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LITERATURE, LINGUISTICS & CRITICISM | RESEARCH ARTICLE

Construction of women in media: A critical discourse analysis on violence against women in newspaper

Hari Bakti Mardikantoro^{1*}, Imam Baehaqie¹ and Muhammad Badrus Siroj¹

Abstract: This study aims to analyze the textual construction, discursive practices, and sociocultural practices of violence against women in several Indonesian newspapers. We used library method, observation, and notetaking to gather the data. We then employed a critical discourse analysis to look at how violence against women are discursively represented in those selected newspapers. The results showed that (1) Indonesian newspapers construct their news by using active voice to explain the detailed gender-based violence cases and to represent that women as victims are weak and submissive; (2) discursive representation in Indonesian newspapers encompasses institutional networks that include journalists, editors, directors, and publishers which decide the framing of the news; (3) the sociocultural contexts beyond the media also influence how discursive representation is framed. The construction of media discourses of gender-based violence portrays women as weak and victimized.

Subjects: Education - Social Sciences; Gender Studies - Soc Sci; Cultural Studies; Media & Communications; Journalism & Professional Media; Language & Linguistics

Keywords: women; violence; news construction; critical discourse analysis

1. Introduction

Woman has served as an attention-getter in news industry (Carter et al., 2014). Women have been considered as an asset to advertise products for both male and female potential buyers. However, women have received an unfair treatment in the construction of violence-related discourses, and particularly in the construction of media discourses of gender-based violence (Sutherland et al.,



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PUBLIC INTEREST STATEMENT

This study examines the construction of news coverage of violence against women in newspapers with a critical discourse study of the Norman Fairclough model. Fairclough divides discourse analysis into three dimensions, namely text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice. This research is interesting because the news in the newspaper is (generally) made by men. In addition, the position of women has always been the "object" of the news. On the other hand, many newspapers make women a commodity that is worth selling. This is certainly a manifestation of the attitude and ideology of the newspaper regarding women.









2019). It has been women who have been named and shamed in media reporting, even though women themselves are the victims (Alat, 2006). In addition, the normalization of pornographic reporting and representations in the mainstream culture also demonstrates the gravity of the problem. This is concerning, especially in the midst of gender-equality movement both globally and locally (Sakhiyya & Locke, 2019). The massive scale media release about women means that the discourses on violence against women has been constructed, negotiated and represented (Alat, 2006; Carter et al., 2014).

Domestic violence against women is nothing new. Women have always been considered weak, vulnerable, and in a position to be exploited (Alat, 2006; Carter et al., 2014). Violence has long been accepted as something that happens to women. Cultural mores, religious practices, and economic and political conditions might initiate and perpetuate domestic violence, but ultimately committing an act of violence is a choice that the individual makes out of a range of options (Kaur & Garg, 2008). In Indonesia, for example, sexist and misogynistic reporting on news about violence against women are prevalent. This is unfortunate, given the soaring number of cases on violence against women. Data of gender violence in Central Java from November 2008 to October 2009 by Legal Resources Center-Gender Justice and Human Rights (henceforth, LRC-KJHAM) and several news reports in printed media, such as *Suara Merdeka*, *Wawasan*, *Kompas*, *Jawa Pos-Radar Semarang*, and *Solo Pos* have reported some cases of abuse against women. According to the LRCKJHAM reports, there are 210 cases of rape (17, 193 cases reported by media), 149 domestic violence cases (73:76), 101 cases of violence in relationships (6:95), 16 cases of sexual abuse (16), 71 cases of exploitation and prostitution (71), 44 cases violence against women migrant workers (7:37), 23 cases of trafficking (23; Divisi Monitoring LRC-KJHAM, 2009).

Another report has revealed that 62% of women are victims of violent cases. Half of the cases are physical and sexual abuse. Other than strangers, the majority of the perpetrators are the husbands of the victims. Healthcare professionals mostly mistreat women with physical disabilities. In previous decade, 13% of women with physical disabilities became victims of physical and sexual abuse (Young et al., 1997:S-34).

Susilo (2017:344) assumes that female sexuality is something worth objectifying by mainstream media. The media justify their exploitation of women to serve the majority of male readers. Such masculine hegemony remains rooted in society as an excuse to discriminate against women. Men are touted to have authority over women. Physical abuse is considered as the domination of masculinity over femininity.

Violence against women often occurs among intimate partners. Intimate partner violence (IPV) is an entrenched public health and social problem across both developed and developing nations. The World Health Organization (2010, p.) defines IPV as "behavior within an intimate relationship that causes physical, sexual or psychological harm, including acts of physical aggression, sexual coercion, psychological abuse, and controlling behaviors". This definition covers violence by both current and former spouses and intimate partners. There are a growing recognition and understanding of the potential health consequences of IPV both concerning acute and chronic health impacts beyond the physical trauma cases seen in emergency departments of acute care hospitals and primary care settings. In the past two decades, a growing body of literature has focused on associations between IPV and physical and mental health across a wide range of disciplines. This is reflected in the increasing volume of research articles that deal with psychological consequences and correlates of IPV, including PTSD and other related psychological conditions (Dillon et al., 2013:1).

