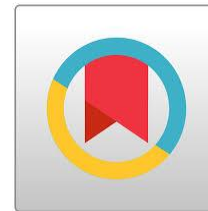


The Mass Media News Framing Analysis of Polemic of Regulations on Prevention and Handling Sexual Violence in Higher Education

Analisis Bingkai Pemberitaan Media Massa Polemik Permendikbudristek Pencegahan dan Penanganan Kekerasan Seksual di Perguruan Tinggi



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ARTICLE INFORMATION	
<p>Keywords Framing; Tempo & Republika; Newspaper; Sexual Violence;</p>	<p>ABSTRACT Regulation of the Minister of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology (Permendikbudristek) Number 30 of 2021 concerning the Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence (Pencegahan dan Penanganan Kekerasan Seksual/PPKS) in Higher Education, which was signed in August 2021, raises pros and cons in society. The phrase "without the victim's consent" is considered to promote free sex in the campus environment. Then the mass media was busy reporting the issue. Some media think the regulation needs to be supported. However, there are also media outlets that urge the need for revisions to the polemical use of the phrase. This study examines how mass media with different ideologies frame the issue of Permendikbudristek PPKS. Using Robert M. Entmen's framing analysis and the theory of social reality construction, this study analyses the polemic coverage of the Permendikbudristek PPKS period 5 to d. November 12 2021 in Republika and Koran Tempo. The results showed that the ideologies adopted by Republika and Koran Tempo were different, thus constructing the Permendikbudristek reporting differently.</p>
<p>Kata Kunci Framing; Tempo & Republika; Sexual Violence;</p>	<p>ABSTRAK Peraturan Menteri Pendidikan, Kebudayaan, Riset, dan Teknologi (Permendikbudristek) Nomor 30 Tahun 2021 tentang Pencegahan dan Penanganan Kekerasan Seksual (PPKS) di Lingkungan Perguruan Tinggi yang ditandatangani Agustus 2021 menimbulkan pro dan kontra di masyarakat. Penggunaan frasa "tanpa persetujuan korban" dinilai melinggungkan seks bebas di lingkungan kampus. Media massa kemudian ramai memberitakan isu tersebut. Sebagian media menilai regulasi tersebut perlu didukung, ada pula media yang mendesak perlunya revisi atas penggunaan frasa yang menimbulkan polemik itu. Penelitian ini meneliti bagaimana media massa dengan ideologi yang berbeda membingkai isu Permendikbudristek PPKS. Menggunakan analisis framing Robert M. Entmen dan teori konstruksi realitas sosial, penelitian ini menganalisis pemberitaan polemik Permendikbudristek PPKS periode 5 s.d. 12 November 2021 di <i>Republika</i> dan <i>Koran Tempo</i>. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa ideologi yang dianut <i>Republika</i> dan <i>Koran Tempo</i> berbeda sehingga mengonstruksi pemberitaan Permendikbudristek dengan cara yang berbeda pula.</p>
<p>Article History Send 28th March 2022 Review 15th May 2022 Accepted 14th December 2022</p>	<p>Copyright ©2023 <i>Jurnal Aristo (Social, Politic, Humaniora)</i> This is an open access article under the CC-BY-NC-SA license. Akses artikel terbuka dengan model CC-BY-NC-SA sebagai lisensinya.</p>

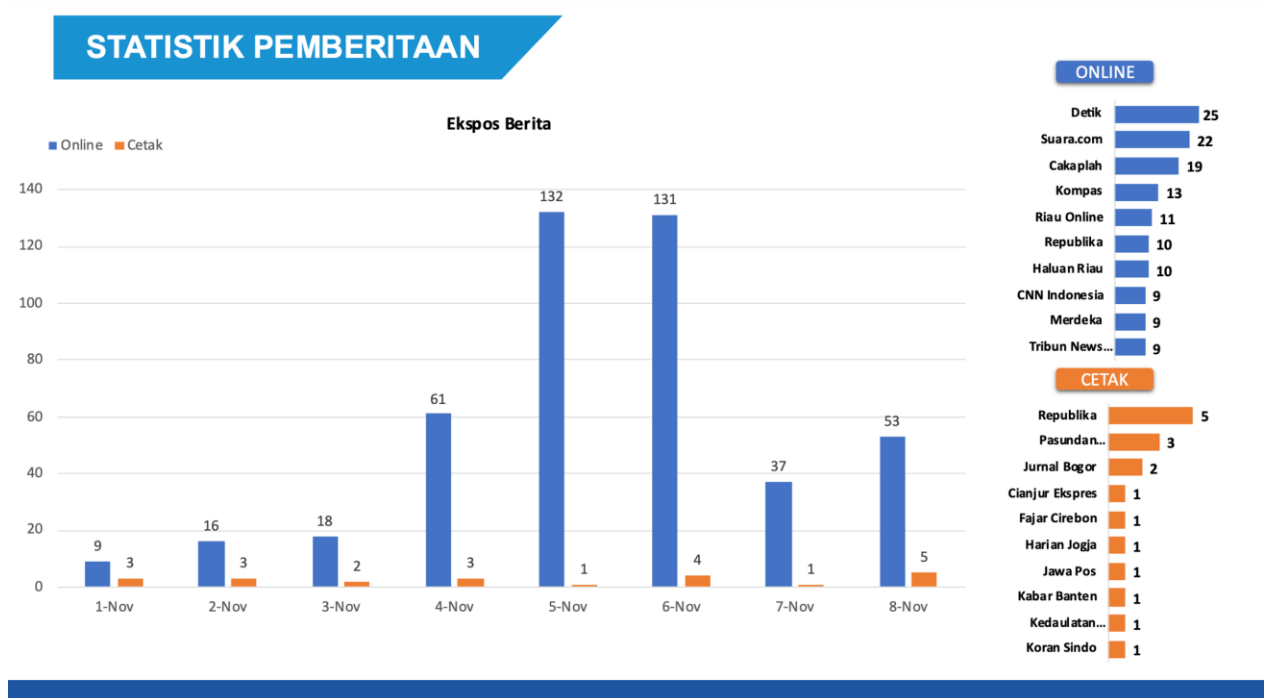


Introduction

In early November 2021, reports on many news websites about the statements of Islamic community organisations that rejected the Regulation of the Minister of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology Number 30 of 2021 concerning the Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence in the Higher Education Environment (referred to as Permendikbudristek PPKS) (Tejomukti, 2021). The part criticised by islamic organisations is the use of the diction “without the consent of the victim” which is contained in Article 5 paragraph 2 in the definition of sexual violence. According to them, this indirectly legalises adultery and promiscuous sex in the campus world (Widianto, 2021).

