

FRAMING ANALYSIS OF AGUS BUNTUNG CASE COVERAGE IN INDONESIAN ONLINE MEDIA

Muhammad Syukron^{1✉}, Muh. Akbar², Alem Febri Sonni³

Department of Communication Science, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences,
Hasanuddin University^{1,2,3}

syukronm23e@student.unhas.ac.id¹, muh.akbar@unhas.ac.id², afsonni@unhas.ac.id³

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Abstract : The increasing coverage of sexual violence cases in Indonesian online media reflects the power of the media in shaping public opinion. One of the cases in the spotlight was the reporting of Agus Buntung, a man with a disability who became a suspect in an alleged sexual assault. This study aims to analyse how the three largest online media in Indonesia, Tribunnews.com, Kompas.com, and Jawapos.com, framed the news of the Agus Buntung case, focusing on the application of the Pan & Kosicki framing model and its relevance to journalistic ethics. This research uses a descriptive qualitative approach with Pan & Kosicki's framing analysis method, which includes four structures: syntax, script, thematic, and rhetorical. Data sources were three headlines from each media, selected based on popularity and dominant narrative content. Each news story was analysed based on the framing tools and evaluated against journalistic ethical principles, such as balance (cover both sides), accuracy, non-discrimination, and protection of vulnerable groups, in this case people with disabilities. The results showed that the three media framed the case with a point of view that tended to corner the perpetrator, with variations in framing intensity. Tribunnews.com uses a sensational and dramatic writing style that is disproportionate to the perpetrator's condition as a person with a disability, and often uses terms that suggest negative labelling. Kompas.com emphasised the statement of the legal apparatus, but still mentioned the disability label without the context of protection. Meanwhile, Jawapos.com tried to present two sides of the narrative, but still lacked space to provide clarification from the perpetrator or his legal counsel. These findings show a tendency to violate journalistic ethics in the three media, especially in the aspects of presumption of innocence, balance, and treatment of vulnerable groups. Media framing shapes social reality that influences public perception in an emotional and non-neutral manner, as explained in Berger and Luckmann's social construction theory.

Keywords: *Framing Analysis, Journalistic Ethics, Online Media, Agus Buntung*

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Introduction

The sexual violence case that dragged the name of I Wayan Agus Suartama, or better known as Agus Buntung, has become a sharp spotlight in the Indonesian public space (E. A. Putri, 2024; Yunizar, 2025) . Originally from Mataram and with a physical disability, Agus Buntung was named as a suspect for the alleged rape and sexual abuse of at least 17 women (Febriana, 2025; Mulyana, 2024; Sandi, 2024) . This case has not only shaken the community due to the growing number of victims, but also because it touches on the complex intersection between sexual violence, disability status, and the socio-cultural biases that surround it. Online media as the main information channel in the digital era has a significant role in shaping public opinion on this case, including in framing the narratives of the perpetrators, victims, and the legal system handling the case. In situations like this, mass media becomes a strategic arena that shapes public opinion not only about right and wrong, but also about how disability, sexual crimes, and social construction are perceived.

Online media such as Tribunnews.com, Jawapos.com, and Kompas.com played a dominant role in the dissemination of information and construction of discourse on the case. Tribunnews.com tends to prioritise sensational and chronological aspects in its reporting. A writing style that emphasises the number of victims, expressions of emotion, and direct quotes from both victims and authorities often forms an explosive narrative (Mohay, 2024; Pujangga, 2024; Viktriani, 2024) . Meanwhile, Jawapos.com presents the news in a more investigative style but still highlights dramatic elements that can attract readers' attention (Ridwan, 2024; Yunizar, 2024) . On the other hand, Kompas.com relatively maintains a moderate and balanced approach (Rosa, 2025; Wismabrata, 2025) , but still cannot escape the practice of generalisation in describing the perpetrator as a public threat despite his disability. These three media outlets show different framing patterns but have the same tendency: framing the case as a social drama with an emphasis on the perpetrator, not on the system that allows serial violence.

Along with the increasing intensity of news coverage, analysis of media discourse on this case is important, because the framing used by the media has the potential to shape collective perceptions that are biased, unfair, or even contain elements of stigmatisation. Buchori's study(2025) highlights how women victims of sexual violence in this case conducted counter-narrative through YouTube podcasts as a form of resistance to patriarchal silencing. In the same spirit, the study (Fitriani & Maikalsum, 2024) used Teun van Dijk's critical discourse analysis approach to show that the media also cornered the perpetrator with a strategy of detail and intensification of public narratives in the hope of maximum punishment. These two studies show that both victims and the media hold power over the construction of meaning in the public sphere.

However, the coverage of the Agus Buntung case is inseparable from ethical and legal complexities. (Pulungan, Hasibuan, & Kurniawan, 2025) emphasises that the sentencing process in this case has not fully considered the rights of persons with disabilities. Meanwhile, (Anugrah, Rozi, Salsabila, Pulungan, & Rahmadani, 2025) in an analysis of contemporary fiqh jinayah highlighted the ambiguity in the victim's narrative and suggested a holistic legal approach between positive law and sharia values. On the other hand, forensic psycholinguistic research by (Niswariyana, Mataram, Susanti, Mataram, & Forensik, 2024) successfully identified emotional manipulation as the perpetrator's communication strategy in trapping victims. This

finding reinforces the urgency of the importance of fair media narratives that do not simplify the complexity of perpetrator-victim dynamics.

Relevant studies, such as by (Fitriani & Maikalsum, 2024) have shown how online media shape public opinion by accentuating certain details and hiding others. However, their approach is still limited to one news source (Liputan6.com) and has not comparatively examined how other major media build similar or different narratives. Meanwhile, the studies (Bukhori, 2025) and (Niswariyana et al., 2024) provide a strong cultural and psychological dimension to the dynamics of victims and perpetrators, but do not touch on aspects of media construction. Thus, there is an important gap in framing studies of Indonesia's mainstream media, which greatly influence public perception on a wide scale.

One critical aspect that has not been widely discussed is how journalistic ethics are applied or even ignored when the perpetrator of the crime is a person with a disability. In the midst of massive news coverage, media framing often places people with disabilities in a paradoxical position: as objects of sympathy as well as threats. In the case of Agus Buntung, media framing tends to erase the complexity of the perpetrator's identity as an individual with certain rights, limitations, and social background. This raises a fundamental question: has the media implemented the principles of cover both sides and non-discrimination according to the Journalistic Code of Ethics, or has it reinforced social stigma and inequality through biased narrative construction?

