

Critical Framing Analysis: Violence Against Women on Online Media

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Abstract

The journalistic problem that arises when covering women issues at national and global levels showed that the dominant issues in the mass media were masculine. Women issues were dominant in alternative media. It was assumed that the alternative media use feminist journalism framing in its content. This research used media framing theory as the second level of agenda-setting theory that is supported by standpoint theory in critical paradigm to understand the phenomena. It used descriptive-qualitative approach with critical framing analysis design. The object of study covered 39 articles in February 2022 edition of *Konde.Co* and *Magdalene.Co*. The alternative media were chosen because they had feminist vision. The data was analyzed using Robert T. Entman's procedure, namely: define problem; diagnosis of causes; make moral judgments; and treatment recommendations. The results showed that almost all the existing articles applied the principles of feminist journalism. The framing of women-related news was more dominant particularly the issue of violence against women. This issue was dominant since until right now it is still happening actually in society. Violence is used by men to subjugate women. Patriarchal power relations are assumed to be behind this phenomenon. This research concluded that the framing of feminist journalism focused on violence against women in public domain committed by men abusers in the position as husbands, lovers, teachers, friends, medical workers, co-workers or public figures. Patriarchism gave men the privilege of using violence as a natural thing to do. Being a feminist man and empowered woman, as well as firm law enforcement were recommendations emphasized in this framing.

Key Words: Critical Framing Analysis; Feminist Journalism; Media Framing Theory; Patriarchism; Violence Against Women

Introduction

Trend of global developments related to the existence of women in various issues in mass media coverage still show their position

as a minority group. This can be seen from the report on the results of the study "6th Global Media Monitoring Project" (Macharia, 2020: 22) as listed in the following table 1.

Table 1. The Presence of Women in Print, Radio and Television News

Major Topics	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015	2020
Politic and Government	7	12	14	19	16	20
Economy	10	18	20	20	21	24
Science and Health	27	21	22	32	35	30
Social and Legal	19	21	28	30	28	31
Crime and Violence	21	18	22	24	28	24
Gender and Related	0	0	0	0	0	47
Celebrity, Art, Media, Sport	24	23	28	26	23	25

Source: 6th Global Media Monitoring Project (Macharia, 2020: 22)

The data above shows that overall the presence of women is more commonly found in print, radio and television media news related to gender topics (47%), followed by social and legal (31%), science and health (30%), celebrities, art, media and sport (25%), economy (24%), and politics and government (20%). From various news topics, the development of women's existence in political and government topics shows an improving trend. Such is the case with the presence of women in the news on the topic of crime and violence and economy. The dynamic development of women's presence in the news is found on the topics of science and health, social and legal, celebrity art, media and sport. However, the report as a whole shows that in various news topics, the global media has not shown a proportional balance between women and men. This is shown in the overall topic where the presence of women is still below 50%.

How is the presence of women in the media in Indonesia? The study conducted by Sunarto, Hasfi and Yusriana (2022) showed that the content of conventional media was dominated by cultural, legal, and health issues more than others. Gender issue did not arise at all. Meanwhile, the content of online media varied. In general, political, cultural (gender) issues are more prominent than others.

Based on the data, it is interesting to further examine whether the framing of feminist journalism is used by both media in presenting information related to gender issues in it. Both media outlets do have a vision regarding the interests of women and minority groups. Does this media really actualize feminism journalism to defend the interests of women? Based on this problem, this research has the main objective to describe the presence of feminist journalism framing in various

writings in the two research objects, namely *Magdalene.Co* and *Konde.Co*.

Examining the alternative media is very important because its existence shows a change in the liberalization of the national mass media industry ecosystem. As a consequence of the development of digital technology, in Indonesia today there are 47.000 media consisting of 2.000 print, 674 radio and 523 television. The remaining 43.803 were dominated by new media (Antara, 2018; Rosidi, 2022). The number of online media is growing rapidly, both press and non-press media, both professional and nonprofessional. All of these media must also compete with conventional media and social media giants to grab the attention of the audience (Wendratama, 2017).