After the statement, media reports continued to appear massively. The amount of media attention is indicated by the amount of news aired in print and online media. As shown in figure 1, news about the issue of violence and the Permendikbudristek PPKS from 1 to August 8 2021 amounted to 457 online news and 22 print news.

Picture 1. Statistics on News of Violence and Permendikbudristek PPKS 1-8 August 2021



Source: Media Monitoring Report, Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology

In the news presented, some media support the enactment of the regulation. This is shown by the selection of speakers who state that the Permendikbudristek PPKS is considered very progressive in preventing and handling sexual violence in favour of victims, one of which is because it regulates consent (Bramasta, 2021). In other media outlets, the part highlighted is

precisely the criticism filed on this regulation. The words in the news are 'revoke', 'cancel', and 'reject' the Permendikbudristek PPKS (Widianto, 2021; Sakinah, 2021).

From several mass media that reported on the polemic of the Permendikbudristek PPKS, *Republika* newspaper and *Koran Tempo* framed the issue with different points of view. Since criticism of sexual assault regulations on campus has surfaced, almost every day *Republika* has raised the topic in their eight-day publications. *Republika*, a media born from the Muslim community (Mayasari, 2017), consistently presents news headlines criticising the regulation. Meanwhile, *Koran Tempo* offers a news frame that welcomes and supports the passage of the regulation signed by the Minister of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology on August 31, 2021.

The pattern of reporting on these two mass media, according to Nurlutfiyah (2013), cannot be separated from the ideology of the media. The press has different ideologies, so each media views an event from a different point of view (Nurlutfiyah, 2013). The news presented is the result of the influence of the internal policies of the media organisation and the external influence of the media itself. The media tends to choose issues, information, or other forms of content based on the standards of its managers (Musfialdy, 2019). The mass media will construct the same reality, event, or phenomenon differently depending on the factors that influence it (Sanusi & Muhaemin, 2019). The selected text, illustrations of the images displayed, and the point of view of the news are strongly influenced by the ideology of the mass media concerned (Syuderajat, 2017). The media may construct the same event differently due to their ideological differences (Mubarok & Wulandari, 2018).

Mulyana in Eriyanto (2018) wrote, the process of selective perception carried out by journalists and editors, consciously or not, contributes to highlighting news headlines; font size in the title; news placement position (whether on the home page, inside, or back); the length or shortness of the news; which statement of the source will be delivered and will be left out. This would at least position the media's partisanship; and what designations the media chooses to prosecute those they defend or corner disliked.

As Shaw & Giles stated in Aristi et al. (2021), media framing includes selecting a number of elements of reality that are considered newsworthy, and guiding the reader to certain aspects and meanings. Media framing can be interpreted by referring to framing theory thinking which states that media reporting is selective on various topics with a subjective meaning and adopts a thematic perspective. According to Johnston in Aristi et al. (2021), this perspective focuses on case studies with attention directed at parties in solving social problems.

Mulyana in Eriyanto (2018) said that framing analysis is used to see which parties are in power and vice versa, which groups benefit and which are harmed, what public policies should be supported and what should not, and so on. The Indonesian mass media is very rich in discourse, if unearthed with this analysis knife, it can be seen how the constellation of power changes between elements of the nation, society, or class. For this reason, researchers judged that the framing analysis knife was appropriate to use in this study.

Research that explains a perspective with framing for topics of sexual violence has been conducted by researchers before. One of them is a study that analyses the reporting of sexual violence cases on two news websites, namely okezone.com and kompas.com. Research conducted for the news period of April to April to October 2020 resulted in the conclusion that the focus of the narrative of reporting sexual violence in the two media is still far from partiality towards victims and fair law enforcement (Aristi et al., 2021). Meanwhile, research with framing analysis for topics related to government policy has been carried out, for example on the news of demonstrations against the ratification of the Job Creation Law. This research was conducted to analyse how liputan6.com and tirto.id highlight certain parts of their news, construct reality, and frame the rallies. The results showed that the two media framed the event with different glasses. The objectivity of news can be shown by tirto.id, while liputan6.com tend to focus on the chaos that occurs and put aside the news about what the masses demand during demonstrations (Widiyaningrum & Isnaini, 2021).

Based on the background above, this research question is how the differences in the ideology of *Republika* and *Koran Tempo* affect the frame of reporting on the polemic of the Permendikbudristek PPKS? To answer this question, the researcher elaborated the research question by referring to the framing model of Robert M. Entman, as follows: 1) how to define the problem (define the problem) carried out by *Republika* and *Koran Tempo* regarding the polemical news of the Permendikbudristek PPKS; 2) how to identify the causes of problems (diagnose causes) by *Republika* and *Koran Tempo* in the polemical reporting of the Permendikbudristek PPKS; 3) how the moral values presented (make moral judgement) *Republika* and *Koran Tempo* in explaining the polemic of Permendikbudristek PPKS in its news; and 4) how the treatment recommendations offered by *Republika* and *Koran Tempo* in the polemical news of the Permendikbudristek PPKS.

Researchers have widely used the theory of the construction of social reality to explain why one mass media with another mass media differs in reporting the same issue (Fikri, 2014). Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann introduced this theory, departing from the assumption that reality is the result of creative human creation through the power of social construction of

the surrounding social world (Berger & Luckmann, 2011). Another assumption that Berger and Luckman put forward is the existence of a relationship between human thought and the social context in which it arises, is developed, and institutionalised. In addition, there is an assumption that people's lives are constructed continuously (Santoso, 2016). The next assumption is to distinguish between reality and knowledge. Reality is defined as a quality contained in reality that is recognised as having an existence (being) that does not depend on our own will. While knowledge means the certainty that reality is real and has certain characteristics (Siregar, 2018).

Social reality is the result of a construction that involves a continuous dialectical process consisting of three things, namely externalisation, objectivisation, and internalisation. First, externalisation (self-adjustment) to the sociocultural world as a human product. Second, objectivisation is social interactions that occur in an intersubjective world that is institutionalised or undergoes a process of institutionalisation. While third, internalisation is the process by which the individual identifies himself with the social institutions or social organisations of which the individual is a member (Berger & Luckmann, 2011).