This research aims to fill this gap by conducting a comparative framing analysis of the news coverage of the Agus Buntung case in the three largest online media in Indonesia: Tribunnews.com, Jawapos.com, and Kompas.com. This research will use Robert Entman's framing analysis framework to identify elements of selection, emphasis, and moral evaluation in media narratives. By examining how each media shapes the meaning of events, actors, and social responsibility, this study is expected to reveal dominant discourse patterns and potential ethical deviations in journalistic practices.

The novelty of the study is in the comparative study between media framing, journalistic ethics, and the representation of people with disabilities in sexual violence cases. This study not only fills an academic void at the local and national levels, but also offers a conceptual contribution to the discourse of inclusive journalism and social justice in the context of developing countries. The comparative analysis of three major media outlets will reveal the dynamics and nuances of framing that have not been thoroughly mapped in previous studies, aiming to critically examine how Tribunnews.com, Jawapos.com, and Kompas.com framed the Agus Buntung case, and the extent to which the framing reflects or contradicts the basic principles of journalistic ethics and social diversity values. This study argues that the media is not only responsible for conveying facts, but also has a key role in shaping a fair and non-discriminatory collective consciousness especially when cases involve vulnerable groups such as people with disabilities.

Research Methodology

This research uses a descriptive qualitative approach with a framing analysis method based on the Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki model. This approach was chosen because it allows the exploration of hidden meanings in the construction of news texts as well as analysing how the media shapes social reality ideologically

(Pan & Kosicki, 1993) . This research is also comparative because it compares three mainstream online media in Indonesia, namely Tribunnews.com, Jawapos.com, and Kompas.com, in framing the news of a sexual violence case involving a disabled perpetrator, Agus Buntung. This comparative focus aims to identify the framing patterns and strategies of each media and assess the extent to which their reporting is in line with the principles of journalistic ethics.

Table 1. News Data of Tribunnews.com, Jawapos.com and Kompas.com

Online Media	News Link
Tribunnews.com	https://www.tribunnews.com/regional/2024/12/15/jumlah-korban-agus-buntung-bertambah-jadi-17-orang-korban-diancam-akan-dinikahi-jika-berteriak
	https://www.tribunnews.com/nasional/2024/12/12/agus-buntung-langganan-pakai-kamar-nomor-6-saksi-kadang-dia-bayar-short-time-rp50-ribu
	https://www.tribunnews.com/regional/2024/12/12/akal-bulus-agus-buntung-perdaya-korbannya-ngaku-punya-om-polisi-dan-iming-iming-emas-batangan
Jawapos.com	https://www.jawapos.com/kasuistika/015419374/siapkan-28-adegan-rekonstruksi-tersangka-agus-buntung-bertambah-jadi-49-adegan
	https://www.jawapos.com/kasuistika/015411832/agus-buntung-ancam-sebarkan-rahasia-korbannya-jika-menolak-diajak-check-in-dan-bersetubuh
	https://www.jawapos.com/kasuistika/015411901/agus-buntung-kenakan-penutup-wajah-saat-rekonstruksi-49-adegan-dugaan-kasus-asusila-malu
Kompas.com	https://www.kompas.com/sulawesi-selatan/read/2025/01/09/122723588/pakai-baju-tahanan-agus-disabilitas-tetap-yakin-tidak-bersalah
	https://www.kompas.com/kalimantan-timur/read/2025/01/16/191600388/mengaku-tak-nyaman-di-lapas-agus-disabilitas-ajukan-tahanan
	https://regional.kompas.com/read/2025/05/05/172744478/dituntut-12-tahun-penjara-agus-difabel-beri-pesan-ke-istrinya-akan-indah

(Source: Results of Researcher's Data Processing, 2025)

The research data was obtained through documentation techniques on online news published by the three media in the period October 2024 to March 2025, which is the time span when the Agus Buntung case was in the public spotlight. News

selection criteria include: news that explicitly mentions the name Agus Buntung/I Wayan Agus Suartama, published within the specified time period, comes from the official website of the related media, and contains legal, social, and victim narrative dimensions in the case. A total of 3 news articles were selected from each media, making a total of nine news articles analysed.

Table 2. Pan & Kosicki Framing Analysis Model

Dimension	Framing Devices	Analysed Unit	Key Question
Syntax	Schema	Headline, lead, background, quote, source, closing	How is the news structure organised? What is emphasised in the opening and closing?
Script	Narration Facts	News Completeness 5W+1H	Is the news complete? How is the order of information arranged?
Thematic	Details, coherence, sentence form, pronouns	Sentences, paragraphs, propositions, tense, pronouns	Is there consistency of meaning? Is the form of the sentence active or passive?
Rhetorical	Emphasis of Fact/ Lexicon, graphics, metaphors	Word choice, idioms, photos, graphics	Are there dramatic diction, emotional visuals or metaphors that create bias?

(Source: Researcher's Processed Results, 2025)

Data analysis was conducted using the Pan and Kosicki framing model, which maps the structure of news texts into four main dimensions, namely: syntax, script, thematic, and rhetorical (Aulia, Cangara, & Siregar, 2022; Muda Siregar, Sazali, & Achiriah, 2023; Pan & Kosicki, 1993). The syntax dimension is used to analyse how the news structure is structured, including the headline, lead, background, source quotes, and closing section. The script dimension looks at the completeness of the 5W+1H elements and the chronology of the storytelling of facts in the news. The thematic dimension highlights content coherence, details between sentences, sentence form (active/passive), and pronoun usage. Meanwhile, the rhetorical dimension analyses how the media emphasises facts through word choice, idioms, metaphors, and the use of visual elements such as images or photos (Meilani & Setiawan, 2022; Taufiqurrahman, 2024).

All of these framing devices were analysed to identify media tendencies in shaping public perceptions, including how perpetrators are labelled, how victims are represented, and the extent to which media narratives reinforce or challenge social

stigma against people with disabilities. The results of the analysis from the three media outlets were then systematically compared to find the dominant framing pattern and conclude that there are potential violations of journalistic ethics such as balance, non-discrimination, and protection of vulnerable groups. This research is expected to not only contribute to the framing literature in media studies, but also become an important foothold for more fair and inclusive journalism practices in Indonesia.

Results and Discussion

This analysis illustrates how user engagement in discussions about the video was highly concentrated on a few key actors who actively commented. This suggests that there was significant interaction between a small number of users and the video, which may have influenced the dynamics of public opinion formation on the YouTube platform. This research also highlights the dominant actors in the commenting community and the importance of their role in shaping the direction of the discussion on the political issues raised in the video.