Of all the new media, not all of them are registered with the Press Council. The new media that have received verification from the Press Council is only 2,700 (6.2%). The remaining 41,103 media outlets (93.8%) still have not received administrative justification from the Press Council (Redaksi, 2019). Justification through this verification activity is one of the main duties and functions of the Press Council in accordance with the mandate of Press Law number 40 of 1999. Through verifying is expected to be able to present data for the public to filter responsible information by responsible media institutions (Adminmediacentre, 2018). Although not verified, all online media operate as verified media in disseminating information and conducting business activities through cyberspace.

In this study, framing was used to guide the research processes as a theory and a method. As a theory, framing is part of agenda-setting theory founded by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw that focused on second effect of agenda-setting called second level of agenda-setting. It refers to the process of unifying a

news story or other types of media messages together that involves the ways in which a story is developed and structured. The compilation of a story sends cues about how to understand the content being covered. Agenda-setting identifies issues that are important. Framing tells us how to understand these issues. In reality, agenda-setting theorists see framing as a natural way to understand how the second-level agenda-setting occurs (Littlejohn, Foss and Oetzel, 2021; Griffin, Ledbetter and Sparks, 2015). As a method, framing refers to procedure to get data according to define problem, diagnosis of causes, make moral judgments, and treatment recommendations (Entman, Matthes and Pellicano, 2009).

This kind of topic is interesting to study considering that various previous studies have not specifically focused on this kind of issue. Various studies in the journal "Feminist Media Studies" (2021) pay attention to media content in various countries related to women's issues. Specifically related to the issue of feminist journalism has not yet arisen. The results of a study conducted by Lind and Meltzer (2020), for example, showed that there were only 12-26 percent of news articles featuring female migrant workers. The rest were mostly dominated by male migrant workers. Elliot's (2019) study on the issue of sexual exploitation of children in three national newspapers in the UK in 1997-1999 and 2014-2015 with frame analysis showed that the discourse about young women had changed: from the sexualization of young women in one period to the framing of young women more explicitly as "vulnerable" and victimized in another.

The results of a study conducted by Rajaratnam, Victor, Jayasainan, and Fong (2020) tried to compare the framing of female candidates in elections in Malaysia using a content analysis design. The results showed that the framing of female candidates in some conventional and online media in Malaysia still positions female candidates in superficial issues unrelated to their professional and leadership qualities.

Other studies using frame analysis did not specifically examine women's or feminist issues. For example, the study conducted by Aman, Imtiaz, and Shahzad (2021) on the speeches of representatives of the Pakistani and Indian countries at the United Nations. Launa's research (2020) on one online media in Indonesia with Robert Entman's framing model

examines Prabowo Subianto's leadership image. The research of Arifin, Iskandar and Sobari (2020) using the same framing model examines the issue of hoaxes raised by Saracens in online media. Adiprasetyo and Larasati's research (2020) focused on the issue of the Covid-19 pandemic. This was the case with Wibhisono's research (2020) which examined the Covid-19 issue in the *Kompas Daily*. Victor, Koon, Ling and Fong's research (2019) focused on the issue of suicide in Malaysian newspapers. Ramadhan and Sobari research (2018) focused on reporting on natural disasters in Lombok in the *Pikiran Rakyat* and *Kompas* daily. The research of Vossen, Van Gorp and Schulpen (2018) examined global poverty in the media in the Netherlands. Aryadi's research (2014) examined *Metro TV* and *TVOne* reports related to the detention of Constitutional Judge, Akil Mochtar.

Research with Robert Entman's framing model was also conducted by several researchers. For example, Anggraeni (2018) conducted a study related to food governance issues in online media. Gogali, Pradipta, Haikal and Ichsan (2021) studied online media reports on aircraft accidents in Indonesia. A similar study was conducted by Ravika, Purnama and Nasionalita (2016).

Robert Entman's framing model was used by Putra and Nasionalita (2015) to examine LGBT-related gender issues in online media. The results showed that there were differences in framing between online media and one another where one media emphasizes the support and acceptance of LGBT existence. Meanwhile, other media outlets put pressure on events that present LGBT existence.

