



Challenging Women's Reproductive Rights: Framing Analysis of Indonesian Women's Reproductive Rights in Kompas.Com

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Abstract. United States of America or USA has always been the fitting example of using basics human rights as the supreme law. Nevertheless, USA were still struggling to prove their human rights ideology to life. The emergence of protest movements based on human rights abuses hits a record high during the presidency of President Donald J. Trump – #Metoo movement in 2017 happened after the exposure of countless sexual-abuse allegations against Harvey Weinstein and #BlackLivesMatter movement in 2020 happened after global protest after police officer Derek Chauvin killed Black Man George Floyd during an interception. Even worst, in 2022 the Supreme Court challenged the women rights after they voted to overturn Roe v. Wade on June 24th and started a new era of restraint on women's rights to their own body because women in America now had no legal rights to have an abortion. As developed country, Indonesia also has issues about women rights – from sexual abuse, children marriage, and recently, how long women could have maternity leave. When the Head of House of Representative (DPR), Puan Maharani, stated to legalized regulation for women to have 6-month long maternity leave, the Indonesian Media went up in arms. Mainstream media in Indonesia tried to depict every figure that had interest on particular topic – government, entrepreneurs, working moms, et cetera. This paper will analyze how media framed the issue throughout many different perspectives and how many of the perspective supported women's reproduction rights.

Keywords: women · reproductive rights · maternity leave · media framing

1 Introduction

As the US Comedian, Kathy Griffin, said in her Twitter account, “*The most persecuted group in world is females. The world.*” may described how women try to survive these days (Fig. 1).

The Comedian, who got cancelled in 2017 because of her post at the same Twitter account portraying she carried President Donald J. Trump's beheaded head, was very vocal towards how women's reproductive rights challenged after The Supreme Court overturned Roe vs. Wade on June 24th. But she was definitely not alone.

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Fig. 1. Kathy Griffin's tweet

Thousands of Montana's residents marched on the State Capitol in Helena on June 26th with signs in their hands to let their objection to the Supreme Court decision on overthrowing *Roe v. Wade* clearly known. Not only The Montanans, when celebrating Independence Day on July 4th, local communities in Buffalo, New York City, like Our City Action and Citizen Action, marched through Buffalo's Elmwood Village to protest. None the less, The State law of New York City still allows women to take abortion process up to the 24th week of pregnancy but the supporter of the local communities demanded a guarantee for future legislature will not be able to pass more restrictions.

As we all may know, America's political parties divided into 2 different and specific group – The Democrat and The Republican. Every election it was all about Blue versus Red (Blue is the color symbol of The Democrat party and red is the color symbol of Republican party). If you are an open-minded person and always ready to change into more progressive way of living as time goes by, then you will have the same vision as The Democratic Party members. In contrast, if you keep living simple conservative life and cherish every legacy that your Founding Father left – that according to your belief still valid in the modern world –, then you must be agree to all the politicians run for the Republican Party. When Trump entered office, the court was ideologically split down [1]. This may be the start how women rights in the United States of America must be thrown out in a time machine to prehistoric era, including the overturning of *Roe v. Wade* by the Supreme Court.

Following June 26th mess, after Supreme Court decided to overturn *Roe v. Wade*, CBS News held up a nationwide vote and the result said that Americans though by overturning *Roe v. Wade* it will be a step back for America. For women, by three to one, *Roe v. Wade* rules will make their life way worse than before [2]. Abortion issue could be trace back from distinct perspective and media's one is always has their own. As the divided country of Blue and Red, America's medias are also divided in liberal and conservative perspective. Named, Fox News is with the Republican's side who support the overturning of *Roe v. Wade*. They represent middle-class and religious citizen of America who thought that abortion is one of the crimes against humanity, as they said that 12-week-old fetus already called as human. Fox News reported on how The Democratic Party's failure to represent their people's right, meanwhile they celebrated the new strict law that prohibits women to choose what is best for their bodies.

Meanwhile, the "mainstream" media – as how President Trump called – The Post wrote an article with provocative title "The Supreme Court declares war on modern

America”, courtesy of their journalist Jennifer Rubin. Another high reputation media, Los Angeles Times, released an op-ed by UC Davis School of Law Professor, Mary Ziegler that contain her view in how America could move forward after destructive Roe v. Wade ruler. According to her op-ed, women now depend on the leaders in the Blue States to provide abortion access to them in needs and there is nothing the 6 conservative justices could do, including the Republican Party [2].

