



## Discourse Network Analysis of Chemical Castration Punishment Pros and Cons in Online Media

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### ABSTRACT

Sexual harassment continues to occur with an increasing number of victims. Chemical castration has been proposed as a solution, but it has sparked debates among experts and the public. This study examined the arguments for and against chemical castration in online media. It used the Discourse Coalition Framework and the Discourse Network Analysis approach to map this debate. The analysis included 84 statements from 32 news articles published on [Detik.com](https://www.detik.com) between [January 2016](#) and December 2022. The study revealed changes in the online discussions of chemical castration. The discourse shifted from the focus on norms and the purpose of punishment to the nature of punishment and its purpose. Subsequently, a discourse coalition emerged between the actors regarding chemical castration. The actors sought support from one another to support their respective positions. The discourse also changed along with groups of diverse views. Some rejected the law, arguing that it contradicts religious principles and does not guarantee a deterrence effect. Meanwhile, those who supported chemical castration continued to strengthen their arguments. In general, this study can be a reference for addressing sexual harassment.

**Keywords:** Discourse Network Analysis, Chemical Castration, Online Media

## INTRODUCTION

Chemical castration punishment for perpetrators of sexual crimes has drawn opinions; some are pro, and some are con in society. This debate also occurs in online media. Online media quote statements from government officials, members of the DPR, government institutions, legal institutions, community organizations, and the community as actors who are pro and con regarding chemical castration punishment so that it becomes a discourse in society.

Foucault (1969) suggested that discourse is a unified series of signs, statements, and media through which ideas such as the pros and cons of chemical castration punishment are disseminated. Here, the media can play a positive and negative role. The media can provide positive information, but it can also spread misleading information (Nurhadi et al., 2022). The media can provide positive information about chemical castration punishment and create a deterrent effect on the perpetrators so that sexual harassment no longer occurs because the perpetrators are afraid of such severe punishment. The media can also provide negative information when the media presents things that can invite sexual harassment, such as watching pornography.

The issue of chemical castration for perpetrators of sexual crimes in Indonesia has become increasingly discussed after the child rape case in Mojokerto, East Java, in 2019, which was carried out by a welder with the initials MA (20), with a total of nine victims of sexual crimes (Kompas, 2020). Then, the perpetrator was sentenced to chemical castration, sentenced to 12 years in prison, and a fine of 100 million, subsidiary to six months in prison by the Mojokerto District Court judge.

Long before the chemical castration sentence was imposed on MA (20), the Indonesian government had issued Law Number 23 of 2002 concerning Child Protection (DPR RI, 2002), which was then amended to Law Number 17 of 2016, the procedures for implementing chemical castration are regulated in Government Regulation Number 70 of 2020 (JDIH, 2020). This Government Regulation is a reference in implementing punishment for perpetrators of sexual crimes. The Indonesian government issued this Law in the hope that there would be a deterrent effect on perpetrators of sexual crimes so that there would be no more victims of sexual violence in the future. However, the same crimes continue to occur in various regions, with a relatively more significant number of victims (Pradana, 2021). Two years after Government Regulation Number 70 of 2020 was issued, in 2022, sexual violence occurred again. Even though the perpetrator with the initials HW (36) was sentenced to death and chemical castration for raping 13 female students in Bandung (Kompas, 2022), it shows that government regulation cannot resolve the problem of sexual violence.

Seeing that sexual violence still exists, despite government regulations and harsh punishments for perpetrators, experts and the public are discussing it to

find the right solution so that there is no more sexual violence. Some go for chemical castration, yet others voice against such punishment. Several studies related to the discourse on chemical castration show that the discourse on castration has given rise to pros and cons. On the one hand, some argue that this punishment contradicts the basic concept of Human Rights (HAM). On the other hand, some argue that sexual crimes against children are extraordinary violations, so chemical castration is the proper punishment (Ratkoceri, 107; Nour, 2020; Zhuang, 2018; Krismiarsi, 2018; Puteri et al., 2020; Mardiya, 2017; Hasanah & Soponyono, 2018; Windari & Syahputra, 2020; Tunggal & Naibaho, 2020); (Bennet, 2018). In addition, the pros and cons of discourse also arise from the side of obstacles in terms of executing chemical castration sentences on perpetrators. In Indonesia, for example, chemical castration is hampered by the Indonesian Doctors Association (IDI), which does not want to carry out chemical castration because this action violates the code of ethics of the profession and the medical oath. Meanwhile, in the United States, the obstacle to implementing chemical castration punishment is due to the use of Medroxy Progesterone Acetate (MPA) as a drug to which the government does not give permission (Yusriando et al., 2021).