Although using the same framing model, these studies did not specifically emphasize the existence of critical paradigms as the basic foundation for examining existing reality. The research also did not use feminist journalism for determining frames in existing writing. This study focused on critical framing analysis with feminist journalism. The focus of the study was given to get an idea of how media that specifically focused its content on women actualized feminist journalism in every article.

The development of communication technology had created positive opportunities for the emergence of various media platforms in Indonesia. The normative function of the media to disseminate various information without gender prejudice should be maximally

actualized. The existing reality showed that there was still a lot of dominance of masculine information related to political, economic, social and cultural issues. Gender issues appear dominant only in specialized media. Regarding this gender issue, it should be presented by prioritizing the interests of women.

Theoretical Framework

This phenomenon of framing online media news using feminist journalism was studied by positioning it in the level of mass communication with the context of gender communication. At the level of mass communication, this phenomenon is part of the issue of media content as used by Jensen (2002). According to Jensen, there are several topics in media studies, including media texts, media audiences, media organizations and media contexts. At this level of mass communication, especially related to the issue of the content and effects of media in the sociocultural tradition, Littlejohn and Foss (2008) mention several theories, including the tradition of effects, the theory of cultivation, the theory of agenda-setting, and the theory of media framing. In this research the position of media framing theory was changed to critical tradition. It was something new offered by this research.

Framing refers to the process of putting a news story or other type of media message together, including the ways in which a story is organized and structured. The organization of a story sends out cues about how to understand the content being covered. Agenda setting identifies which issues are important, and framing suggests how to understand those issues. In fact, agenda-setting theorists view framing as a natural way to understand how second-level (attribute) agenda setting occurs. Media framing highlights and focuses attention on certain aspects of an issue. Media framing theory was first developed by Todd Gitlin in the 1960s to examine student movements through CBS coverage. The media described the frames of events in ways that constrain how audiences could interpret these events (Littlejohn, Foss and Oetzel, 2021)

According to Griffin, Ledbetter and Sparks (2015), framing is the selection of a restricted number of thematically related attributes for inclusion on the media agenda when a particular object or issue is discussed. While Tewksbury (Victor, Koon, Ling and

Fong, 2020) sees framing as the selection of a limited number of themes relating to traits for inclusion in the media agenda when certain objects are discussed.

As part of the second level of agenda-setting theory, Littlejohn's framing theory is positioned within the interpretive paradigm. However, following the way of thinking of D'Angelo (2002), the position of framing theory is placed in a critical paradigm. According to D'Angelo (2002), research using frame analysis can be placed on several different paradigms: cognitive, critical, and constructivist. The frame in the cognitive paradigm emphasizes the presence of knowledge in the individual or semantic structures that describe certain schemes in memory. The news frame creates semantic relationships in these individual schemes. In the critical paradigm, the frame is considered the result of a routine of news acquisition through which journalists convey information about issues and events from the perspective of values shared by the economic and political elites. This news is an important part of the structuring process that works to frame hegemonic social relations where degrading is inevitable and engagement becomes necessary to succeed. While the constructionist paradigm views journalists as information processors who create "interpretive packaging" of the positions of politically invested "sponsors" (news sources) in order to reflect and add "cultural issues" in the topic of reporting.

This research used a critical paradigm as a reference for understanding the framing carried out by the media. The framing of media reports in this study used the principles of feminist journalism as used by the *Media Report to Women* in 1976 which was later used as a reference also by the *Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press* (WIFP) (WIFP, 2022).

Feminist journalism has 3 principles in publishing all reports related to women's issues, namely: no attack on people; more factual information; and people should speak for themselves. This principle exists to answer the complaints that many women give for information related to women in the media that provides a picture of women's imagery often derogatory, restrictive and inaccurate. In addition, the media also does not provide enough news coverage on women-related activities and issues even though the proportion of the majority of the public is women. The

insufficiency of the number of women employed in the media, especially in policy-making positions, makes men speak for women of greater proportion (WIFP, 2022).

