



Framing Categorization of Domestic Violence on Hulondalo.id

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this article is to investigate the construction of domestic violence news in the Hulondalo.id cybermedia, the categorization patterns that emerge, and the media's ideological position in responding to domestic violence cases. A qualitative approach with a constructivist paradigm is used in this study. Murray Edelman's framing theory is used in data analysis. This theory focuses on the classification or categorization of media for a reported event. According to the findings, domestic violence news on the Hulondalo.id was classified as Headline and Crime. Physical, sexual, and economic violence are the three types of violence in news construction. The pattern of news categorization shapes the opposing perspectives of domestic violence perpetrators and victims. Sub-categories include aggressive (coercive) powerless (forced) sub-categories, offender (challenger) versus victim (accuser) rivalry, drunken, sadistic and savage, stingy-hardy, and sub-category bad husband-poor woman. Factors domestic violence news content produced by local cyber media Hulondalo.id was influenced by individuals of the media crew, media routines, and media organizations. This study's discovery of subcategories aided in identifying forms of categorization in news text.

Keywords: domestic violence, categorization pattern, framing, cyber media.

INTRODUCTION

Violence against women and children continues to rise in Indonesia year after year. According to the Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak (Kementerian PPPA) report, cases of violence against women and children increased between 2019 and 2021. In 2019, 21,232 cases were recorded, with a significant increase to 26,340 cases in 2021. In general, women and children face sexual, psychological, and physical violence (Ramadan, 2022).

Women and children are more likely than men to be victims of social and domestic violence (KDRT). In most cases of domestic violence, the husband is the one who commits physical violence against the wife (Ramadani & Yuliani, 2017). In contrast to when violence occurs in the social environment, women face discrimination when performing social functions (Mahmudah, 2013). In empirical terms, a wife may face sexual violence, psychological violence, physical violence, or economic violence (Abdullah, 2019; Erniati, 2015).

Physical violence includes slapping, punching, kicking, and other physical attacks while swearing, intimidation, and yelling are all forms of psychological violence. Turning women into prostitutes, forcing them to have sex, abusing their partners, and then forcing them to have sex are all forms of sexual violence. Meanwhile, economic violence takes the form of not earning a living or earning a living but not meeting one's needs. Economic violence also includes not trusting the wife to manage to spend money. Violence against women is classified in Komnas Perempuan (Women's National Commission) records as violence against girls, violence against wives, violence in dating, violence against domestic workers, violence against ex-husbands, ex-girlfriend violence, and other personal violence (Komnas Perempuan, 2021).

The data presented above demonstrates how dominant women and children are victims of violence. In general, they are subjected to physical, psychological, and sexual abuse (Manumpahi et al., 2016). Domestic violence can be influenced by disharmony, economy, emotions, alcohol, drugs, and a failure to solve household problems (Wahab, 2006). Domestic violence occurs not only in one or two areas but across the country, attracting public attention and receiving media coverage. Especially today, when online media is rapidly evolving and each region has local media that can also report domestic violence. Similarly, cases of domestic violence in Gorontalo received coverage in the local media.

According to databoks.katadata.co.id, Gorontalo was first in the country in 2018 with 81 cases of domestic violence per 100,000 households. This data has a higher ratio of 81.1 when compared to nearby areas like South Sulawesi (Sulsel) at 55.5 and Central Sulawesi (Central Sulawesi) at 46.2 (Rizaty, 2021). Although the data only shows 81 cases, this number is very high when compared to a population of only 1.2 million. The case may become news in local cyber media, particularly

the online news portal Hulondalo.id. Because the name of this cyber media means “Gorontalo,” it is worth investigating the domestic violence news. As a result, the name Hulondalo.id. expressly refers to the location of media in Gorontalo. The media plays a significant role in the construction of cases of violence, abuse, and child abuse (McCartan et al., 2015).

Many academics, particularly communication and media researchers, have expressed interest in reporting on domestic violence. They studied it using a variety of analytical methods and approaches. As previously stated, four previous studies are considered relevant to be presented using an overview.

First, Rahayu and Agustin (2018) examine sexual violence against women in Tirto.id news using Gamson and Modigliani’s framing theory. They employ qualitative methods in conjunction with the constructivist paradigm. The investigation focuses on how the media frames a specific issue (sexual violence against women). As a result, they discovered that when reporting on violence against women, Tirto.id frames law enforcement issues employ jargon, provides credible descriptions based on expert opinions, employs statistical data, and is supported with relevant literature. Tirto.id, as a supporter, employs infographics with a prominent visual style and employs humor to reinforce the message. According to Rahayu & Agustin (2018), the Tirto.id framed news portrays the patriarchal system as the root cause of sexual violence against women. The message construction in Tirto.id news combines a gender perspective, defends victims, advocates for women’s rights, and serves as an educational medium to combat gender-based (sexual) violence.