This differs from the Turkish government, which passed the Chemical Castration Law. However, pros and cons occur among the people. The pros and cons of chemical castration punishment in Turkey have become the attention of the mass media, and the mass media in Turkey have participated in discussing and disseminating it so that the pros and cons become wider among the public (Korkman, 2017).

In addition to ordinary people and political elites, journalists are also involved, as shown by the results of a study on journalists from The Jakarta Post, which found them to be subjective in reporting on chemical castration punishment. They fail to balance the perspectives of the proponents and the opponents. Journalists are considered inconsistent and unwilling to criticize the government (Kamal et al., 2017).

The widespread discourse on chemical castration punishment in the public space is influenced by technological developments, one of which is the internet with its social media (Castells, 2015; Marres & Rogers, 2008). Social media is currently a place that can accommodate various information. Anyone can express their ideas and views on social media freely. The discourse on castration punishment also spread quickly. This phenomenon is part of the digital media communication management effort, which positions the issue of chemical castration punishment as part of a novel and crucial issue (Grunig, 2009). The discourse on chemical castration punishment spreading in society influences the process of forming government regulations (Hajer, 2002). It is not surprising that

the government has renewed it by adding to the shortcomings in Law Number 23 of 2002 concerning Child Protection, supplemented by Law Number 17 of 2016, which was also revised by adding shortcomings regarding the procedures for implementing chemical castration regulated in Government Regulation Number 70 of 2020. This proves how robust the discourse in the public space is towards the government in making formulas until policies are successfully issued.

The issues that develop in society about chemical castration punishment do not appear by accident. Some people or actors deliberately throw ideas to the public, which are then disseminated by the mass media, including online media, in the hope that the government will form policies that will have an impact on the absence of sexual harassment practices that are detrimental to victims and the environment (Reckhow & Stange, 2018).

In this context, the mass media has no interest at all; the media is only a mediator between the actors who argue, both those who are pro and those who are against chemical castration punishment. The pros and cons of the discourse in the media can be reviewed and studied by policymakers, focusing on which ones support and which ones do not support the policy (Leifeld, 2016). The pro discourse becomes a reinforcement of government policy, and the contra discourse becomes a reference for evaluating policies so that the policies made by the government are indeed by the expectations of all parties and by the situation and conditions in society.

Several studies regarding the practice of chemical castration punishment have been conducted, none of which focuses on the discourse network among actors in building the discourse of chemical castration punishment for perpetrators of sexual crimes. Likewise, with the media as the research object, no online media has been used as a place and object of research. This study examined the discourse in online media, as online media is widely in demand by the public. It explored how the discourse network is pro and contra regarding chemical castration punishment in online media. It focuses on the discourse network of actors consisting of ordinary people, community organizations, government, and legal experts or practitioners.

The results of this study are expected to provide benefits related to the discourse network of actors. To obtain maximum and accurate research results on the object of digital footprint research in online media, a quantitative approach and a qualitative approach are used in this study. Furthermore, the data collection and research methods used are the DNA Analyzer, a significant data software used to see the discourse network. The Discourse Network Analysis method is relevant to map the discourse of actors regarding chemical castration punishment in online media. The online media selected in this study is [Detik.com](https://www.detik.com), from January 2016 to December 2022.

[Detik.com](https://www.detik.com) is selected because it has a large number of loyal visitors. It is a

popular online media in Indonesia with the latest and fastest online news site. Also, it is reliable in terms of the content and quality (Prayudi & Sagita, 2021).

The selection of the period from January 2016 to December 2022 is based on two moments that made the discourse on the pros and cons of the chemical castration punishment trending. In 2016, the government issued Perppu Number 1 of 2016, which was then enacted into Law Number 1 of 2016 concerning the Second Amendment to Law Number 23 of 2002 concerning Child Protection, one of the points that regulates chemical castration. Meanwhile, 2022 was chosen because the defendant HW (36) was sentenced to death and sentenced to chemical castration for raping 13 female students in Bandung.