Such a principle of feminist journalism becomes a kind of antithesis to the principle of conventional journalism that prioritizes the interests of men over women. As Bernard explains (Tuchman, 1980), power, politics and stratification are things that concern men and traditionally they have also been "page one" concerns. Professional ideology where "*men's newsmen*" are synonymous with men's attention as important news stories and dumps traditional topics characterized as "women" on fringe news status. It happens since the news media is more accessible to people who have legitimacy of power in society and women do not have one. The existence of women in the media is only represented by a women's page containing lifestyles, people's stories, food, family, furniture, or clothing (fashion). Women-related issues can appear on public pages, especially page one, when they engage in political movements depicted with ridicule and ostracism. The results of the Bonfadelli and Meier study (2021) also confirmed this phenomenon. They showed that leading news media still convey a very traditional image of the sexes. Women who appear in news were often portrayed not in their professional but in their family roles.

The frame of feminist journalism must deal with the dominant perspective that lives infertilely in society, namely masculinism (the male perspective). According to Hartsock, Harding and Hills (Harding, 2004: 1-15; Littlejohn, Foss, and Oetzel, 2021; Krolokke and Sorensen, 2006; Griffin, Ledbetter and Sparks, 2015), the relationship between power and knowledge will create a dominant perspective that tends to be biased in order to maintain the status quo and hinder the emergence of the point of view of those who have no power in society. All knowledge is a product of social activity and no knowledge is truly objective. The culture of conditioning life around women specifically generates experiences and understandings that distinguish routinely from what is produced by the conditions that frame a man's life. These differences in understanding often result in different communication patterns. It is a valuable thing to try to understand the different aspects of the female experience. We can only

know women's experiences by presenting women's interpretations of these experiences. Feminist journalism is an actualization of women's experiences when it comes to dealing with the dominant perspectives that exist in society, namely patriarchy and capitalism.

What feminist journalism concerns to provide space for women to express their personal and social experiences is directly related to the radical school of feminism. This is because the emergence of feminist journalism is to be an estuary for the expression of women's experiences that are blocked in the perspective of patriarchy. As explained by Tong (1998), the radical feminism movement is concerned to the gender system or patriarchal which is considered to be the cause of the oppression of women in sexuality relations. This occurs in the form of normalizing heterosexual relations which has implications on the dehumanization of women in the form of inequality and objectivization of sexuality that encourages sexual violence against women and functional reduction of reproductive and childcare activities. The abolition of male power through the elimination of gender biases is related to sexual status, roles, and temperaments internalized through diverse strategic institutions in society such as education, religion and the family by offering the integration of feminine and masculine (androgynous) subcultures.

Material and Methodology

This research used a qualitative-descriptive approach in the critical paradigm (Linclon, Lynham and Guba, 2018) with the critical frame analysis design of Robert N. Entman (D'Angelo, 2002). The main data of this study came from the main articles on *Magdalene.Co* (15 texts) and *Konde.Co* (24 texts) during February 2022 which were determined using systematic sampling technique. The media were chosen since their commitment to women interest than other media (Sunarto, Hasfi and Yusriana, 2022). The main data of the study came from the analysis of selected sample texts. There was no in-person interview that was required. Data was analyzed using frame analysis procedures from Robert N. Entman (Van Gorp, 2010) which consist of four elements of analysis: define problem; diagnosis of causes; make moral judgments; and treatment recommendation.

Define problem analysis was done by determining the agent's actions in relation to the benefits and risks. This analysis focused on questions: How was an event/issue seen? As a what? Or as a matter of what? Analysis of diagnostic causes was done to identify the causal forces of the problem by focusing on questions: What was the event seen as cause? What was considered to be the cause of a problem? Who (the actor) was considered the cause of the problem? Analysis of making moral judgments was done to evaluate causes and effects. It focused on questions: What moral value was presented to explain the problem? What moral values were used to legitimize or delegitimize an action? Treatment recommendation analysis was done to offer and justify certain treatments for problem solution by focusing on questions: What settlement was offered to resolve the problem/issue? What path was offered and had to be taken to overcome the problem?

