a social issue only. However, this issue is also seen as a commodity or sale item for profit.

In reporting this issue, Kompas.com were greater in carrying out the commodification of the ratification of the RUU TPKS than the other two media. According to Vincent Mosco (2009: 129) commodification is the process of converting use value into exchange value. In addition, commodification can occur within the scope of culture, creativity, information, and other types of communication (Prodnik, 2012: 275). Related to the logic of this news, the intended use value is news related to the RUU TPKS as a source of information needed by the community. For the three media, especially Kompas.com, regard the issue as a commodity, where the use value of information that should provide knowledge is converted into an exchange value in the form of profit. This advantage is not obtained from the subscription fee of the people who want to consume the information. But obtained from advertisers.

Based on the business logic, when the goods sold are felt to be crowded by buyers, the products sold will be more and more. When there are more and more products, consumers will have many choices of products to consume. Kompas did this by increasing the coverage of the issue of the ratification of the RUU TPKS. At the time of the ratification of the RUU TPKS, many people were enthusiastic about knowing this information. This can then be used by online media to compete with each other to get as many readers as possible. One of the strategies is to be ranked 1 on the Google search engine. In order for news to be pinned in

rank 1, one of the efforts made is to increase the news that is broadcast. That way online media in the end no longer see the audience as the subject of news readers. However they are considered a source of profit. Because with the large number of audiences who enter their news portal, the media will benefit from the advertisements that are displayed.

Commodification efforts for online media are very important, because commodification can also be seen as the main driving force that drives the expansion of capitalism (Prodrik, 2012: 276). In order for an institution, especially one that is engaged in the information sector, to make a sizeable expansion of capitalism, the thing that can be done is to increase the profits that can come from digital advertising. An increase in the amount of news that can increase the number of readers for the online media industry, can be an attraction offered to advertisers. Thus, it can also be seen that the number of online media readers eventually becomes a commodity that is sold by the media industry to advertisers to attract their attention.

In addition to the number of reports published by the three media, the researchers also looked at the news categories of the sites they manage. The data related to the news categories can be seen in the following table.

Table 2: RUU TPKS News Category

Category	suaramerdeka.com	kompas.com	cnnindonesia.com
News / National	3	31	0
Incident	0	0	5
Political	0	0	9
Entertainment	0	0	0
trend	0	3	0
Lifestyle	0	1	1
Law	0	0	1
Economy	0	0	1
Total	3	35	18

Based on these data, it can be seen that the news category tends to be seen as national news. This national news shows the focus of information towards politics. This is because the ratification of the RUU TPKS is inseparable from the role of the DPR RI. However, what is interesting about this categorization is that the media sees that the coverage of the RUU TPKS is not only limited to national and political news. However, it is also included in the trend, lifestyle, and even entertainment categories.

In the trend categorization published in kompas.com, the content of the news is more towards education and knowledge related to the introduction of the TPKS Law. This is certainly good

information, because not all people know and understand the TPKS Law. There was even one report that reviewed the intricacies of the RUU TPKS until it was passed into law. As a media that also has the task of educating the public, this information is certainly very good. However, from the balance of the amount of information between politics and education, the trend is still very political. Based on calculations carried out during the period from 10 to 16 April 2022, the total political category was 89%, while those with educational nuances were 11%.

The interesting thing is the news category on cnnindonesia.com. Although at first glance the political news here is bigger with 9 news stories. But the distribution can be said to be quite balanced. This is because cnnindonesia.com also divides news related to the RUU TPKS into several sections, such as events, lifestyle, law, and economy. This can be seen from the political interest of the government in the published news. This category of events contains incidents and struggles in the process of ratifying the TPKS Law. In this way, the element of information that provides education and knowledge for the community can be further facilitated.

Framing of News on RUU TPKS

Based on the 3 media analyzed in this study in the period 10 to 16 April 2022, there were 56 news related to the ratification of the RUU TPKS. From the whole news text that has been analyzed, the researcher divides into three parts of the overall news, namely the motive for the problem, the dynamics that occur, and the resolution carried out. The division into these three categories can be used to carry out the analysis process of the news that has been published on Suaramerdeka.com, kompas.com, and cnnindonesia.com. Specifically, the three sections can be seen in the following table.