The above data explains why women are always being objectified. The objectification of women is seen in the language of the mass media, which significantly contributes to the perception built by the readers about a phenomenon. For this reason, the media is the one that has the most responsibility as they spread and reinforce the stigma in a heterogeneous society (Joni, 2011; Suryandaru, 2013).



In this study, the construction of news about violence against women in selected newspapers is examined. In addition, that men publish most of the reports has made the topic worth investigating. Further, women have always been marginalized objects in mass media. Several media, however, do not portray women in stereotypes. This represents the manifesto of the attitude and ideology of the media regarding women. In this case, the term ideology is not described as a will to power (Foucault, 1997). It rather is perceived as something neutral as a worldview or, in semiotics, a foundation for producing and interpreting messages or moral values within a symbol, whereas Roland Barthes mentions it as mythology (Hamad, 2004, p. 20).

This paper employs a critical discourse analysis to investigate the discursive construction of women in the media, with a belief that discourse is the reflection of power in society (Fairclough & Dan Wodak, 1997). Discursive practices carry with it ideological effects which contribute to the production and reproduction of an imbalance correlation of power between men and women (Subagyo, 2010:177). To conclude, critical discourse analysis is not only about examining the internal and external of particular discourse, but also other ideological motives and relationships of power within society (Dijk, 1987; Mardikantoro, 2014; Mills, 1997; Subagyo, 2012).

This study portrays the construction of women in violence against woman discourses through the lens of a critical discourse analysis. This paper aims to (1) evaluate the way Indonesian newspapers construct their news to explain the detailed gender-based violence cases and to represent that women as victims are weak and submissive; (2) analyse the discursive representation in Indonesian newspapers in framing their news on gender-based violence; (3) analyse the socio-cultural contexts beyond the Indonesian newspapers.

2. Women, violence, and media

Women have been subjected to not only symbolic but also physical violence (Thiara & Gill, 2009). Violence against women has received increased attention at both globally and nationally since 1990s (Carter et al., 2014). This growing concern is due to the perceived historical inequalities between women and men, and considered as the main hindrance to equality and development (Carter et al., 2014). This attempt to mainstream violence against women, however, is not without its challenges (Alat, 2006; Sutherland et al., 2019). The socio-cultural challenges, including toxic masculinity and patriarchal dominance, have hampered the process. Carter et al. (2014) argue that mainstream media has been articulated through masculine identity with their dominant discussions on violence, power and control. For instance, in the US mass media context, Cuklanz (2014) focuses her investigation on the discursive representation of gendered violence, especially rape, and argues that there is a gap between media discourses of sexuality and sexual violence, between the changing legal framework and media discourses, and the normalization of sexual violence in media products.

Discourses on violence against women are a reflection of how patriarchy manifests in the daily life. The discourse on violence against women highlights the importance to question power and control in a patriarchal society. Arendt (1970:35) even argues that "violence is nothing more than the most flagrant manifestation of power". Van Dijk (1988) explains that the process of discursive reproduction of violence and power involves access to discourse and to a wide range of communicative events.

In the media, women are often represented as inferior to men. Studies in this area have identified three main characters of women in a gender-based violence cases, i.e., "bad," "mad," and "sad" (Barlow, 2020). The "bad woman" character describes women as intentionally evil, manipulative and dangerous femme fatale. The "mad woman" portrays woman as irrational, crazy and unable to control her obsession, hatred, emotion or jealousy. The "sad woman" is represented as a sympathetic character as someone who is oppressed. These characterisations may overlap and cannot be clearly separated. This paper draws on this classification and expand on the cases of violence against women.



3. Methodology

This study employs a critical discourse analysis to look at how violence against women is portrayed and discursively framed in news items. A critical discourse analysis approach on violence against women allows the unpacking of violence against women in terms of its fluid and varied meanings and how it is socially constructed. The current study focuses on media discourse because the news media influences public opinion on controversial issues, including violence against women.

Norman Fairclough proposed three analysis stages in looking at discourse, namely texts, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice (Darma, 2009:90). The three stages of the analysis are useful to uncover newspaper attitudes and ideologies towards women's positions in the newspaper. This method prioritizes comprehensive, contextual, and multilevel analysis that can be done by placing themselves as participants in the process of social transformation.

There are three focuses of the analysis, i.e., something that is discussed by a speaker, the correlation of discourse and its context perceived by the hearer, the addressee, and the addresser, the intention of the discourse, etc. In other words, correlating discourse with its context signifies the pragmatic analysis of discourse.

The data collection was carried out in three stages, namely data description, data interpretation and explanation. Firstly, data description means that we describe data in the form of news discourse in Indonesian-language newspapers. The data in this study were collected from selected news articles about violence against women which were retrieved from Indonesian newspapers, especially *Kompas* and *Republika* (national newspapers), and *Jawa Pos* and *Suara* Merdeka (local newspaper). These newspapers are considered representative of the national newspapers in Indonesia due to their coverage and subscription profiles. The data collection process was carried out for two months to ensure that the data were varied and sufficient. Secondly, data interpretation which allows us to interpret fragments of news discourse in Indonesian-language newspapers that are suspected of containing news of violence against women). Then finally, the explanation stage is the step where we explain the critical reading of data in the form of fragments of news discourse in Indonesian-language newspapers which are suspected of containing news of violence against women.