Second, Fauziah & Armis Tamampil’s (2015) study is consistent with Rahayu & Agustin’s. They discovered an unequal relationship position between the actors used as objects (women) and subjects (men) in the news on Merdeka.com and Kumparan.com. When compared to the position of the object, namely women, the reporting styles of the two media tend to place men dominantly as the subject. That is, men have a more dominant position, while women are marginalized (Fauziah & Tamampil, 2015).

Third, the findings of Rifa’ Rosyaadah & Rahayu (2021) appear to confirm previous findings that Merdeka.com and Kompas.com produce news in a male style. Of course, this style can influence the reader’s perspective, leading to a male viewpoint. Women are treated as objects of conversation, so the news does not reflect the voices of women. The texts of the two media studied in this case are biased. Merdeka.com and Kompas.com portray victims as weak, helpless women who are subject to men (Rosyaadah & Rahayu, 2021).

Fourth, Siti Nur Alfia Abdullah’s (2019) study examines domestic violence news in Kumparan.com. Abdullah employs Sarah Mills’ critical discourse theory to investigate how domestic violence news in Kumparan.com is linked to

feminism. Similar to the findings of the previous study, Abdullah discovered a tendency for the media to portray women as objects. Kumparan.com creates news that places women as the victims of violence of their husbands, as well as victims of all forms of violence, as victims of abuse. Kumparan.com's position is in favor of women by packaging the news. Gender equality is being subtly advocated. The most visible example is the demand for equality in politics, education, and the family environment (Abdullah, 2019).

Based on the descriptions of the previous studies, it is clear that cases of domestic violence are still making headlines in the mainstream media, including cyber media. Each media outlet has a unique way of constructing the reported events. The above-mentioned researchers' analytical methods and tools are dominated by qualitative methods while the analytical tools employ framing and discourse analysis. Framing analysis is used not only to dissect domestic violence issues, but also political issues (Zulaikha, 2019), religious intolerance (Muhaemin & Sanusi, 2019), and health issues (Boer et al., 2020).

This study adapted Murray Edelman's framing theory to the research objectives. Furthermore, the option of reporting domestic violence in Hulondalo.id is another factor that sets this study apart from others. However, this study's position about previous studies is complementary. It sheds light on how media constructs news, particularly domestic violence, through the formation of specific categorizations.

This study seeks to answer the following questions: (1) What are the cases of domestic violence reported in Gorontalo by Hulondalo? (2) How are categorization patterns formed in domestic violence reporting on Hulondalo? (3) How is the media's ideological position in responding to cases of domestic violence that occur in society? This study aims to determine the construction of domestic violence news in the Hulondalo.id based on this focus, the categorization patterns they create, and the media's ideological position in responding to domestic violence cases.

This research employs a qualitative approach and the constructivist paradigm to achieve the objectives and address the problems investigated. According to the constructivism paradigm, media content is the result of the construction of reality or reported events. As a result, the reality presented by the media is not simply reality but has been chosen and constructed in this manner. Media reality emerges from a variety of events that are arranged into meaningful stories (Puspitasari, 2020). Several studies have found that the general media reporting pattern tends to explain events, condone, or justify the perpetrator's behavior while blaming the victim (Pröll & Magin, 2022). All of this is inextricably linked to how the media frames the events they reported.

Methodologically, this study emphasizes the use of text-based analysis to identify how domestic violence issues are framed in Hulondalo.id news.

Hulondalo.id. conducted identification to find patterns of domestic violence categorization that was constructed through media coverage. Examining the categorization formed in it is yet another way to investigate the media's ideological position in reporting on domestic violence in Gorontalo. The data collection method is observing the news on the Hulondalo.id. The data from this document were analyzed using the Murray Edelman framework of framing analysis.

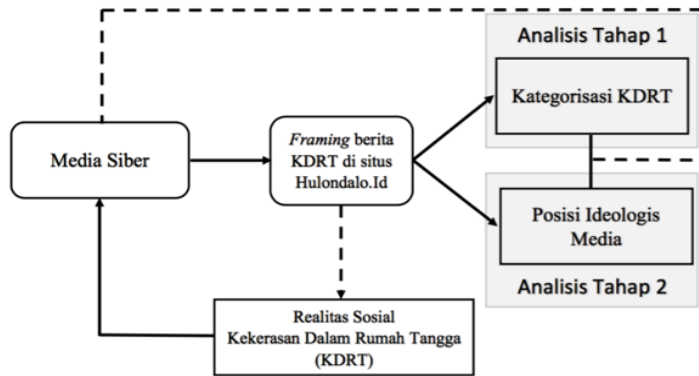
Edelman developed framing theory as a result of his studies in political communication. According to Edelman, to gain support, such as political support, a person or the media can classify and categorize facts and reality. Different ways of designing and framing reality will result in different realities, even if the reality designed and framed is the same (Eriyanto, 2011). In other words, the reality is no longer neutral and what it is as a result of construction and framing. This means that Hulondalo.id has published information about domestic violence in Gorontalo refers to facts and reality that have been constructed and framed from a specific point of view. This point of view may include propositions that shape the categorization of domestic violence acts.