Women’s issues always a breath of fresh air to all journalist, whether it is about their lifestyles or their misfortunes. Yes, a violence against women’s reproductive rights is also a misfortune thing to talk about. Media raced to have an exclusive cover, from the expert perspective to historian perspective. But missed the women’s perspective. As Eriyanto, an author and also professor in Universitas Indonesia, wrote in his book that women always become the object and used as material for storytelling but cannot represent themselves in every news article [3]. Women are still often depicted as a figure who cannot have an authority over themself, even though women are still objects that are often used as material to be exploited. The way media reports are currently still frequent subordinating women, and this can only be seen from the use of language when applied in general situations will result in a sexist and gender biased language.

Similar to United State of America condition, Indonesia recently has issue in the field of women’s reproductive right. The Head of Representative (DPR), Puan Maharani, in recent period declared a new constitutive law for women to have 6-month long maternity leave which called RUU KIA (The Bill of The Mother and Child Welfare). When we think it was a progressive move as the update of the existing law that women only have 3-month long maternity leave, public’s opinions divided in two. In professional work field, female workers are privileged in the implementation of related leave with her nature as a woman. These privileges include menstrual leave, maternity leave and childbirth, miscarried leave, and the right to breastfeed. These rights have been clearly and unequivocally regulated in Article 82 paragraph (1) of Law Number 13 of 2013 edition concerning Manpower, where the company must fulfill the right of leave for female workers in accordance with that time period [4].

Every business owner and worker owner understand clearly about those rights. But they became furious when they heard the Government’s RUU KIA adds more period to maternity leave. Medias reported that some of worker owner is considering to never again recruit female worker as they bring more “problem” than male worker. Meanwhile, union labor organization welcomed the view of expanding the maternity leave to 6-month long because women need more time to adapt and bond with their newborn. How about women’s perspective?

2 Problem Statement

In the democratic country, such as Indonesia, there are several roles that media take part of in the Government. The main role is media plays as the watchdog against the state. Media must have been the opposition of state, every policy and every decision of the President or the member of parliament make has to be criticized by the media as how the policy’s effect in every day’s life. The second role is to supply accurate and fair information. This is how Communication Studies’ lecturers teach their student on how

to write journalistic article using the concept of 5W (What, When, Where, Who, Why) and 1H (How), the basic tools to guide the journalist write none other than the truth. And the last role is media must represent the grassroot society which are the main subject of a democratic process. Their opinion and thought matters, mostly become the basis for government consideration in making every policy [5].

When a big issue arises, such as the plan to confirm a new 6-month long maternity leave policy for woman workers with RUU KIA, media must take side as the biggest critics for policy maker, as the truth seeker about the effect on the policy on woman workers, and also the defend the rights of women's reproductive nature. Sadly, Indonesian media owners mostly have double job as a Politian, some of them even have the role of a political party leader – for example Surya Paloh as the head of Nasdem Party and the owner to Media Group (consist of Metro TV, Medcom.id, Media Indonesia, etc.) and Aburizal Bakrie as the chairman of the board directors of Golkar Party owns PT. Visi Media Asia Tbk (business group contains ANTV, tvOne, Viva.co.id, etc.). Media ownership affiliated with the political figures results in the alignment of news content according to the need of the media owner's frame.

Framing is a reality presentation technique by the media in which the truth of a reality is not totally denied but is subtly deflected by providing *selection* and *salience* to produce more engaging news articles [6]. The purpose of the *framing* is mainly to lead the public's interpretations in a way that the media desires. Therefore, the purpose of *framing* done by the media owned by political figures could be easily identified – either they were with the public or they were with their own effort to maintain the *status quo* with the policy maker.

Robert N. Entman created a method to analyze how media *framing* works. He focused on developing *framing* as a method to understand news as *a problem*, which has background stories and causes. Entman's method believes that readers consume news depend on the physical and psychological condition of the reader himself during the consumption. Therefore, to create a mutual and comprehensive understanding between the journalists/media and the readers, the process of understanding background and ideology is required between them [7].

This research will be focused on how media portray the new bill about maternity leaves (RUU KIA). This paper will be using framing analysis to scan every paper reporting the issue, especially in the media that has no relation with any political party in Indonesia. This criterion is made to make sure the media is not being controlled by certain ideology of political party and maintain their objectivity.