4. Results

4.1. Textual dimension discourse on violence against women

This first stage focuses on the textual dimension of violence against women. At this stage, the data is analyzed linguistically by focusing on vocabulary and grammar. It also takes into account the cohesion and coherence of the discourse. As many as 62 data of discourse on the news about violence against women have been retrieved from newspapers, namely *Harian Suara Merdeka*, *Harian Republika*, *Harian Kompas*, and *Harian Jawa Pos*. This process took two months. The total of discourse from each newspaper is 15 from *Harian Suara Merdeka*), 6 from *Harian Republika*), 18 from *Harian Kompas*), and 23 from *Harian Jawa Pos*).

The data below are some excerpts of a news report entitled *Penyekap Karyawati Ancam Petugas*, telling about the captivity of Siti Nurhayati by Wawan Setiawan. The title of the news (in the Indonesian language) focuses on the way the perpetrator threatened the police.

(1) Warga sekitar Kampung Ngemplak, Kelurahan Dukuh, Kecamatan Sidomukti digegerkan oleh penyekapan yang dilakukan Wawan Setiawan (22) terhadap Siti Nurhayati (16), warga Desa Sraten, Kecamatan Tuntang, Kabupaten Semarang, Selasa (12/4) siang (Suara Merdeka, 13 April 2016). [Residents around Ngemplak village, Dukuh sub-district, Sidomukti district were shocked by the news of a woman held in captivity by Wawan Setiawan, 22 on Tuesday afternoon, April 12th. The victim, Siti Nurhayati, 16, was a villager of Sraten village, Tuntang sub-district, Semarang Regency].



The above data explains the chronology of a woman held captive by Wawan Setiawan. The word digegerkan (shocked by) signifies that the case is such a bizarre news that causes commotion around the village. Following the word digegerkan is the clause oleh penyekapan yang dilakukan Wawan Setiawan (22) terhadap Siti Nurhayati (16). This clause functions to elaborate the object of the main clause. Information about a man holding a woman in captivity is purposively positioned at the beginning of the paragraph to attract the reader's attention. It is followed by a thorough explanation of the chronology of the event.

(2) Saat beraksi pelaku mengancam korban dengan senjata tajam jenis parang. Bahkan, saat petugas Satuan Reserse Kriminal (Reskrim) Polres Salatiga hendak masuk rumah tersangka yang digunakan untuk menyekap, sempat terjadi ketegangan karena pelaku mengancam petugas dengan parang jika masuk rumah (Suara Merdeka, 13 April 2016). [During his actions, the man threatened his victim with parang, a sharp weapon. The man, even though officers of the criminal investigation unit of Salatiga Police attempted to enter the house, continued to threaten the police, resulting in a tense situation].

Based on the above data, the author begins the sentence with an active voice to signify the action committed by Wawan. The name of the perpetrator is mentioned only once in the first paragraph; as in the next sentences, the author uses the pronoun *perpetrator*. The verb *mengancam* (threaten) is written to show the action of the perpetrator, i.e., the subject of the sentence. Similarly, the name of the object, i.e., Siti Nurhayati, is mentioned only once; the pronoun *victim* is used to address Siti. The author or journalist uses the conjunction *dengan* (literally with) to describe the use of a sharp weapon (*senjata tajam jenis parang*). In the second sentence, the clause *pelaku mengancam dengan parang* is also mentioned. Such a repetition emphasizes the importance of the detail, despite that the action described in the clause is intended for two targets, i.e., the victim and the police.

An elaboration marked by the conjunction *yang* shows the elaboration of the object in the second sentence of Datum 2. The clause *yang digunakan untuk menyekap* refers to the explanation of the phrase *rumah tersangka* functioned as the object of the sentence. This is to support the information previously mentioned or the captivity by Wawan Setiawan.

(3) Berdasarkan informasi yang dihimpun, kejadian berawal saat pelaku Wawan Setiawan mendatangi Siti Nurhayati yang berada di Café Clip yang terletak di Jalan Lingkar Salatiga (JLS) Kecandran sekitar pukul 11.30, kemarin. Saat bertemu, tiba-tiba pelaku marah kepada korban karena menolak ketika akan diajak untuk bersetubuh. Lantaran penolakan itulah, pelaku kemudian mengancam korban dengan mengeluarkan pisau carter dan menempelkan ke leher korban [According to the information, the crime began when the perpetrator, Wawan Setiawan, visited Siti Nurhayati who at the time worked at Café Clip in Salatiga ring road, Kecandran, at around 11:30 a.m. The man got angry at the woman since she rejected the man to have sex. Insulted, the perpetrator pulled out a knife and threatened the victim] (Suara Merdeka, 13 April 2016).

Paragraph four emphasizes the physical abuse against women. In the second sentence of the paragraph, the author puts the conjunction *karena* to clarify the reason for the captivity, i.e., when the victim rejected the perpetrator to have sex with her. The journalist expresses the authority of a man or the perpetrator through the verbs *marah* and *mengancam* (get angry and threaten). Datum 3, from the textual perspective, indicates gender bias and patriarchal ideology. This notion resonates with the idea of Mills (1997) and Subagyo (2010).

