

Framing of Online Media Coverage Regarding the Impact of Criminal Code Bill (RKUHP) Ratification on Tourism in Bali

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Abstract. This study aims to compare how news framing is carried out by five online media consisting of local, national, and international media regarding the ratification of the RKUHP on tourism in Bali. The method applied in this study was the Robert N. Entman's model of framing analysis with a qualitative approach. The results of the study show the three media outlets emphasized the impact of the ratification of the RKUHP on tourism in Bali. Two media emphasize controlling the issue. The issues raised tend to lead to potential losses to tourism in Bali. The cause of the issue arose because of the ratification of the RKUHP from the government. Each media presents several figures to answer issues that are developing in the public. The solutions given from the issues that are developing are the need for a review regarding the RKUHP and the need for outreach.

Keywords: Bali, Framing, RKUHP, Tourism

1. Introduction

The ratification of the RKUHP on December 6 2022 by the government caused issues related to several articles contained therein to grow in society. One of the articles highlighted is article 412 paragraph (1) which regulates adultery. The statements contained in this article gave rise to various views from the public, especially those who felt they would be affected by the ratification of this article.

As for what has become the public spotlight after the ratification of the article is the effect it will have on the sustainability of the tourism industry in Indonesia. The presence of this article is feared by tourism actors to reduce the interest of tourists to visit tourist areas, especially foreign tourists. Bali is one of the areas said to be affected by the ratification of the RKUHP [1]. This concern is also based on the condition of tourism in Bali which has just revived after the Covid-19 pandemic. Meanwhile, tourism itself is a key sector in fast growth and one of the main sectors contributing to the economy of the people in Bali [2]. Hence, many people hope that the article will be reviewed again.

Basically, when discussing the tourism sector, it is necessary to realize that a very sensitive point is related to security and safety issues [3]. News regarding the potential for punishment to be received by tourists as a result of the application of Article 144 paragraph (1) of the RKUHP raises a sense of concern in the minds of tourists. Tourists can potentially feel insecure when they want to visit Indonesia, since tourists on vacation will definitely stay overnight and even stay for a certain period in Indonesia. It should be realized that security and safety are the basic needs of tourists which will have a direct impact on the prosperity of the tourist destination itself [4]; [5].

Online media—whether local, national or international—in this case contributed to reporting on the impact of ratification of the RKUHP on the tourism sector in Bali, such as *Kumparan.com*, *detik.com*, *balipost.com*, *sbs.com.au* and *theguardian.com*. These media construct messages through reporting that appear by selecting a point of view, determining news sources, and defining actors [6]. The message construction step can be said to be a framing effort carried out by the media. Media framing is the way the media presents events, both seen from the way the media emphasizes certain parts or certain aspects of an event, how the media tells a story about a reality, and how important the news is broadcast or printed [7]; [8]; [9]. The involvement of the media in raising this issue is inseparable from one of the roles of the media itself, namely as a provider of information for the public [10].

However, apart from the role played by the media as an information provider, each online media certainly has a different lens in constructing news related to the ratification of the RKUHP for tourism in Bali. The thing that is important in relation to the social construction of mass media is that the media tries to elevate the reality that exists in society based on media ideology, so that the ideological values that have been constructed by the mass media are digested by society as the reality they believe in [11]. This difference in the way of construction certainly shows how the position of the media is in addressing an issue.

It should be realized that the efforts made by the media in making news can have an effect in accordance with the emphasis on information made by the media. In this case, news framing carried out by the media is inseparable from emphasizing the risk of applying Article 412 paragraph (1) of the RKUHP to the tourism industry. Several studies related to message framing in the form of risk have been carried out in previous studies. Xie, Zhang, & Huang in their research showed that framing in the form of risk messages can significantly predict safety, travel intentions, and suggest travel fears for tourists [12]. The framing of risk messages is an important factor influencing tourists perceptions of safety, travel apprehension, and intention to travel [12]. These findings are reinforced by Kapuscinski & Richards in their research which seeks to explore whether different media framing about hazards affects tourists risk assessments. The results of his research show that framing in the form of strengthening risk and weakening risk will be in line with the resulting risk rating [13]. Even though it does not have a direct impact, framing by the media can potentially affect public perception of certain issues and make issues develop in a more serious direction [14].

