

The Frame of Domestic Violence during The COVID-19 Pandemic

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ABSTRACT

This study is conducted to find out how *Magdalene.co* as an alternative, gender sensitive media frames the issue of domestic violence during the COVID-19 pandemic. They use the victim's perspective in reporting domestic violence amidst mainstream media's tendencies to objectify victims and use sensationalism as a news frame. The study will be examined with a framing analysis method that explores four dimensions, namely problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and treatment recommendation, by using the theory concept of gender sensitive journalism and alternative media. This research is expected to help us identify and evaluate the role of alternative, gender sensitive media in reporting gender issues at critical times. The results showed that *Magdalene.co* is on the side of the victim by implementing the role of advocacy journalism, providing solutions, reviewing the root causes of domestic violence and explaining how pandemic situations hampered domestic violence services institutions to work in handling cases and made it difficult for victims to access help. *Magdalene.co* also has a unique standing point in framing conflict management aspects of domestic violence, because it discusses the importance of perpetrator's rehabilitation instead of focusing solely on handling victims.

Keywords: domestic violence services; gender-sensitive journalism; alternative media; COVID-19; *Magdalene.co*

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini dilakukan untuk mengetahui bagaimana *Magdalene.co* sebagai media alternatif berperspektif gender membingkai isu kekerasan dalam rumah tangga pada masa pandemi COVID-19. Mereka menggunakan perspektif korban dalam melaporkan isu ini, di tengah kecenderungan media-media mainstream yang memberitakan isu ini dengan bingkai sensasionalisme. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah analisis framing yang memiliki empat dimensi, yaitu definisi masalah, interpretasi penyebab masalah, evaluasi moral, dan rekomendasi penyelesaian masalah, dengan payung konsep teori jurnalisme sensitif gender dan media alternatif. Penelitian ini diharapkan bisa membantu kita mengidentifikasi dan mengevaluasi peran media alternatif dan sensitif gender dalam melaporkan isu gender di masa-masa kritis. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan, *Magdalene.co* berpihak kepada korban Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga (KDRT), yang menyirikan ciri jurnalisme advokasi dengan memberikan solusi, membahas akar permasalahan KDRT, dan menjelaskan bagaimana pandemi menghambat penanganan isu dan situasi KDRT di Indonesia, termasuk upaya lembaga-lembaga layanan untuk menangani kasus dan upaya korban untuk mencari bantuan. Penelitian ini juga menunjukkan bagaimana *Magdalene.co* memiliki titik berdiri yang unik dalam membingkai kasus KDRT pada masa pandemi, yaitu membahas pentingnya rehabilitasi pelaku, alih-alih hanya berfokus pada penanganan korban.

Kata Kunci: kekerasan dalam rumah tangga; jurnalisme sensitif gender; media alternatif; COVID-19; *Magdalene.co*

PRELIMINARY

The COVID-19 pandemic (*Coronavirus disease 2019*) has caused Indonesia to undergo changes to adjustments in various aspects of life which are then also characterized by the increasing rates of domestic violence. According to research by the National Commission against Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan), there were 319 cases of violence reported during this pandemic. Two-thirds of that figure is a case of domestic violence. Meanwhile, according to data from the Indonesian Women's Association for

Justice (LBH APIK), there are 110 cases of domestic violence that have been reported during this pandemic, namely from March 16th to June 20th, 2020. Within three months, the number of cases of domestic violence has reached half of the number of cases of domestic violence during 2019 (Muna, 2020).

Various social changes, including the enactment of Large-Scale Social Restrictions (PSBB) implemented to prevent the spread of the virus, make people spend more time at home and do their activities from home as well. Social restrictions regulation make victims of the domestic violence must be in the same place as the perpetrator for a long time, and this isolation gives the perpetrators of the domestic violence unlimited access to hurt the victim because the victim is also isolate from people and family members who can protect them (Danielle C. Slakoff, Aujla, & PenzeyMoog, 2020).

