RAPE AND IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION IN INDONESIA DIGITAL NEWS MEDIA

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ABSTRACT

This research aimed to identify the way of digital news media in Indonesia construct the identity of the victims and perpetrators of rape in the news of rape. The research method used in this study was Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as originally proposed by Norman Fairclough. The analysis focused on the representation of identity through written word, practical discourse, and sociocultural practice. This study found that the digital news media in Indonesia especially the local digital news media Makassar.tribunnews.com and the national digital news media Tribunnews.com tended to construct the identity of the victims of the rape by using descriptors based on the victims' ethnicity, the pseudonym identity such as Bunga dan Mawar, identity of home and schooling address, and the name of victim’s mother. Of the media analyzed for this study, none of the cases used the real names of the victims. In contrast, one of the perpetrators of rape was identified by his ethnicity, home address, and real name.

Keywords: Rape; news; identity construction; digital news media, Indonesia.

INTRODUCTION

Figures on violence towards women in Indonesia are rising. Data from the Indonesian National Anti-Violence Towards Women Commission (Komnas Perempuan) revealed that there were 348,446 cases of violence towards women in Indonesia in 2017. This number is far greater than the total number of cases for the previous year; in 2016, official records state a total of 259,150 cases of violence towards women.

Of these 348,446 cases in 2017, 1,288 were criminal rape cases. The perpetrators of these rape cases were Indonesian males between 25 to 40 years of age, with their victims primarily young women and girls between 13 to 18 years old.

In Indonesia, the act of rape is categorized as a criminal act involving elements of sexuality and coercion. Article 285 of the Criminal Law Code of the Republic of Indonesia states:

"Whosoever, through violence or threat of violence, coerces a woman into extramarital sexual intercourse, for performing the act of rape, stands to face a prison sentence of up to 12 years

Based on the description provided above, the act of rape is viewed as an act of sexual intercourse wherein a male, through violence or threat of violence, forcefully inserts his penis into the vagina of a woman who is not his wife. This act of rape is punishable with a prison sentence of up to 12 years.

The Indonesian National Anti-violence Towards Women Commission has expressed the opinion that this definition of rape and the potential punishment for rape as described in Indonesian criminal law code does not sufficiently protect victims of rape. Perpetrators of coercion for sexual acts that do not involve vaginal penetration, such as oral or anal sex, or
sexual acts that involve penetration, anal or vaginal, with external objects and not the penis are not included in this definition and are thus not legally categorized as rape.

Additionally, the Commission deems the legal punishment for rape to be far too light, with a maximum prison sentence of 12 years with no description of a minimum sentence for perpetrators of rape. The law thus technically allows for an individual proven guilty of rape in a court of law to be given a fairly low prison sentence.

Victims of rape in Indonesia do not only experience physical suffering from the shattering of their physical womanhood but also the psychological weight of the shame they must bear for the perceived loss of their honor and self-respect as a result of rape. This shame can be associated to the fact that a vast majority of Indonesians subscribe to the belief that a woman's honor is inherently tied to their virginity. If an Indonesian woman who has never married is identified as a non-virgin, whether through consensual extramarital sexual activity or because they are a victim of rape, this woman is considered to have lost her honor and worth in Indonesian society. She becomes socially and culturally marginalized.

For these reasons, in covering and reporting on news stories on the topic of rape, Indonesian reporters, including reporters for digital news outlets, are obligated to respect the public norms of decency by concealing the identities of victims of rape. This is regulated in Law Number 40 of the Year of 1999 on The Press, specifically Paragraph 1 of Article 5 that states: "The national press has the obligation to report on events and opinions with due respect to religious norms and general decency and with the presumption of innocence."

In addition, Article 5 of the Journalistic Code of Ethics (Kode Etik Jurnalistik, KEJ) authorized in 2006 by the Indonesian Press Council states: "Indonesian reporters must not mention or broadcast the identities of victims of sexual crimes nor state the identities of children who are victims of criminal acts."

Point a of Article 5 in the Journalistic Code of Ethics states that identity is all data and information related to a person's self that facilitates the tracking of said person. Indonesian journalists and reporters in reporting their news are forbidden from mentioning any data and information about victims of rape to prevent easy identification or tracking of the victims by the public.