Result And Discussion

The results showed that all texts of both media studied used a soft news model with the title dominated by a teller model (26 texts). The rest used a teaser model (13 texts). The source of the information came from the primary (12 texts), secondary (10 texts), and combination of both (17 texts). The writing format was in the form of reportage (22 texts), subjective opinions (4 texts), and argumentative opinions (13 texts).

Prominent issues that arise in the various texts studied were (1) violence and

discrimination (13 texts), (2) gender and sex system (6 texts), (3) technology and environment (5 texts), (4) transgender and minority (13 texts), and (5) reproduction and mothering (2 texts).

There were 31 texts that applied optimal feminist journalism framing, 6 texts that did not apply it maximumly, and 2 texts that did not use it. Regarding the principle of not attacking people, most of the writings on both media did not specifically attack a person with a clear identity. Criticism was given to government agencies, the private sector or the system in general without mentioning a figure with a specific identity. Regarding the principle of displaying actual information, the texts in both media all displayed factual information based on data not merely opinions without supporting of facts. It could come from interviews with sources, book or journal references, observations, research results or media reports. Regarding the principle of self-awareness, both media provided greater opportunities for women to express themselves as writers or sources.

Why is the Issue of Violence against Women Still Dominant?

There were 10 articles that specifically feature feminist journalism frames with issues of violence: *Konde.Co.* (9 articles) and *Magdalene.Co.* (1 article). All writings that feature the framing of feminist journalism can be summarized in the following table 2.

Table 2. The Framing Process Result

Edition	Konde.Co.	Define Problem	Diagnosis Of Causes	Moral Judgment	Recommendation
1/2/22	<i>Jangan Jadi Pelaku: Peran Laki-Laki Akhiri Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan</i>	Women become victims of violence	Men as agent of patriarchy estuaries violence against women	Sexual terrorism as tool to control women	Male need to be feminist
2/2/22	<i>Penulis Akui Lakukan Kekerasan Seksual: Karya dan Namanya Dihapus Dari Semua Penerbitan</i>	Confession of perpetrators of sexual violence results in social punishment	There is no right to justice for violence victims	Victims are often blamed for sexual assault	Accountability of perpetrators of sexual violence
3/2/22	<i>Pelecehan Seksual di Masa Pandemi Terjadi Di Ruang Pemeriksaan Covid-19, Pelakunya Petugas Kesehatan</i>	Sexual harassment during a pandemic as an actualization of	Men perpetrators of sexual violence domesticate	Patriarchy as a source of inspiration	The legitimacy of sexual harassment as sexual violence

		women's domestication	women in public spaces		
4/2/22	<i>Dear Oki Setiana Dewi, Jangan Normalisasi KDRT: Negara Ini Sudah Mengesahkan UU PKDRT Sejak Tahun 2004</i>	Normalization of domestic violence and stigmatization of its victims	Patriarchal women normalize and stigmatize domestic violence	Patriarchy as a source of inspiration	Religion corrects patriarchy
4/2/22	<i>Melukai Kepercayaan dan Traumatis: Selingkuh Itu Menyakitkan!</i>	The impact of infidelity is very painful physically and mentally for women	Construction of gender roles in society	Construction of male-biased gender roles	Equal interpersonal communication to overcome infidelity sexually
9/2/22	<i>Menyingkap Kasus Dugaan Kekerasan Seksual Terhadap Jurnalis Perempuan di Geotimes</i>	Slow judicial process for perpetrators of sexual violence	Patriarchy creates language for men	Patriarchy is the root cause of sexual violence	In the perspective of gender equality, women have rights to their bodies
15/2/22	<i>Kasus Kekerasan Seksual di Amigdala: Bom Waktu di Industri Kreatif</i>	Sexual Violence against Women in Indonesia's Creative Industries	Construction of gender roles in society	Patriarchy the roots of sexual violence	In the perspective of gender equality, women have rights to their bodies
16/2/22	<i>Korban Dugaan Pelecehan Seksual Cabut Laporan, Aktivis Perempuan: Hormati Putusan Korban</i>	Polemic retraction of sexual harassment report	Women as objects blaming the victim	Society's permissive attitude towards perpetrators of sexual harassment	The need for sex education and normative assertivity training
17/2/22	<i>Herry Wirawan, Pemerkosa Santri Cibiru Divonis Seumur Hidup, Aktivis: Jangan Dikasih Remisi</i>	Penalties for perpetrators of sexual violence are still light	Construction of gender roles in society	Women are positioned helpless (powerless)	The state needs to take a firm measure against perpetrators of sexual violence
Edition	Magdalene.Co.				
2/2/22	<i>Nyaris Separuh Jurnalis Perempuan Dunia Jadi Korban Pelecehan</i>	Woman journalists become a victim of sexual harassment	The inequality that occurs in media companies towards women	Victims of sexual violence are expected to have the courage to report	The imposition of strict and clear rules in media companies from the leadership line to employees