Journalists' perspectives and media ideology can influence how events are reported and how much emphasis is placed on certain aspects of events. At the same time, other important aspects sometimes more blurred or even eliminated. This process is known as Edelman with the mass media's classification or categorization. Reality can be transformed into a meaningful reality for the public to understand through the classification or categorization of diversity and irregularity. According to Eriyanto (2011: 187), the categorization of "ethnic cleansing" or "aggression" has a different meaning when lighter words are used, namely "foreign policy."

Categorization aids in the transformation of diverse and disorganized realities into meaningful ones that the public can comprehend. As shown in examples (Eriyanto, 2011: 187), categorizing "ethnic cleansing" or "aggression" has a different meaning when the words used are lighter, such as "foreign policy" or "military operation." Of course, the differences mentioned above can have an impact on public opinion and public awareness of military actions, such as in war. It is clear from this that the cases of domestic violence reported by the local cyber media Hulondalo.id is nothing more than a reality that has been classified through the use of a symbolic or linguistic system. The media uses its language to construct events based on specific contexts and points of view.

Connolly-Ahern and Broadway state that "qualitative framing analysis involves repeated and extensive engagement with a text and looking holistically at the material to identify frames" (Linström & Marais, 2012: 27). This study has two stages of analysis. The first step, an analysis of domestic violence categorization, begins with identifying domestic violence news published by Hulondalo.id. Then

look over the rubrics, news photos, news headlines, and news content. The second step, based on the categorization patterns revealed in the first step, explains the media’s ideology in reporting of domestic violence in Gorontalo to understand its role in shaping the news. Figure 1 depicts the two stages of the analysis described above.



Gambar 1. Phases of Data Analysis

Source: Constructed by authors

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Hulondalo.id is a Gorontalo local media outlet that publishes domestic violence news. According to observations on Hulondalo.id, this media has published six stories about domestic violence cases in Gorontalo. The six pieces of news were published between 2018 and 2020, and they are divided into two categories: headlines and criminals. Domestic violence stories are typically filed under the Headline and Crime categories. The titles vary and are contextualized according to the events reported (see Table 1).

Table 1. News articles in Hulondalo.id

Edition	Rubric	Title	Topic
Saturday, 7 Maret 2020	Headline	Oknum Dosen Diduga Paksa Istrinya Berhubungan Intim Dengan Pria Lain”	Physical and sexual violence
Tuesday, 10 Maret 2020	Headline	“Bantah Tuduhan, Oknum Dosen Tantang Istrinya Buktikan Laporan”	Physical and sexual violence
Thursday, 28 November 2019	Crime	“Perempuan di Anggrek Ini Nyaris Tewas Ditikam Suami”	Physical violence
Tuesday, 29 Januari 2019	Crime	“Pulang Mabuk, Istri Muda Ini Jadi Bulan-bulanan Suaminya”	Physical violence
Sunday, 9 Desember 2018	Headline	“Sadis..!! Istri Dibacok Hingga Tewas di Depan Anak Sendiri”	Physical violence
Tuesday, 27 November 2018	Crime	“Padahal Baru Gajian, Istri Minta Uang Belanja Malah Pica Bibir”	Economic and physical violence

Source: Hulondalo.id

Construction on Domestic Violence News

According to Table 1, domestic violence cases that occurred in Gorontalo were divided into six stories and assigned to the Headline and Crime rubrics. According to Edelman, categorizing news is a type of framing in which reality (domestic violence) is classified as a rubric (Eriyanto, 2011). Rubrication will determine how the media explains or defines the reality of domestic violence that occurs. The placement of news in the Headline may indicate that the published domestic violence case is the main story. The Crime section can be used to indicate that the news in it is about criminal cases. Thus, according to the Hulondalo.id, the domestic violence case is significant and constitutes a crime.

In the context of the reported actors, Hulondalo.id chose to present the perpetrators and victims in the news headlines, and there were photos of perpetrators and victims in several news reports. In the news, the perpetrators are referred to as "*oknum dosen*" (oknum is an Indonesian popular term to refer individual, rather than a profession) and "*suami*" (husbands), while the victims are referred to as "*istri*" (wives) or "*second wives*." These identities then influence how actors are classified in the media. Furthermore, the perpetrator's actions and the victim's condition were described in the news headlines from the beginning.