3 Purpose of the Study

This research will try to discover how media as the watchdog institution in the democratic country, specifically in Indonesia, portraying women's reproductive right especially after The House of Representative (DPR) decided to arrange a bill that will change the duration of maternity leave from 3 months into 6 months, plus 40-days maternity leave for the husband. The bill called RUU KAI (The Bill of The Mother and Child Welfare). The subjects of this research are online articles contain journalistic reports of the process of drafting the RUU KAI and public's acceptance about the changing duration of

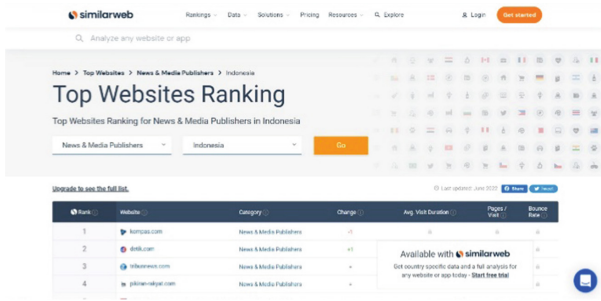


Fig. 2. Similarweb.com rank most accessed Indonesia's online medias

maternity leave which contained in RUU KAI. The object of this research will be the contradictive frame used by the media in every articles. The articles come from online media Kompas.com, the number #1 most accessed online media in Indonesia according to Similarweb.com (Fig. 2).

For academic purpose, this research's finding expected to contribute more to framing studies by Entman's model in the field of online media's framing about women's reproductive right in Indonesia. As for the practical side, this research's finding expected to make an understanding to public, especially women, about their rights in the workplace, that it's been so long for the business owner violated their rights to be a mom and also to be a successful career woman at the same time.

4 Research Methods

This research uses interpretive analysis approach, which means that news articles have dynamic and subjective characteristic, that news is the reality of the production of social constructions (journalist's meaning and/or editors' ideology) [8]. Interpretive analysis believes that journalists as interpretive actors have certain awareness and motives in writing news. Therefore, every news article contains views or ideology owns by the journalist or the media.

Entman figured out 4 ways of framing functions, the first and the most crucial is to define the problem – determine what the causal agent does, at what costs and benefits, usually measured by shared cultural values. Secondly, framing function is to diagnose the problem – identify the “power” that creates the problem. Thirdly, as moral judgement function – evaluate the causal agents and the costs they made. Last, as treatment recommendation function – offer and justify handling problems and predict possible consequences [9]. Those 4 functions of framing will be used to analyze the news article and then a conclusion will be made in each article.

There are 13 news articles discussion about RUU KAI in Kompas.com, but this research took 3 samples of articles which portray the perspective of the bill's maker, the public or organization that represent them, and business owner. Using 4-step of Entman's framing function, the finding section will dissect the definition of the problem and diagnose it, then describe the moral judgement and treatment recommendation offered in each news article.

5 Finding

There are 13 news articles discussed about RUU KAI in Kompas.com and all the 13 articles can be categorized into 3 main perspectives: the bill's maker, the public or organization that represents them, and the business owner. Therefore, the researcher chose 3 articles that could fully represent each perception to be analyzed as the main data. Using 4-step of Entman's framing function, the finding section will dissect the definition of the problem and diagnose it, then describe the moral judgement and treatment recommendation offered in each news article.

The first article will show the perspective from public organization in the effect on the workplace that will cause woman workers if RUU KIA passed:

Text 1. RUU KIA is Expected Not to Make It Difficult for Women to Work.

A. Define Problem

In this news content, there are at least 2 main issues that are highlighted. First is the potential difficulty of employment opportunities for women and their career development. And second is the existence of female workers who refuse to advocate for their rights.

- Women's National Commission warns that there is potential that RUU KIA can hinder women from getting jobs or developing careers (p2)

(Komnas Perempuan mengingatkan adanya potensi bahwa hal ini justru bisa menghambat perempuan dalam memperoleh lapangan pekerjaan ataupun mengembangkan karier) (p2)

- According to Indonesian Labour Union Association, most of them (the women) refuse to be advocated to get their rights in full, because they are worried that it will make them lose their jobs or interfere with their careers. (p11)

(Menurut Asosiasi Serikat Pekerja Indonesia) "Rata-rata dari mereka menolak untuk diadvokasi supaya memperoleh haknya secara utuh, lantaran khawatir hal itu bakal membuat mereka kehilangan pekerjaan atau diganggu kariernya." (p11)

B. Diagnose Problem

The content of this news also shows the causes of problems. The problems arise because of the RUU KIA flaws found by the Women's National Commission. There is no guarantee or affirmation in the RUU KIA which causes fear on the part of women workers when they demand their rights.