Based on literature review, there have been many studies related to framing analysis. However, in this study what distinguishes it from other studies is the focus of the research. Researchers have not found research that discusses the impact of establishing a law and regulation on tourism in the Indonesian context. Through the analysis of the Enmant model framing, researchers seek to see the construction of reality carried out by each media which is the object of this study. According to Enmant, understanding framing can help us explain many empirical and normative controversies, the most important because the concept of framing directs our attention to the details of how the power of text is communicated [9].

The data in this study were obtained only on online media such as Kumparan.com, detik.com, balipost.com, theguardian.com, and sbs.com.au. The reason for choosing these online media as objects in this study was based on the diversity of backgrounds behind the media itself. Researchers in this case try to show the framing carried out by media belonging to local media, national media, and international media. The choice of detik.com to be one of the national media in this study is because based on a survey conducted by the Reuters Institute, the most widely accessed media through the Digital News Report 2022 shows that 65% of respondents admit to reading detik.com once a week [15]. This figure is the highest compared to other online media. Through the selection of three types of media based on their location, it is hoped that they can represent the various differences and interests that each media has.

The theory used in this study is the mass media construction theory put forward by Berger and Luckman. This theory has several basic assumptions, namely: existing reality is created by humans through the power of constructing the world around them, there is a relationship between human thought and a social context that develops and is institutionalized, social life will continue to be constructed and reality is a quality in the reality of existing society and not depend on one [16]. There are three things that can be analyzed with the theory of mass media construction, namely information that touches many people, such as sensitive issues, contains elements of sensuality and horror. Sensitive matters are sensitive issues that are troubling in society [17].

2. Method

This research is a qualitative descriptive research which applied the Entman model framing analysis method. Framing is a strategy to shape and simplify reality, by selecting, repeating and emphasizing certain aspects so that an event or issue grabs the reader's attention more [18]. The framing model according to Entman has four categorization elements, namely: Define problems, Diagnose causes, Make moral judgments and Treatment recommendations [9]. Problem definition is a framing step used to emphasize how journalists understand events when an issue arises. Diagnose the cause is an analytical step performed to determine who is considered the primary actor in an event. Making moral judgments is a framing element uses to justify arguments in determining the issues raised. Treatment recommendations are uses to

evaluate the solution chosen to resolve the problem. Framing analysis from Entman helped the researcher in exploring the communicator's perspective from different digital news articles [19].

Framing analysis is classified as a constructionist paradigm [18]. The constructionist paradigm is subjective and interpretation is an integral part of text research and even the basis of text analysis. Analysis in the constructionist paradigm is based on the researcher's interpretation of the text. Text research is more directed to see what is presented in the news [18].

The research data were obtained from various reports appearing on the news portals Kumparan.com, Detik.com, Balipost.com, theguardian.com, and sbs.com.au in December 2022. Primary research data include five reports from five online media related to the impact of ratification of the RKUHP on tourism in Bali. Secondary research data is related to various literatures that can be used as a reference in the process of news analysis both from the side of the media and the reality being studied.

The researcher in this case conducted a comparative study by comparing the framing carried out by five online media portals. This step shows points of emphasis related to the issues highlighted by each media which is the unit of analysis in this research.

3. Results and Discussion

The first step in conducting framing analysis is to see how the media shapes reality [20]. Framing analysis pays attention to news content and points of view from the media through the way information is conveyed, the selection of social reality is carried out, the choice of words as a representation of facts [21]. Journalists and the media in this case play an active role in shaping reality. Apart from that, viewing framing by the media is not based on whether the media reports negative and positive news, but rather on how media framing develops [22].

The researcher analyzed news on five online media portals, including two national media, one local media, and two international media namely: Detik.com, Kumparan.com, Balipost.com, theguardian.com and sbs.com.au with news details as follows:

Table 1. Samples of News Titles and Air Time

No	News Title	Media
1	<i>Banyak Wisatawan Batal Libur Akhir Tahun ke Bali Imbas Pasal Kumpul Kebo KUHP</i>	Kumparan.com (Aired on December 8, 2022)
2	<i>Pengamat Pariwisata Nilai Pengesahan KUHP Terlalu Cepat Bagi Bali</i>	Detik.com (Aired on December 13, 2022)
3	<i>KUHP disahkan, Menparekraf Jamin Karpet Merah Untuk Wisatawan</i>	Balipost.com (Aired on December 10, 2022)
4	Bali's governor says Indonesia's ban on sex outside marriage poses no risk to tourists	theguardian.com (Aired on December 12, 2022)

The first online media in this study that presents news regarding the impact of the ratification of the RKUHP on Bali tourism is Kumparan.com. News from Kumparan entitled "Many Tourists Cancel Year-end Holidays to Bali Affects Article of Collecting Kebo Criminal Code" [1]. Judging from the headline, Kumparan constructs the news by emphasizing the impact after the RKUHP was ratified for tourism in Bali. The use of the word "a lot" in the title was chosen to show that the impact arising from the ratification of the regulation was quite large on the number of tourists who canceled their vacations.