For the mass media that has the task as well as the function to carry out activities to find, obtain, own, store, process and convey information to disseminate to the public (Sumadiria, 2008), domestic violence is a social problem that is always worth reporting, because the issue encourages the birth of many coverage from various aspects that can increase public awareness to the government, thus potentially forming public opinion and appropriate policies (Bullock, 2007).

While there are many important things, impacts, symptoms, and values of domestic violence, most mainstream media only highlights domestic violence from its surface, or even highlights aspects of sensuality that are overdramatized so as to deflect the true meaning that audiences should get. There are four frames that are commonly used by the mainstream media in preaching domestic violence, namely normalizing the domestic violence (domestic violence as a regular incident among other criminal cases such as murder, etc.), isolated incidents (describing crimes as unforeseen without discussing the possibility of abuse committed against victims), blaming the justice system while normalizing the domestic violence), as well as blaming the victim by minimizing the actions of the perpetrator. This left the media with the opportunity to use its influence in identifying domestic violence as a wrong thing (Gillespie, Richards, Givens, & Smith, 2013).

In the context of Indonesia itself, a similar study found that mainstream media *Harian Kompas* has tried to explain the background of the domestic violence issue and achieve news balance by interviewing sources from various parties. But that has not been accompanied by variations in the news format. Most are straight news and only highlight domestic violence as a form of physical violence, when domestic violence has layered dimensions and forms (Geruh, N, & Basuki, 2010).

The incompatibility of the Indonesian mass media to represent women and their tendency to accommodate gender bias and inequality between men and women represented in how most news stories about gender and children violate the rules (code of conduct of the press) in the mainstream media. Although the rules governing gender equality have been numerous, the supervision and enforcement of the law has not been much (Dewan Pers, 2019).

Amidst the lack of representation of domestic violence news as well as the impartiality of victims in the mainstream media, *Magdalene.co.co* presents a medium that provides a different perspective. Quoted from

its official *website*, *Magdalene.co* claims to be a media with a female focus that provides inclusive, critical, empowering, and entertaining content. *Magdalene.co* also claims they are adapting the concept of inclusive, diverse and solution-oriented journalism so that it can be a safe space for women. *Magdalene.co* claimed by Maryani and Adiprasetyo as alternative media that also adapts the concept of gender sensitive journalism, focusing on women's issues by providing space for less representative parties and marginalized groups that are often ostracized. By adapting the concept of gender sensitive journalism, the practice of journalism does not always stand with the narratives of neutrality, but can also carry out ideological missions, such as gender equality, as applied in *Magdalene.co* (Maryani & Adiprasetyo, 2017).

Therefore, researchers think that the discourses of gender equality brought by *Magdalene.co*, especially in the framing of domestic violence news, are important to be studied and highlighted. This study will try to find out what values are emphasized by *Magdalene.co* when reporting the domestic violence services during the pandemic.

The perspective of the media that applies the concept of gender-sensitive journalism and feminism at the same time will make us understand domestic violence, including physical and verbal violence, from the victim's point of view and the oppression of women's rights (Zobl, 2012).

This study used eight news articles published during June 2020. The period was chosen because at that time the domestic violence coverage frequency in *Magdalene.co* is quite high compared to the months during the pandemic in 2020, which began in March 2020.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study uses a qualitative approach with Robert M. Entman's model of framing analysis. Framing analysis means highlighting the significance of certain ideas that can encourage audiences to think, feel, and decide in a certain way (what journalists/media want). The concept of framing refers to two main elements, namely selection and salience (making one or more pieces of information more prominent than other information, more meaningful, and remembered by the audience). There are also four framing elements that Entman suggests, namely problem definition (determining what problems are done or caused by actors causing problems by considering their advantages and disadvantages), causal interpretation (identifying what power/who is causing the problem), moral evaluation (evaluating the morality of the cause or source of the problem and its effects), and treatment recommendation (suggesting solutions, offer and justify problem handling, and predict the impact of a reported event or phenomenon) (Entman, 1993).