Source: Sunarto and Yusrina (2022: 54, 63)

Judging from the definition of the problem, women experience physical and sexual violence in the domestic and public sectors. Perpetrators of violence are men in positions as husbands and lovers (4/2), teachers (17/2), friends (2/2), medical workers (3/2), co-

workers (9/2; 15/2; 2/2) or public figures (16/2). The causes of violence are more directed to the construction of gender roles in gender in society that position men as controllers of women's behavior so that they get justification as perpetrators of violence. Such

constructions also create legal inequality for women. In fact, as victims, women are also the ones to blame for the violence that befell them. The moral values that are used as references for such causes boil down to the dominance of patriarchal gender ideology in society. A moral order that places men in a superior position in society that rules to control women's behavior (Bhasin, 1996). In this perspective, women are positioned as powerless inferiors. Violence is used as a justification for controlling women (Haralambos and Holborn, 1995). This kind of condition is shown in the article titled "*Jangan Jadi Pelaku: Peran Laki-Laki Akhiri Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan*" (Konde, 1/2/2022).

The recommendation offered to overcome violence against women is in the form of an invitation for men to become feminist men, namely men who value the existence of women as whole people and equal to men. Serious law enforcement for perpetrators is also a solution offered by some existing writings. Both law enforcement within the organization and positive law in general. The importance of handling cases of violence against women in the public and domestic spheres is legally very important to do (Alhakim, 2021). Empowering women to dare to fight for their rights and interests as well as the problems faced by the public is also a solution offered in several existing writings.

In general, it can be affirmed that various issues related to violence experienced by women in various articles in the media use the framing of feminist journalism with pressure on women as victims of physical and sexual violence occurring in the domestic and public spheres committed by men in various social positions in society controlled by the dominant gender ideology of patriarchy which defends the interests of men more than the interests of women. Being a feminist man, empowered woman and the actualization of firm laws are solutions offered in these various writings.

Based on the findings we can affirm that patriarchy is considered to be the cause of the current problem of sexual violence. Why does this kind of condition occur? According to Fujiati (2016), patriarchy puts women in an inferior position because they are considered different from men. Patriarchal control over women's bodies results in women being considered a source of problems and if something happens to their bodies, then

patriarchal society will blame women. Patriarchal culture places men higher than women, so it is natural for men to despise women, one of which is biologically. For women, sexuality is existence and self-esteem, especially in virginity and rape narratives, while for men sexuality is a field of play and power.

According to Subono, there are two reasons that make men often rationalize acts of violence against women, namely: the majority of men generally do not have a character that leads to violence against women and children; and a "permissive" society that encourages men to have aggressive beliefs and violence as a form of self-expression accepted in society (Ismail, 2017). This happens because society constantly believes that violence against women is normal.