In relation to mass media, the construction process is carried out through several stages, namely the stage of preparing construction materials, the stage of construction distribution, and the stage of construction formation (Santoso, 2016). From this process, the attitude of the mass media towards a reality or event that occurs in society is reflected in the news it produces.

Framing is a method of knowing how to tell a story or story telling from a medium to an event. Reese states in van Gorp & Vercruyssen (2012), that in communication science framing in a broad sense refers to the way the media and the public represent a particular topic or issue. Framing analysis is an analysis used to see how the media works in constructing a reality. How an event is understood, and how it is framed can be known using framing analysis (Eriyanto, 2018). From the point of view of communication, framing analysis is used to find out the way the media goes through its ideology when carrying out the construction of a fact. This analysis pays attention to selection strategies, protrusions and how to connect facts to a news story, so that the news will have more meaning, be more interesting and memorable. This is done to make the reader's interpretation according to the desired perspective of the media. Framing is an approach to understand the point of view used by journalists when selecting content and writing a news story (Sobur, 2018).

The concept of framing was first introduced by the sociologist Erving Goffman (1974) who argued that social frameworks provide important background information that helps members of society understand the world around them (Taylor, 2019). Entman (1993) explains

that framing is a way of selecting a number of perceived aspects and making them look more important in a text communicated in a certain way, to encourage the definition of a particular problem, the interpretation of its causes, moral judgments and the recommended problem solving. According to Pan & Kosicki (1993), framing is considered as the placement of information in a unique context so that certain things of a problem get a larger allocation or portion. Meanwhile, according to William A. Gamson in Scheufele (1999), media framing is a way of telling stories or organised centralised ideas that give meaning to the ongoing chain of events. The frame shows what the controversy is about, and what is the essence of the matter. The way of telling stories is manifested in a thing called a package or packaging, a scheme of understanding that a person uses to construct the meaning of a message, and interpret the meaning of the message received. Scheufele & Tewksbury in Mutua & Ong'ong'a (2020) mentions that the micro-level construction of framing outlines how people use the information they receive to create impressions about problems and events, thereby contributing significantly to public perception.

There are two aspects to the framing approach, namely the selection of facts and the writing of facts. In the selection of facts, the process is based on the assumption that a journalist always sees an event using perspective. This means that there will be 2 possibilities that occur in the selection of facts or reality, some are chosen and some are discarded. Then, in the writing of facts, the process is related to the way in which pre-selected facts are presented to the audience. Some of the methods used include words, sentence arrangements and prepositions, which can be helped by the use of photos or illustrative images that support it. The facts that have been chosen are then given emphasis in their use, for example in the use of headlines, labeling, repetitions, and the use of images or words that are quite striking (Eriyanto, 2018).

In Ardèvol-Abreu (2015), Scheufele and Tewksbury describe the frame used by the media as a macro-construct, which is necessary to reduce the complexity of the problem and adapt it to the needs and constraints of the media and audience. Erving Goffman (1974) in Eriyanto (2018) revealed that "frames" help reduce the level of complexity of information while functioning as a two-way process, that is, helping to interpret and also reconstruct reality. This means that there is a resolution and waiver of other issues that actually exist. The issues that have been selected are then emphasised with various discourse strategies. The concept of framing, according to Entman, can be seen as the placement of information in a typical context, making certain issues get greater attention than others. Framing governs the understanding of how communication accentuates certain interpretations of reality through the interaction of existing individual schemes (R. M. Entman & Usher, 2018). Basically, framing refers to

defining, explaining causes, evaluating and recommending in a discourse that leads to a certain frame of mind on an issue. Therefore, according to Entman, there are two big dimensions in the concept of framing, namely the selection of issues and the protrusion of certain aspects of one problem or issue (Eriyanto, 2018).

From the aforementioned concept, Entman divided the framing device into four elements. The four elements are define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and treatment recommendation (Entman, 1993; Knüpfer & Entman, 2018). The first element is define problems, which is the element that can be seen first in framing and is the main frame. This element explains how an event is interpreted and understood by journalists. Journalists' understandings can differ on the same event. That difference will result in the formation of different realities (Eriyanto, 2018).

The second element is diagnose causes or estimate the cause of the problem. This element serves to frame the cause of a problem or event. The cause of the problem can be someone/who or it can also be something/what. How events are understood will largely determine what or who is considered the source of the problem. Differences in understanding and definition of a problem will lead to differences in the causes of the problem (Eriyanto, 2018).

The third element is make moral judgment or make moral choices. This element is used to provide justification or argumentation from defining the problem created earlier. The problem that has been defined, as well as the cause of the problem has been found, then argumentation is needed to strengthen and legitimise the idea. The arguments made relate to things that are familiar and known by many people as a moral judgements. The fourth element is treatment recommendation. This element is used to assess what journalists want for the resolution of the problem or issue raised. The resolution largely depends on how an event is defined and what causes the problem (Eriyanto, 2018).

Table 1. Robert M. Entman's Concept of Framing Model

Elemen	Description
<i>Define Problems</i>	How and as what is an event viewed? What is the problem seen as?
<i>Diagnose Causes</i>	What is an event seen about? What are the causes of the appearance of the problem? Who plays the cause of the problem?
<i>Make Moral Judgment</i>	What is the proposed moral value to explain a problem? To legitimise or delegitimise actions, what moral values are used?
<i>Treatment Recommendation</i>	What solutions or solutions are offered to solve the problem? To solve the problem, what path is proposed and should be taken?

Source: Eriyanto, 2018

Method

This research uses a constructivist paradigm as a research perspective. In this paradigm, each individual seeks an understanding of the world in which they live and work. They develop a subjective meaning of their experience (Creswell, 2013). Those meanings can be varied and consist of several kinds, leading the researcher to look for the complexity of the view rather than narrowing the meaning into several categories or ideas.

Proponents of constructivism believe that entities exist only in the minds of people who reflect on them (Lincoln & Guba, 2013). This paradigm sees meaning and interpretation as constructed, not discovered (Gray, 2013). Morissan in Satriya (2021) explained that this paradigm is also used to see an event that has been framed by a party who has an interest in the methods and goals created by that party. As Tony Bennett, quoted by Eriyanto (2018) in his book, the media is not just a channel of information, but is seen as an agent of social construction that defines reality. The focus of the analysis on the constructivist paradigm is to discover how the event or reality is constructed and how the construction is formed (Eriyanto, 2018).