The definition problem in the news presented by Kumparan is related to the cancellation of tourist visits to Bali at the end of 2022. This statement was developed by Kumparan based on a statement submitted by Deputy Governor of Bali Tjokorda Oka Artha Ardana Sukawati who was shocked after seeing a number of tourists canceling visits to Bali. This was stated in the statement "I am very surprised that there is a cancellation at the end of this year, what's the deal with this year's cancellation, huh?..." This statement illustrates that the cancellation of visits that have occurred is a problem for tourism in Bali.

Diagnose causes in this news are as follows: First, the cancellation of the visit occurred due to the approval by the government regarding the Criminal Code Law. Particularly in this case Kumparan emphasizes Article 412 of the Criminal Code. This is stated in the statement "This cancellation is the result of the ratification of the Criminal Code Law Article 412 of the Criminal Code concerning the threat of a 6-month sentence for cohabiting couples". Apart from that, Kumparan also emphasized that there was no outreach regarding article 412 to the public. This is indicated to be the reason for the cancellation of visits to Bali. The public and tourists in this case are not fully aware of the implementation of this article. So that there is a potential for misinterpretation that occurs in tourism actors and tourists themselves.

Making moral judgments is emphasized on tourism actors who are asked to remain calm, because this condition will be used by Indonesia's competitors to attract tourists. This is of course a concern for other countries because so far Bali has become one of the preferred tourist destinations in the world. The moral value that I want to emphasize in this case is that if this issue is not controlled and given clarity, it will have a direct impact on the number of tourists who will visit Bali.

At the end of the news, Kumparan provides recommendations on the issues raised in their news. There are two treatment recommendations, among others, the Bali Provincial Government will gather tourism actors to conduct outreach to tourism actors. This socialization is important to do because basically the public is said to have not fully understood the workings of the articles passed by the government. In addition, the government was also asked to examine in detail the relevant articles. There is no chance of the article being multi-interpreted.

Through the analysis of the Enmant model, it can be seen that the framing efforts carried out by Kumparan in this topic. However, there is a different emphasis between the title and the content of the news. Although Kumparan emphasizes in the headline that many tourists have canceled visiting Bali, in the content of the news, Kumparan does not include data showing the number of tourists who have canceled coming to Bali. Kumparan only uses a statement from a government figure to describe the number of tourists who have canceled coming to Bali. This shows how Kumparan wants to frame that they focus on the impact arising from the ratification of the RKUHP on tourism in Bali.

The second online media that reported on this issue was detik.com. Based on the news title used, detik.com uses the title "Tourism Observer The Value of Criminal Code Approval is Too Quick for Bali" [23]. In this news, detik.com framing based on expert statements in the field of tourism. In contrast kumparan.com, detik.com does not clearly state the article referred to in the Criminal Code which has an impact on Bali.

The definition problem described by detik.com is a statement by an observer who thinks that the ratification by tourism observers of the value of ratifying the Criminal Code is too fast for Bali. The framing done by detik.com is related to the problem as stated in the news title. In this case, in describing the problem, they also did not specify the part of the Criminal Code which is considered problematic for tourism in Bali. So indirectly detik.com describes as a whole that the Criminal Code will be problematic for Bali tourism

Detik.com describes diagnose causes in its news by quoting the views of tourism observers who say that Bali has just revived after the Covid-19 pandemic. This was stated in the statement "Now that society has just woken up, another blow like this has come, sorry for the community. But there's still three years to fix it (KUHP)." Indirectly, detik.com's description of the causes of the problem might not have become a problem if Bali had not experienced a post-pandemic crisis. So because of the pandemic condition, the existing articles are considered problematic. However, in general the media also highlighted the main cause of the issue developing because of the ratification by the government regarding the RKUHP.

At the make moral judgment stage, detik.com describes the losses that will be felt by Bali. The disadvantages referred to in this case are illustrated by competitors from other countries who are happy because tourists will prefer their country compared to Bali. This was reinforced by the statement of an observer who said "Thailand is very happy, Singapore is also not a tourist to Bali." In addition, observers in this case also considered that the steps taken by the Bali government in collaborating with tourism actors and deciding to maintain tourist privacy were seen as insufficient. The public is seen as not understanding and only skimming the contents of the ratified Criminal Code.