- According to Women's National Commission, RUU KAI needs to be supplemented with additional affirmative steps to ensure taking this leave will not affect career development opportunities (p5)

(Menurut Komnas Perempuan, "Perlu dilengkapi dengan langkah afirmasi tambahan untuk memastikan pengambilan cuti ini tidak akan mempengaruhi kesempatan pengembangan karier.") (p5)

- (According to Women’s National Commission) ... companies that violate the maternity rights of women workers by sacrificing hundreds of women workers, including termination of employment due to pregnancy and childbirth. (p13)

(Menurut catatan Komnas Perempuan, ... perusahaan yang melanggar hak maternitas pekerja perempuan dengan mengorbankan ratusan pekerja perempuan, termasuk di antaranya pemutusan hubungan kerja karena hamil dan melahirkan.) (p13)

C. Moral Judgement

Judging from the causes of the existing problems, news content presents that the cause of the problem lies in the company’s non-compliance with government regulations. Even the company has not complied with the Labour Laws so far, mainly regarding 3 months of maternity leave. However, these conditions are also supported by the silence of women workers.

- (According to Indonesian Labour Union Association) Data show that 90 percent of female workers are only given 1.5 months of maternity/maternity leave. (p9)

(Menurut Asosisasi Serikat Pekerja Indonesia) fakta di lapangan menunjukkan 90 persen buruh perempuan hanya diberikan cuti hamil/ melahirkan 1,5 bulan. (p9)

- (According to Women’s National Commission) not so sure companies will implement it consistently. (p15)

(Menurut Komnas Perempuan) ...tak begitu yakin perusahaan-perusahaan bakal menerapkannya secara konsekuen di lapangan. (p15)

- (According to Indonesian Labour Union Association) ...our people need jobs. There must be a lot of negotiation. Maybe our friends (women labour) are also used to it, hardworking, accustomed to 1.5 months, if given 6 months leave, they seem reluctant. (p18)

(Menurut Asosisasi Serikat Pekerja Indonesia) ... lagi-lagi orang kita butuh pekerjaan. Pasti di lapangan ada banyak negosiasi Kemungkinan juga teman kita karena sudah terbiasa, pekerja keras, terbiasa 1,5, bulan, kalau diberikan cuti 6 bulan, sepertinya sungkan. (p18)

D. Treatment Recommendation

There are a few solutions that are suggested in the news. The first is for giving entrepreneurs time to adjust. And the second one is for the government to be stricter in monitoring the implementation of the RUU KIA.

- (According to Indonesian Labour Union Association) Indonesia needs time for such a progressive policy to be implemented properly as in European countries. (p17)

(Menurut Asosiasi Serikat Pekerja Indonesia) Indonesia memerlukan waktu supaya beleid yang progresif semacam ini dapat diterapkan dengan baik seperti di negara-negara Eropa. (p17)

- (According to Women's National Commission) The implementation of RUU KIA in the future requires an adequate budget allocation and requires strict supervision, given the various violations that have occurred to the Labour Law so far. (p7)

(Menurut Komnas Perempuan) penerapan RUU KIA kelak membutuhkan alokasi anggaran yang cukup dan mensyaratkan pengawasan yang ketat, mengingat berbagai pelanggaran yang terjadi terhadap UU Ketenagakerjaan selama ini. (p7)

Based on Entman's Framing Analysis in the first news text presented by Kompas.com, it was found that the news highlighted problems that could potentially arise in the RUU KIA. RUU KIA is seen by the Women's National Commission as a regulation that can hinder women's career development, or even just getting a job. Women's National Commission concern arises because there is a possibility that many companies will violate RUU KIA. Or they may even decide not to hire women. This of course reflects on the experience so far that has happened to female workers in Indonesia. Many companies do not even comply with the Labours Law which requires companies to provide 3 months of leave for female workers who give birth. Many women workers only get 1.5 months of leave, and not many of them want to advocate to claim their rights. There are fears that they will lose their jobs if they claim their right to leave for 3 months. Thus, it is highlighted in the news article that the company has so far violated the Labours Law, especially on women's rights, but there is no strict control or punishment from the government.