In the constructivist paradigm, the approach used is usually qualitative research methods, including in this study which also uses a qualitative descriptive approach. Qualitative research in this study uses the media text analysis method, namely framing analysis. The model used is Robert M. Entman's Framing Model, which has four elements: Define problems, Diagnose causes, Make moral judgement and Treatment recommendation. Santi (2020) said that the Entman model framing analysis method could explain the power of the text contained

in the news. From the results of the initial analysis, there is a fairly strong selection of certain issues carried out by the media in the Permendikbu reporting, which then leads to the protrusion of issues, in this case related to sexual consent. Entman's concept of framing model that focuses on issue selection and protrusion of certain aspects of issue selection is appropriate and suitable for seeing how the selection and protrusion of these issues work in a news story. In addition, researchers also see the concept of framing the Entman model as appropriate and suitable to see how the construction of the media in reporting polemics of the Permendikbudristek PPKS because it has a short but complete research style in meeting the rules of information it contains (5W + 1H).

The analysis unit and data sources in this study are from news in *Republika* and *Koran Tempo* that report on the polemic of the Permendikbudristek PPKS. Through digital searches, these two media reported on the issue from November 5 to 12, 2021. The selection of news periods is determined based on the first news published until the polemic of the Permendikbudristek PPKS begins to subside, both in cyberspace and print media. The research data source is from *Republika* print accessed at <https://epaper.republika.co.id/> and *Koran Tempo* accessed through <https://koran.tempo.co>.

Results and Discussion

This research analyses the news about the polemic of the Permendikbudristek Number 30 of 2021 concerning Sexual Violence in the Higher Education Environment presented by *Republika* and *Koran Tempo*. News searches are carried out digitally by accessing epaper.republika.co.id and koran.tempo.id using the search feature on the page with the keywords of the minister of education and culture of sexual violence on November 15, 2021. From the search results, there are five reports and one editorial in *Republika*, as stated in table 1, as well as three news reports and one editorial in *Koran Tempo*, as shown in table 2. After searching, the researcher reads the entire article and then analyses it. The analysis outlined four subjects according to Robert M. Entman's framing analysis model: define problems, diagnose problems, make moral judgement, and make treatment recommendations.

Construction of Permendikbudristek PPKS in *Republika*

Table 2. News of the Permendikbudristek PPKS in *Republika*

No.	Date	Title
1.	November 5, 2021	Permendikbudristek No 30 Dikritik
2.	November 6, 2021	Kampus Persoalkan Permendikbud No 30
3.	November, 8 2021	MUI Soroti Permendikbudristek No 30
4.	November 9, 2021	Cabut Permendikbudristek No 30
5.	November 10, 2021	DPR: Revisi Permendikbudristek No 30
6.	November 12, 2021	Tajuk: Revisi Permendikbud Nomor 30

Source: Researcher's observations, 2021

Based on Robert M. Entman's framing analysis tool, the results of the overall news framing are as follows:

Define Problems

Republika constructed the Permendikbudristek PPKS as a problematic and controversial regulation. The framing by *Republika* can be seen from the titles that directly define the problems around the polemic of the Permendikbudristek PPKS through the diction used by *Republika*. Of the six news stories published by *Republika*, there are three whose titles directly point to the problem. In those three titles, the choice of the words “criticised”, “question”, and “highlight”, became the thing that *Republika* emphasised. In addition to the title, the diction “premature” also appears in the subheading, which further confirms that this regulation has quite a crucial problem.

In addition, in every news, *Republika* always starts with things that tend to be negative about the Permendikbudristek PPKS. *Republika* also framed the regulation as a multi-interpretive and dangerous rule. Multi-interpretation is a different interpretation of one thing in common. Meanwhile, it is dangerous because it is considered to lead the younger generation to a context that does not conform to existing norms. Even by the MUI, represented by its Wasekjen Ikhsan Abdullah, in an excerpt of his statement in a news article dated November 8, 2021 entitled “MUI Soroti Permendikbudristek No 30”, stated that Permendikbudristek PPKS is considered unnecessary because Indonesia is considered to already have a number of laws and regulations regarding sexual violence.

Republika defines the issue of permendikbudristek PPKS as seen more clearly in the header he issued on November 12, 2021. Where the issuance of this regulation is appreciated as an effort to prevent and handle sexual violence, but it is considered to cause controversy and is contrary to Islamic law, Pancasila, and many existing laws and regulations. The Permendikbudristek PPKS in the frame of the *Republika* is a premature rule that is problematic both from formal and material aspects, much criticised and highlighted, which causes multi-

interpretation and ambiguity so that it is dangerous, and contrary to sharia, and existing laws and regulations.

Table 3. News Text of Define Problems of Republika

Date	Title	Define Problems
November 5, 2021	Permendikbudristek No 30 Dikritik	The main point criticised and rejected regarding the Permendikbudristek was related to the paradigm of free sex based on consent (sexual consent).
November 6, 2021	Kampus Persoalkan Permendikbud No 30	Jejen emphasised that the prematureness of this rule made criticism and protests from various parties very prevalent.
November 8, 2021	MUI Soroti Permendikbudristek No 30	According to the MUI Secretary General for Law and Human Rights, Ikhsan Abdullah, Permendikbudristek No. 30/2021 is unnecessary.
November 9, 2021	Cabut Permendikbudristek No 30	According to him, the logic built in Minister Nadiem's policy tends to be liberal so it becomes controversial.
November 10, 2021	DPR: Revisi Permendikbudristek No 30	The Chairman of Commission X of the House of Representatives, Syaiful Huda, asked Nadiem first to change the formulation of the definition of sexual violence, as stipulated in Article 5 Paragraph 2 of the regulation. Because, he said, that point has the potential to trigger multi-interpretation in the community.
November 12, 2021	Editorial: Revisi Permendikbud Nomor 30	According to the Chairman of the MUI for Fatwa, KH Asrorun Niam Sholeh, Permendikbudristek No. 30 of 2021 has caused controversy because the procedure for forming the regulation in question is not following the provisions of Law No. 12 of 2011 as amended by Law No. 15 of 2019.

Source: Researcher's observations, 2021

Diagnose Causes

The source of the problem that Republika wants to emphasise is the diction of consent or sexual consent in the definition of sexual violence in Article 5 paragraph 2 of the Permendikbudristek PPKS. The article is considered to legalise free sex in the campus environment. This cause is always alluded to in every news published by *Republika*. This is considered to be the reason why the Permendikbudristek PPKS has problems and becomes a controversy. The phrase “consent” is considered to allow sexual relations in the campus environment when it is based on a sense of consensuality. That point is considered to have the potential to create a new mode in the phenomenon of promiscuous sex, especially in the campus environment.