Furthermore, detik.com provided a treatment recommendation with a statement that there was a need for a joint review of all interested elements, such as academics, legislators, and grassroots such as Forkom Dewi (Bali Tourism Village Communication Forum). In a different statement, observers also adding that neutral academics need to be involved. This is stated in the quoted statement "Maybe academics are neutral, but you can invite NGOs or grassroots. NGOs in Bali are concerned with tourism."

The third online media is balipost.com. This media is a local media based in Bali. Unlike the two previous national media which emphasized the impact of the ratification of the RKUHP on Bali tourism, the media balipost.com reported on this issue by focusing on rectifying the growing issue. Judging from the title of the news, balipost.com uses the title "KUHP passed, Menparekraf Guarantees Red Carpet for Tourists" [24]. The framing of the title is based on the statement of the figure who is directly responsible for the development of tourism in Indonesia, namely the Minister of Tourism and Creative Economy. It can be seen that the title used in this news is striking by highlighting the word "red carpet". The term is usually intended for a formal and honorable reception. So that the framing carried out by balipost.com seems to depict that tourists will be greeted with respect. The use of the word is also an effort made by balipost.com to convince readers that Bali is safe to visit after the RKUHP has been ratified.

In terms of news content, balipost.com defines the problem by saying that there have been various criticisms of the Draft Criminal Code (RKUHP), especially with regard to the prohibition on group gatherings. This problem is also of direct concern to the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy. However, unlike the two previous media, the framing stage of the problem at Balipost did not say that there was a cancellation of the visit. The ministry in this case has coordinated with several countries and found no significant cancellation of tourist visits.

The diagnosis of causes described by balipost.com is by saying the RKUHP was ratified three days ago. This was stated in Sandiaga Uno's statement which said "during the past three days (after the hammering of the RKUHP at the DPR RI), the public, media and netizens have paid extraordinary attention to (the articles in the RKUHP) especially in the tourism sector." From this statement, it can be seen that the public has contributed to the development of the issues in this news.

Make moral judgment is illustrated by Sandiaga Uno's statement that guarantees tourists coming to Indonesia will have a safe, comfortable and enjoyable experience. This was stated in the statement "red carpet for tourists". Besides that, the moral value that I want to emphasize in this case is that in Indonesia guests are considered kings, so they will be treated as best as possible because Indonesia really respects the rights of tourists.

The treatment recommendation described by balipost.com is in the form of steps that have been taken by the government so far. Among them is the Ministry of Tourism holding meetings for two consecutive days with investors to discuss a number of articles related to the RKUHP. In addition, the Ministry of Tourism also sent a team to the main markets for foreign tourists (tourists).

The fourth media is theguardian.com. This media has the same focus as the balipost.com media, namely by straightening out the issues that are currently developing. This can be seen clearly in the title that was made, namely "Bali's governor says Indonesia's ban on sex outside marriage poses no risk to tourists" [25]. The use of the word "no risk" is the main word to straighten out the issues that are developing. Apart from that, theguardian.com in this case also focuses on the statement of the Governor of Bali who is responsible for the condition of tourism in the area which is said to be affected by the ratification of the RKUHP.

The definition problem described by theguardian.com is that the revision of articles by the Indonesian government has the potential to discourage tourists from visiting. This was stated in the statement "Revised laws which include articles criminalizing sex outside marriage may scare away tourists from its shores." The point that is emphasized in this framing is the criminalization of couples outside of marriage who have sex, making tourists afraid to visit. Indirectly, theguardian.com in this case shows that extramarital sex is something that might happen or is usually done by tourists from other countries. So that the presence of this article is considered to reduce the interest of tourists to come to Bali.

Diagnose causes are described by the statement "Indonesia's parliament last week passed the controversial bill that also prohibits cohabitation between unmarried couples." The statement emphasized that the government's decision to pass the law last week was the start of the cause of the issue developing, especially for those who are classified as spouses but are not bound by marital status.

Make moral judgment is illustrated by an explanation from the authorities regarding how the article will work. Theguardian.com in this case describes based on the statement of the Governor of Bali, Wayan Koster, who said "which came into effect in three years, could only be prosecuted if there was a complaint by a parent, spouse or child." From this statement it appears that the article that is being disputed by the public will in fact still be valid three years after the article was ratified. In addition, the sentence will not be carried out if there is no direct report from the parents, spouse or child. So through this statement the moral value that I want to emphasize is that the public does not need to panic, even canceling a visit to Bali.