Intimidation against women as the victims is represented through the use of active form using verbs, such as mengancam korban, mengeluarkan pisau carter, dan menempelkan ke leher. This is because the journalist intends to explain how Wawan Setiawan committed the crime in detail. Additionally, the use of active voice creates a weak image of women due to the absence of resistance during the crime. Datum 3 also shows the use of conjunction dengan in the clause



dengan mengeluarkan pisau carter dan menempelkan ke leher korban to describe the adverb of manner. Further, the use of the conjunction dan in the clause informs other actions of the perpetrator after pulling out a cutter. Conjunctions in the sentence are used to point out the crime committed by the perpetrator against the victim; this idea is in line with the notion by Halliday and Dan Hassan (1976) that conjunction is to connect two words or clauses.

Another news article about violence against women is published on April 27th, 2016, entitled *PRT Disiksa karena Tolak Mandi*. Not only is the title depicting the case of physical abuse against women, but also the headline is gender-bias. The journalist opts to write the chronology of the crime testified by the victim as the headline to attract readers' interest. Below are the excerpts from the article.

(4) Bengkalis – Seorang pembantu rumah tangga (PRT), Maria Imelda (21 tahun) diduga disiksa majikannya karena menolak mandi 12 kali per hari. Peristiwa ini terjadi di Desa Sungai Selari, Kecamatan Bukit Batu, Kabupaten Bengkalis, Provinsi Riau (Republika, 27 April 2016) [Bengkalis – A housemaid, Maria Imelda, 21, was allegedly to be a victim of abusive actions due to refuting the request of her employer to take bath 21 times a day. This took place at Sungai Selari village, Bukit Batu district, Bengkalis Regency, Riau province].

At the beginning of the article, the journalist explains the detail of the victim (victim's full name), the crime, and the reason for committing the crime using the phrase Seorang pembantu rumah tangga (PRT). This indicates that the journalist does not ensure the confidentiality of crime victims; the journalist is supposed to write the initial of the victim. Gender bias is shown in the word diduga (literally "is assumed"). Although the use of diduga is to explain something uncertain, the journalist insists on using the word.

The issue comes to the surface as the word *diduga* is followed by *disiksa* (literally "tortured"), which indicates that the crime is yet confirmed. The verb *disiksa* written by the journalist in passive voice implies that the detail of information does not focus on the suspect. Instead, the victim becomes the center of the news since this approach is practical to generate readers' interest. The suspect is not referred to by its name since throughout the article but by the pronoun *majikannya* (literally *her employer* or the employer of Maria Imelda, the victim). Conjunction *karena* (literally "because") in the first sentence is to explain the cause of physical abuse against the victim who rejected the employer's request to take a bath 12 times a day. Provided in the following are the excerpts from the article.

(5) Maria Imelda yang saat ini masih terbaring di UGD tersebut menyebutkan, siksaan yang dilakukan pasangan Herman dan Wati sering terjadi karena hal sepele. Maria dipaksa mandi berkali-kali oleh majikan perempuannya, padahal dia sudah mandi. Majikannya takut rumah menjadi kotor hanya karena tangan Maria sewaktu membersihkan rumah tengah dalam keadaan gatal (Republika, 27 April 2016) [Maria Imelda, who are now being hospitalized, confirmed that the abusive actions by her employers, Herman and Wati, were caused by something nonsense. Maria was forced to take bath multiple times a day, even though she had taken a shower. Her employers were afraid that the house would be dirty as Maria was suffering from eczema].

Datum 5 provides the chronology of physical abuse against the victim, Maria Imelda. Elaboration of the information of the subject or Maria Imelda is represented in the first sentence using the conjunction yang followed by the clause yang saat ini masih terbaring di UGD. The journalist uses the word siksaan (literally "torture"), which is harsher, rather than other words with a lighter tone, such as violence. Another use of the conjunction yang within the same sentence is seen to explain the clause dilakukan pasangan Herman dan Wati, indicating the one who committed the crime. The use of the word sering (literally "often") suggests the adverb of manner of the action, i.e., physical abuse by the employer. The journalist uses the conjunction karena (literally "because") to clarify the cause of the crime, i.e., hal sepele (something unimportant). This notion is in line with the idea



of the use of conjunction to connect cause and effect, as proposed by Halliday and Dan Hassan (1976).

In Datum 5, the second sentence informs the reader about the physical abuse experienced by the victim. The use of passive voice has turned the focus on the victim rather than the employer, as seen in the clause Maria dipaksa mandi berkali-kali oleh majikan perempuannya. This clause can be changed to active voice: Majikan perempuannya memaksa Maria mandi berkali-kali (English translation: "Her employer forced Maria to take baths multiple times"). In this active sentence, a verb with the affix meng- is appropriate to highlight the violence committed by the employer. The journalist, on the other hand, opts to write it in its passive form to direct readers' attention toward Maria. Furthermore, the conjunction hanya karena (literally "only because") is used to explain that the cause of the violence is nonsense. The paragraph shown in the above data indicates that the journalist prefers to marginalize the victim by referring to the victim as the center of attention in the perspective of the article. Such a notion is also found in the data below.