Framing of the News Coverage of Agus Buntung Case by Kompas.com

News 1 titled "Wearing Prisoner's Clothes, Disabled Agus Still Confident of Innocence: The Truth Will Be Revealed"

Table 3. Framing Analysis of Pan & Kosicki Model Kompas.com's First News Story.

Framing Dimension	Framing Device	News Analysis 1 Kompas.com	Journalistic Ethics
Syntax	Headline, lead, narrative structure, quotation	The headline states 'Agus with Disability Still Convinced of	Maintain balance of sources and avoid sensationalisation. Does not corner the
Framing Dimension	Framing Device	News Analysis 1 Kompas.com	Journalistic Ethics
		Innocence', highlighting the human side of the perpetrator's self-defence. The news structure follows the official chronology, quoting the authorities' statements in a balanced manner.	perpetrator because of his disability.
Script	Completeness of 5W+1H elements, chronology of events	The news fulfils the 5W+1H elements clearly: who, what, when, where, why, and how are fully	Fulfils the principles of accuracy and completeness of information. Does not lead public

		explained, including the procedure for handing over to the prosecutor's office and the medical examination of the perpetrator.	opinion.
Thematic	Coherence of content, sentence form, relationship between sentences	Coherence between paragraphs and sentences is well maintained, using neutral sentences. There is no emotional judgement, and the use of pronouns shows the distance between the media and the news subject.	Neutral language shows compliance with the principles of objectivity and non-discrimination.
Rhetorical	Diction, metaphors, idioms, graphics,	Does not use discriminatory	Visual and verbal rhetoric maintains
Framing Dimension	Framing Device	News Analysis 1 Kompas.com	Journalistic Ethics
	photos	metaphors or idioms. The term 'Agus Disability' is used factually. There were no images that cornered or stigmatised the text.	news ethics, especially towards disabled actors and issues of sexual violence.

(Source: Author's Data Processing Results, 2025)

Table 3. Above shows that in the syntactic dimension, Kompas.com chose to compose a headline that prioritises the personal statement of the perpetrator, namely "The truth will definitely be revealed." Despite mentioning the perpetrator's status as "disabled", the framing is not done sensationally. The narrative structure of the article is arranged chronologically with reference to the formal legal process (submission to the prosecutor's office, P21 status, medical examination). The quotations included come from official sources, such as Kombes Pol Syarif Hidayat, which shows an effort to maintain a balance of information between the perspective of law enforcement officials and the position of the perpetrator. In the script aspect, this news fulfils all 5W + 1H elements. Explanations related to who (Agus/IWAS), what (handed over due

to alleged harassment), when (9 January 2025), where (Mataram, NTB), why (because the case file is complete), and how (handover procedures and medical examinations) are presented systematically. The news presentation does not jump around, is not speculative, and does not add unverified information. This shows compliance with the basic journalistic principles of accuracy and accountability of information.

The thematic dimension of this news shows the use of neutral language and maintaining professional distance. Kompas.com does not use directly accusatory or emotional sentences. Coherence between sentences and paragraphs is maintained, and there is no insertion of editorial opinions that lead public perception of the perpetrator's guilt or defence. Even in naming the perpetrator, the media consistently uses factual language such as "suspect" or "Agus with a disability," not stigmatising labels such as "rapist" or "predator". In the rhetorical structure, there is no use of idioms or metaphors with negative connotations. The diction used such as "Agus Disabilitas" or "Agus Buntung" was raised in the context of legal identity, not to exploit the physical condition of the perpetrator. There are no visualisations or graphics that corner, humiliate, or depict the perpetrator in an inhumane manner. In fact, the mention of interaction with the Regional Disability Commission shows the media's caution in maintaining sensitivity towards disabled groups.

News 2 titled "Claiming to be uncomfortable in prison, Agus with disability applies for house arrest"

Table 4. Framing Analysis of Pan & Kosicki Model Second News Kompas.com

Framing Dimension	Framing Devices	Analysis of News 2 Kompas.com	Journalistic Ethics
Syntax	Headline, lead, narrative structure, quotation	The headline prioritises the perpetrator's statement regarding prison conditions and rights as a disability. The narrative structure starts from the request for transfer of detention, followed by the response of the authorities and KDD, without directing the reader's opinion.	Displays a balance of sources between lawyers, officials, and the Disability Commission. Does not explicitly favour one of the parties.
Script	Completeness of 5W+1H elements, chronology of	The 5W+1H elements are presented in full:	Accurately presents the legal facts and submission process,

	events	who (Agus and his lawyer), what (request for house arrest), when (16 January 2025), where (Kuripan Correctional Facility), why (reason for inconvenience), how (submitted by letter). The case chronology is well structured.	without dramatising the perpetrator's condition.
Thematic	Coherence of content, sentence	The language used is coherent, using	Neutrality is maintained in
Framing Dimension	Framing Devices	Analysis of News 2 Kompas.com	Journalistic Ethics
	form, relationship between sentences	neutral and non-confrontational sentences. There are no sentences that corner the perpetrator or argue negatively about his/her disability rights.	sentence form and word usage, in accordance with the journalistic code of ethics.
Rhetorical	Diction, metaphors, idioms, graphics, photos	The use of the terms 'uncomfortable in prison' and 'more humane treatment' were carefully chosen. No negative metaphors or discriminatory visualisations were found. The term 'people with disabilities' was used within the legal and social context.	There were no ethical violations related to stigmatisation of perpetrators. The choice of diction shows caution towards disability issues.

(Source: Author's Data Processing Results, 2025)

In table 4. Revealing the syntactic dimension, Kompas.com compiled the news with a narrative structure that prioritises the voice of the perpetrator's attorney, who voiced Agus' discomfort as a person with a disability in prison. Although this topic is potentially sensitive, the editorial team chose not to explicitly direct readers' opinions. Quotes from the defence attorney and responses from the Regional Disability Commission (KDD) were presented in balance. This shows that Kompas.com tries to maintain the balance of information sources, as stipulated in the Journalistic Code of Ethics. In the script dimension, the 5W+1H elements are fulfilled very well. Who, what, when, where, why, and how are explained coherently, covering the chronology of the application until the response from the legal institutions and the KDD. There is no attempt at dramatisation or insertion of editorial opinion. The delivery of information follows the principles of openness, transparency and accuracy, demonstrating adherence to the principles of factual journalism.