There is an urgent need for laws dictating the concealment of the identities of rape victims in Indonesian digital media due to the significant attention such rape-related headlines attract from the Indonesian community at large with a notable segment of the Indonesian populace consuming news digitally. A survey conducted in 2016 by the Indonesian Association of Internet Service Providers on Internet Penetration and User Behavior in Indonesia revealed some staggering figures. As of 2016, there were 132.7 million Internet users in Indonesia, 20% (roughly 26.54 million people) claimed that Internet was their primary source of law- and crime-related news, including news on cases of rape reported by digital media news portals (APJII, 2016 p.24). With such a large base of consumers of digital news media, the potential for the identities of rape victims becoming public knowledge is significant.

Such interest in the accessing and reading of rape-related criminal news in digital media shows just how large the public interest is in sexual crime cases. If digital media news outlets are not careful in how they deliver information relating to the identity of victims, they may be easily identified by the public. Such a situation would only add to the psychological pressure felt by victims.

The act of reconstructing the scene and details of a rape in a public setting, either through direct retelling from the victim or indirectly through mass media news, can lead to victims of rape experiencing what Lee Madigan and Nancy Gamble (199, p.7) describe as a "second rape". Madigan and Gamble state that this second rape places additional
psychological and mental burden on the victims of sexual crimes that is often much more damaging than the act of rape itself.

There have been many studies on how the media reports acts of crime, including sexual crimes such as rape. Dreze & Sen (2013, p. 22) analyzed how sexual violence and rape was reported in Indian media. Another looked at several news reports on sexual violence, going on to state that 2/3 of all crime reported by the media is related to sexual violence (Reiner, Livingstone & Allen, 2003, p.18-19). The same study found that media outlets tend to report on acts of rape committed by minorities (Reiner, Livingstone & Allen, 2003). Similar findings were reported in a study by Gillam and Iyengar (2000). Media coverage has a tendency to focus on the victims of rape and are often written in a manner that is embarrassing to the victim, in some cases going so far as to shame victims of sexual crimes (Rao, 2014).

Additionally, much scholarship has focused on media and the construction of identity: Suryadi (2005) and Syeiholislami (2011) both studied the role of media in the construction of ethnic or tribal identity; Wodak (2009) and Bishop & Jowarski (2003) explored the role of mass media in construction of a national identity; Berger & Ezzy (2009) and Rothman (1997) investigated the role of mass media in religious identity and character-building.

From this significant library of literature, there is a notable lack of academic writing on the identity construction of rape victims in digital media news reporting. This study aims to explore this topic and provide a foundation for further study on how media describes and identifies victims of rape and sexual crimes through analysis of digital news articles on rape cases in Indonesia.

**Media, Identity & News on Rape**

Advancements in technology and communication in the past few decades have played a central role in cultural production. As Tester (2003, p.4) states in his book *Media, Culture & Morality*: "...cultural production is today dominated by the media to such an extent that no cultural activity or production is untouched by them." Cultural products assembled by the media are packaged in a manner that makes them appear interesting, charming, amazing or even boring."

Identity is a cultural product that is constantly produced and reproduced by mass media. Burke and Stets (2009:3) define identity as a set of meanings defined when an individual assumes a specific role within a group or society at large or claims of specific characteristics used to identify a unique individual.

A person's identity does not exist in solitude; every individual occupies a set role and position in society. As the number of roles and positions a person holds increase, so to does the number of identities associated with them (multiple identities).

McQuail (1994, p. 111) firmly states that, "identities are drawn from the systematic and widely shared messages of the mass media." Thus, how a person is perceived in the public eye is greatly influenced by how they re portrayed by the mass media.

This statement by McQuail is in line with constructivist and anti-essentialist thought. The school of anti-essentialist thought is dominated by Neo-Marxist thinkers who generally view identity as a cultural product constructed through discourse “the subjected, structured self-produced via a set of identification in discourse” (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, p. 30).