(6) Ia mengatakan, selain dipaksa mandi, majikan laki-laki mencekik lehernya sambil menyeretnya ke kamar mandi. Badannya mengalami memar dan lebam sampai terguling di dalam kamar mandi (Republika, 27 April 2016) [Not only being forced to take baths, her male employer strangled Maria and dragged her to the bath room. Her body got bruised].

The pronoun Ia (this pronoun can refer to he or she in English) in the first sentence refers to the victim, Maria Imelda. Following the pronoun is the verb mengatakan (literally "say"), which explains that Maria is the one who initiates to tell the journalist about the abuse. The word selain implies that there is more than one form of abuse as represented in the clause after the word. In this paragraph, the active sentence is used to accentuate the employer as the offender. The verbs mencekik (literally "strangle") and menyeretnya (literally "drag") requires a subject, i.e., the employer. In the paragraph, not only has the author incorporated words indicating euphemism, but also words explicating violence: mencekik lehernya sambil menyeretnya ke kamar mandi. The second sentence represents the after-effects of the abuse. The pronoun nya in badannya refers to Maria Imelda. The exploitation of the victim continues in the following Datum 7.

(7) Sedangkan istrinya, Wati, juga ikut menyiksa dengan menyiram kakinya dengan air Pixel. "Saya sudah menjerit dan menangis minta tolong, tapi kedua majikan saya tidak peduli, malah makin kuat menyiksa. Ini bukan kali pertama saya disiksa, saya sudah berkali-kali disiksa di rumah itu. Bahkan, anehnya, terkadang saya disuruh mandi sampai 12 kali dalam satu hari. Mereka beralasan takut rumahnya kotor," katanya [While his wife, Wati, also tortured her by splashing her feet with Pixel water. "I screamed and cried for help, but my two employers did not care. They continued to torture me. This is not the first time since I have been tortured many times in that house. In fact sometimes I was told to bathe up to 12 times a day. They argued that their house was dirty, she replied] (Republika, 27 April 2016).

The first sentence of Datum 7 is written in an active form to illustrate the physical abuse. In this data, the employer of Maria, the wife of Herman, is referred to using the pronoun -nya in the word istrinya (literally "her wife"), which indicates the ellipsis of the conjunction yang bernama Wati. The author uses the verb associating with abusive actions in the next clause. Issues of inequality occur since the verb menyiksa is placed side-by-side with the perpetrator, Wati, who is a woman. This serves as the strategy of the journalist to stimulate the readers' curiosity to find out the reason for the abusive action against women. The conjunction dengan (literally "with") is used twice in the first sentence. It functions as the adverb of manner, explaining the action of the subject, i.e., Wati in using tools to torture Maria, as seen in the clause menyiram kaki Maria dan air Pixel.

The indication of Maria as a victim is shown in the pronoun saya (literally "1"). The phrase sudah menjerit represents Maria's attempts to stop Wati's action by screaming but with no results. A conjunction dan (literally "and"), which connects the word menjerit and menangis represent



addition in the information. An impression of something pity is nuanced by the sentence. The clause *malah makin kuat* describes the conflicted situation.

In Datum 7, the second sentence is an excerpt from an interview with Maria Imelda, which explains the way she responded to the abuse she received. The author or the journalist turns this excerpt into the headline or the title of the news with a text box typed in bold. Such a notion signifies that the exploitation of women serves as something to attract readers despite it puts women in harm.

Harian Kompas, a daily newspaper, often puts abusive actions against women in its articles. Within two months, the press released 18 reports, which objectify women. Harian Kompas tend to use strategies other than euphemism in the title of the articles, such as seen in "Perempuan Tewas Dicekik di Kontrakan" (A Woman Found Dead, Strangled in Rent House), "Perempuan Hamil Jadi Korban Mutilasi" (Pregnant Woman Becomes Victim of Mutilation), and "Polisi Rencanakan Pembunuhan Istri" (Police Officer Plans to Murder his own Wife). All of those titles highlight women as an object of deliberate abuse.

The first article, "Perempuan Tewas Dicekik di Kontrakan", was published on March 2nd, 2016. It informs a murder case in Jakarta. Gender bias is indicated in the content of the article. In some parts, the journalist or author uses dictions that marginalize the victim rather than focusing on the perpetrator. The following are the excerpt from the news articles.

(8) Seorang perempuan penghibur, Yanti alias Riska (27), ditemukan tewas dicekik di kamar kontrakannya di kawasan tanah garapan RT 005 RW 001 Kelurahan Pulogebang, Kecamatan Cakung, Jakarta Timur, Selasa, (1/3). Jasad Riska ditemukan hanya mengenakan pakaian dalam dan rok pendek (Kompas, 2 Maret 2016) [Yanti, alias Riska, a prostitute, was found dead in her rent house in RT 005, RW 001 Pulogebang subdistrict, Cakung district, East Jakarta, on Tuesday (1/3). The body of woman found only wearing underwear and mini skirt].

Discrimination against women is seen in several dictions in the first paragraph. Datum 8 writes the phrase seorang perempuan penghibur (prostitute) as the subject. A reporter is supposed to emphasize the perpetrator and condition of the victim in a murder case. In the paragraph, on the other hand, there is no indication of protecting the victim's identity, i.e., the profession of the victim, which is considered by many as something negative. The phrase seorang wanita penghibur (literally a prostitute woman) is used by the journalist to stress that the victim deserves the pain. Another proof explaining this notion is the use of passive sentences signified by the verb dicekik (literally "being strangled) without clarifying the subject. The word tewas (literally "was killed") in Datum 8 is supposed to be written meninggal (literally "died"). However, the journalist opts for the first word that emphasizes a tragic death.