Researchers also interviewed *Magdalene.co*'s managing editor, Hera Diani

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

From the eight news studied, researchers found several things related to the frame of domestic violence services during the COVID-19 pandemic in *Magdalene.co*.

Table 1. News Description of Research Results

News Headlines	Published Date
Corona Outbreak Perpetuates Domestic Violence, Barriers to Case Handling	June 1st, 2020
Don't Hesitate to Interfere, Help Domestic Violence Victims	June 9th, 2020
Komnas Perempuan's Survey: Domestic Violence Rises During Pandemic, Few Report	June 9th, 2020
Domestic Violence Complaint Hotline: Many Reports, Limited Resources	June 11th, 2020
Protection of Witnesses and Victims of Domestic Violence Hampered by PSBB and WFH Rules	June 23rd, 2020
Violence Against Children Increases, Parents Need Self-Control	June 29th, 2020
Resolving Domestic Violence Cases from the Perpetrator's Side	June 29th, 2020
Domestic Violence Cases Increase But Safe Houses Are Limited	June 30th, 2020

Source: Research Results

Problem Definition

Magdalene.co frames the problem definition of domestic violence during the pandemic as a phenomenon in which the situation worsens, one of which is because the number of cases has increased. To show this, *Magdalene.co* often refers to the findings of Komnas Perempuan and other service institutions' report/data to see the increase in complaints of domestic cases. One of them is the online research of Komnas Perempuan which shows that 88 percent of female respondents and 10 percent of male respondents admitted to experiencing violence during this pandemic, as stated in the news titled 'Don't Hesitate to Interfere, Help Domestic Violence Victims'.

Researchers also found, *Magdalene* highlighted that one of the important defining issues is the problem faced by domestic violence services. Of the eight news published during June 2020, all eight always discussed the domestic violence services, how the work of the institutions that provide the service was hampered by work from home policy, the difficulty of the victim accessing the service, and what kind of services are important to provide or accessible for victims and perpetrators. For example, in a news story titled 'Violence Against Children Increases, Parents Need Self-Control', *Magdalene.co* highlights how children victims of violence from their parents have difficulty accessing help from service agencies because they have very limited social access and communication, more limited than other victim groups.

Magdalene.co tries to emphasize both the handling and prevention of domestic violence is equally important to pay attention to, because the various specificities of the conditions during the COVID-19 pandemic present many obstacles and challenges for victims of domestic violence and institutions handling domestic violence.

It was shown for example in a passage from the news titled 'Corona Outbreak Perpetuates Domestic Violence, Barriers to Case Handling':

"For victims of domestic violence, social restrictions and encouragement of work from home have trapped them with perpetrators because it keeps them isolated from people who can help them. "

The findings are also reinforced by the results of a previous study entitled 'Framing Analysis of Online Magazines *Magdalene.co* on Women's Violence' by Beauty Yusnia (2020), which suggests that *Magdalene.co* reconstruct violence against women not only as a moral issue, but as a serious problem involving crime. The results of this study revealed that the frame of problem definition *Magdalene.co* about news of violence against women is as a problem and social phenomenon that occurs a lot and always experience an increase in the number of cases in various places, starting from educational institutions, public places, houses, and so on (Yusnia, 2020).

In defining the problem of domestic violence during this pandemic, *Magdalene.co* does provide many perspectives and spectrums about the domestic violence itself, starting from the increasing numbers during the pandemic, the existence of psychological services institutions, advocacy, legal aid agencies (LBH) that can help victims, and the existence of safe houses or *shelters* that can be temporary shelters for victims of the domestic violence, without forgetting to highlight the various challenges that must be faced by these institutions because of the specificity of the situation during the pandemic.

This is a step that can give rise to discussions about domestic violence in various other fields. As Entman said, of the four framing elements, the most important elements are problem definition, because they determine the other frames (Entman, 2003).