Table 3: Three Parts of News

Parts	suaramerdeka.com	kompas.com	cnnindonesia.com
Motive	0	2	0
Dynamics	0	4	4
Solution	3	29	14
Total	3	35	18

The motive for the problems in these three sections emerged from the content of the news which contained an understanding of the RUU TPKS. The news is to equip the public to know the dynamics of the problems that occur and the reasons why this issue has become very important since 10 years ago. In the dynamics section, the content of the news shows the social dynamics of the community's struggle to achieve the ratification of the RUU TPKS. This dynamic also shows various events related to all the phenomena that occur related to the

ratification of the RUU TPKS. Furthermore, the settlement section shows the contents of the news regarding the ratification of the RUU TPKS. The ratification is currently considered as part of solving the problem of rampant sexual violence that occurs and the lack of protection for victims. Until the RUU TPKS is passed, this momentum is considered a solution to social problems that exist in Indonesia.

Based on the three divisions that have been described, it can then be seen the analysis of the news framing process of Robert N. Entman. The first is related to define problems. In the reporting period from April 10 to 16, 2022, Suaramerdeka.com only published three reports. There is only one news that has touched on past issues from the struggle for the ratification of the RUU TPKS. This media coverage does not really show the problems that occur as the reason the RUU TPKS is important to be ratified.

Kompas.com shows the definition of this problem so that it can provide clear information to people who do not understand the reasons for the importance of the law. This issue was even published specifically in one report as a form of flashback of the activists' struggle in guarding the ratification of the RUU TPKS. One of the sentences published in the news on Kompas.com is as follows.

"Munculnya usulan RUU TPKS dilatarbelakangi oleh terbatasnya pengaturan tentang kekerasan seksual dalam Kitab Undang-undang Hukum Pidana atau KUHP yang menyebabkan banyak kasus kekerasan seksual tidak dapat diproses secara hukum." (Apa itu RUU TPKS?, Kompas.com, 13 April 2022)

In the news on CNNIndonesia.com this definition is not clearly seen. However, this problem is indirectly seen in one of the reports that raised the voices of artists, from filmmakers to comedians regarding the ratification of this RUU TPKS. One of the words that appears is "justice" which comes from the expression of Arie Kriting. Through this word indirectly shows the problem of injustice. However, CNNIndonesia.com does not frame this in a straightforward manner, so that condition is implied in Arie Kriting's expression.

Furthermore, in the section on diagnosing causes during this reporting period, Suaramerdeka did not bring up the source of the problem which indicates that this issue is very important. In contrast to Kompas.com which showed the source of the problem the emergence of the struggle to ratify the RUU TPKS. In the news that appeared, Kompas.com showed the results of observations from Komnas Perempuan regarding forms of sexual crimes.

Komnas Perempuan mengamati kasus kekerasan seksual yang terdokumentasi dalam Catatan Tahunan Komnas Perempuan 2001-2010. Hasilnya terdapat 15 jenis kekerasan seksual. (Menenal Apa itu UU TPKS, Kompas.com, 13 April 2022b)

The problem with the struggle for the ratification of the RUU TPKS stems from the rampant sexual violence that has occurred in Indonesia. This has been observed by Komnas Perempuan from 2001 to 2010 and demonstrated by Kompas.com. Problems related to this case were also pointed out by CNNIndonesia.com by being linked to religious figures who were perpetrators of sexual harassment. This online media frames these problems by being linked to the position that a person has. This was formed through a question and answer program opened by CNNIndonesia.com.

"Semakin orang mempunyai kedudukan sosial yang sangat tinggi, atau semakin orang diberikan ekspektasi yang tinggi oleh masyarakat untuk contoh di dalam beragama, maka kadang-kadang setan itu juga bisa menggoda, mengganggu kita dengan berbagai macam cara." (Ironi Kasus Kekerasan Seksual di Pusaran Pemuka Agama, CNNIndonesia.com, 14 April 2022)

The online media framed the problem of sexual violence cases in the context of religion. In the text presented, this phenomenon is associated with the temptation of Satan, so that people make mistakes and commit bad deeds, including religious leaders. Even though they are considered knowledgeable people, religious leaders are still human beings who have lust. This is also framed in the form of religious studies on the momentum of Ramadan.

Next is the analysis on the make moral judgment section. In this analysis, SuaraMerdeka.com in three reports has presented the moral value of the problems that occurred. These moral values are specifically aimed at the government in Central Java to continue to pay attention to cases of sexual violence. This is in line with Suara Merdeka's goal to become a political moderator in Central Java.