The insensitivity of mass media about gender is also seen in the dictions used in the second sentence. The journalist does not clarify the murdered in the first paragraph, and instead explains the condition of the corpse when it was found. The clause hanya mengenakan pakaian dalam dan rok pendek is not supposed to be the primary information in the first paragraph, as this indicates discrimination against women. However, from the perspective of men, the journalist considers that such information is crucial.

Based on data mapping, among the four selected newspapers, *Harian Jawa Pos* contains most articles reporting violence against women with 23 news. The titles of news items tend to be patriarchal and portrays women as weak and helpless. Improper languages are also found in the media, as it is seen from the title of several articles, such as "Jajakan Diri, Puluhan PSK Diamankan Polisi"; "Perempuan dalam Karung Dibunuh karena Utang", "Laki-Laki Berkeluarga 7 Kali Cabuli ABG"; dan "Niat Cari Pekerjaan, Digagahi di Bandungan". Note that all dictions of these titles are associated with something vulgar and violent, such as *jajakan diri* and *cabuli*.



The first article, "Cemburu, Kekasih Disekap di Kamar Kos", was published on March 1st, 2016. This article is about intimate partner violence. Women are the target of abusive actions due to conflict with their partners in a relationship. The following are the excerpt from the news articles.

(9) Tangan diborgol, mulut dan kedua kaki dilakban (Jawa Pos, 1 March 2016).

(10) Cemburu buta membuat *M. Abas, 32*, warga Dusun Sogo, Desa Nalongmojo, Kecamatan Puri, Kabupaten Mojokerto, gelap mata. Pada Sabtu (27/2) *dia tega menyekap kekasihnya, Umi Rosidah, 27. Umi disekap* di kamar kosnya di Jalan Empunala, Kelurahan Kedundung, Kecamatan Magersari, Kota Mojokerto [Driven by jealousy, M. Abas, 32, a villager of Sogo sub-village, Nalongmojo village, Puri district, Mojokerto Regency hold his girlfriend, Umi Rosidah, 27, in captivate in his rented room] (Jawa Pos, 1 March 2016).

Datum 9 is a headline of a news article entitled "Cemburu, Kekasih Disekap di Kamar Kos". The reporter illustrates the violence as represented by the clause *tangan diborgol dan kedua kaki dilakban*. Gender inequality is visible in the use of passive sentences in the headline, which do not incorporate the subject or the perpetrator in the sentence. Images of women as creatures are depicted by the author to attract readers.

The first sentence in the first paragraph is written in active form. The pronoun *dia* in the second sentence refers to M. Abas, the perpetrator. The verb *menyekap* (literally to hold in captivity) is to label the victim, Umi Rosidah, as weak. There is also an absence of protecting the identity of the victim since the name of the victim, i.e., Umi is written multiple times. Yet, this does not apply to the perpetrator. In the third sentence, the author uses passive form indicated by the verb *disekap* without adding the subject, or in this case, the perpetrator's name.

This textual analysis confirms what Risdaneva's and Risdaneva's (2018) and Carter et al. (2014) findings that men are frequently referred to by using words like "suspect", "rapist", "suspected rapist", and "perpetrator". Those words are mentioned more than once particularly the word "suspect". From 63 occurrences, the word "suspect" is used 44 times to name the men in the whole corpus of the JP. In terms of their jobs, men in the JP are only referred to in 28 occurrences which are only 31% of the whole occurrences. The typical use of functionalisation in representing men also happens in the representation of women in the JP. The JP tends to view women in relation to their positions in the legal system by using such words as "victim", "detainee", and "client". However, the JP does not use as many types of words for women as for men. Only three types of word are used but with many tokens, especially for the word "victim". This is used in more than 50% of all the occurrences of legal terms.

Such statistical figure demonstrates that women, as compared to men, continue to be negatively represented in the media, even though those women are the victims of the gendered-based violence. This discursive representation towards women shows the role of media and culture in reproducing gendered violence and marginalization (Carter et al., 2014), and maintain the fact that women have been unfairly represented in the construction of violence-related discourses, and particularly in the construction of media discourses of gender-based violence (Sutherland et al., 2019).

4.2. Discursive news of violence against women

In this study, the analysis of discursive practice focuses on how a text is produced. As a publisher, a journalist has particular ideologies that underpin the production of the text. This notion also applies to the reader as the consumer of the news. Analysis of text production is carried out by interviews with journalists and library research.

The analysis of text production is performed to find out the process of how a news report is produced. This process is inseparable from the ideology of the journalist and the newspaper or the



media. In the study, the analysis of text production is by an interview with Triyanto Triwikromo, the managing editor of *Suara Merdeka* newspaper.

The production of news in *Suara Merdeka* begins with a planning stage; its process encompasses daily, weekly, and monthly meetings and meetings to determine the national headline. The daily meeting is conducted every day at 09:00 p.m with the managing editor leading the meeting. Other staffs involved in the meeting are the field coordinator, desk representatives, and representatives from Semarang office. The agenda of this meeting is to evaluate the previous edition of the newspaper and to plan programs for the next article.