Fairclough (1995, p.54) uses the term "discourse" in the following manner:

“I Shall use ‘discourse’ to refer to spoken, or written language use, though I also want to extend it to include other type of semiotic activity (i.e activity which produce meaning), such as visual image (photography, film, video, diagrams) and non-verbal communication (e.g., gestures).”
With reference to this definition of discourse as described by Fairclough, it can be said that mass media can construct the identity of a person or group of people through written word, spoken word, and other semiotic activities such as visual images in the form of photos, films, videos and diagrams or even non-verbal communication such as body language.

In the digital era, modern society largely consumes their media through digital means. The Global Digital Report Book 2018 released by Hootsuite We Are Social revealed that as of January 2018 there are more than 4 billion Internet users in the world. This same book reports that of the 256.4 million people in Indonesia roughly 50%, or 132.7 million people, use the Internet. (https://digitalreport.wearesocial.com/).

Based on these figures, we can state that digital media is now the primary means of identity construction. Identity construction in digital media can occur in many shapes and formats. One such format is the reporting of news through digital methods.

Charnley (1975;34) defines "news" as, "the timely report of facts or opinions of either interest or importance, or both, to a considerable number of people."

News is neither a reflection of the world nor a series of realities (Schlesinger, as cited by Barker, 2005). News is not a direct "window to the world" but a deliberately selected and constructed representation that is a part of -- and helps shape -- "reality". This applies to the reality of identity as well.

Digital news media in Indonesia comes in many forms. One example is crime and law news reporting on cases of rape. According to article 285 of Indonesia's code of criminal law, rape is an act of violence or threat of an act of violence committed by a male upon a female involving extramarital intercourse (Moeljanto, 1985, p.125).

The above definition is quite narrow when compared to the definition of rape used by the USA's Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI) in Uniform Crime Reporting UCR). The 2012 UCR Program defines rape as: "...penetration, no matter how slight, of the vagina or anus with any body part or object, or oral penetration by a sex organ of another person without the consent of the victim."

The definition used by the UCR is not limited to vaginal penetration, as Indonesia's law code's definition is.

Every case of rape served by digital news media includes a description of identity of both the perpetrator and the victim. News media journalists in Indonesia, including those working for digital news media outlets, are forbidden to mention or disseminate the identities of victims of rape (Journalistic Code of Ethics 2006, Article 5). The working definition of identity includes all data and information pertaining to a victim of rape that may facilitate the identification of the rape victim by others.

This rule is rooted in the cultural systems and values of Indonesia that associate the worth and honor of a woman with her virginity. The shame of unmarried Indonesian women who are victims of rape is two-fold: shame because their act of extramarital sex, and thus status as a non-virgin, has become public knowledge, and the shame of being the victim of rape.

Clark (2014) calls rape a "crime of identity" committed upon a woman for three reasons:

"Firstly, she may be left with horrific bodily injuries that attack and impair her physical sense of what it means to be a woman.

Secondly, the act of rape may rob a woman of the opportunity of ever finding a husband or of having her own family.

Thirdly, if the victim is a virgin when she is raped, this can have a fundamental impact on her identity, by creating a false rite of passage which leaves her feeling socially disorientated and uncertain of her status within the community." (p. 148)
The identity of a victim of rape is not a construct that exists in solitude. Each victim of rape has a role and position in society. As the number of roles and positions they hold increases, so does the number of identities associated with them. For this reason, reporters and journalists are expected to take great care in how they construct the identities of victims of rape to prevent identification of the victim by the public.

If a victim of rape is successfully identified by the public through information disseminated by mass media reports, the mass media becomes an indirect participant in the second rape of the victim (Madigan & Gamble, 1999, p7). According to Madigan & Gamble, second rape can lead to psychological burden that is greater than the act of rape itself.

According to Soothil and Walby (1991, p.145-157), news reports of rape should: (1) written in a manner that is entertaining; (2) should not sensationalize the act; and (3) should not degrade women.

A similar opinion is held by Zoonen (1991, p.42) who states that mass media reports covering issues such as harassment and sexual violence from the female or feminist perspective must: (1) use the female perspective in constructing social reality; and (2) actively work for social change in the interest of equalizing men and women.

**Research Method**

This is a qualitative description and analysis of the tendencies of digital news media in Indonesia in constructing the identities of victims and perpetrators of rape. Tribunnews.com, the digital media news outlet from which cases were taken for analysis, is the most visited online news outlet in Indonesia according to Alexa.com (https://www.alexa.com/topsites/countries/ID).