Thematically, the news is written in a neutral and non-confrontational language style. The sentences used are informative and coherent, and do not show emotional affiliation towards the perpetrators or law enforcement institutions. There are no negative generalisations about people with disabilities or unethical portrayals of victims. This is important to maintain the principle of non-discrimination in reporting. In the rhetorical aspect, the use of diction such as "more humane treatment" or "uncomfortable in prison" is used carefully. The media avoid metaphors that inflame the atmosphere or stigmatise the perpetrators. The term "people with disabilities" was used in an appropriate and proportional context, without any tendency to exploit the perpetrators' conditions. There are no images, idioms or illustrations that dehumanise the perpetrators or victims. This news shows the consistency of Kompas.com in maintaining journalistic ethical standards. Not only does it maintain the balance of narratives between the perpetrators, lawyers, and legal institutions, this news also consciously maintains sensitivity to disability issues. There are no indications of violations of basic journalism principles such as balance, accuracy, non-discrimination, and protection of vulnerable groups.

News 3 titled "Prosecuted for 12 Years in Prison, Disabled Agus Gives Message to His Wife: It Will Be Beautiful in Time..."

Table 5. Framing Analysis of the Pan & Kosicki Model Third News of Kompas.com

Framing Dimension	Framing Devices	Analysis of News 3 Kompas.com	Journalistic Ethics
Syntax	Headline, lead, narrative structure, quotation	The headline shows the personal side of the perpetrator (Agus Difabel Beri Pesan ke Istri), but still mentions the fact of the 12-year sentence. Prosecutor's quotes	Balanced by featuring the voices of the perpetrator, prosecutor, and legal facts. Does not emphasise the emotional suffering of the perpetrator.

		and trial information are presented in an informative manner. It does not overemphasise the drama.	
Script	Completeness of 5W+1H elements,	The news structure contains all 5W+1H elements	Fulfil the principles of
	chronology of events	completely and chronologically, including the time of the prosecution, the legal process, to the location of the incident and the reconstruction stage.	accuracy, objectivity, and valid chronology, according to the guidelines for reporting legal cases.
Thematic	Coherence of content, sentence form, relationship between sentences	The news text shows coherence between paragraphs, there is no impression of blaming the victim, and remains focused on the legal process. Sentences are arranged descriptively without explicitly leading opinions.	Maintain neutrality towards the perpetrators and victims, and do not display ethical deviations in the narrative.
Rhetoric	Diction, metaphors, idioms, graphics, photos	Diction choices such as 'it will be beautiful in its time' are conveyed as direct quotes from the perpetrator, not editorially exaggerated. No metaphors or graphics were found	There is no violation of the principle of non-discrimination. The mention of disability is done in the context of legal identification, not stigmatisation...

		that stigmatising discriminatory.	were or	
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(Source: Author's Data Processing Results, 2025)

Table 5. Finding that the syntactic dimension, Kompas.com uses a headline that accentuates the personal side of the perpetrator with an emotional quote "It will be beautiful in time", but still puts forward legal facts in the form of a 12-year prison sentence. The narrative structure is arranged in a balanced manner, starting from the prosecution process, the prosecutor's quote, to the personal reaction of the perpetrator.

The presentation of information does not explicitly manipulate the reader's emotions, although it touches on the psychological aspects of the perpetrator, and this shows caution in navigating legal narratives and personal narratives. In the script aspect, all 5W+1H elements are presented clearly and completely. Information about the time of the charges, the articles charged, the location of the incident, and the stages of the legal process including reconstruction are explained coherently. This presentation strengthens Kompas.com's commitment to the principles of accuracy and public information disclosure, especially in covering legal cases. The thematic dimension of the news shows strong narrative cohesion and continuity. The article does not show a tendency to corner the victim or defend the perpetrator excessively. The sentences used remain descriptive and neutral. There is no narrative bias that creates public judgement or disproportionate sympathy.

In the rhetorical dimension, the use of diction such as "it will be beautiful in time" appears in the context of the perpetrator's direct quote and is not overused as an emotional framing tool by the editor. The term "difable" is used in the context of identifying the perpetrator without reinforcing stigma. In addition, there is no use of metaphors, idioms or visualisations that shame or demean either party. Overall, this news still adheres to journalistic ethical standards, despite showing the emotional side of the perpetrator. Kompas.com is able to maintain the boundary between empathy and objectivity, and avoid violating the principles of non-discrimination and fairness to vulnerable groups. The delivery of information is done with a balanced proportion between legal aspects and humanitarian narratives. This news is an example of how the media can raise the human side of the perpetrator without losing journalistic integrity and still maintaining alignment with the principles of justice and social sensitivity.

Framing of the Coverage of the Agus Buntung Case by Jawapos.com News 1 titled "Prepare 28 Scenes, Reconstruction of Agus Buntung Suspect Increases to 49 Scenes"

Table 6. Framing Analysis of Pan & Kosicki Model Jawapos.com's First News Story

Framing Dimension	Framing Devices	News Analysis 1 JawaPos.com	Journalistic Ethics
Syntax	Headline, lead, narrative structure, quotation	The headline uses explosive phrases such as 'the number of victims	Violates the principle of neutrality with a headline that is a

		increases', accompanied by serious accusations without clarity of	direct accusation before a court verdict. Promotes sensationalism.
Framing Dimension	Framing Devices	News Analysis 1 JawaPos.com	Journalistic Ethics
		the complete legal process; emphasis on numbers (17 victims) strengthens public opinion on the guilt of the suspect.	
Script	Completeness of 5W+1H elements, chronology of events	The news contained quotes from the Disability Commission, the police, the perpetrator's mother, and the defence lawyer. However, the dominant portion is given to the party that reinforces the accusation, showing the imbalance of the narrative.	There is a lack of balance in the voice of the perpetrator, even though the legal representative is quoted, the dominant portion remains on the incriminating voice.
Thematic	Coherence of content, sentence form, relationship between sentences	The narrative is linear and dramatic, from the determination of the suspect to the testimony of the victim. Coherence is strong but biased, emphasising the perpetrator's role as an 'emotional manipulator'.	Lack of ethical protection of the identity of the perpetrator with a disability, no caution in maintaining objectivity when it comes to vulnerable groups.
Rhetorical	Diction, metaphors,	Using diction such	Use of opinionated

	idioms, graphics, photos	as 'threatening', 'manipulative', 'exploiting compassion', as	language that indirectly shames the perpetrator, and no counterbalance
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(Source: Author's Data Processing Results, 2025)

Table 6. Shows that in the syntactic dimension, JawaPos.com composes headlines that are technical and neutral. The headline does not use sensational diction, but instead focuses on legal information: the number of scenes in the reconstruction. The article relies on narratives from the police, especially direct quotes from Kombes Pol Syarif Hidayat. This shows that the framing is based on authoritative official sources, although the narrative is more dominant from the authorities. In the script dimension, the 5W+1H elements are fulfilled quite well. Information about the perpetrators, time, place, reason for the addition of scenes, and how the reconstruction process took place is described in detail. One of the strengths of this news is the presentation of two versions of the chronology - the victim's version and the suspect's version - which provides factual balance. However, the victim's perspective is less humanistically emphasised.