The headline planning meeting discusses the national segment news for the edition published tomorrow; this meeting is conducted at 06:30 p.m. Led by the managing editor, the session involves staff that is responsible for writing articles in segments, i.e., national, international, sports, economy, celebrity, and photos. It is also possible for a completed article for the headline to be revised due to other relevant reports.

A weekly meeting is held every Monday except for the first week of the month. The editor-inchief leads the conference with all editorial staff and representatives of Semarang office. This meeting focuses on evaluating the weekly progress and planning programs for the next week. A monthly meeting is held every Monday in the first week of the month to discuss the monthly progress and design programs for the next month.

Following the planning is the news gathering stage. This stage starts with the coordination among the news coordinator, editorial staff, and head of the division. After the daily meeting, the head of the division assigns the site of news gathering for the journalists and photographers. This step is based on the specialization of the journalists regarding the news. A journalist, however, is allowed to determine the site of newsgathering as long as the story is an actual event or an indepth report of the previous article.

The journalists and photographers of *Suara Merdeka* can send their news reports through the internet connection anywhere. The staff is responsible for submitting the list of articles to the editorial by 4:00 every day. Provided in the list are the title, theme, overview, and additional details (i.e., photos) of the article, including the journalist code. This list functions as a reference for the editorial staff to organize the story, determine the headline, and manage ads on every page of the media.

All journalists of *Suara Merdeka* have a submission deadline. Stories and reports for local or community segments must be sent by 5:00 p.m, while national and sports articles must be submitted by 09:00 p.m. However, the reports can be sent by 0 to 01:00 a.m. under certain situations. Upon the news gathering and submission of article materials, the editorial staff will sort all of the reports to decide which one should be published. The team is also allowed to edit the document if necessary.

Articles in Suara Merdeka are also obtained from press releases from the public relations division or other institutions or individuals through personal contacts. Other resources include Kantor Berita Antara (local news), Reuters and AFP (international news), and the internet as an additional reference. Despite this, Suara Merdeka has no hesitation in assigning its journalists to collect national and international news.

4.3. Sociocultural dimension of discourse on violence against women

An analysis of sociocultural practice is underpinned by the assumption that the social context, in reality, determines the discourse in media. Fairclough and Dan Wodak (1997) divides three levels of this analysis, namely situational, institutional, and social levels.



Social context takes into account situational aspects during which a text is produced. The fact that a text is presented in a specific condition can distinguish the text from the others. If discourse is regarded as action, the action is the response to a particular social situation or context.

Spaces of editorial and journalists are something vacant and not intact, given that external factors determine these dimensions. In this case, the news reports are shaped by the cultural element that favors men and marginalizes women. Women are labeled weak in the concept of Javanese culture. They are merely an object. This is because of the old saying that the women's creation is derived from the rib (*iga wekasan*) of men. From the Javanese philosophy, the idea implies that women, by nature, are created to stand beside men, they need the attention and care of men since the rib is located below the armpit (Endraswara, 2010:57). Data that is illustrative of this is:

(11) Brigadir Kepala Triono (37), anggota Kepolisian Resor Kota Depok, Jawa Barat, diduga merencanakan pembunuhan terhadap istrinya, Ratnitah Handriyani (37), di rumahnya. Triono diduga membunuh istrinya dengan dibantu temannya, Madun (35). Ratnitah ditemukan tidak bernyawa di tempat tidurnya di rumah mereka di Kelurahan Tugu. Cimanggis, Depok, Minggu malam (Kompas, Selasa 19 Maret 2016 hal. 27)

[Brigadier Chief Triono (37), a member of the Depok City Police, is suspected of planning the murder of his wife, Ratnitah Handriyani (37), at his home. Triono allegedly killed his wife with the help of his friend, Madun (35). Ratnitah was found dead in her bed at their home in Tugu Village. Cimanggis, Depok, Sunday night]

Data (11) is a news item in Kompas which states that a husband who should protect his wife is the opposite, namely committing acts of violence against his life partner. The wife who was supposed to be protected was about to be killed. The news in Kompas entitled "Police Plans to Kill Wife" became interesting because the husband, who happened to be a member of the Police, who was supposed to protect the community, actually planned to kill the person he loved. He conspired with his friends. In this context, women are considered weak, so anyone can do anything to her, even by someone who should protect her.

The institutional level looks at how the influence of organizational management in framing the discourses and reproducing the desired discourse. This means that community ideology plays a role in shaping the text.

(12) Ibu korban, Dian Ekawati (29), penjual kopi keliling disekitar Museum Fatahillah, melaporkan kehilangan Suci pada 23 Februari lalu. Dian kehilangan bayinya di Atrium Senen, Jakarta Pusat. Awalnya, ia diajak pelaku berputar-putar untuk berbelanja pakaian dan ditawari pekerjaan di Toko kue. Lalu, pelaku meminta Dian ke ATM dan mewakili pelaku mengambilkan uang. Pelaku sengaja memberikan nomor PIN palsu. Pelaku juga menawarkann menggendong Suci saat Dian ke ATM. Pelaku lalu menghilang bersama suci (Kompas, 2 Maret 2016).