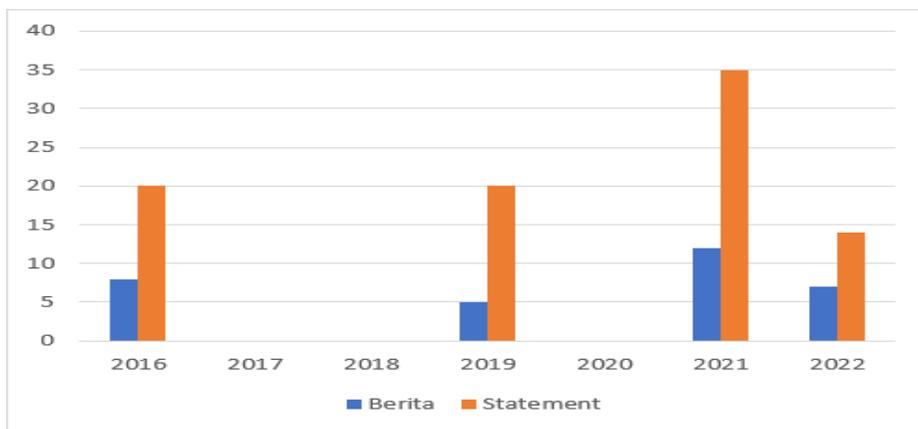
There are several stages carried out in the research using the DNA Analyzer technique (Leifeld & Haunss, 2010, 2012; Leifeld, 2016). In this first stage, news from Detik.com was collected using the Google search engine with the keyword "chemical castration", with a time range from January 2016 to December 2022. After the news was collected, the author filtered it using the Octopus application on the news to find the news content and statements from the actors. The second stage was the identification of the actors' discourse. The researcher collected the actors' statements in the news and input them into the DNA Analyzer device to process. After processing, coding or categorization was carried out according to the discourse group and actors. The coding results were filtered into one category with the same discourse. Finally, the third stage involved moving data or exporting data coded or identified in the second stage, which was then visualized using the Visone device (Brandes & Wagner, 2004). This Visone tool mapped actor statements and concepts to a network visualization so that a map of statements from each actor and concept appeared. In addition to visualizing the network, this tool was also used to display data to explain the network map so that it can easily see and analyze the discourse.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The news was searched with the keyword "chemical castration punishment" in Detik.com from January 2016 to December 2022. The collected news was scraped using the Octoparse and DNA Analyzer applications, and 435 news items regarding chemical castration punishment were found. Of the 435 news, 75 were found related to chemical castration punishment. The 75 news were then refiltered to find out the required statements, and 32 news were selected with 84 statements. In detail, there collected 8 news with 14 statements published in 2016, 5 news with 20 statements in 2019, 12 news with 35 statements in 2021, and 7 news with 13 statements in 2022. The researcher did not find any news – published in 2017, 2018, and 2020 – related to chemical castration punishment for perpetrators of sexual harassment. Figure 1 below shows the 32 news reports

on chemical castration punishment on [Detik.com](http://Detik.com) between January 2016 and and December 2022:

Figure 1. News and Statements



Source: Processed from 32 news on chemical castration punishments from [Detik.com](http://Detik.com), January 2016-December 2022

As shown in Figure 1, the highest number of news reports on chemical castration punishment occurred in 2021, with 12 articles and 35 statements from various actors discussing the issue. The number of news reports in 2016 and 2019 was identical. In 2022, news coverage about chemical castration punishment declined. Two key factors triggered the surge in news coverage of chemical castration punishment: first, the government's issuance of new regulations and policies on chemical castration punishment. This is evident in the widespread discussion of the topic, particularly in 2016 when the government issued

Government Regulation instead of Law (Perppu) Number 1 of 2016 concerning the Second Amendment to Law Number 23 of 2002 concerning Child Protection. The Perppu, which was then enacted on May 25, 2016, was issued in response to the rampant occurrence of sexual crimes against children. This new regulation strictly regulates the imposition of chemical castration as an additional punishment for perpetrators of sexual crimes against children. This provision is stated in Articles 81-A and 82-A ([Detiknews.com](http://Detiknews.com), 2016).

At the end of 2020, the discourse on chemical castration was again widely discussed again because the government re-issued Government Regulation (PP) Number 70 of 2020 concerning Procedures for Implementing Chemical Castration, Installation of Electronic Detection Devices, Rehabilitation, and Announcement of the Identity of Perpetrators of Sexual Violence against Children ([Detiknews.com](http://Detiknews.com), 2022).