Another thing that is also highlighted in this paper is contrary to the title of this news itself, RUU KIA is Expected Not to Make It Difficult for Women to Work [10]. The contents of the news show the silence of women workers groups over the abuse of their rights by the company. Silence perpetrated by women is seen as a matter of course because women in Indonesia are used to carrying double burdens. Act well as a mother and a worker who helps support the family's economy.

Double burden is one of the things that often happens in Indonesia, especially for women who come from the lower middle-class economy [11]. Women workers are the most vulnerable group to experience this, which of course cannot be separated from the patriarchal culture in Indonesia. Women who work in the public sector still have the same big role as other women in the domestic sector. Therefore, the Women's National Commission requested that the government provide additional guarantees in the RUU KIA to ensure that entrepreneurs follow the existing rules. In this case, Kompas.com seems to picture the government as a party that only cares about women in the rule of law, but cannot monitor its implementation properly. Or in other words, the government (in this case the DPR) is pictured as a party that only has a theory but cannot implement it.

The second article will show the perspective Komnas Perempuan (Women's National Commission) organization about the domestication role of women and the lack of roles for the husband:

Text 2. Women's National Commission Reveals the Potential of Women's Domestication in the RUU KIA.

A. Define Problem

The roles of mothers and fathers in parenting become the main problem highlighted in this news content. The role of both parents becomes a problem because of the potential for the domestication of women.

- (According to Yeni – Chairman of Women's National Commission) there is a potential for the domestication of the women's role in the draft of RUU KIA ... (p1)

(Menurut Yeni – Ketua Komnas Perempuan) ... adanya potensi domestikasi peran perempuan dalam draf Rancangan Undang-undang Kesejahteraan Ibu dan Anak (RUU KIA) ... (p1)

- (According to Women's National Commission) Domestication is simply understood as the secondary role of women in the public area, and only revolves around household affairs. (p2) *(Menurut Komnas Perempuan) Domestikasi secara sederhana dipahami sebagai penomorduuan peran perempuan hanya berkisar pada urusan kerumahtanggaan. (p2)*
- (According to Women's National Commission) There is fear that RUU KIA will make domestication a standard. (p3)

(Menurut Komnas Perempuan) RUU KIA dikhawatirkan akan membuat domestikasi ini menjadi baku. (p3)

- (Women's National Commission) identify there is a risk of standardizing gender-based domestic roles for women ... (p4)

(Komnas Perempuan) mengidentifikasi adanya risiko pembakuan peran domestik berbasis gender terhadap perempuan ... (p4)

- (According to Yeni – Chairman of Women's National Commission) Risk of domestication at women's roles is seen in clauses that seem to emphasize a mother's obligation to care for responsibilities. (p5)

(Menurut Yeni – Ketua Komnas Perempuan) ... risiko domestikasi peran perempuan ini tampak dalam pengaturan yang terkesan menegaskan kewajiban seorang ibu pada tanggung jawab pengasuhan. (p5)

B. Diagnose Problem

Problems in the news content are shown because of a few reasons. One of it is because of the content of RUU KIA's bill.

- (Women's National Commission) These nine things are commonly considered as things that a mother will do for her baby. However, these 9 things do not need to be standardized as a mother's obligation in legal products. (p8-p9)

(Menurut Komnas Perempuan) Sembilan hal tersebut memang lazim dianggap sebagai hal-hal yang diharapkan dapat dilakukan oleh seorang ibu kepada buah hatinya. Tetapi, 9 hal itu dinilai tak perlu dibakukan sebagai kewajiban ibu di dalam produk hukum. (p8-p9)

- (According to Yeni – Chairman of Women's National Commission) "This arrangement also reduces the role of fathers... (p10)

(Menurut Yeni – Ketua Komnas Perempuan) "Pengaturan serupa ini juga mengurangi peran ayah... (p10)

C. Moral Judgement

The news shows moral judgment from the article, that the Women's National Commission appreciates DPR for the outline of RUU KIA. However, they criticize DPR for a few clauses that they saw as the potential to domesticate women.