[The victim's mother, Dian Ekawati (29), a mobile coffee seller around the Fatahillah Museum, reported the loss of Suci on 23 February. Dian lost her baby at Atrium Senen, Central Jakarta. Initially, he was invited by the perpetrators to go around shopping for clothes and was offered a job at a cake shop. Then, the perpetrator asked Dian to go to the ATM to get the money. The perpetrator deliberately gave a fake PIN number. The perpetrator also offered to carry Suci when Dian went to the ATM. The perpetrator then disappeared by kidnapping Suci]

Data (12) can explain the role of society in shaping the ideology of the text. Women and children are often placed as weak and helpless, so that in many ways they invite pity. In a news in Kompas entitled "Baby Kidnapping for Begging", a mother lost her baby because it was kidnapped to be used as a beggar. Society has formed awareness that babies need to be protected and pitied. Therefore, the beggar in data (12) knows very well the situation that is happening so he uses the baby as an instrument to beg with the hope that he will get a lot of profit by kidnapping the baby.



In addition to the situational and institutional levels, social factors are also central in framing the discourse that appears in the news. If the situational aspect is more directed at the atmosphere (the context of the event when the news text is made), the social aspect is more concerned with macro aspects such as the political system, economy, or the cultural system of society as a whole.

(13) Setelah dilaporkan menghilang selama empat hari, EA, 15, akhirnya ditemukan. Siswi kelas VIII salah satu SMP di Kecamatan Sine itu diduga menjadi korban pencabulan kenalannya, VA. "Minggu (13/3) saya dipaksa gituan sama Mas Em (pelaku VA, red)," tutur EA di hadapan petugas Unit PPA Polres Ngawi. Mimpi buruk dialami EA Minggu lalu sekitar pukul 18.00. Saat itu, VA memaksa EA melakukan hubungan suami-istri. EA langsung menolak. Tetapi, VA yang tidak kehilangan akal menawari EA segelas minuman yang telah dicampur obat. EA-pun menghabiskan minuman tersebut. "Habis minum kepala saya nggliyeng, lalu Mas Em ngajak gituan lagi,"bebernya. Dalam kondisi setengah sadar, EA terpaksa melayani VA. Di depan penyidik, EA mengaku perbuatan tersebut dilakukan VA hanya sekali (Jawa Pos, 18 Maret 2016)

[After being reported missing for four days, EA, 15, was finally found. The eighth-grade student from one of the junior high schools in Sine District is suspected of being a victim of sexual abuse by her acquaintance, VA. "Sunday (13/3) I was forced to do the same with Mas Em (the VA perpetrator, ed)," said EA in front of the Ngawi Police PPA Unit. EA had a nightmare last Sunday around 18.00. At that time, VA forced EA to have a husband-wife relationship. EA immediately refused. However, the VA who didn't lose his mind offered EA a glass of drink that had been mixed with drugs. EA-was finished the drink. "After drinking, my head was spinning, then Mas Em asked me to do something else," he explained. In a semi-conscious state, EA was forced to serve the VA. In front of investigators, EA admitted that the VA had only done this once (Jawa Pos, 18 March 2016]

Data (13) is an excerpt from the news in Jawa Pos entitled "Reported Missing, Junior High School Student Abused by Contact". The data can be used to explain the role of social aspects related to community cultural factors. The violence perpetrated by a man named VA (initial name) against a friend he just met was triggered by the refusal of a woman named EA (initial name) who refused to be invited to have a husband and wife relationship. The young woman realized that this forbidden act should not be carried out by an unmarried couple. This is in accordance with the social context in Indonesia that intimate relationships may only be carried out by legally married couples. Although local culture governs the practice, religion also takes part in regulating that.

The data demonstrate that the news overwhelmingly reflected traditional patriarchal values concerning the subordinate status of women in the society, even when women became the victims of violence (Carter et al., 2014). The new articles not only normalize violence, but it has minimized the gender based violence, blamed the victims, eliminated women's voices, and even worse, treated the men more sympathetically who committed the violence (Alat, 2006; Sutherland et al., 2019).

5. Conclusion

Violence against women has received greater attention. However, the discursive practices of violence against women remain an under-research area. By using a critical discourse analysis, we found that Indonesian newspapers construct their news by using active voice to explain the detailed gender-based violence cases and to represent that women as victims are weak and submissive; (2) discursive representation in Indonesian newspapers encompasses institutional networks that include journalists, editors, directors, and publishers which decide the framing of the news; (3) the socio-cultural contexts beyond the media also influence how discursive representation is framed. The construction of media discourses of gender-based violence portrays women as weak and victimized.



This study contributes to reveal the continued marginalization of women in the media, especially the construction of violence against women in newspapers. Due to the contextualized setting on Indonesia and the grammatical specificities of the Indonesian language, this study is limited to discuss the Indonesian case reflected in the Indonesian language. Although it provides some universal points that relate to global pattern of gendered based violence, the Indonesian case is intertwined with socio-political contexts, culture, and religion, to name a few. More studies need to be carried out in a wider regional and global contexts that seek to find alternative discourses that challenge the dominant narratives on violence against women.

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