Researchers assessed it as an implementation of the alternative media embraced by *Magdalene.co*. *Magdalene.co* as an alternative medium focused on women's issues and seeks to break down cultural boundaries and various stigmas or mainstream issues that cover certain genders, especially women, by making room for underrepresented parties, or minority groups that are generally ostracized by many people and the media, including on the internet. According to both, this is one of the efforts made by *Magdalene.co* to carry out one of the principles of journalism, namely giving voice to the voiceless or trying to provide a voiceless space for those who have been silenced, or in the context of news about women, is often objectified sexually, labeled irrational, and so on (Maryani & Adiprasetyo, 2017).

Managing editor of *Magdalene.co*, Hera Diani said that voicing the voices of victims of domestic violence, while highlighting the core of the issue that are rarely reported by the mainstream media, is a way *Magdalene.co* do to counter stereotypes and gender stereotypes that are full of stigmatizing the inferiority of women, especially victims, as a reflection of the media that sided with women. *Magdalene.co* try to counter these stereotypes by reporting the domestic violence and calling it a pandemic in itself, that the domestic violence has been happening for a long time, the numbers have been many since long ago, and the COVID-19 pandemic is only aggravating, not the sole cause (the result of an interview with Hera Diani, 1/4/2021).

“The mainstream media is just superficially preaching it. Mention there is an increase in domestic violence, but it seems like it is a new issue caused by the pandemic. Whereas this has been going for a long time ago and the media should see it as the root of the problem. We’re trying to fight it by mentioning that domestic violence is a

pandemic on its own. And we dig into the roots, that this is gender inequality, there are normative gender roles applied so that all the household burden is on women. "

This is also evidence that *Magdalene.co* carry out other educational functions of the media in reporting domestic violence during the pandemic, which is by not assuming that the domestic violence is caused by a pandemic, but only exacerbated by the pandemic situation, because the position of vulnerable victims due to abusive behavior of couples will be more visceral to appear daily in the house (Danielle C. Slakoff et al., 2020).

Researchers also found there is a unique and non-public issue in the topic of domestic violence. In the midst of the perspective of the victim that *Magdalene.co* use, which automatically gives birth to a lot of news about the victims of the domestic violence, *Magdalene.co* also made a news that focuses on the discussion of the perpetrators of the domestic violence in the news titled 'Resolving the Case of Domestic Violence from the Perpetrator's Side'. This news discusses the importance of rehabilitation and recovery of domestic violence perpetrators, because many victims who have recovered from their trauma must return home and the same situation as before, because their spouses are still behaving abusively. Researchers assess, this news is actually still departing from the victim's perspective. But *Magdalene.co* raised this issue from other glasses that are no less important, but rarely highlighted by other media.

This is a reflection of the efforts of *Magdalene.co* to carry out one of the functions of the media in reporting the domestic violence during the pandemic, namely educating the public about the reality of the domestic violence during this pandemic from various points of view in various aspects of life that are rarely discussed and known to the public or mass media audiences (Danielle C. Slakoff et al., 2020).

The importance of rehabilitation of these perpetrators tends to be rarely discussed, but ultimately discussed by *Magdalene.co* without losing the perspective of the victim. In fact, one of the previous studies on the frame of violence against women in *Magdalene.co* alone (Yusnia, 2020) did not manage to uncover and discuss the gap in the issue of rehabilitation of these perpetrators.

According to Diani, the reason *Magdalene.co* focuses on discussing the issue is because in solving women's problems, we must also involve men to eradicate patriarchy. In addition, Diani also assessed that the recovery and life of the perpetrators of domestic violence is often overlooked, whereas most of the perpetrators of domestic violence are also victims of violence.