It can be said that acts of sexual violence against women committed by men are very complex, deep-rooted, in power relations based on gender, sexuality, self-identity, and influenced by social institutions that develop in the community itself (Fushshilat and Apsari, 2020). Perpetrators of sexual violence often hide behind patriarchy, in the name of the "presumption of innocence" by accusing the victim of lying. It can be seen at sentences 65-66 in "*Menyingkap Kasus Dugaan Kekerasan Seksual Terhadap Jurnalis Perempuan di Geotimes*" (Konde, 9/2/22). Many people feel comfortable with this culture, so acts of sexual violence are still widely found in society.

Using violence is also a moral justification for this gender ideology to continue to strengthen its existence as a dominant perspective in society. As shown in standpoint theory (Harding, 2004), there is a relationship between knowledge production and power practices as a consequence of the influence of Marxism. The existence of patriarchal ideology becomes inevitable when a feminist perspective enters it. As pointed out by Krolokke and Sorensen (2006) and Griffin, Ledbetter and Spark (2015), all knowledge is a product of social activity and no knowledge can be truly objective. Cultural conditions typically surrounding women's lives produce experiences and understandings that routinely differ from those produced by the conditions framing men's lives. These different understandings often produce distinct communication patterns. It is worthwhile endeavor (struggle) to understand the

distinctive features of women's experience. We can only know women's experience by attending to women's interpretations of this experience

Why is the issue of violence against women still dominant in public discourse? It happens because recently the number of violence against women is still a lot to occur (Timorria, 2019). Besides, it is also caused by the fact that the authorities have not been optimum yet to handle cases of violence. This is reflected in the results of a study by the *Kompas* (Nugraheni, 2022) which showed that 53.5 percent of respondents were not satisfied with the government's performance in law enforcement related to cases of violence against women.

The results of research by Musdah Mulia (*Kompas*, January 2, 2023) showed that the narrative in social media about gender friends was widely used by the conservative movement in building views on the position of women. The narrative conveyed only revolves around a limited scope as children, mothers and wives. This narrative ignored equality, but instead had a large following. The danger was that this conservative view further cemented the view of women only as sexual objects and husbands. Meanwhile, according to Diah Irawaty, women were still considered a source of morality problems and sexual violence. The mindset that positions women as guilty parties in sexual assault cases still occurred in society. Any form of sexual violence could not be justified and tolerated at all. This violence against women still happened because the power relation between men and women was still unequal. This was emphasized by Rifa'at and Farid in their study (2019).

The issue of violence is one of the strategic frames by the media because it meets the standards of news value in journalism. As stated by Wendratama (2017), an event can become an online media report if it meets one of the following news value criteria, namely novelty, influence, relevance, conflict, popularity, emotion, impropriety and closeness of distance. The issue of violence is very interesting because it can have some news value in it. For example, a case of violence experienced by a female journalist in an online media as reported by *Konde.Co* with the title "*Menyingkap Kasus Dugaan Kekerasan Seksual terhadap Jurnalis Perempuan di*

Geotimes" (9/2/2022). In the news, almost all of these elements can be found.

News value is important element in framing process. It is because framing is a selection to prioritize some fact, image, or development over others, unconsciously pushing on one particular interpretation of an event. In reporting, news framing refers to the interpretive structure that journalists use to organize specific events in a broader context by using key concepts, compelling phrases, and iconic imagery to reinforce certain ways of interpreting developments (Norris, Kern, and Just, 2003). As demonstrated in feminist journalism framing, the interpretive structure used by journalists to frame an event concerns some aspects of emphasis related to women's issues, not attacking people, conveying factual information and displaying women's voices.

The frame of feminist journalism is an attempt by journalists to construct reality by using a certain appeal to women. According to Van Gorp (2010), journalists exist in the midst of the dynamics of meaning construction where journalists present additional layers of interpretation on issues and events in the formation of news. Journalists will not be able to deliver news effectively without having a knowledge of how to organize the elements in the news and what kind of meaning that can or should be attached to the news elements. To be able to do so, journalists must have an understanding of journalistic and cultural practices related to myths, relics, narratives, and values to be applied in an effort to define the motivations and behaviors of news sources and explain the origin of issues that suggest to the audience how an event can be interpreted. It is very important for journalists to have gender sensitive in themselves for applying feminist journalism standards.