Tribunnews.com is a digital news media group based in Jakarta that covers news from all over Indonesia. The Makassar sub-site of Tribunnews.com, makassar.tribunnews.com, is the most viewed digital media news website in eastern Indonesia.

For these reasons, both the main website based in Jakarta and its Makassar sub-site were selected as sources of rape-related news for the purposes of this study.

Rape-related news is any news covering a topic or headline containing labels or identities of rape victims, usually through mention of the victim's ethnicity or hometown. Rape-related news articles were selected using purposive sampling.

Four news articles covering cases of criminal rape were used for this study; two from the central site in Jakarta and two from the local Makassar sub-branch. These titles of these articles are:


Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was used to analyze the text and discourse of these news articles. There are three elements of critical discourse analysis of news text: representation, relation, and identity (Fairclough, 1995, p.57). This study only focuses on the analysis of identity representation of both victims and perpetrators of rape as published by the digital news media sites Tribunnews.com and Makassar.tribunnews.com.
Results and Discussion
As described above, this study focuses on analyzing the tendencies of Indonesian digital news media in constructing the identities of both victims and perpetrators of rape in the news. The digital news portals that serve as the loci of this study are Tribunnews.com and Makassar.tribunnews.com.

In the following section, the tendencies of Makassar.tribunnews.com and Tribunnews.com in constructing the identities of victims and perpetrators or rape will be deconstructed.

Identity Construction of Victims and Perpetrators of Rape in Makassar.tribunnews.com
Two news articles covering rape cases were analyzed for the purposes of understanding the tendencies of Makassar.tribunnews.com in constructing identities of victims and perpetrators of rape: (1) "After Raped in Car, Bone Girl Raped Again in Boarding House" (makassar.tribunnews.com, January 2, 2014); and (2) "Makassar Girl Raped, Perpetrator Only Charged for Light Abuse" (makassar.tribunnews.com, March 19, 2015).

Identity Construction Analysis, Case: "After Raped in Car, Bone Girl Raped Again in Boarding House"
This article reports on the case of a young woman who was raped by seven young men. The crime was committed on Wednesday, January 1, 2014 in the regency of Bone, South Sulawesi. The details of the crime were revealed after the victim filed a police report about the rape to the Bone District Police Headquarters on Wednesday, January 2, 2014.

The article on this case was uploaded by makassar.tribunnews.com on Thursday, January 3, 2014 at 17.30 Central Indonesia Time. Representation of the headline and an image of the article can be seen in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1. Rape Case Reported Girl from the Regency of Bone, uploaded by makassar.tribunnews.com, January 2, 2014


The following is the complete text of the article:
"Watanmpone, Tribun - The criminal act of rape was experienced by Bunga (15), not her real name, a resident of Tanete Harapan in the sub-district of Cina in the regency of Bone, South Sulawesi on Wednesday night (January 1, 2014) was not just committed by her associate in a vehicle, but also in the boarding house of one of the perpetrators.

To the police officer, this third-year student of Madrasa Tsawiah in Bone recounted, the perpetrator again forced her to service their lustful appetites in a boarding house on Jl. Langsat, Macanang in the sub-district of Tanete Riattang Barat, around 22.00 WITA [Central Indonesian Time].

At that location, Bunga was forced to service the lusts of four youths until morning. Ironically, upon ending their despicable actions the perpetrators left the victim on the side of J. Pramuka.

'Not just in the car, sir. I was also brought to a boarding house. There I was forced to service three people. I couldn't resist because I was afraid,' she stated, Thursday (January 2, 2013)."

If we pay careful attention, we can see that the topic of the above text is: Bone Girl Raped by 7 Young Men. The topic is written in red text and located in the upper-left corner above the headline. Within this topic, the victim of rape is labeled as "Bone Girl". The label or identity of this girl references her ethnicity and place of origin, the regency of Bone. The perpetrators are simpled labeled as "young men" with no additional descriptors such as ethnicity or hometown.
The use of labeling referencing the ethnicity of the victim was also represented in the following news article:

"After Raped in Car, Bone Girl Raped Again in Boarding House"

The article uploaded to the makassar.tribunnews.com news website includes a photograph of the victim at the Bone District Police Headquarters in the process of filing a report on the rape she experienced. The face of the victim is blurred to make identification difficult.