From the thematic aspect, the paragraph and sentence structure is kept coherent, with the use of neutral descriptive sentence forms. The delivery of information is technical and systematic, but does not explore the social, psychological or human rights context of the case. Nonetheless, impartiality was maintained, and there were no indications of favourable framing. In the rhetorical dimension, no discriminatory metaphors, idioms or visualisations were found. The diction used is procedural and professional. The mention of "people with disabilities" appears in the context of explaining the investigation process supervised by internal and external institutions, not to frame the perpetrator negatively.

This news shows adherence to the basic principles of journalistic ethics, especially in terms of accuracy of information, use of official sources, and presentation of two perspectives of events. However, the human side of both victims and perpetrators did not receive enough narrative space. While not violating ethics, this news is more legal-formal and institutional than human interest. This news reflects an ethically safe approach, but does not inspire empathy or public reflection on the social aspects of sexual violence cases and disability issues. In the context of framing research, this shows how mainstream media such as JawaPos.com tend to frame sensitive cases in terms of "technical neutrality", rather than "social criticism".

News 2 titled "Agus Buntung threatens to spread his victim's secret if she refuses to check in and have sex"

Table 7. Framing Analysis of Pan & Kosicki Model Jawapos.com's Second News Story

Framing Dimension	Framing Devices	News Analysis 2 JawaPos.com	Journalistic Ethics
Syntax	Headline, lead, narrative structure, quotation	The headline is provocative and emotional ('Agus Buntung Threatens	Tends to violate the principle of balance by emphasising one side of the narrative

		to Spread His Victim's Secret'), placing the perpetrator in an antagonistic position. The news structure starts with an explicit quote that contains a threat.	(victims and public figures) without the voice of the perpetrator.
Script	Completeness of 5W+1H elements, chronology of events	The 5W+1H elements are quite complete but one-sided. Dominant focus on the victim's version and KDD's statement, minimal from the perspective of the perpetrator or legal counsel. Chronological explanation based on the victim's testimony.	Although accurate in terms of the victim's testimony, this news lacks space for the principle of 'cover both sides'.
Thematic	Coherence of content, sentence form, relationship between sentences	The narrative tends to lead the reader to side with the victim without including the context of the perpetrator's	Contains narrative bias against the perpetrator and can strengthen social stigma against people with
Framing Dimension	Framing Devices	News Analysis 2 JawaPos.com	Journalistic Ethics
		defence. Sentences are structured to build the reader's emotions towards the perpetrator's behaviour.	disabilities.
Rhetorical	Diction, metaphors, idioms, graphics, photos	Diction such as 'threaten', 'secret', and 'check in and	The choice of diction risks reinforcing the

		have sex' are highly emotionally charged. No metaphors were found, but the intensity of the language can have a negative framing effect on perpetrators with disabilities.	effect of public judgement and weakening the principle of non-discrimination.
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(Source: Authors' Data Processing Results, 2025)

In table 7. Emphasising the syntactic dimension, the news structure opens with a very provocative and emotional headline. The selection of the title "Agus Buntung Threatens to Spread His Victim's Secrets..." clearly leads public opinion by immediately placing the perpetrator as an antagonistic figure. The opening sentence directly quotes the form of the threat in a vulgar manner, without any legal context or clarification from the perpetrator, so that the framing that is built leans towards judgement from the start. In terms of script, this news does convey relevant and factual information based on the statements of official sources such as the Chairperson of the KDD and the Director of Criminal Investigation of the NTB Police. However, the 5W+1H element is only fulfilled from the narrative side of the victim and the authorities. There is no balance by presenting the version or defence of the perpetrator or his attorney, which is an important part of the journalistic principle of covering both sides.

The thematic dimension shows that the arrangement of narratives in this news forms a flow that leads readers to side with the victim emotionally. Sentences are used to reinforce the impression that the perpetrator is a manipulative and predatory figure, without leaving room for objective considerations. This has the potential to create a framing effect that reinforces mass judgement (trial by media). In the rhetorical dimension, word choices such as "threaten", "secret", "check-in and intercourse" have a high emotional load and strengthen the stigma against the perpetrator, especially when associated with the perpetrator's identity as a person with a disability. Although there are no explicit metaphors or graphics, the intensity of the language and quotes displayed have a strong opinion-moving power and lack sensitivity to the issue of vulnerability of people with disabilities.

In general, this news tends to violate journalistic ethical principles in several important aspects. The imbalance of the narrative, the choice of emotional diction, and the absence of a defence voice from the perpetrator's side show the weak application of the principles of fairness, impartiality, and non-discrimination. In addition, narratives that focus on the badness of the perpetrator can also strengthen social stigma against people with disabilities. From a framing perspective, this news illustrates how the media can shape public opinion through language choices and news structures that are dominant from one side. This emphasises the importance of framing analysis as a tool to evaluate not only media content, but also the social impact of news practices.

News 3 titled "Agus Buntung Wears Face Cover during Reconstruction of 49 Scenes of Alleged Indecency Case, Embarrassed?"

Table 8. Framing Analysis of Pan & Kosicki Model Third News Jawapos.com

Framing Dimension	Framing Devices	Analysis of News 3 JawaPos.com	Journalistic Ethics
Syntax	Headlines, leads, narrative structure, quotes	Headline contains rhetorical questions and subtle stigma ('Agus Buntung Wear Face Cover... Shame?'), triggering readers' interpretations. Dominant quotes from the KDD and the NTB Police's Director of Criminal Investigation.	Contains covert framing that shapes perceptions of guilt in the perpetrator without giving space for narrative justice.
Script	Completeness of 5W+1H elements, chronology of events	The 5W+1H elements are fulfilled quite completely, conveying the chronology of	Lack of balance of sources, dominant from the authorities and ... public figures that reinforce negative narratives.
Framing Dimension	Framing Devices	Analysis of News 3 JawaPos.com	Journalistic Ethics
		reconstruction, the scene of the incident, and information from two main sources. However, the narrative from the perpetrator or legal representative is absent.	
Thematic	Coherence of content, sentence form, relationship between sentences	The narrative tends to be one-sided, focusing on the description of the perpetrator's behaviour with a	There is a narrative bias that has the potential to disproportionately influence public perception of the

		touch of moral judgement. There is no context of defence or nuance of the perpetrator's humanity.	perpetrator.
Rhetorical	Diction, metaphors, idioms, graphics, photos	Diction such as 'indehoy', 'threaten', and the question 'embarrassed?' reinforce the negative framing. Phrases and idioms are used suggestively and have the potential to strengthen the stigma against disabled perpetrators.	The choice of diction weakens the principles of neutrality and non-discrimination, and has the potential to humiliate perpetrators in public spaces.