"We always talk about helping victims and so on, but we never discussed how to rehabilitate perpetrators. Too focused on the victim can also ignore the perpetrator, rehabilitation, and that there is no denying that many perpetrators are also victims of violence too, it's a cycle of violence. " (Interview result, 1/4/2021)

During June 2020, there are several other phenomena regarding domestic violence that occur and are important to be reported. One of them is that the number of domestic violence that occurred during the pandemic is actually much higher than reported. It refers to a press release of the Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection entitled 'Kemen PPPA Beware of Hidden Domestic Violence Cases

Since WFH in Pandemic Period' (12/6). According to the Kemen PPPA, from February 29th to June 10th, 2020, there was a decrease in the number of domestic violence reports. This is precisely worth investigating, because the Kemen PPPA is worried about this because the domestic violence victims lose access to report violences they experienced, either because staying at home makes their space becomes more limited, fears, or inadequate access to transportation and communication infrastructure to access services (Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection, 2020). This shows that in framing the definition of the problem, *Magdalene.co* has a weakness in meeting one of the values of online media news, namely follow-up, as Tony Harcup and Deirdre O'Neill stated in a scientific article titled '*What is News*' (2017). The value of follow-up news means to contain how a news story discusses a story from a subject or object that has been reported before (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017).

Problem Cause Interpretation

Researchers found, from the eight news articles published during June 2020, *Magdalene.co* tried to highlight several factors that became a causal interpretation of the phenomenon of domestic violence during the pandemic. Namely changes in economic conditions due to reduced income or lost jobs, psychological conditions that are disturbed by constantly being in the same house with perpetrators, and the hampering of the provision of services from service institutions because their work is hampered also by social restriction rules.

Thus, researchers can deduce two things. First, *Magdalene.co* frames the events and phenomena of domestic violence during the pandemic caused by structural problems, namely gender inequality and the existence of power relations between couples in the household and patriarchal culture that still plays a major role in households/families. *Magdalene.co* also highlighted the frame that the increasing number of domestic violence during the pandemic was not caused by the pandemic itself. Pandemic is just one factor that causes domestic violence to increase and worsen.

Second, the causal interpretation frame *Magdalene.co* uses consists of various dimensions (multidimensional). Among other things, the pandemic caused many people to lose their jobs, resulting in emotional distress to their family members at home, an increasing domestic workload on women so that many of them experience stress and vent emotions in their children, and the presence of various obstacles and challenges for service institutions to help victims because there is a policy of social restrictions and work from home. Here's the description.

According to *Magdalene.co*, domestic violence during the pandemic occurred and the number of cases continues to increase because both victims, the government, and service institutions face obstacles in the form of encouragement and policies "stay at home" and work from home (WFH).

The biggest example done by *Magdalene.co* is framing the domestic violence caused by two aspects of the problem, namely problems on personal aspects, including structural problems (culture or habits of the community in looking at and treating the domestic violence), as well as problems in the public aspect,

including existing policies related to the domestic violence and pandemic, and the working conditions of domestic violence service institutions.

One of them is shown by a piece of news titled 'Don't Hesitate to Interfere, Help Domestic Violence Victims' the following:

"They do not dare to report because they think of the good name of the family and love their partner. They consider reporting to violence advocacy agencies excessive. "

The news passage shows how *Magdalene.co* frames that the number of victims of domestic violence who do not report their cases or report the perpetrator to the authorities is due to the reluctance of the victims to report because they think about the family's good name and still feel fond of their abusive partner. This is one of the causes that comes from the personal aspect. This term of family good name is potentially the fruit of a patriarchal culture that pressures women to stay silent or condon the abuse or abuse they receive.

In the news titled 'Komnas Perempuan Survey: Domestic Violence Rises During Pandemic, Few Report', *Magdalene.co* frames causal interpretation by highlighting the inequality of housework workload between men and women that has the potential to cause stress to trigger violence. This was done by highlighting the results of the Komnas Perempuan online survey held during April to May 2020, or during the government's social restriction policy, involving 2,285 respondents.

The findings reaffirm that *Magdalene.co* practice gender-sensitive reportage, because its journalistic activities or practices inform, dispute, and claim unequal relationships or power relations inequality between men and women, as well as gender beliefs that corner women or representations of women who contain gender bias (Subono, 2003).