Both government regulations and laws on chemical castration were widely

socialized and immediately implemented, considering the emergency and conditions that could disturb the public. The government also used mass media and various facilities so that laws and government regulations were widely disseminated so that they could overcome the problem of sexual violence.

The second factor was the emergence of particularly disturbing cases of sexual crimes against children, which attracted the attention of the government and the public. In 2019, the Panel of Judges at the Mojokerto District Court sentenced the defendant MA (20) to chemical castration because he was proven guilty of raping nine children (Detik.com, 2019). Then, in 2021, the case of HW (36) emerged, who was proven to have raped 13 female students in Bandung City. In the trial, the Public Prosecutor demanded that HW (36) be sentenced to death and chemical castration. However, the Panel of Judges only sentenced him to death and did not give a verdict of chemical castration (Detik.com, 2022). In 2017, 2018 and 2020, there was no significant news coverage on chemical castration punishment because there were no notable incidents, either involving perpetrators or victims of sexual violence, or policies or programs from the government related to chemical castration punishment.

### **Discourse on Chemical Castration Punishment**

Jeremi and Pernille (2006) define *discourse* as how an action, social interaction, practice, phenomenon, or speech act is interpreted and understood. As in this study, there are 62 relevant discourses, either pro-chemical castration punishment or anti-chemical castration punishment. The discourses are listed in Table 1.

There are six concepts in the discourse on chemical castration punishment. The first is government norms and regulations, which include laws and regulations on chemical castration punishment. The second is Human Rights (HAM), including international conventions related to humanity and HAM views on chemical castration punishment. The third is alternative punishment, which can be given to perpetrators of sexual crimes so that they give a deterrent effect. The fourth is side effect, concerning the continued impact of chemical castration punishment on perpetrators and victims, both psychologically and sociologically. The fifth is the reason for punishment, and the sixth is the purpose of punishing perpetrators of sexual crimes using chemical castration punishment.

Meanwhile, the actors (persons) in this study amounted to 40 stakeholders, who were then grouped into six organizations. First, the government, consisting of the president and the Ministry (Coordinating Minister for Human Development and Culture, Minister of Law and Human Rights, Minister of Health, Minister of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, Minister of Social Affairs, Minister of Religion).

The second is government institutions, consisting of the Indonesian Doctors Association (IDI), the National Human Rights Commission (HAM), the

National Commission on Violence Against Women, the Indonesian Child Protection Commission (KPAI), the National Child Protection Commission (KPA), and the Regional Child Protection Commission (KPAD), the People's Representative Council (DPR), consisting of Commission VIII of the DPR which handles religious, children and women's issues, Commission X of the DPR which handles education and health issues, and Commission III of the DPR which handles legal issues.

The third is community organizations, including Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, Persatuan Islam, the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation, the Indonesian Doctors Association, and the Aceh Ulema Consultative Assembly. The fourth is Legal Institutions, such as courts, prosecutors, police, and lawyers. The fifth refers to the community, which comprises academics, village officials, victim families, and community leaders. The following are arguments as discourses built by actors, both pro and con, related to chemical castration punishment for perpetrators of sexual crimes:

**Table 1. Various Arguments for Chemical Castration Punishment**

Pro	Kontra
Increased punishment for sexual crimes Sadistic, barbaric perpetrators beyond the limits of humanity	Amoral, problematic Cruel, cruel, torturous, degrading human dignity Violates the doctor's oath
So that there is a deterrent effect Protection of Children	It is better to be severely punished, isolated, imprisoned for life
Victims could increase No room for perpetrators of sexual crimes Special message for pedophiles	There is no guarantee of a deterrent effect Temporary impact, perpetrators can become resentful, depressed, and more savage
Victims suffer physical, mental, and economic losses	Causes side effects on health, such as osteoporosis

Source: Processed from 32 news articles on chemical castration punishment Detik.com January 2016-December 2022

When classified, eight statements are pro-chemical castration punishment, and seven statements go against it. There is not much difference between the pro and con statements. Of the 40 actors who made statements about chemical castration punishment, they were categorized into six organizations involved in the debate on chemical castration punishment so that the pros and cons occurred as part of a network of issues or discourses that developed in society, to influence government policy on cases of crime or sexual violence. This discourse network can influence the government in making policies, becoming stricter towards the

perpetrators, or influencing the government in making policies regarding punishment for perpetrators with other alternatives that are more effective in resolving cases of sexual harassment but do not violate human rights, the code of ethics of doctors, and so on.