(Source: Author's Data Processing Results, 2025)

In terms of syntax, JawaPos.com uses a headline that contains a rhetorical question: "Shame?" addressed to the perpetrator. Although the headline technically conveys facts about the face covering and reconstruction, the addition of the question contains moral value framing that leads readers to interpret the perpetrator's actions as guilt or shame. The narrative structure relies on quotes from the authorities and the Chairperson of the Regional Disability Commission (KDD), without including a response from the perpetrator or his legal counsel. In the script, the 5W+1H elements are indeed conveyed quite completely: who (Agus Buntung), what (reconstruction), when (11 December), where (three locations), why (preparation of evidence), and how (using the same room, accompanied by threats). However, in terms of balance, this news tends to ignore the cover both sides principle because it does not give space to the defence narrative or the perspective of the perpetrator.

Thematically, the paragraph structure focuses on the narrative of the alleged harassment, which is conveyed from the victim's version and public figures, without the nuances of empathy or a comprehensive legal context for the perpetrator as a person with disabilities. Sentences are constructed with a tendency to form implied moral judgements, blurring the line between objective journalistic reporting and emotional narrative. The rhetorical dimension is the most ethically problematic in this story. The use of terms such as "indehoy" in a journalistic context shows a weakening of the norms of professionalism in press language. In addition, the question "embarrassed?" in the title can be categorised as suggestive framing that shames the perpetrator in the public sphere. Words such as "threaten", "your secret will be

spread", also strengthen the effect of public judgement and increase the intensity of readers' emotions towards the perpetrator.

In this news report, the most obvious violation of journalistic ethics is seen in the use of language and point of view that tend to lead public opinion. The headline containing the rhetorical question "Shame?" not only raises moral suspicion towards the perpetrator, but also indicates a hidden framing that has the potential to humiliate individuals in the public sphere before a legal verdict. This contradicts the basic principle of presumption of innocence that should be maintained by journalists. In addition, this news lacks narrative balance. Despite presenting quotes from the police and the Regional Disability Commission, there is no adequate space for the voice of the perpetrator or his legal team. In fact, in sensitive cases involving legal and disability issues, the balance of information from both sides is an important indicator in maintaining the principle of justice in reporting. The absence of the perpetrator's perspective causes the narrative to be one-sided, with a tendency to lead the public to justify one version of the story.

Rhetorically, the use of words such as "indehoy", "threaten", and "secret will be spread" present a sense of drama and emotional judgement, rather than simply conveying legal facts. This is further exacerbated by the selection of unprofessional diction in a journalistic context, which weakens integrity standards and sensitivity to vulnerable groups, in this case people with disabilities. The mention of the perpetrator's physical condition is not complemented by narrative protection or ethical caution, which should be an important concern in covering cases related to minority identity. Overall, this news shows that JawaPos.com has deviated from the principles of journalistic ethics, especially in terms of neutrality, balance and non-discrimination. The narrative that is built is more oriented towards leading the reader's emotions rather than prioritising the principles of fairness and accuracy of information. As a result, the resulting framing can strengthen social stigma against the perpetrator before the legal process is complete, while reducing the value of journalism as a guardian of objective and balanced information.

News Framing of the Agus Buntung Case by Tribunnews.com

News 1 titled "Number of Agus Buntung Victims Increases to 17, Victims Threatened to Marry if They Scream"

Table 9. Pan & Kosicki Framing Analysis of Tribunnews.com's First News Story

Framing Dimension	Framing Devices	News Analysis 1 Tribunnews.com	Journalistic Ethics
Syntax	Headline, lead, narrative structure, quotation	The headline uses explosive phrases such as 'the number of victims is increasing', accompanied by serious accusations without clarity of the complete legal process; emphasis	Violates the principle of neutrality with a headline that is a direct accusation before a court verdict. Promotes sensationalism.

		on numbers (17 victims) strengthens public opinion on the guilt of the suspect.	
Script	Completeness of 5W+1H elements, chronology of events	The news contained quotes from the Disability Commission, the police, the perpetrator's mother, and the defence lawyer. However, the dominant portion is given to the party that	There is a lack of balance in the voice of the perpetrator, even though the legal representative is quoted, the dominant portion remains on the incriminating voice.
Framing Dimension	Framing Devices	News Analysis 1 Tribunnews.com	Journalistic Ethics
		reinforces the accusation, showing the imbalance of the narrative.	
Thematic	Coherence of content, sentence form, relationship between sentences	The narrative is linear and dramatic, from the determination of the suspect to the testimony of the victim. Coherence is strong but biased, emphasising the perpetrator's role as an 'emotional manipulator'.	Lack of ethical protection of the identity of the perpetrator with a disability, no caution in maintaining objectivity when it comes to vulnerable groups.
Rhetorical	Diction, metaphors, idioms, graphics, photos	Using diction such as 'threatening', 'manipulative', 'exploiting compassion', as well as emotional direct quotes, reinforces moral judgement	Use of opinionated language that indirectly shames the perpetrator, and no visual or metaphorical counterbalance.

		and weakens the presumption of innocence.	
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(Source: Results of the Author's Data Processing, 2025)

The first news from Tribunnews.com with the title "Number of Agus Buntung Victims Increases to 17, Victims Threatened to Marry if They Scream" shows a strong framing pattern based on the Pan & Kosicki model, which when analysed in depth contains a number of problems in terms of journalistic ethics. Syntactically, the news begins with a sensational and explosive headline, emphasising the number of victims and the threats made by the suspect. The headline has high appeal but tends to ignore the principle of caution and presumption of innocence, especially considering that the perpetrator is a person with a disability. The narrative structure is also shaped in such a way as to lead readers' emotions to anger and sympathy for the victim without considering the balance of voices. In terms of script, the news includes quotes that predominantly come from the reporting party and institutions that favour the victim (such as the Disability Commission), but there are very few quotes from the legal team or disability advocates who can provide a comparative point of view. This has the potential to reduce the objectivity and balance of the news, which should be the main principle in journalistic ethics.