Republika then divided the causes of the problem into two kinds, namely formal and material, which was mentioned in a news article on November 9, 2021 entitled “Cabut Permendikbudristek No 30”. Here's the statement in the article.

“The Higher Education Council for Research and Development (Diktilitbang) PP Muhammadiyah assessed that the regulation contains problems in two aspects simultaneously. The regulation (Permendikbudristek No 30/2021) has formal and material problems.” (Rizqa, 2021)

The cause of formal problems, for example, in drafting regulations that do not meet the principle of public openness because they do not involve related parties broadly and completely. In addition, the Ministry of Education and Culture also did not convey sufficient information in the design stage. Another formal aspect is in terms of the constitution.

Permendikbudristek PPKS is considered to regulate things that should be regulated at the statutory level, precisely on the norms of sexual violations. Meanwhile, the cause of the material aspect is in the formulation of sexual violence norms in article 5 paragraph 2 which can be considered to legalise immoral acts and promiscuous sex due to the pretext of consent.

The phrase consent is also considered prone to multi-interpretation. The phrase seems to lead to the interpretation that acts of sexual violence can be justified as long as there is consent. This legalises promiscuous sex because if there is consent, it is not considered sexual harassment. In the frame of *Republika*, the phrase is not in line with Islamic law, the 1945 Constitution, Pancasila, and other laws and regulations.

Table 4. News Text of Diagnose Causes of *Republika*

Date	Title	Diagnose Causes
November 5, 2021	Permendikbudristek No 30 Dikritik	If not clearly explained, this regulation will stigmatise society that free sex is not prohibited because it is not listed in that sense.
November 6, 2021	Kampus Persoalkan Permendikbud No 30	The criticism from many circles is because the phrase in this regulation seems to allow sex in a campus environment if both are equally consensual.
November 8, 2021	MUI Soroti Permendikbudristek No 30	According to him, that point has the potential to create a new mode in the phenomenon of promiscuous sex, especially that which may occur in a campus setting. The existence of Permendikbudristek No. 30/2021 is also feared to be a pretext for the academic community to have free sex, as long as it is based on consensual, with different individuals and the same sex.
November 9, 2021	Cabut Permendikbudristek No 30	According to the professor of FEB UGM, the article actually gives rise to the meaning of legalisation of immoral acts and free sex under the pretext of victim consent.
November 10, 2021	DPR: Revisi Permendikbudristek No 30	Member of Commission X of the House of Representatives, Ledia Hanifah, said the existence of the phrase seemed to lead to an interpretation, acts of sexual violence can be justified as long as there is 'victim consent'.
November 12, 2021	Editorial: Revisi Permendikbud Nomor 30	According to her, it is potentially dangerous. According to Kiai Asrorun, the provisions based on the phrase 'without the consent of the victim' in the Permendikbudristek are contrary to the values of Shari'a, Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, other laws and regulations, and the Indonesian nation's cultural values.

Source: Researcher's observations, 2021

Make Moral Judgement

The moral that is trying to be highlighted in this framing is the role of religious norms in the formation of a rule. Rules are made as a legal umbrella to protect society, but they still need to be based on religious norms. This moral frame shows the value supporting the argument that the Permendikbudristek PPKS needs to be reviewed and revised. In all the news presented about the Permendikbudristek PPKS, *Republika* chose speakers who opposed the rule but with different backgrounds. Of all the arguments of *Republika*-interviewed sources, it was repeatedly asserted that this rule is contrary to religious norms. Even in some news, it is stated that this rule is a liberal logic, not following the ideology of the Indonesian state. This use of "contrary to sharia" diction shows that *Republika* wants to give a moral message that every human action should be based on religious sharia as a Muslim-majority country. This argument is reinforced by the opinion of Ijtima ulama about the teachings in Islam which are made to be

good for all people. Apart from a religious point of view, this rule is also considered far from the Indonesian state ideology. In the *Republika* news on November 5, 2021, it was explained that every precept in Pancasila has been described by the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency (BPIP) to become a guide in the way Indonesian people behave and make decisions. *Republika* shows this kind of moral value because it fits the background and vision of those who construct their reporting based on Islamic ideology. Although it is a national media, Islamic ideology is essential for *Republika* in presenting news.

Table 5. News Text of Make Moral Judgement of *Republika*

Date	Title	Make Moral Judgement
November 5, 2021	Permendikbudristek No 30 Dikritik	Some of the content in the Permendikbudristek, according to him, is far from the values of Pancasila and tends to be liberal. Moreover, he said, the regulation does not include the foundation of religious norms in the principles of prevention and handling of sexual violence contained in article 3.
November 6, 2021	Kampus Persoalkan Permendikbudristek No 30	The rule has the potential to give birth to a new phenomenon, namely the creation of a new mode and the protection of those who have free sex in the name of consensual.
November 8, 2021	MUI Soroti Permendikbudristek No 30	The logic built into the law tends to be liberal so it becomes controversial.
November 9, 2021	'Cabut Permendikbudristek No 30'	Article 5 of the regulation actually gives rise to the meaning of the legalisation of immoral acts and promiscuous sex under the pretext of the consent of the victim.
November 10, 2021	DPR: Revisi Permendikbudristek	The consent of both parties to sexual intercourse must be linked in official rules, both in terms of state and religious legal norms so that it (has) binding legal force.
November 12, 2021	Revisi Permendikbudristek Nomor 30	Ijtima Ulama Fatwa Commission throughout Indonesia also assessed that the material and content of the regulation are contrary to Shari'a, Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, other laws and regulations, and the cultural values of the Indonesian nation

Source: Researcher's observations, 2021

Treatment Recommendation

Republika offered a solution in the form of the need to revise the Permendikbudristek PPKS. *Republika* repeatedly uses the diction of "needs to be revised" and "re-examined" in its news. Each source featured in the six reports suggested that the preparation of the Permendikbudristek PPKS needs to invite experts from various backgrounds, both from religious experts and from legal experts. That way, the Permendikbudristek PPKS can be accepted by everyone, especially if the phrase "with the consent of the victim" can be omitted. Later, the Permendikbudristek PPKS can become a legal umbrella for victims of sexual crimes

in the scope of education and remain based on religious sharia regardless of whether both parties have a mutual liking to avoid free sex or adultery.