The statements from the 40 actors were quoted and distributed by the mass media, and this provoked reactions from other groups so that pros and cons could not be avoided. The parties who made the statement continued to strengthen it, hoping that it would be a consideration and input for the government to act appropriately and quickly so that the same case would not happen again at a different time. [Hajer \(2002\)](#) also said that the discourses that develop in society influence the process of making government policies related to chemical castration.

New policies, programs, and regulations are known to many people. The government also disseminates them using mass media massively and continuously. According to [Lestari and Sasmita \(2020\)](#), the mass media has the power and speed to disseminate information, one of which is information related to crimes and sexual violence that includes chemical castration punishment. The public can also easily access information about sexual crimes. Meanwhile, [Leifeld and Hauns \(2012\)](#) explained that the discourse built by these actors will create a discourse network when there is a common ground. For example, if the actors say or give the same statement as the pro party, or some actors say the same as the contra party, there will be a discourse network between them.

To convince their opinion regarding chemical castration punishment, actors who are both pro and con come up with different arguments that have been grouped into six different concepts. Groups that are pro and con sometimes argue with the same concept with different arguments. Some concepts are only discussed by those who are pro or con. Figure 2 shows the concept of chemical castration punishment discussed by person actors. The same concept discussed by groups who are pro and con of chemical castration punishment is the concept of Human Rights (HAM). The difference is that the arguments are contradictory. Pro actors tend to take the side of the victim whose physical and mental state is destroyed, whose future is bleak, and who has no hope of living. At the same time, those who are against it refer to the concept of HAM from the perpetrator's side. Actors who are against consider the imposition of castration punishment to be inhumane, cruel, and beyond humanity, not providing an opportunity for the perpetrator to improve and atone for his mistakes. Likewise, when both pro and contra actors discuss the concept of the purpose of punishment, pro actors assume that chemical castration can have a deterrent effect on the perpetrators and deliver a message to other perpetrators, that chemical castration will lurk if they commit sexual crimes.

Meanwhile, contra actors argue that the purpose of chemical castration does not guarantee that it can give a deterrent effect on the perpetrators because they have sexual desires difficult to control. Counteractors are also not sure that the threat of chemical castration can reduce sexual crimes. One of the reasons is that even though there are government regulations or laws related to child protection, there will still be perpetrators and victims of sexual crimes in the future.

The concept of norms related to chemical castration punishment is also discussed among actors, which triggers pros and cons. The difference is that the pros argue with the legal umbrella for chemical castration punishment as an additional punishment for perpetrators. At the same time, the cons argue with all aspects. From the aspect of Islam, castration punishment is considered prohibited because it kills human biological functions; from a medical perspective, it is also rejected because chemical castration punishment violates the oath of the doctor's profession, which must not harm patients, and the doctor's doctrine is not to take human life but must heal humans (Yusriando et al., 2021).

The discourse only discussed by the pros is related to the reasons for punishment. They reveal various reasons why perpetrators of sexual crimes deserve to be given chemical castration punishment. Among these reasons are that perpetrators of sexual crimes are extremely barbaric, beyond humanity, and repeated crimes with increasing numbers. Besides, it shows empathy for victims whose lives have been ruined by the perpetrators and they have to bear an extraordinary psychological burden. They lose their self-esteem so they do not dare to interact with others, and the future is bleak.

Meanwhile, the opposing actors discuss only two concepts: the side effects of the punishment given to the perpetrator and alternative punishments for the perpetrators of the crime. The opposing actors reveal various side effects if chemical castration punishment is given to perpetrators of sexual crimes. They believe that chemical castration only has a temporary effect because it only stops the perpetrator's sexual ability. They are worried that the chemical castration punishment has physical and mental effects on the perpetrators of the crime. Physically, it can cause brittle bones. Mentally, perpetrators of crimes who are punished with chemical castration can make perpetrators of crimes who are punished with chemical castration depressed, vengeful, and even more savage.