On the thematic aspect, the narrative is arranged in a linear and dramatic manner, starting from the exposure of the perpetrator's status as a person with a disability, the multiple accusations, to the growing number of victims. The coherence of the content and chronology of events is formed to strengthen the negative image of the perpetrator, without any effort to clarify the legal status that is still in process. This can lead to trial by media, which is contrary to the ethical principle of protecting the rights of suspects. From the rhetorical dimension, many emotional diction such as "threatening", "manipulating", "forcing", and the metaphor of "compassion is used" are used to lead public opinion negatively. The addition of graphic elements and repetition of the perpetrator's identity as "Agus Buntung" also reinforces the impression of stigma against disability, which risks worsening the image of people with disabilities in general in society.

From all these framing dimensions, it can be concluded that the news does not fully reflect ideal journalistic ethics, especially in terms of:

1. Balance of sources and quotations,
2. Presumption of innocence,
3. Protection of the identity of perpetrators with disabilities, and
4. Neutral and non-judgemental journalistic language.

In the context of reporting cases of sexual violence involving persons with disabilities, journalists are required to be more sensitive and professional, so as not to perpetuate stigma, discrimination, or worsen the ongoing judicial process.

News 2 titled "Agus Buntung Subscribed to Room Number 6, Witness: Sometimes He Paid Rp50,000 for Short Time"

**Table 10. Framing Analysis of Pan & Kosicki Model Second News
Tribunnews.com**

Framing Dimension	Framing Devices	News Analysis 2 Tribunnews.com	Journalistic Ethics
Syntax	Headline, lead, narrative structure, quotation	Emphasis on the frequency of room use gives the impression that the perpetrator is active and repeatedly commits crimes.	Violates the principle of balance and presumption of innocence in covering legal cases.
Script	Completeness of 5W+1H elements,	There is no clarification from	Lack of balance of sources, no
Framing Dimension	Framing Devices	News Analysis 2 Tribunnews.com	Journalistic Ethics
	chronology of events	the lawyer or the disabled companion. The 5W+1H elements are not processed fairly.	response from the suspect.
Thematic	Coherence of content, sentence form, relationship between sentences	Framing strongly directs public opinion to condemn the suspect before there is a legal decision.	Does not provide protection for disability rights in the context of the news.
Rhetorical	Diction, metaphors, idioms, graphics, photos	The use of emotional quotes from citizens reinforces the perception of guilt, without giving space to the principle of presumption of innocence.	The language used tends to be sensationalised, reinforcing the negative stigma against people with disabilities.

(Source: Author's Data Processing Results, 2025)

Table 10 above shows the second news from Tribunnews.com entitled "Agus Buntung Subscribed to Use Room Number 6, Witness: Sometimes He Paid Short Time Rp50,000" contains a number of framing constructions that should be ethically criticised. In terms of syntax, the use of headlines that mention "room number 6 subscription" and vulgar terms such as "short time" tend to corner and build a negative image of the suspect before a legal decision is made. The narrative structure (script) also emphasises the testimony of the homestay witness without presenting clarification or perspectives from the attorney, the suspect's family, or legal experts, which should

be presented for the sake of balanced information. On the thematic aspect, the news is built from the perspective of the general public and witnesses who accentuate the disbelief and shock that a person with a disability can become a perpetrator of sexual crimes. This theme risks leading readers to generalise and stigmatise groups with disabilities, without any attempt from the media to provide more neutral and proportional education or clarification. Meanwhile, rhetorical aspects can be seen from the choice of diction such as "check-in," "short time," and emotional quotes from residents such as "I didn't expect it, because he has a disability," which adds to the sensational impression and strengthens the negative framing of the suspect.

From a journalistic ethics perspective, this news is problematic because it violates the principle of presumption of innocence, balance of sources, and protection of vulnerable groups such as people with disabilities. The use of sensationalist language, the unbalanced selection of sources, and the absence of legal explanations or views from disability protection agencies make this news more about shaping public opinion than providing fair factual information. Ideally, the media needs to maintain news ethics by placing the suspect as a legal subject who has not been proven guilty, and provide space for readers to judge objectively based on legal facts, not narratives that are formed unilaterally.

News 3 titled "Agus Buntung's trick to deceive his victims: Claiming to Have a Police Om and Luring Gold Bars".

**Table 11. Framing Analysis of Pan & Kosicki Model Second News
Tribunnews.com**

Framing Dimension	Framing Devices	News Analysis 3 Tribunnews.com	Journalistic Ethics
Syntax	Headline, lead, narrative structure, quotes	The headlines 'Akal Bulus', 'Emas Batangan' triggered stigma and prejudice against the suspect. The use of sensational terms and the repetition of the narrative without an objective disclaimer strengthens the image of the perpetrator.	Violates the presumption of innocence and the use of non-neutral language.
Script	Completeness of 5W+1H elements, chronology of events	The news is structured with many quotes from the victim's attorney, the victim herself, and lawyers, but	There is a lack of balance of sources and no cross-verification of serious claims such as the involvement

		minimal balancing with independent or neutral views. The chronology is dramaticand	of the suspect's mother.
Framing Dimension	Framing Devices	News Analysis 3 Tribunnews.com	Journalistic Ethics
		detailed.	
Thematic	Coherence of content, sentence form, relationship between sentences	Major themes were established to emphasise manipulation and lies, reinforcing the perception of the suspect as a predator. The narrative is strengthened by emotional testimonies from victims and lawyers.	Shaping public opinion by cornering the suspect, reinforcing the stigma against disability.
Rhetorical	Diction, metaphors, idioms, graphics, photos	The use of terms such as 'subterfuge', 'claiming to have a police uncle', and 'lure of gold' strengthen the dramatic impression. The narrative is characterised by tension and sensation.	Language and diction do not comply with the journalistic code of ethics and tend to mislead public perception.

(Source: Author's Data Processing Results, 2025)

Table 11. shows the framing analysis of the third news from Tribunnews.com which carries the title "Agus Buntung's Intellect Tricked His Victims..." shows a strong tendency to form public opinion that leads to violations of journalistic ethics. In the syntactic dimension, the use of sensational headlines such as "subterfuge", as well as the prominence of information related to "the lure of gold bars" immediately forms a negative perception without considering the principle of presumption of innocence. The narrative structure built from the beginning has placed Agus Buntung as a perpetrator with a cunning and manipulative character, even though the legal process is still ongoing. In the script dimension, this news is filled with long quotes from the victim's attorney, lawyer, and narratives from parties that strengthen the victim's

position, but it lacks balance because it does not present proportionally the voice of the suspect or a more objective defence from neutral sources. The 5W+1H elements do appear complete, but tend to be used to build a chronological flow that leads public opinion towards one party only.