Then for Kompas.com the moral value shown was very strong. Even though from a political economy perspective this media seems to have a fairly strong interest. However, the content in the news can be balanced and give meaning to the case. In general, the value highlighted by Kompas.com is related to escorting and protecting the victims. The large number of news that informs this can also be very important knowledge for the community to have the courage to fight against perpetrators of sexual crimes.

In contrast to cnnindonesia.com which still shows little showing this value in its reporting. Of the 18 reports published on cnnindonesia.com, the most straightforward in showing moral values is the issue of compensation for victims of sexual violence. The framing of this news shows that there is compensation for victims of sexual violence, although psychologically this has not been able to replace the losses they have experienced.

The last is treatment recommendations which offer ways to overcome problems. In this regard, the online media cnnindonesia.com, kompas.com and Suaramerdeka.com in the period from 10 to 16 April 2022 did not contain framing related to the recommendations offered in dealing with problems that would arise in the future. The solution to the problem that emerged at this moment was the ratification of the RUU TPKS itself as the first step to fight sexual crimes.

All of this news ultimately shows what Mitchell calls the politics of ekphrasis which sees verbal texts as having a dominant position over visual texts (O'Gorman, 2021). The verbal texts in the three online news stories ultimately provide a lot of insight into the struggle to achieve the ratification of the RUU TPKS. With the verbal text built by the online media through the framing that they have determined, the information on the ratification of the RUU TPKS can be known and interpreted by the public, so that they can find out the information and the ratification process quickly.

CONCLUSION

Based This study reveals significant differences in how Suaramerdeka.com, Kompas.com, and CNNIndonesia.com framed the ratification of the RUU TPKS during April 10-16, 2022. The quantitative disparity in coverage—with Kompas.com publishing 35 articles, CNNIndonesia.com 18, and Suaramerdeka.com merely 3—reflects divergent political-economic interests and editorial priorities among these media outlets.

Kompas.com's extensive coverage demonstrates a clear business-oriented approach to news production, actively engaging in commodification practices by converting the social value of the RUU TPKS issue into exchange value for attracting advertisers and maximizing profit. This commodification represents the capitalistic expansion that drives online media operations, where audience attention becomes the commodity sold to advertisers. Despite this commercial motivation, Kompas.com maintained relatively

balanced reporting with substantial moral framing, particularly in educating the public about protection mechanisms for victims of sexual violence. Their comprehensive coverage included historical context of the bill's decade-long journey and explanations of the limitations in existing legal frameworks that necessitated the new legislation.

In contrast, CNNIndonesia.com's coverage, while moderate in quantity, showed less moral framing and focused more on sensational aspects, including connecting sexual violence to religious figures. Their categorization of RUU TPKS news primarily under "Political" (9 articles) and "Incident" (5 articles) sections reveals an editorial approach that frames sexual violence as either political matter or isolated incidents rather than a systematic social issue requiring comprehensive understanding.

Suaramerdeka.com's minimal coverage (3 articles) indicates that despite its historical role as a political moderator in Central Java, the platform gave limited priority to this significant legislative milestone. Their reporting lacked substantial definition of problems or diagnosis of causes that would contextualize the importance of the RUU TPKS for their audience.

The politics of ekphrasis, as described by Mitchell, is evident across all three media, where verbal text dominates in shaping public understanding of the RUU TPKS ratification. However, the framing choices—particularly what aspects to emphasize or minimize—varied significantly based on each media's political-economic interests and historical positioning. This analysis confirms that news production is never neutral but shaped by complex institutional motivations that influence public discourse on critical social issues.

None of the three media outlets provided substantial treatment recommendations or future-oriented solutions beyond the bill's ratification itself, missing an opportunity to contribute to long-term social change regarding sexual violence in Indonesia. This suggests that while the media played a role in informing the public about the legislative milestone, their framing remained largely reactive rather than proactive in addressing the deeper societal issues underlying sexual violence.

The findings highlight the need for greater media literacy among Indonesian audiences to critically evaluate news framing, particularly on issues of social justice. Future research should examine how this framing affects public understanding of sexual violence legislation and whether the commodification of such issues ultimately helps or hinders progressive social change. Additionally, this study underscores the continuing relevance of framing analysis in understanding how media shapes public discourse, especially as online media increasingly dominates news consumption in Indonesia.

LIMITATION AND STUDY FORWARD

This study only focuses on framing analysis of the three media selected in this study. In addition, researchers limit the duration of the news, so there is a limit to the number of news that is observed. The researcher also only focuses on the analysis of the observed content. Therefore, suggestions for further research can be observed from the side of the communicant who is the reader of the information presented.

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