Moral Evaluation

The moral evaluation frame *Magdalene.co* uses is that victims of domestic violence are in a very vulnerable position, in addition to their unequal position in domestic relations, also coupled with government/non-governmental agencies authorized to handle cases of domestic violence are not responsive enough during this pandemic and do not have a fair and comprehensive system. For example, as stated in the news titled 'Domestic Violence Cases Increased But Safe Houses are Limited' where *Magdalene.co* included an interview excerpt of a volunteer who actively advocated for the victims in the area where they live, under the pseudonym "Mia". Mia said that "the domestic violence service organization's workers are afraid to jump directly to help victims' '.

"In this COVID-19 situation, the case of domestic violence is increasing. But the government workers (orang Dinas) are afraid to jump directly, let alone no budget. It is these volunteers who work for humanity," Mia said.

The frame shows how *Magdalene.co* attempts to report an event from the victim's perspective by placing the victim's safety as the most important thing than anything else. It is also reflected in how *Magdalene.co* conducts a moral evaluation that the case of domestic violence does occur in a family. But that does not necessarily make domestic violence is limited to relationship issues or personal issues. *Magdalene.co*

frames the domestic violence case as a collective problem, the cause of which can come from structural problems such as culture and customs, but the solution can also be done by empathy and solidarity among all groups of people.

In the news titled 'Don't Hesitate to Interfere, Help Domestic Violence Victims', for example. As a moral evaluation, *Magdalene.co* try to emphasize to the reader that domestic violence can be very dangerous to the victim's life, and that victims of domestic violence really need to be helped because of feelings of distress, trauma, and confusion often makes them reluctant to report to the authorities who have a rambling process and tend to re-leverage their pain.

Here's the excerpts of the news:

“For those who are in chains of violence, the courage to speak up is difficult. Especially if the toxic relationship lasts a long time. The violence that occurs is even normalized.”

“Homes that are supposed to be safe places have become hotbeds of violence.”

Magdalene.co conducted a moral evaluation by saying that the safety of the victim is not comparable to what people say, that violence against the wife is often normalized by the victim herself because she is "used to it", and shows irony by mentioning that the house that should be a safe place instead becomes a hotbed of violence. This shows the efforts of *Magdalene.co* to build new construction to fight the stigma against women victims of violence that is often blamed by society. The above news passages also show that the community must participate in breaking down stigma and helping victims of domestic violence. In this case, the media plays a role in providing values that have no hesitation in mentioning which is wrong and which is right, who is the perpetrator is and who is the victim, including in violence against women. The gender perspective that plays into it will contribute to a more victim-sided viewpoint.

As Rahayu and Agustin stated in their research, in reporting violence against women, as well as sexual violence, the mass media needs to use the perspective of women with gender perspective. That's because media reconstruction plays a role in building a reality (Rahayu & Agustin, 2019). With regard to this element of moral evaluation, it is due to one of the most important functions of journalism is to convey part or representation of a cultural system that is human-sensitive as part of moral judgment in news framing (Fuglsang, 2001) because it plays an articulate role in articulating ideological messages that pave the way for the media to say things that tend to be controversial, including gender, race, religion, and ethnicity (Bowe, 2014).

Treatment Recommendations

Researchers found inconsistencies in *Magdalene.co*'s way in positioning the government's role in handling the case of domestic violence during this pandemic. For example, *Magdalene.co* made recommendations on handling problems derived from government policies or programs. But, in a news story titled 'Corona Outbreak Perpetuates Domestic Violence, Barriers to Case Handling', *Magdalene.co* directed the frame of its treatment recommendation in the form of criticism of the stay at home policy, which is judged not to

contain the content of domestic violence mitigation and has not been family friendly. *Magdalene.co* used the mouth of the Commissioner of Komnas Perempuan, Mariana Amiruddin.