Thematically, the news focus is directed towards emotions, opinion-mongering, and negative characterisation of the perpetrator. Sentences are arranged to form a narrative of Agus as a skilled sexual predator, accompanied by dramatic stories of victims, such as persuasion over the phone from the perpetrator's mother and threats to victims. The relationship between sentences is designed in such a way as to form an image of organised crime, even involving family members, without adequate space for clarification.

In the rhetorical dimension, provocative diction such as "subterfuge", "deceit", "claiming to have a police uncle", and "the lure of gold bars" are used strategically to create a dramatic impression, cornering, and building emotional tension. The use of metaphors and narratives that resemble crime dramas show that this news prioritises clickbait over journalistic ethics. From these four dimensions, it can be concluded that this news violates several basic principles of journalistic ethics, including:

1. The principle of balanced information, because it does not present a balanced view of both parties.
2. The principle of presumption of innocence, due to the use of judgemental language and narratives.
3. Care for vulnerable groups, in this case people with disabilities, who should be covered with a more humane approach, not with diction that exacerbates stigma. Thus, this news shows framing that not only leads public opinion in a certain direction, but also violates the journalistic code of ethics, especially in terms of fairness in reporting and protecting the dignity of individuals, including those with special needs.

The results showed that the three online media constructed the reality of the alleged sexual harassment incident by Agus Buntung through different framing, but had a common pattern that showed a tendency to violate journalistic ethics. Tribunnews.com, for example, in the news titled "Agus Buntung's Subterfuge Deceives His Victims", conveyed the narrative from the perpetrator's point of view with the use of sensational diction, dramatisation, and protrusion of the perpetrator's personal facts (disability, family relations, lure of gold, etc.). Meanwhile, JawaPos.com attempted to present two sides (victim and suspect versions) in the reconstruction news, but still provided a narrow space for the perpetrator's defence. Kompas.com, on the other hand, focuses more on the perspective of law enforcement officials and the seriousness of the legal process, but still mentions the suspect's disability label repeatedly without the context of protecting vulnerable groups.

Within the framework of the framing model (Pan & Kosicki, 1993), the syntactic dimension of the three media shows an emphasis on choosing strong titles, leading emotions, and reinforcing negative stereotypes. The script dimension reveals a pattern of reporting with a chronological flow but minimal balance of sources. In the thematic dimension, there is a consistency of narratives that corner the perpetrators, as well as the use of repetitive narratives that emphasise physical disability as contradictory to the crime. Meanwhile, in the rhetorical dimension, the choice of diction such as "subterfuge", "deceit", to "short time Rp50 thousand" shows how the media builds reality with nuances of moral judgement against the perpetrator.

If drawn into the framework of social construction theory by Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann (Mandalia, 2023; Nurkhalis, 2018), then the news construction shows that the social reality of Agus Buntung is formed through language and media symbols, which in this case places the perpetrator as an 'extraordinary' criminal figure because of his physical limitations. Objective reality in the legal context is marginalised by symbolic constructions that corner, without giving space to the nuances of the complexity of disability, the presumption of innocence, and the perpetrator's right to fair treatment.

This finding corroborates the study (Putri & Setiawan, 2023) which also found that media such as Detik.com and Tribunnews.com often present different framings for the same event, where Tribunnews predominantly uses a dramatic point of view and tends to corner. Similarly, a study (Gufran, Rosmini, & Latief, 2021) found that Kompas.com was more protective of victims, but still ignored the perpetrator's right to defence. Comparison with the study (Aulia et al., 2022; Hikmatunisa & Setiawan, 2022) also shows that the media tends to be inconsistent with the use of diction that protects victims and does not corner the perpetrators, especially when the perpetrators come from vulnerable groups such as disabilities. The study findings can be concluded that the news construction in the Agus Buntung case tends to violate the principles of journalistic ethics, especially in terms of presumption of innocence, balance, and treatment of vulnerable groups, which is exacerbated by framing that prioritises clickbait and sensation. This is an important criticism of the media's role in educating the public without compromising the principles of justice and humanity in journalism.

Conclusion

The rampant reporting of sexual harassment cases by online media, which in some cases actually violates the principles of journalistic ethics. One actual example is the coverage of Agus Buntung, a man with a disability who was accused of sexually abusing a number of women. The three media analysed Tribunnews.com, Kompas.com and Jawapos.com have the power to shape public opinion and social reality through their framing strategies. Thus, this study focuses on how these media framed the Agus Buntung case based on the Pan & Kosicki analysis model and how the framing relates to journalistic ethics. The research findings show that all media used a framing structure that reinforced the narrative of guilt towards Agus Buntung. In the syntactic dimension, the news is structured with bombastic titles and stigmatising word choices. News scripts contain an unbalanced chronology, emphasising the testimony of victims and law enforcement without presenting the perpetrator's defence in full. Thematic news shows a structure that corners the perpetrator and places disability identity as an amplifier of the illogicality of the crime, not as a condition that requires protection. Rhetorical news is built with dramatic diction, visualisation of reconstruction, and emphasis on the victim's emotions, which strengthen the framing of the perpetrator as a social threat. All three ignore the principles of cover both sides, balance of information, and non-discrimination against people with disabilities as stipulated in the Indonesian Journalistic Code of Ethics. The significance of this finding confirms that news framing in online media still often deviates from journalistic ethics, especially when the perpetrators come from vulnerable groups. The media not only reproduces information, but also reproduces stigma and shapes public opinion that can be detrimental to a fair legal process. This shows that social construction theory is still very relevant in explaining how reality is

shaped by the media through symbolic and narrative processes. Framing that ignores the context of disability is not only biased, but also perpetuates societal prejudice. The weakness of this study is the limited number of news articles analysed, namely only one headline from each media, and no interviews were conducted with the editorial staff of the media regarding their editorial policies. Future research is expected to expand the object of study by examining more news, a longer period of time, and include social media as a secondary information distribution space that strengthens the framing effect. In addition, there needs to be a deeper study of how audiences understand and reflect on news content, so that we do not only see the construction from the side of media, but also from the side of the message recipient.

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