In addition to blurring out the face of the victim in the photograph, Makassar.tribunnews.com also disguised the identity of the rape victim by not mentioning her name. The article only refers to the victim as "Bunga". Bunga (Bahasa Indonesia for "flower") is a common false name used to refer to young women from small villages.

Although the article does not show her face nor mentions her real name, Makassar.tribunnews.com represents the victim's identity by referring to other notable elements relevant to the case, such as general place of residence and the name of the school she attends.

Construction or representation of the victim's identity through mention of her home address can be found in the lead paragraph of the article:

"The criminal act of rape was experienced by Bunga (15), not her real name, a resident of Tanete Harapan in the sub-district of Cina in the regency of Bone, South Sulawesi on Wednesday night (January 1, 2014) was not just committed by her associate in a vehicle, but also in the boarding house of one of the perpetrators."

In the news lead, the rape victim is identified as a resident of the area of Tanete Harapan in the sub-district of Cina in the regency of Bone. By including the address of the victim, the article indirectly facilitates the identification of the victim by readers, particularly those that live near her place of residence and may be able to recognize the victim.

Additionally, the article goes on to reveal the name of the school the victim attends. This can be found in the second paragraph of the article:

"To the police officer, this third-year student of Madrasah Tsanawiah in Bone recounted, the perpetrator again forced her to service their lustful appetites in a boarding house on Jl. Langsat, Macanang in the sub-district of Tanete Riattang Barat, around 22.00 WITA [Central Indonesian Time]."

In the above paragraph, the rape victim is identified as a third-year student of Madrasah Tsanawiah in the regency of Bone. Disclosure of information about the victim's school also eases identification of the victim by the public. With the information disclosed in the news article -- both home address and school -- the public can discover the true identity of the victim with relative ease.

Identity Construction in the News: "Makassar Girl Raped, Perpetrator Only Charged for Light Abuse"

This article reports on the physical and sexual violence and rape of a young women employed at a store in the city of Makassar. The perpetrator was the employer of the victim.

Unable to bear the physical and sexual violence she was experiencing; the victim filed a police report. The police responded to the report by immediately arresting the perpetrator.

However, when the case was brought before the Makassar City Court on March 19, 2015, the victim was surprised to find the report she had filed to the police as a physical abuse and rape case had only been charged in accordance to article 351, paragraph 1 of the criminal law code, effectively recategorizing the case as light abuse. The victim's claim of rape (article 286) was not raised during the proceedings.

This case of physical violence and rape was reported on by the digital news outlet Makassar.tibunnews.com on Thursday, March 1, 2015 at 17:17 Central Indonesia Time. The headline and a photograph of the article can be seen in Figure 2 below.
Figure 2. Rape News in the City of Makassar, uploaded by Makasar.tribunnews.com, March 19, 2015

Source: http://makassar.tribunnews.com/2015/03/19/gadis-makassar-ini-diperkosa-pelak-hanya-disidang-penganiayaan-ringan

Below is the full text of this article, describing the rape committed by an employer upon their employee, a housemaid:

"Rape victim, Mawar (false name) was shocked during court proceedings for her case in Makassar City Court, Makassar, Thursday (19/3/2015).

She stated that something was odd when she came to Makassar City Court. The trial which should have been a rape trial had been recategorized as an abuse trial. I was confused why the case had been categorized as abuse even though I had been raped, she said.

She filed an official rape report on her employer, Jauw Winart Lionardi alias Koko, a resident of Jl. Rappocini Raya No. 162 to the Makassar police station some time ago.

This change in charges from rape to only light abuse was revealed after the panel of judges read out the official police report and questioned the victim about the abuse she experienced.

She and her attorney Ibrahim of LBH P2I await the sentence.

Once Koko's official sentence has been announced, Ibrahim plans to refile a report on his client's rape to the West South Sulawesi police department.

In court, it was revealed that the police report charged the defendant under Article 351 paragraph 1 for light abuse. Article 286 on rape was not included in the charges documented in the report.

Apparently there has been some gaming of the Makassar police investigation and evidence collection process," stated Ibrahim.