Meanwhile, in the concept of alternative punishment, the opposing actors propose, rather than giving chemical castration punishment, perpetrators of sexual crimes should be given other severe punishments, such as being isolated in a place that does not interact with other people, being imprisoned for life, or being stoned to death. Regarding the castration punishment discourse network, it can be seen in the image below:

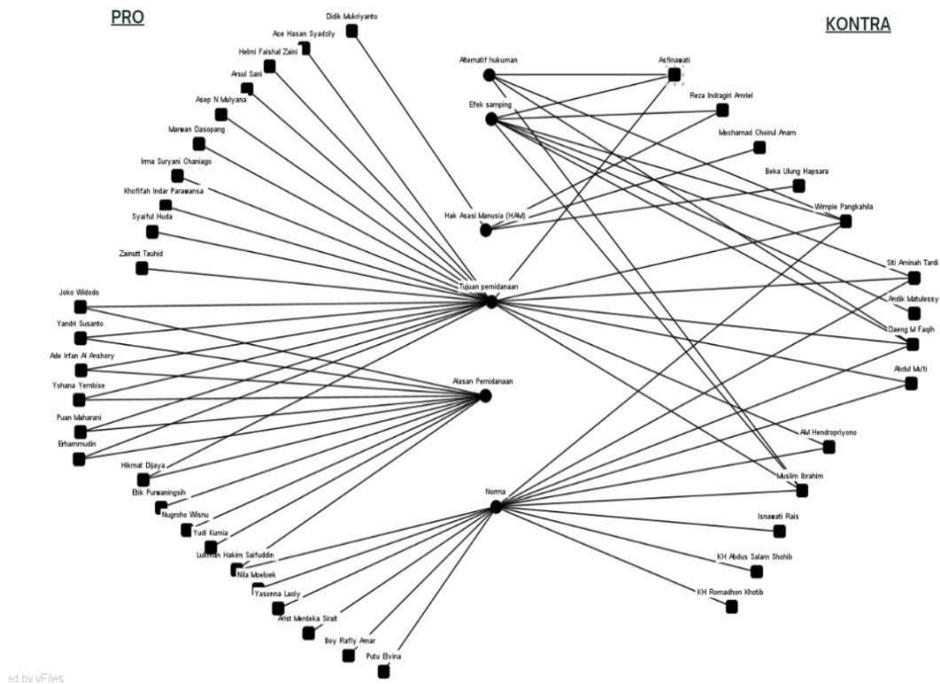


Figure 2. Concept-Person Affiliate Network

Source: Processed from 32 news articles on chemical castration punishment from Detik.com, January 2016-December 2022

Figure 2 illustrates the discourse affiliation of castration punishment among actors or persons. Many of these actors discuss the concept of the purpose of punishment. Each actor discusses the pros of as many as 16 actors and the cons expressed by seven actors or persons. In addition to the affiliation of the discourse concept to the actor or person, the discourse affiliation also occurs in the discourse actors represented by their organizations. Among the organizations involved in the affiliation of the discourse concept of castration punishment are the government, government institutions, the DPR, legal institutions, and community organizations. The purpose of punishment is the only concept discussed by all actors from organizational elements, including government, government institutions, the DPR, legal institutions, community organizations, and community representatives.

More details regarding the affiliation of organizational discourse can be seen in Figure 3 below:

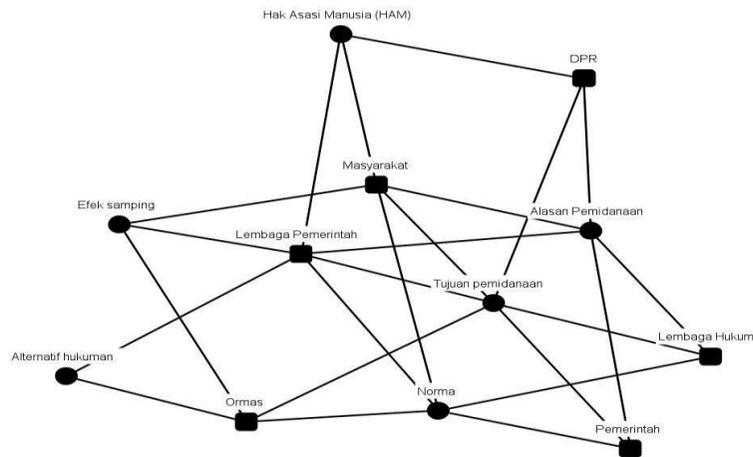


Figure 3. Concept-Organization Affiliation Network

Source: Processed from 32 news on chemical castration punishment Detik.com, January 2016-December 2022

The purpose of punishment, frequently discussed by both pro and con actors in the context of chemical castration, is also reflected in the analysis of centrality and popularity, as shown in Table 2. The purpose of punishment is the concept most often discussed by actors, with a frequency of (27). The idea of the purpose of punishment also occupies the top position in the centrality of closeness, with a score of 32.2. Meanwhile, the discourse with a high level of connectedness (degree) is the reason for punishment (859.3). Then, the concept of human rights occupies the highest position as an intermediary (betweenness) with a score of 572.0.