- The Women's National Commission also appreciates the outlines of RUU KIA, which was previously considered quite progressive in regulating women's rights, especially in granting the right to maternity/pregnancy leave for 6 months. (p11)

Komnas Perempuan juga mengapresiasi secara garis besar RUU KIA yang sebelumnya pun dianggap cukup progresif dalam mengatur hak-hak perempuan, terutama dalam pemberian hak cuti bagi ibu hamil/melahirkan selama 6 bulan. (p11)

- (To Women's National Commission) However, these 9 things do not need to be standardized as a mother's obligation in legal products. (p8-p9)

(Menurut Komnas Perempuan) Tetapi, 9 hal itu dinilai tak perlu dibakukan sebagai kewajiban ibu di dalam produk hukum. (p8-p9)

D. Treatment Recommendation

There is a solution suggested by the Women's National Commission to solve the problems of potential domesticate women at RUU KIA. Women's National Commission suggest DPR give more attention to a few clauses that mention women's obligation in nurturing their babies.

Using Entmant's Framing Analysis on the second news from Kompas.com, there is a main highlighted point, which is domestication. News with the title Women's National Commission Reveals the Potential of Women's Domestication in the RUU KIA [12], is highlighted the domestication of women's role only as a housewife. Kompas.com uses Women's National Commission comments on RUU KIA as most of the highlighted points in the news content.

Domestication on the news was seen women as the secondary role in the public sector and defined women's tasks as only revolving around household affairs. Women's National Commission not only highlights domestication problems that RUU KIA could potentially present, but also the imbalance in the roles of men (husbands) in childcare. As if the role of women (mothers) in childcare is an obligation that is described in 9 things [12], but the role of men or husbands is only 1 thing. Where the husband is only obliged to ensure the welfare of the mother and child. Whereas household welfare is not only limited to economic welfare, but also the willingness to share responsibilities [13]. Especially the division of tasks in the domestic sector, which is often neglected by men, including the obligation to take care of children.

Based on the observations and criticisms made by Women's National Commission on the potential for the domestication of women in RUU KIA, Women's National Commission demands DPR to review the contents of the articles of the MCH Bill. In this case, Kompas.com provides a clear picture that the DPR as a policy maker is described as a party that lacks detail and is not open-minded. Still shackled to patriarchal culture and may continue to perpetuate patriarchal culture, one of which is through legal products such as RUU KIA. It seems to support and help improve the welfare of mothers and children but ignores the issue of gender equality that has been championed for a long time in Indonesia. According to the Gender Empowerment Index in Indonesia, the variable for politics has indeed made significant progress with the percentage of women occupying government seats (including DPR). However, this variable percentage figure only applies to politics, the employment sector is still slumped [14]. So, the legal products produced by politicians (who are currently represented by women) must be able to support women's empowerment and welfare, without domesticating women's roles.

Overall, the second text from Kompas.com also provides an overview of the many weaknesses of the RUU KIA drafted by DPR. This certainly further confirms the image of the DPR as a party that is not wise in designing a regulation, lacks detail and attention to existing phenomena, and does not examine the impact that will arise from the regulation.

The third article will show the perspective of the law maker, The House of Representative (DPR), about their justification in making the bill:

Text 3. RUU KIA Which Regulates 6 Months of Maternity Leave is Approved as A DPR Initiative.

A. Define Problem

The news content shows that employers object to the existence of RUU KIA which regulates the duration of leave and benefits that must be provided by employers to their employees (mainly for women).

- "Businessman hope that the government and the DPR conduct an in-depth and comprehensive study and evaluation before enacting the law because it involves labor productivity and the level of ability of each entrepreneur," (p16)

"Pelaku usaha berharap agar pemerintah dan DPR melakukan kajian dan evaluasi yang mendalam dan komprehensif sebelum menetapkan UU tersebut karena menyangkut produktivitas tenaga kerja dan tingkat kemampuan dari masing masing pengusaha," (p16)

B. Diagnose Problem

Based on the news content, there is a reason that causes the problem to arise. The objection from entrepreneurs towards RUU KIA that was drafted by DPR become the reason for the problem.