Theguardian.com provides a treatment recommendation for the news through a statement from the Governor of Bali, which assures that there will be no actions that make tourists worry. It is clearly stated that the article can be used when a family makes a report. From the framing analysis stage, it can be seen that theguardian.com's position is trying to provide an explanation regarding the issues that have developed because of the RKUHP.

The fifth online media is sbs.com.au. The headline raised regarding this issue was "Australians visiting Bali will need to be wary of Indonesia's extramarital sex ban. Here's why"[26]. From the title, it can be seen that the media describes various reasons that Australian citizens need to pay attention to before visiting Bali after the prohibition of extra-marital sex. This has become the focus of the Australian media because the majority of foreign tourists in Bali are Australian citizens. In November 2022, BPS recorded a total of 73,113 Australians visiting Bali [27]. Of course, with so many visits from their countries, the local media is concerned about this issue.

Sbs.com.au defines the problem by warning its citizens to consider their wish to visit Bali because there is a new article that applies to Indonesians and foreigners. In addition, the media also said that the articles stipulated could be discriminatory and would pose a special threat to LGBTIQ+ people. This was stated in the statement "Article in the code on customary law could reinforce discriminatory and sharia-inspired bylaws at a local level, and pose a particular threat to LGBTIQ+ people." The point of this statement can arise from the differences in culture and perspectives related to LGBTIQ between Indonesia and Australia. For Indonesia, of course, this group is not legalized legally. While in Australia, the rights of these groups are protected and guaranteed by law.

Diagnosis causes described by sbs.com.au by saying that the Indonesian parliament has approved a criminal law that prohibits sex outside of marriage. This is the same as the previous four media descriptions, but what is different is that sbs.com.au also adds an explanation regarding the length of sentence that will be received by people who legally violate it.

There are two kinds of moral judgments that are described in the news. First the media described from the statement of Maulana Yusran, deputy chair of the Indonesian tourism industry council, who said that the new bill was "totally counterproductive" at a time when the economy and tourism were starting to recover from the pandemic. This was stated in the statement "Hotels or any accommodation facilities are like second homes for tourists. With the ratification of this criminal code, hotels are now problematic places." In addition, sbs.com.au also considers that the presence of the new law eliminates civil liberties in a country that adheres to a democratic system.

The treatment recommendation is described more to the wishes of the people who want to reject the ratified RKUHP. This is illustrated by sbs.co.au through a statement by a campaigner for the environmental group WALHI Indonesia who will hold a demonstration in front of the Parliament Building.

Based on the analysis of Enmant's framing model, it can be seen how the five media construct the impact related to the ratification of the RKUHP on tourism in Bali. If viewed based on constructionist thinking, the media, journalists and news can be seen from different perspectives. Beger & Luckman state that constructionist thinking in a social reality is present before the reader after going through a construction [16]. The media can clarify and become the cause of wider conflict, the media can construct reality, but it can also present hyperality, that is, lead people to believing a story as the truth even though in reality it is only a dramatization [14]; [28]. Reality is the result of construction which is always formed through concepts and categories, without us creating it, we cannot view the world without concepts. This means that journalists write news based on the development of existing realities. This cannot be separated from the understanding possessed by journalists based on a problem and the interests that are owned by the media itself. So that in the process of news construction, various elements influence each other so that in the end a complete news is created. So, it can be said that news is not a representation of reality, but news is the result of journalists' work construction [29].

4. Conclusion

Based on the analysis that has been done, it can be seen that there are differences in the way each media is used as the unit of analysis in conveying news related to the same topic. When viewed from the issues emphasized by each media, the media balipost.com and theguardian.com have straightened out the growing concerns in the community. Meanwhile, the other three media are more focused on building a narrative of the negative impacts that tourism will receive in Bali after the ratification of the RKUHP.

In addition, the differences in framing carried out by each media are also found in the views of the figures used as a reference in making news. The five media use different figures in

framing. Some use local governments, observers, central government, legislative bodies, and non-governmental organizations.

This research can also be developed for further research because the findings so far have only answered the form of framing carried out by each media related to the impact of ratification of the RKUHP on tourism in Bali. This is a form of limitation in research. The researcher in this case recommends for further research to explore the reasons for each media in framing the findings in this study. So that later this will be able to provide an overall picture related to the study of framing carried out by the media.

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