Here's a piece of the news:

"Should the policy about staying at home be accompanied by an exhortation that is of a nature to raise a family, to work together so that it can make changes also at home," Mariana said. "

Similar inconsistencies were also found in the way *Magdalene.co* positioned the role of the police in the settlement of the domestic violence case. In the news titled 'Witnesses and Domestic Violence Victim's Protection Hampered by PSBB and WFH Rules', *Magdalene.co* used a frame that encourages victims of domestic violence to report their cases first to the police before going to the domestic violence services institution, on the grounds that the victim becomes independent, as a treatment recommendation. This was done by interviewing the Vice Chairman of the Institute for The Protection of Witnesses and Victims (LPSK). Here's a piece of the news:

"Susilaningtias suggested that the victim report his case first to the police." We want to encourage victims to have independence. For domestic violence cases the problem is often the victim does not report to the police," she said."

But, in the news titled 'Domestic Violence Complaint Hotline: Many Reports, Limited Resources', *Magdalene.co* instead highlighted how the police and head of neighborhood did not contribute to help or support the settlement of the domestic violence case and the rescue of victims. In fact, various privately owned and government-owned service institutions are facing various obstacles, especially the limitations of human resources. *Magdalene.co* cited the results of an interview with one of the domestic violence victims, who went to the police to report, then was encouraged to speak to the head of RT first. Police also promised help to be delivered to the victim's residence. But the aid never came, and the head of the neighborhood instead blamed the victims. Here's a piece of the news:

"The police advised him to complain to the head of the RT (head of the neighborhood) and promised to bring in officers. After explaining the chronology of the case to the head of the RT, she was instead blamed for what happened to her. The police, who promised to bring in officers and invite the RT, never came."

Maryani and Adiprasetyo, in their research '*Magdalene.co* as Media Advocacy', have similar claims. Both cited the ambivalent position of *Magdalene.co* in reporting several issues (Maryani & Adiprasetyo, 2017). In the context of this study, the researchers found that the ambivalent position was also reflected in the *Magdalene.co* viewpoint on government policies and roles in the handling of domestic violence.

Magdalene.co does not fully challenge elite and dominant groups and presents the reality of domestic violence outside the vision of the world outside capitalism as alternative media should do (Fuchs, 2010), nor does it frame the issue by relying on settlements from judges, police, and/or other government agencies (Bullock, 2007).

CONCLUSION

Magdalene.co's strategy in constructing domestic violence during the pandemic has reflected its function and characteristics as a gender-sensitive, alternative media. It highlighted how the handling of domestic violence by government and non-government service agencies is an important part of defining the issue. *Magdalene.co* also narrates this from a victim perspective that shows the characteristics of gender-sensitive journalism. Even so, researchers also found shortcomings in this aspect. *Magdalene.co* did not report important events or issues that occurred at the same momentum, namely the decrease in the domestic violence number due to interrupted or hampered access to reporting.

An interesting finding from this study is that in framing domestic violence during the pandemic, *Magdalene.co* highlights the importance of perpetrators rehabilitation as well.

Magdalene.co frames causal interpretation with two things, caused by structural problems such as inequality and power relation of male and female relationships in the household, and complex external factors and exacerbated conditions during the pandemic such as decreased family income and untargeted government policies and programs.

The frame of moral evaluation *Magdalene.co* uses reflects how the practice of journalism in this media conducts gender perspective, because it emphasizes the importance of the fate of victims and using victims' perspective. *Magdalene.co* also evaluates how domestic violence is a collective problem that both its prevention and handling is everyone's responsibility, not just one person or partner involved.

Researchers found the ambivalence of *Magdalene.co* way in framing the role and/or policy of the government in the frame of treatment recommendations. On the one hand, *Magdalene.co* tends to make government policies or programs as recommendations for handling the domestic violence problem in its news. But on the other hand, *Magdalene.co* called their work and policies ineffective to handle domestic violence during this pandemic. As a media that claims itself to promote *solution journalism*, the ambivalence of this attitude makes the solutions *Magdalene.co* offer difficult to understand.

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