Table 6. News Text of Treatment Recommendation of *Republika*

Date	Title	Treatment Recommendation
November 5, 2021	Permendikbudristek No 30 Dikritik	There are still some substances that need to be reviewed, such as the meaning of the definition of sexual violence.
November 6, 2021	Kampus Persoalkan Permendikbudristek No 30	Permendikbud No. 30/2021 was postponed first considering that the Sexual Violence Bill is still being discussed in the Dpr.
November 8, 2021	MUI Soroti Permendikbudristek No 30	MUI asked the government, namely the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology (Dikbudristek) to review the recently issued regulations.
November 9, 2021	'Cabut Permendikbudristek No 30'	Lincoln said that his party recommended that Permendikbudristek No. 30/2021 be revoked.
November 10, 2021	DPR: Revisi Permendikbudristek	There is nothing wrong with Mr. Nadiem revising the Permendikbudristek quickly to further emphasise consensual norms to have more binding power.
November 12, 2021	Revisi Permendikbudristek Nomor 30	Ijtima ulama asked the government to revoke or at least evaluate or revise the regulation, in compliance with the procedure for establishing regulations.

Source: Researcher's observations, 2021

Construction of Permendikbudristek PPKS in *Koran Tempo*

Table 7. News of the Permendikbudristek PPKS in *Koran Tempo*

No.	Date	Title
1.	November 8, 2021	Silang Pendapat Aturan Penanganan Kekerasan Seksual di Kampus
2.	November 11, 2021	Kampus Dukung Aturan Kekerasan Seksual
3.	November 11, 2021	Upaya Dialog Redakan Penolakan Peraturan Menteri
4.	November 11, 2021	Editorial: Angin Segar Aturan Kekerasan Seksual

Source: Researcher's observations, 2021

Based on Robert M. Entman's framing analysis tool, the results of the overall news framing are as follows:

Define Problems

Since the beginning of the publication, the Permendikbudristek PPKS has reaped pros and cons in the community. *Koran Tempo* highlighted this debate from the beginning of the news about handling sexual violence cases in universities. Although in its reporting, *Koran Tempo* chooses sources from different camps, it raises more pro-figures and opinions. In addition, the partiality of *Koran Tempo* is also evident in its editorial writings. *Koran Tempo* constructed this regulation as a solution to the handling of sexual violence cases in universities that are increasingly rampant.

The framing of *Koran Tempo* tends to be shown from the news titles which have a positive impression as a form of support the regulation. To strengthen its promotion, *Koran Tempo* also selected speakers from universities, NGOs and the Ministry of Education and Culture. Not only that, the news always starts with raising opinions from the pro side rather than the contra side.

Table 8. News Text of Define Problems of *Koran Tempo*

Date	Title	Define Problems
November 8, 2021	Silang Pendapat Aturan Penanganan Kekerasan Seksual di Kampus	This regulation is expected to be the basis and reference for reporting and handling cases of sexual violence in universities. This Ministerial Regulation is a concrete step to breaking the chain of sexual violence on campus.
November 11, 2021	Kampus Dukung Aturan Kekerasan Seksual	Some universities have expressed their commitment to implementing the new provisions. Several public and private campuses began to form task forces and draft rector's regulations to create a safe campus.
November 11, 2021	Upaya Dialog Redakan Penolakan Peraturan Menteri	Nizam said that this approach was taken to explain the Minister of Education Regulation Number 30 of 2021 concerning the Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence in the Higher Education Environment. This could be an impetus for the House to discuss the Sexual Violence Crime Bill.
November 11, 2021	Editorial: Angin Segar Aturan Kekerasan Seksual	The regulation issued by Minister Nadiem Makarim is not only a breath of fresh air for the disclosure of sexual violence cases on campus, but also regulates protection and recovery for victims.

Source: Researcher's observations, 2021

Diagnose Causes

Koran Tempo's partiality with the issuance of the regulation is because there have been many cases of sexual violence in education sector, especially in universities, which have not been appropriately handled. The source of the problems raised by *Koran Tempo* is more in terms of the need for regulations or a fairly clear legal basis for handling sexual violence. With the issuance of this regulation, *Koran Tempo* wants to show the government's commitment to overcoming these problems. That is why the selection of speakers from the Ministry of Education and Culture is quite dominant in its reporting.

Tabel 9. News Text of Diagnose Causes dari *Koran Tempo*

Date	Title	Diagnose Causes
November 8, 2021	Silang Pendapat Aturan Penanganan Kekerasan Seksual di Kampus	Annisa referred to the release of the National Commission on Violence against Women in October 2020 which showed that as many as 27 percent of sexual violence complaints occurred in universities in the 2015-2020 period.
November 11, 2021	Kampus Dukung Aturan Kekerasan Seksual	A number of cases were hyped in the mass media and social media, such as the case of sexual violence against Agni.
November 11, 2021	Upaya Dialog Redakan Penolakan Peraturan Menteri	(sexual) violence using power relations does occur a lot, in fact there have been many. Khotimun added that, from LBH APIK's experience, victims of sexual violence in universities often choose silence because there is no complaint channel available on campus.
November 11, 2021	Editorial: Angin Segar Aturan Kekerasan Seksual	The results of a survey by the Directorate General of Higher Education, Research, and Technology of the Ministry of Education in 2020 stated that 77 percent of lecturers admitted that there was sexual violence on campus and 63 victims did not report their cases to university administrators. The issuance of this regulation can be a strong foothold to advocate for victims to dare to speak out.

Source: Researcher's observations, 2021

Make Moral Judgement

In this section, the device is used to present arguments on the definition of the problem produced by the media. Based on this device, *Koran Tempo* made a moral decision that there is nothing wrong in the Permendikbudristek PPKS. This can be seen from the selection of sources and quotations taken to support the definition of the problem set by *Koran Tempo*. In the news presented, *Koran Tempo* stated that the Permendikbudristek PPKS is an adequate

protection and recovery regulation for victims and can reduce the risk of sexual violence on campus. The use of the phrases “step forward”, “strategic step”, “create a safe campus”, “welcome” was chosen to legitimise the inclusion that surrounds this news. *Koran Tempo* also explicitly stated that despite protests from Islamic mass organisations and political parties, support for this regulation has arrived.