- (According to Puan – Chair of the DPR) “RUU KIA regulates maternity leave of at least six months and cannot be dismissed from work. In addition, mothers who are on maternity leave must continue to receive salaries from corporate social security and corporate social responsibility funds,” (p9)

(Menurut Puan – Ketua DPR) “RUU KIA juga mengatur cuti melahirkan paling sedikit enam bulan, serta tidak boleh diberhentikan dari pekerjaan. Selain itu, ibu yang cuti hamil harus tetap memperoleh gaji dari jaminan sosial perusahaan maupun dana tanggung jawab sosial perusahaan,” (p9)

- ... maternity leave changed to 6 months and 1.5 months rest period for working mothers who had miscarriages. (p11)

... cuti hamil berubah menjadi 6 bulan dan masa waktu istirahat 1,5 bulan untuk ibu bekerja yang mengalami keguguran. (p11)

- (According DPD of the Indonesian Indigenous Entrepreneurs Association) ... asked the government and the DPR to review the stipulation of the MCH Bill. This is related to the addition of maternity leave rights for 6 months and husband's leave of 40 days for workers. (p12-p13)

(Menurut DPD Himpunan Pengusaha Pribumi Indonesia) ... meminta pemerintah dan DPR agar mengkaji kembali penetapan RUU KIA. Hal tersebut terkait adanya penambahan hak cuti ibu melahirkan selama 6 bulan dan cuti suami 40 hari untuk pekerja. (p12-p13)

C. Moral Judgement

The moral judgment that shows in the news was DPR is considerate of all input about RUU KIA. They planned to make an open dialogue for any interested party in RUU KIA, including the entrepreneurs. And for the important note, DPR also makes RUU KIA based on research.

- (According to Willy - Deputy Chairman of the Legislative Body of the DPR) said that the DPR will open a dialogue room for entrepreneurs. (p21)

(Menurut Willy – Wakil Ketua Badan Legislasi DPR) mengatakan bahwa DPR akan membuka ruang dialog bagi pengusaha. (p21)

- (According to Willy – Deputy Chairman of the Legislative Body of the DPR) ... at the stage of discussing RUU KIA with the government, the DPR will invite various interested parties, including businessmen. (p23)

- *(Menurut Willy – Wakil Ketua Badan Legislasi DPR) ... pada tahap pembahasan RUU KIA bersama pemerintah, DPR akan mengundang berbagai pihak yang berkepentingan, termasuk pengusaha. (p23)*
- *(According to Willy - Deputy Chairperson of the Legislative Body of the DPR) claims that there are many studies that prove that workers who are given maternity leave, breastfeeding and accompanying after giving birth actually increase their productivity. (p25)*

(Menurut Willy – Wakil Ketua Badan Legislasi DPR) mengeklaim bahwa banyak riset yang membuktikan bahwa buruh yang diberikan cuti melahirkan-menyusui dan menemani pasca-melahirkan produktivitasnya justru meningkat. (p25)

D. Treatment Recommendation

Two treatment recommendations show in the news content. First, from the perspective of the entrepreneurs or employers that wish DPR will make an in-depth study about the duration of maternity leave in RUU KIA. And second, from the DPR perspective, they ask entrepreneurs or employers to bring any research that is in line with their interest regarding the duration of maternity leave in RUU KIA.

- *(According to Sarman - DPD Chairman of the Indonesian Indigenous Entrepreneurs Association) “We need an in-depth study whether it should be 6 months or 4 months, for example. Then whether 40 days of husband’s leave is also a must,” (p19)*

(Menurut Sarman – Ketua DPD Himpunan Pengusaha Pribumi Indonesia) “Perlu suatu kajian yang mendalam apakah harus 6 bulan atau cukup 4 bulan misalnya. Kemudian apakah cuti suami 40 hari juga menjadi keharusan,” (p19)

- *(According to Willy – Deputy Chairperson of the Legislative Body of the DPR) “We certainly hope that in the dialogue later entrepreneurs will also bring research that is in line with their interests,” (p26)*

(Menurut Willy – Wakil Ketua Badan Legislasi DPR) “Kami tentu berharap dalam dialog nanti pengusaha juga membawa riset yang sejalan dengan kepentingannya,” (p26)

The third text that will be analyzed in this paper is from Kompas.com with the title RUU KIA Which Regulates that 6 Months of Maternity Leave is Approved as A DPR Initiative [15]. Based on the title, Kompas.com seems to give good impressions of DPR, because RUU KIA looks like good fresh air for maternal women workers. But in the fact, the content of the news is not about what DPR did or what is the good news about RUU KIA. In the content, Kompas.com also highlighted many interests and opinions from the public about RUU KIA. Most of the content discussed objections from entrepreneurs to RUU KIA. Indonesian Indigenous Entrepreneurs Association complaints about the duration of maternity leave for the workers in RUU KIA.