He stated that his client was examined by investigators in the Makassar police department, the victim was not accompanied by an attorney.

"I only began handling this case after she was examined. So the plan is to file another report of rape to the police, but in the West South Sulawesi police department," he clarified when we met him in the Makassar State Court.

Ibrahim explained, the case of rape experienced by his client involved abuse and threats by the defendant.

Where his client, as the defendant's employee, was treated in a rude and inappropriate manner for several years.

"This is an old case and was finally reported by the victim after she could no longer bear the abuse. The victim was also threatened that if she let anyone know about the rape, nude photos of her would be released. The victim was pressured by the defendant," he said.

The victim filed a rape report to the Makassar police department in early January, 2015. After receiving the report, the police immediately met with Koko who is of Chinese descent.

Koko was examined and arrested on the spot by police officers. Because this rape case might stir ethnic discrimination, the police must be careful in their investigation and tighten security in Makassar."

Just as in the first article, the title of this news piece also constructed an identity for the victim through the use of ethnicity in labeling the victim as "Makassar Girl".

Again, this article does not use the real name or identity of the victim, but a false name. The false named used is Mawar (Bahasa Indonesia for "Rose") as seen in the lead of the article:
"Rape victim, Mawar (false name) was shocked during court proceedings for her case in Makassar City Court, Makassar, Thursday (19/3/2015)."

Different from the first article, this article on the rape of a housemaid in the city of Makassar discloses the full name of the offender, Jauw Winarta Lionardi alias Koko.

Additionally, this piece, which was uploaded to makassar.tribunnews.com, also clearly states the ethnicity and address of the offender. The offender is identified as a Chinese-Indonesian living in Jl. Rappocini Raya No 162 Makassar.

This identity construction of the offender comprised of ethnic background and full address of the can be found in a quote from paragraph five:

"She filed an official rape report on her employer, Jauw Winart Lionardi alias Koko, a resident of Jl. Rappocini Raya No. 162 to the Makassar police station some time ago"

This news piece by makassar.tribunnews.com constructed an identity of the victim of rape that occurred in Makassar as: Makassar Girl, Employee, and the false name "Mawar". Meanwhile, the identity of the offender of the crime was constructed using the following labels: Chinese, employer, Jauw Winarta Lionardi aka Koko, and resident of Jl. Rappocini Raya No. 162.

Identity Construction in the News Piece Titled "Manado Girl Extremely Traumatized After Rape by 15 Men, No Longer Recognizes Her Parents"

This news piece reports on the rape of a girl from the city of Manado in the province of North Sulawesi by 15 men. The rape took place in January of 2016 in two different locations, the regency of Bolaang Mangondow Utara, North Sulawesi and the city of Gorontalo. However, the was only publicly revealed after the digital media news outlet Tribunnews.com reported on this case in a piece uploaded on Sunday, May 8th, 2016. The headline and a photo of the article can be seen in Figure 3.

Figure 3. News article on the rape of a young woman in Manado (uploaded by Tribunnews.com, May 8, 2016)

The following is the full text of the article:

TRIBUNNEWS.COM, MANADO - Investigation on the rape of Yuyun in Rejang Lebon Bengkulu remains unresolved, another case of rape of a Manado, North Sulawesi girl is unveiled.

This case of rape in Manado did not, however, result in the death of the victim.

The case was revealed in a press conference held by the Deputy of Women's Rights Protection, Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection (PPPA) together with the Child Protective Services of North Sulawesi in SwissBell Hotel, Manado, on Saturday (7/5) afternoon.

In the press conference, representatives of the Indonesian Lawyer's Association (Ikadin) accompanied the parents of the victim to describe the case to the Deputy of Women's Rights Protection, Child Protective Services, and the media.

To reporters, the mother and father of the victim recounted the chronology of the rape of their child.

Rina, the mother of the victim, stated that the case began when their daughter, let's call her "Bunga", was invited by two other neighborhood girls to Bolangitang in the regency of Bolaang Mongondow Utara (Bolmut), North Sulawesi in January 2016.

According to the victim's mother, her daughter claims that, upon arrival in Bolmut, the victim was forced to take narcotics by the other two girls.

The victim was then brought to a hostel in the area of Bolangitan.