Other arguments presented in the news of *Koran Tempo* include the submission of data released by a number of institutions regarding cases of sexual violence that have occurred so far. In the news, *Koran Tempo* wants to show that the cases of sexual violence that occur are quite high, for this reason, the issuance of this regulation can be a strong foothold in advocating for victims so that they dare to speak out. This statement is contained in the editorial section of *Koran Tempo*. Another statement that further clarifies the position of *Koran Tempo* is also seen in the article in the editorial rubric, where the phrase "worthy of support" is placed in the first sentence. The editor also presented supporting data stating that cases of sexual violence in universities are worrying and need concrete steps to overcome this problem.

Table 10. News Text of Make Moral Judgement of *Koran Tempo*

Date	Title	Make Moral Judgement
November 8, 2021	Silang Pendapat Aturan Penanganan Kekerasan Seksual di Kampus	This ministerial regulation is a concrete step toward breaking the chain of sexual violence on campus.
November 11, 2021	Kampus Dukung Aturan Kekerasan Seksual	Through this policy, ITB wants to build awareness, education, prevention, and handling in the event of a case.
November 11, 2021	Upaya Dialog Redakan Penolakan Peraturan Menteri	Naila argued that the rule is a step forward in protecting victims of sexual violence.
November 11, 2021	Editorial: Angin Segar Aturan Kekerasan Seksual	In the midst of increasing cases of sexual violence, this regulation is urgently needed, even though it only covers universities.

Source: Researcher's observations, 2021

Treatment Recommendation

This tool aims to assess the steps to solve what journalists want regarding the problem. As seen in its reporting, *Koran Tempo* tries to show its readers that there is support from the campus for this regulation. By the campus, the signing of the Permendikbudristek PPKS was followed up by revising the existing campus regulations and adjusting the content of the rules in it in accordance with ministerial laws, for example, forming a task force consisting of at least five people with a total number of women 2/3 of the total members; facilitating financing and means for the implementation of the duties and authorities of the task force; the obligation to report to the minister; and the substance of sexual violence and the types of sanctions that must be given to perpetrators. In addition, in its news, *Koran Tempo* also showed a statement that the presence of the Permendikbudristek PPKS gave the campus confidence to sign the rector's regulation on sexual violence immediately.

A number of problem-solving statements were also featured in this report through sources who supported the PPKS regulations, for example, statements to stop the debate because the topic began to shift from preventing sexual violence to a morality issue. Another statement seen in this device is the editors' conclusion that this regulation is essential and necessary, even though its scope is limited to universities.

Table 11. News Text of Treatment Recommendation of *Koran Tempo*

Date	Title	Treatment Recommendation
November 8, 2021	Silang Pendapat Aturan Penanganan Kekerasan Seksual di Kampus	This regulation is expected to be the basis and reference for the system of reporting and handling cases of sexual violence in universities.
November 11, 2021	Kampus Dukung Aturan Kekerasan Seksual	A number of universities have expressed their commitment to implement the new provisions. Several public and private campuses began to set up task forces and draft regulations to create a safe campus.
November 11, 2021	Upaya Dialog Redakan Penolakan Peraturan Menteri	The representative of the Civil Society Coalition Against Sexual Violence (Kompaks), Naila Rizqi Zakiah, said the debate over the Minister of Education's regulation must be stopped because the conversation has begun to shift from the matter of preventing sexual violence to a morality issue.
November 11, 2021	Editorial Angin Segar Aturan Kekerasan Seksual	The issuance of this regulation can be a strong foothold to advocate for victims to dare to speak out.

Source: Researcher's observations, 2021

DISCUSSION

In the theory of the construction of social mass media, there are four stages carried out by the mass media, the first is the preparation of construction materials. This stage was carried out by the editors of the mass media: *Republika* and *Koran Tempo*. In preparing the material, the editors discussed the polemics about the Permendikbudristek PPKS, then determined the editorial policy taken. Furthermore, the editor assigns its journalists to search for information and news sources, as well as appropriate sources.

The second stage is the distribution of construction. The product of journalists' reporting in the form of news in accordance with the main principle at this stage is to be spread in real-time. *Republika* and *Koran Tempo* are print mass media (although *Koran Tempo* changed its format to digital) that are published daily, so the distribution of construction is still carried out in real-time, even if it is delayed, in the next day. However, the concept of actuality or speed of conveying information to the public remains because it is the nature of daily newspapers.

The third stage is the stage of formation of the construction of reality which is further divided into three stages. First, the construction of reality. *Republika* and *Koran Tempo* see an issue in the Permendikbudristek PPKS. The difference is that the construction of reality presented by these two mass media is different. *Republika* formed the construction of reality from the Permendikbudristek PPKS as a regulation that must be revised, while *Koran Tempo*

formed the construction of this regulatory reality as a policy that needs to be supported and immediately applied to the university environment. Second, willingness is constructed by the mass media. That is, the characteristics of the reader of these two mass media are considered to have a construction or thought that is in line or almost in line with the mass media he chooses to read. Third, construction as a consumptive option. In this section, both mass media try to take advantage of their readers' habits in consuming news to change their mindsets. From those who were previously not interested in government policy issues, it can be changed slowly. At the next stage, that is, the formation of image construction. *Republika* and *Koran Tempo* display data and arguments from each strong source to be presented in their reporting that supports the arguments and finally confirms the image of the mass media itself as a media with its own reporting policies. In this case, *Republika* builds its image as a mass media that upholds Islamic religious values, while *Koran Tempo* builds its image as a critical and independent mass media.

This was confirmed in interviews with both editors. *Republika* accommodates the voices of Muslims who have concerns about the existence of the phrase "without the consent of the victim" in the regulation signed in August 2021 (*Republika* Interview, 2021). The provision of this "space" is carried out in accordance with the concept of *Republika* which provides a special rubric, namely "Khazanah" to embrace the opinions of its segmentation audience. Meanwhile, *Koran Tempo* facilitated the votes of the camp that supported the publication of the Permendikbudristek PPKS through its reporting in the "National" rubric as the main rubric of the newspaper. *Koran Tempo* thinks that this rule is important, so there is no need to question the issue that becomes a polemic, instead focusing on the regulations regulated in the Permendikbudristek PPKS (*Koran Tempo* Interview, 2021).