Table 2. The Concept of Chemical Castration Punishment

	Variable	Frequency	Degree (%)	Closeness (%)	Betweenness (%)
Norma	Concept	15	1.1	27.4	1.6
HAM	Concept	4	3.1	1.4	572.0
Alternatif Hukuman	Concept	4	3.1	21.4	3.1
Efek Samping	Concept	7	546.8	2.3	10.8
Alasan Pemidanaan	Concept	11	859.3	2.2	7.1
Tujuan Pemidanaan	Concept	27	1.7	32.2	26.9

Source: Processed from 32 news on chemical castration punishment by Detik.com, January 2016-December 2022



effects of chemical castration punishment for perpetrators of sexual crimes, and society in general.

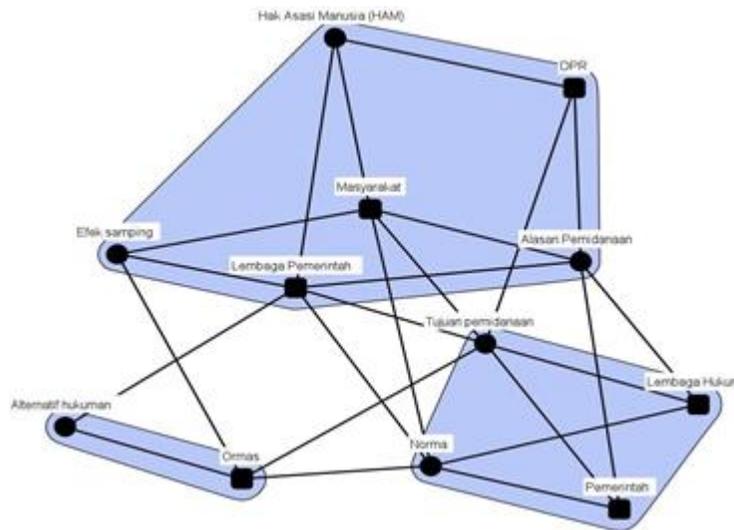


Figure 5. Visualization of the Concept-Organization Coalition

Source: Processed from 32 news articles on chemical castration punishment from Detik.com, January 2016-December 2022

The government forms a discourse coalition with legal institutions, which strengthens the importance of chemical castration punishment for perpetrators of sexual crimes. Community organizations form a discourse coalition with legal institutions, which discuss the concept of alternative punishment for perpetrators of sexual crimes. The government institutions, the DPR, and the community form a coalition by discussing the idea of human rights, reasons for punishment, and the side effects of chemical castration punishment for perpetrators of sexual crimes.

### Dynamics of Chemical Castration Punishment Discourse

Alvesson and Karreman (2000) believe that the discourse by each actor is dynamic and can develop over time. In Table 3, we can see the dynamics of the chemical castration punishment discourse. The first discourse in 2016 by the pro actors, related to the concept of norms and reasons for punishment. This year, the government stated the reason for issuing Perppu Number 1 of 2016 concerning the Second Amendment to Law Number 23 of 2002 concerning Child Protection, because the government is concerned about the rampant cases of sexual crimes against children. There needs to be a threat of additional punishment for perpetrators of sexual crimes in the form of chemical castration. The government

formulated new regulations because it saw discourse development in the mass media (Pascual-Ferrá (2022).

The opposing group conveyed a different discourse. They went against the punishment based on three concepts: norms, the purpose of punishment, and side effects. The opposing group rejects the law that regulates chemical castration punishment because this regulation is contrary to the religion adhered to by the community, and there is no guarantee that the perpetrator will be deterred. To strengthen their argument, the opposing group revealed various side effects if the perpetrator is sentenced to chemical castration, such as damaging the physical and mental health of the perpetrator of sexual crimes.