At the hostel, the intoxicated victim was then forced to undress.

"She said that in the hostel room she was forced upon by 15 men in turns. My daughter begged to be released from the hostel, but in her state of intoxication returned to the
room. Every time she recovered consciousness, she found herself in a state of undress and in the act of being raped by several men," Rina said.

After being deceived in Bolangitan, the victim was then brought to Gorontala. There she was raped again by several men.

"My daughter's confession, upon arriving in Gorontalo she was again raped by four men, among them a police officer," she explained.

She was not only raped, the young woman also experienced other physical abuse.

As a result, the victim was in a state of extreme trauma, and no longer recognized her parents and siblings when she was returned to Manado.

"My child has been in a state of extreme trauma after this incident," Rina expressed emotionally with tears.

The mother of the victim explained that the case was reported to the Manado police on January 2016 and was then forwarded to the North Sulawesi police.

However, because one of the locations of the rape was in Gorontalo, the case was also given to the Gorontalo police department.

Sadly, despite having been reported in January 2016, the follow-up to the case has not met the expectations of the parents of the victim.

"We feel the process is a stuck in on spot. The two girls that invited her were only held for a day and released. And so, we're here to ask for legal support from the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection," Rina explained.

Looking at this case, the Deputy of Women's Rights Protection, Prof. dr. Vennetia Ryckerens Danes emphasized that she will begin the legal process of this case and will do what she can to provide legal representation to accompany IKADIN who have handled the case thus far.

"From the family's description, this case can be categorized as a human trafficking crime, as it involves elements of recruitment, transporting, housing, and payment, including the falsification of documents and the involvement of a government worker, a police officer," Danes explained.

Just as in the articles reporting on the cases of rape of the girls from Bone and Makassar uploaded by Makassar.tribunnews.com, the headline of the rape of this young woman from Manado, uploaded by Tribunnews.com, labeled the victim using her ethnic background, Manado Girl. In addition, this piece also did not reveal the true name of the victim but only used a false name, Bunga.

Identity construction of the victim using the false name "Bunga" can be found in paragraph six of the article.

"Rina, the mother of the victim, stated that the case began when their daughter, let's call her "Bunga", was invited by two other neighborhood girls to Bolangitang in the regency of Bolaang Mongondow Utara (Bolmut), North Sulawesi in January 2016."

In the above paragraph, Tribunnews.com also identified the mother of the victim by her first name, Rina. Unlike the piece on the rape that occurred in Makassar, this article did not identify the names of the perpetrators of the crime.

Identity Construction in the News Piece Titled: Saddening! This Girl from Jember Experiences Heavy Bleeding After Being Raped in Situbondo

This piece reports on the rape of a young Jember woman by a Situbondo man in Situbondo, East Java. The story of this case uploaded by Tribunnews.com on Monday, February 13, 2017 at 21:33 Western Indonesia Time. The following is an image of the piece:

Figure 4. Article on the Rape Case in Situbondo uploaded by Tribunnews.com, February 13, 2017.

The following is the full text of the piece:

“TRIBUNNEWS.COM, SITUBONDO - A young woman from the regency of Jember suspected to be a victim of rape by a young man from Asembagus, regency of Situbondo.

The victim, initials S.I., a resident of the district of Ledokombo, Jember, was hurried to a hospital due to heavy bleeding.

This heartbreaking incident involving the young woman, 17 years old, all began when she met a young man, initials L.N. (26) from the district of Asembagus.

From this first meeting, L.N. invited the victim to meet him at a home in the village of Sumberwaru in Banyuputih district.

At the location, the victim was forced by S.I. to service the depraved lusts of the young man she met through S.M.S.

After his lusts had been satisfied, the victim was taken to her workplace.

The victim suffered heavy bleeding and was taken to a local health center by her employer.

However, because her condition was quite bad, ultimately the victim was referred to the Abdoer Rachem Public Hospital in Situbondo.

Upon learning of the condition of their daughter, the victim’s parents became furious and filed a report to the Situbondo police department.

Head of the Crimin Research Unit of the Situbondo Police Department, A.K.P. I Gede Lila Buana Arta verified that a report had been filed.

According to the officer from Bali, this act was committed last Friday. However, because the victim suffered from severe blood loss she was taken to a hospital.”