The fourth stage is confirmation. *Republika* and *Koran Tempo* view the Permendikbudristek PPKS as important, considering that sexual violence has become increasingly concerning. Both mass media realised that regulations to prevent and deal with sexual violence need to be complemented by regulations. However, *Republika* argues that there is something that needs to be revised from the Permendikbudristek PPKS so that the content in it does not cause confusion in the community. Meanwhile, *Koran Tempo* thinks that this regulation is appropriate and must be immediately followed up by the campus and the community. At this stage, the two mass media present different speakers to confirm the construction of the media to be produced. Meanwhile, from the reader's side, there is a collective awareness as a member of society towards the issue of sexual violence. Researchers assessed that the arguments presented in the news in *Republika* and *Koran Tempo* aroused readers to criticise the contents of the Permendikbudristek PPKS or support the regulation.

The difference in construction displayed by *Republika* and *Koran Tempo* cannot be separated from how the media captures the reality behind the news. Starting from searching, collecting and delivering messages involves news framing agents, journalists and editorial teams, so that news includes both parties' perspectives in interpreting social reality (Shoemaker & Resse, 1996).

From the findings mentioned above, the researcher further confirmed the editors of the two media, *Republika* and *Koran Tempo*. *Republika*'s confirmation results show alignment with the results of the study. The editors of *Republika* consider that the PPKS Minister of Education and Culture does need revision, and the main source of the problem is the phrase victim approval in article 5. On the one hand, the government through the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology wants to prevent sexual violence, but on the other hand, the Permendikbudristek PPKS also provides room for debate with the phrase victim consent, which is very multi-interpretive. This is what *Republika* criticises.

Before taking a stand against PPKS, *Republika* did not necessarily only follow the opinions of certain parties who disputed the regulation, but the editors also researched to explore the part in question. As a result, *Republika* did find that something needed to be revised in the Permendikbudristek PPKS, namely the phrase victim approval, so that was what *Republika* encouraged in its reporting on the Permendikbudristek PPKS. The frame and position of the *Republika* is influenced by its media ideology, namely moderate Islam, which is based on Islamic morals and sharia.

The findings of this study also show that the frame constructed by *Republika* also determines the selection of news sources and interviewees. According to Shoemaker & Resse, one factor that influences media content is the extra media factor and the ideological factor (Firdausi & Setianingrum, 2018). The extra media factor can be seen in the selection of speakers (Nugraha et al., 2022). Based on interviews with *Republika* editors, the choice of sources was based on the *Republika* frame of thinking that the Permendikbud PPKS should be criticised. In addition to being authoritative (having the authority to speak), other considerations in determining the speakers are stakeholders of the people, for example, the campuses affected by the regulation and observers of Islamic education. In addition, although *Republika* also raised a statement from the authorities in this case, the Ministry of Education and Culture, the portion was small when compared to those who criticised the Permendikbudristek PPKS. This is not only due to the difficulty of taking statements from the Ministry of Education and Culture, but also because of the placement of news in the *Khasanah* rubric, which is devoted to voicing more people's voices. Basically, *Republika* supports the

implementation of the Permendikbudristek PPKS, but there must be a revision to the phrase "without the consent of the victim" in article 5.

Meanwhile, from the results of confirmation to the editors of *Koran Tempo*, it was conveyed that *Koran Tempo* as a mass media does not solely report or explain what is happening in the community, but must take a stand to show the direction to the right path. This attitude of the media is again shaped because of the ideological basis it has. According to the editor, in the polemic case of the Permendikbudristek PPKS, it is clear which direction is correct. This kind of stance has also been taken for other regulatory polemics such as the KPK Bill and so on. Even so, *Koran Tempo* still holds the principle of covering both sides, so that it not only displays sources from the pro side, but also from the cons.

Koran Tempo considers that the existence of the Permendikbudristek PPKS is a rule that is able to improve the current chaotic situation, protecting lecturers, education staff and students on campus from sexual violence. This pro attitude is what the editors of *Koran Tempo* further conveyed both through the issues raised, the selection of sources to the editorial. The reasons editors take this stance are more in the editorial. To strengthen this editorial writing, even the editors in the editorial special meeting consulted with *Koran Tempo*'s team of experts from academics outside the editorial. This explanation further confirms the framing carried out by the editors of *Koran Tempo* in the polemical reporting of the Permendikbudristek PPKS based on the media ideology.

The media consciously frames the reality on the ground as a message and further gives the assessment the editorial team wants. This assessment process is very subtle and the public is not aware that they are being led to assess the issue according to the media they are reading. Complex, dimensional, and irregular realities are displayed in a simple, orderly, and logical-fulfilling news. Through this simplification, readers can easily understand reality according to the constructs that the media develops (Mubarok & Adnjani, 2012; Suprpto, 2019).

Conclusion

From the construction process carried out by the two mass media on the polemic of the Permendikbudristek PPKS above, it can be seen that this is related to the differences in ideology adopted. The ideology of the mass media then determines the media's vision or view of reality (Santosa, 2016). Ramaprasad in Syam et al., (2021) found that ideological differences will affect media reporting. *Republika* as an Islamic-based media (Wahid & Yakut, 2018) which focuses its reader segment on the Muslim community (Syam et al., 2021), only highlights things that are criticised, questioned, and highlighted by the public regarding the use

of the phrase “without the consent of the victim”. Meanwhile, *Koran Tempo*, a media that prioritises independence, freedom, and humanism, views the Permendikbudristek PPKS as a solution to handling sexual violence cases in universities that are increasingly rampant.

Each mass media has its ideology reflected in the media's vision and mission (Marsun et al., 2022). *Koran Tempo* has a vision and mission to be a reference in increasing people's freedom to think and express opinions and build a society that values intelligence and dissent (Fathurokhmah, 2018). Meanwhile, *Republika* is a national newspaper born by the Muslim community as the culmination of long efforts among Muslims to realize the media vision, namely Modern, Moderate, Muslim, National, and People's Affairs (Rahmawati, 2020).

The results of this study support the research of Wahid & Yakut (2018) and Syam et al. (2021). The study states that ideology has implications for news produced by the mass media. This research also further strengthens Entman (1993) findings that media ideology will influence the media frame in reporting.

Researchers limited the research to only two mass media, *Republika* and *Koran Tempo* and the timeframe for the news selection timeframe was only eight days since the polemic appeared. For this reason, researchers recommend that in subsequent studies, they can examine a longer duration of reporting to see the dynamics of existing news and affect the construction of mass media. In addition, research is also limited to the analysis of media texts without considering other factors contained in the media. For this reason, researchers recommend that there be further research that analyses the news production process in mass media editors.

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