The reason for the objection made by the Indonesian Indigenous Entrepreneurs Association is that the long duration of maternity leave will harm the company. Because

workers are still paid even if they do not work (leave). This was opposed by Willy as a representative from the House of Representatives by revealing research that states that women who get maternity leave will have better productivity. This opinion was explained by representatives of the Indonesian Labor Union Association as a result of the calmness of female workers leaving their children [16]. If a woman leaves her child at the age of 3 months, there will be a lot of uneasy feelings. This has an impact on the frequency of female workers applying for leave to look after their children, taking their children to the doctor, and so on. If you leave a child at the age of 6 months, the child is already in a stronger condition and can be left behind, so there will be fewer worries that arise. Therefore, the Indonesian Labor Union Association considers that employers or companies will not be harmed if they provide 6 months of maternity leave to female employees.

However, what is argued by the DPR and the Indonesian Labor Union Association is certainly not in line with the thoughts of the entrepreneurs who are members of the Indonesian Indigenous Entrepreneurs Association. Another interesting article offers a middle ground that entrepreneurs might expect from the government on the issuance of RUU KIA. There are several solutions that the government can provide to help entrepreneurs implement the RUU KIA. The government can provide subsidies in the form of tax breaks for entrepreneurs who comply with the RUU KIA, transportation allowances for workers, providing cheap or free childcare facilities near office areas or UMKM centers, and home delivery services for breast milk, and many other things [17]. Thus, women workers can continue to work optimally, employers are also assisted operationally. Some of these solutions are certainly helpful for workers and employers, so that they can improve the quality of the young generation and the Indonesian workforce in the future. Of course, with these developments, the country will also benefit because it has a quality workforce.

Unfortunately, what was written in that article was never stated by the DPR in Kompas.com news. Willy as a representative of the DPR did state that the DPR had opened a room for discussion with entrepreneurs, but there was never a draft solution that was offered to address the concerns of entrepreneurs. Willy asked representatives of entrepreneurs who will participate in the discussion on the RUU KIA to bring research results, which can support their request. Based on this, Kompas.com again places the DPR as a party that is not responsible for the proposals given, and never has a solution.

6 Conclusion

The findings of this research contribute in justifying how media still become the watchdog of Government's regulations. Media as the fourth estate in a democratic nation has duty to check and balance that hold power to account and gives voice to those who otherwise wouldn't have one, in this article is to working women. Of all 3 articles, Kompas.com managed to encapsulate 3 perspectives that crucial to reproductive right new bill for women: the bill's maker, the public or organization that represents them, and the business owner. Even though there is positive impact in this bill, for example making bonding time much longer between the mother and her child, but other than that there are more disadvantages from entrepreneurs' perspective and also the possibility of discrimination

against woman workers. DPR searched into research result which support their intention to make the bill, but the research does not consider other perspectives. All entrepreneurs must find another research that has contradiction to DPR's. And this will be a hell of arguments, since the result of research like a double-edged sword, it will be benefited to the one who want to be benefited from.

Women's perspectives are way more in disadvantages position. Before RUU KIA, their rights in workplace have already been violated. By law, the application of 3 months maternity leave can be reduced to only 1.5 months. You can imagine if the RUU KIA is passed and companies are required to give their female workers 6 months of maternity leave, will they automatically comply with the new rules? Apart from refusing to adapt the new rules, companies can also take preventive steps in avoiding the KAI bill, namely by reducing the recruitment of women workers. Employing women will be considered detrimental to the company by providing longer maternity leave and making the company lose money because they still have to provide basic salaries to female workers during the maternity leave period. This discrimination is feared to happen to women, they will no longer be able to have the same career as men in the workplace.

When the government begins to realize women's rights by making laws, without being accompanied by strict supervision in its implementation in the field, women will continue to get pressure from their workplaces. Punishments that deter companies that violate must be enforced to protect women in the workplace. In addition, the proportion of the number of female workers in a company must also be regulated in order to avoid the practice of recruiting companies that prioritize male workers over female workers.

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