The exaltation of journalists to women is a necessity when the construction of reality through the frame of feminist journalism is applied. It is realized by journalists as social actors that in the construction of reality the position of the political, social, economic and cultural elites of the male sex is very dominant. This kind of feminist journalism way of thinking is relevant to the critical constructionism's explanation of Robert Heiner (2006; Sunarto, 2021).

This idea of Heiner is related to thought in the theory of symbolic interactionism and the theory of Marxism. In Heiner's view, the

interaction between social actors in society which is explained through concept of self, mind, and society occurs in a conflictual atmosphere due to the unequal relationship between the existing social actors. In this case, male actors occupy dominant positions and dominate female actors. Ownership of means of production such as capital, technology and natural resources is the cause of the unequal relation.

The media industries as an actualization of the means of production is an example of how the relationship of male power over women occurs. The mainstream media industries have been dominated by men so far that it have become a men's site (Sunarto, 2020). The emergence of feminist media such as the object of this study becomes an antithesis to the existence of the mainstream media when the dominance of women is relatively more prominent in it, both in the position of being the perpetrator and its content. The existence of this feminist media is a nuisance in itself for the mainstream media with its feministic praxis. The existence of cutting-edge communication technology strongly supports the development of this feministic media. The emergence of new media with various social issues that have been marginalized is inevitable.

With this kind of improvement, it also conditions so that cases of violence against women that occur in society can be minimized and then eliminated. The existence of the mass media has a great influence to help efforts to eliminate violence against women (Sunarto, 2007). Like the case of a female speaker when her permissive remarks about violence against women went viral on social media. This speaker immediately expressed an open apology for the material that had been conveyed to the public some time before. This kind of condition did not occur in the past when the conventional media was still dominant (Tresia, 2020). Describing this issues can be founded at article "Dear Oki Setiana Dewi, Jangan Normalisasi KDRT: Negara Ini Sudah Mengesahkan UU PKDRT Sejak Tahun 2004" (Konde, 4/2/2022).

Conclusion

Global and national media content still places women as a minority. Masculine media practices are still dominant in the national media industry. The latest technological developments have given rise to many

alternative media to produce different contents. Gender issues appear in the media. Framing what kind of information which is done by alternative media that have a feministic vision was the focus of this study. The research was conducted with the aim of describing the framing of feminist journalism in *Konde.Co* and *Magdalene.Co*. From the results of existing research, it could be concluded that the use of a critical paradigm in framing research design was able to identify the existence of feminist journalism framing in the content of online media that specifically had a vision to serve the interests of women from various existing articles by revealing more issues related to violence against women, not attacking people, displaying factual information, and voicing women's voices. The dominant issue encountered was violence against women in the public domain. The framing results showed that the causes of violence were more directed to the construction of gender roles in society that position men as controllers of women's behavior so that they got justification as perpetrators of violence. Such constructions also created legal inequality for women. In fact, as victims, women were also the ones to blame for the violence that befell them. The moral values that were used as references for such causes boil down to the dominance of patriarchal gender ideology in society. It was a moral order that places men in a superior position in society that rules to control women's behavior. In this perspective, women were positioned as powerless inferiors. Violence was used as a justification for controlling women. The recommendation offered to overcome violence against women was in the form of an invitation for men to become feminist men, namely men who value the existence of women as whole people and equal to men. Besides, training to women to empower themselves to voice their violence experience to public. Empowering women to dare to fight for their rights and interests as well as the problems faced by the public was important to be done by women. Serious law enforcement for perpetrators was also a solution offered by some existing articles. Both law enforcement within the organization and positive law in general.

Theoretically, the use of framing theory as the second level of agenda-setting theory that has been commonly used in interpretive paradigms was no longer relevant

when it came to issues related to critical paradigm. It is necessary to conduct further research related to the use of critical paradigms in news framing for issues outside feminists, for example ethnicity, racism, social class and others. Socially, the results of this study contribute importantly to the conditioning of society to understand the existence of women who are still victims of violence to obtain defense personally, socially, politically, economically and culturally.

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