Furthermore, in 2019, three actors agreed with chemical castration punishment. They were the government, legal institutions, and the DPR. They discussed the reasons and purposes of punishment to strengthen the argument, like perpetrators of sexual crimes in the chemical castration law.

Among the arguments is that perpetrators of sexual crimes have acted barbarically, so they must be sentenced to chemical castration so that the perpetrators are deterred, besides as a warning to other perpetrators. On the opposing side, community organizations, government institutions, and the community refer to human rights violations if chemical castration is given to perpetrators of sexual crimes.

In 2021, the pros and cons of the discourse on chemical castration punishment have become increasingly prominent. The government, government institutions, the DPR, legal institutions, and the community discussed the concept of norms, reasons, and purposes of punishment. Meanwhile, from the opposing side, only three actors – government institutions, mass organizations, and the community – discussed four concepts: norms, reasons, purposes, and side effects of punishment.

At the end of the debate, four pro actors – the government, government institutions, legal institutions, and the community – discussed the reasons for punishment to strengthen the argument for chemical castration punishment. Meanwhile, the opposing side was represented by government institutions and the community, which enhanced the discourse on rejecting chemical castration punishment by discussing the concept of human rights and norms.

According to the Discourse Coalition Framework (DCF) theory, four actors for and against chemical castration, consisting of government institutions and the community, strengthen the argument that chemical castration is conceptualizing politics and policy to dominate the discourse, which facilitates them to persuade others (Hajer, 1995). Some actors deliberately make statements that are then publicly posted to provoke a response from others so that their ideas become popular to others and are not reluctant to disseminate them using mass media.

When it becomes public opinion, the government will make policies according to its expectations (Reckhow & Stange, 2018). According to DCF theory, the government is considered an essential factor in policymaking because it has substantial power (Hajer, 2003). Policy formation in this theory involves the process of meaning, symbol formation, and language use (Eriyanto, 2022; Hajer, 2003). Table 3 below lists some discourses from the actors from 2016-2022.

**Table 3. Chemical Castration Discourse from 2016-2022**

Pros			Cons	
Year	Actor	Concept	Actor	Concept
2016	Government	Criminal Reason Norms	Mass Organizations Government Institutions	Norm Purpose of Criminalization Side Effects
2017	-	-	-	-
2018	-	-	-	-
2019	Government Legal Institution DPR	Reason for Criminalization Purpose of Criminalization	Ormas Government Institutions Community	The Purpose of Criminalization Side Effects of Human Rights
2020	-	-	-	-
2021	DPR Government Institutions Government Legal Institutions Community Mass Organizations	Norms Purpose of Punishment Reasons for Punishment	Government Institutions Mass Organizations Community	Purpose of Criminalization Side Effects Norms Alternative Punishment
2022	Government Legal Institutions Government Institutions Society	Reason for Criminalization Purpose of Criminalization	Community Government Institution	HAM Norms

Source: Processed from 32 news articles on chemical castration punishment from Detik.com, January 2016-December 2022

## CONCLUSION

There are six discourses on chemical castration punishment: norms and legislation on chemical castration punishment, human rights, alternative punishments for perpetrators to give a deterrent effect, the impact of chemical castration punishment on perpetrators and victims, reasons for chemical castration punishment, and purpose of chemical castration punishment.

There is a discourse coalition between individuals and organizations. Five concepts have formed coalitions, each with an actor (person): the human rights cluster, the side effects and alternative punishment cluster, the purpose of punishment cluster, the reason for punishment cluster, and the norm cluster. The organizational discourse coalition is divided into 3 clusters: the government and legal institutions that discuss the concept of norms and the purpose of punishment; mass organizations that discuss the idea of alternative punishment; and government institutions, the DPR, the community that discuss the concept of human rights, reasons for punishment and side effects. The discourse on chemical castration has shifted from the initial discourse – about norms, the purpose of punishment, and side effects – to the discourse of human rights violations, and finally the discourse of human rights and norms.

This study recommends a public discussion regarding the effectiveness of the implementation of chemical castration. Moreover, from the time span of this research, not a single perpetrator of sexual crimes has been executed with chemical castration. Therefore, the punishment can be formulated based on the common expectation of every party. In addition, therapeutic communication is required for victims to accelerate their recovery (Andriani, 2022). This study was conducted in a relatively short period, so a more extended study is required to map the dynamics of the chemical castration discourse.

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