This case of rape reported on by Tribunnews.com follows a similar pattern of victim identification as the previous three pieces. In the title, the victim was labeled by her ethnic background: Jember Girl.

In the lead of the piece, the victim was identified as a young woman from the regency of Jember. The offender was identified as a young man from the regency of Situbondo in East Java.

Different from the other three pieces that tended to use false names in referring to the victims (Bunga and Mawar), this news piece refers to the victim using the initials of her name: S.I. The offender was referred to by his initials, L.N.

Analysis of the four news pieces selected for this study shows that both local (Makassar.tribunnews.com) and national (Tribunnews.com) media use the ethnic background of rape victims as a descriptor for the victim in their headlines: Bone Girl, Makassar Girl, Manado Girl, and Jember Girl. Conversely, none of the headlines mentioned the ethnicity of the perpetrators of rape.

Although none of the articles described the ethnic background of the perpetrators in their headlines, one piece disclosed the ethnicity of a perpetrator in the body of the piece. Identity construction relating to the ethnicity of the perpetrators of rape is described in paragraph five of the article titled: Makassar Girl Raped, Perpetrator Only Charged for Light Abuse. This article was uploaded by Makassar.tribunnews.com on Thursday, March 19, 2015 on 17:17.

The ethnic identity construction of the victim and offenders in the news article on the rape in Makassar could potentially result in the impression on the public that a Makassar girl was raped by a Chinese man. The practice of ethnic identity construction in this article is quite risky, particularly for the safety and peace of Makassar. Makassar has a history of large demonstrations and mass break-ins and robberies of Chinese-Indonesian-owned establishments. These demonstrations were triggered by the rape of a Makassar employee by her Chinese-Indonesian employer. Such mass demonstrations happened twice in 2006, once in May and once in August.
None of the news pieces analyzed in this study included photos of the victims or offenders in rape cases. Of the four cases analyzed, only one included a photo of the victim but her face was blurred (see Figure 2). Three pieces (Figure 1, 3, and 4) included photos or illustrations.

Not one of the four digital media news pieces analyzed for this study revealed the full names or identities of rape victims. Conversely, one of the our articles (the case of the rape of a young woman in Makassar) clearly stated the full name of the rape offender. This article was uploaded to makassar.tribunnews.com on Thursday, March 19, 2015 at 17:17.

These two Indonesian digital media news outlets tend to use false names and false identities. The false names that were used to label the rape victims tended to relate to plants or flowers, such as Bunga (meaning: flower) and Rose (meaning: rose). This practice of using false names is greatly influenced by common social cultural practice Indonesia that likens a girl's virginity to flowers or flower buds. Once a flower has been picked the plant will wilt. Similarly, in Indonesian society, once a girl has been identified as a non-virgin due to an act of rape thus the girl is labeled as having "lost her worth" and "lost her honor" in the eyes of Indonesians.

In addition to being described by their ethnic backgrounds and false names, these digital media news outlets also identified rape victims through the disclosure of home addresses and the names of schools that the victims attended. This can be seen in the rape case of the girl from Bone uploaded by makassar.tribunnews.com on Thursday, January 2, 2014 at 17:30 (see Figure 1).

This study also discovered that some news pieces also reveal key information on the identities of rape victims through the disclosure of the name or identity of the parent of the victim. This can be seen in the news piece reporting on the rape of a girl from Manado in the province of North Sulawesi. This news piece was uploaded by tribunnews.com on Sunday, May 8th, 2016 at 08:44 Western Indonesia Time (see Figure 3).

CONCLUSIONS

Analysis of the four cases selected for this study of how the Indonesian digital news outlets Makassar.tribunnews.com and tribunnews.com constructed the identities of victims of rape showed that Indonesian digital news media tends to construct identities of rape victims based on ethnicity. The ethnicities of the victims were directly mentioned in the headlines of all articles. The ethnic identities of the perpetrators were disclosed in the text of the articles.

Identity construction was not solely based on ethnicity, but these digital news media websites also referred to the victims of rape using false names (Bunga and Mawar), their place of residence, their schools and workplaces, or the names of the victim’s parents. None of the articles analyzed referred to the victim by their real name.

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