"*Forcing a wife to have sex with another man, stabbing, slashing, and making a victim of the wife*" is an example of domestic violence perpetrated by husbands. The victim was described as "*almost killed, became the object of the husband's butt, died, and his lips were split*." With such strategies, Hulondalo.id constructs an image regarding the position of perpetrators and victims of domestic violence. The media wields enormous power and can ultimately shape public perception (Achfandhy, 2021). In other words, the framing of media coverage determines whether the perpetrators and victims of domestic violence have a positive or negative image for public. Furthermore, it can form a categorization of the reality that is reported through the structure of the text and the words chosen by the editor.

Patterns of News Framing Categorization of Domestic Violence

Based on the news framing of domestic violence, Hulondalo.id categorizes perpetrator and victim relationships in opposing patterns. Three types of violence portrayed in the media fall into this category. Domestic violence victims face physical, sexual, and economic abuse, as previously stated. The three types of violence are not explicitly mentioned in the news text, but their formation can be deduced from the news's sub-categories. The author divides the pattern of categorization formed in reporting on domestic violence on Hulondalo.id into two parts: categorization in lecturers' reporting on domestic violence and distribution of domestic violence to the general public.

In the categorization section of domestic violence by *oknum dosen*, Hulondalo.id released two news reports that were only a few days apart. The two

reports are titled “Oknum Dosen Diduga Paksa Istrinya Berhubungan Intim dengan Pria Lain” (07/03/2020) and “Bantah Tuduhan, Oknum Dosen Tantang Istrinya Buktikan Laporan” (10/03/2020). The two news are placed in the Headline rubric of the Hulondalo.id. This placement can be understood as an initial form of categorization in which incidents of domestic violence by lecturers are defined as public events. The identities of perpetrators and victims are consistently identified as “oknum *dosen*” and “*istri*” in the headlines of the two news stories. Meanwhile, the identities of the two are revealed in the news based on their initials.

The two main sources of news are not perpetrators and victims, but their legal representatives. The facts presented by the media are not the first facts (domestic violence cases), but the second, namely the facts of legal cases as a result of reporting on domestic violence cases. The perpetrator’s profession as a lecturer allows the editor to frame the perpetrators as “*oknum dosen*,” while the label for victims is based on marital status, “*istri*.” This labeling is simply a way of framing the figures who are the subject of the news. Patterns of categorization that are opposed between perpetrators and victims can be examined using the sub-categories that comprise them.

The first sub-category is aggressive (coercive)-powerless (forced). The aggressive subcategory belongs to the perpetrator, while the helpless subcategory belongs to the victim. The perpetrator’s actions physically and sexually assaulted him, thus the name “aggressive.” Tying and blindfolding the victim constitutes physical assault, and ordering her to have sex with another person constitutes sexual assault. The news excerpts below demonstrate how the news construction forms the aforementioned sub-categories:

“Penasehat hukum korban L, Novarolina Pulukadang, SH mengatakan, saat akan berhubungan badan, tangan korban akan diikat dan matanya ditutup. Dalam kondisi itu, korban merasa yang berhubungan badan dengannya bukanlah sang suami, tapi orang lain. Menurut korban dia sering dipaksa oleh suaminya untuk melakukan hubunga intim dengan orang lain. Setelah itu baru dengan suaminya,” kata Nova” (Syakir, 2020a).

The construction of news about the victim’s condition, in which she is unable to resist or fight her husband’s actions, creates an implicit sub-category of helpless people. The victim’s helplessness is a result of the victim’s repeated treatment. In the news, the phrase “*sering dipaksa*” is used to describe repeated treatment. In other words, the victim is framed as someone who is frequently forced to do what the perpetrator wants. In contrast, if the victim is coerced, the perpetrator is the coercion. The combination of coercion and physical violence intensifies the perpetrators’ news framing.

As previously stated, the domestic violence news reported by Hulondalo.id

defines the perpetrator based on his profession as a lecturer. The media's definitions of a profession can influence public perception and knowledge of its specific meaning. Public perceptions can be shaped by media coverage, including perceptions of social issues such as domestic violence (Gillespie et al., 2013). If the media's definition is negative, the profession may receive a negative image as well. Even though the editor chose the phrase "*oknum dosen*," this labeling may not necessarily reduce the possibility of negative public perceptions of the teaching profession emerging.

The mention of the perpetrator's occupation in the headline is an empirical fact in the text that demonstrates how the domestic violence incident was communicated for public understanding. According to Edelman (Eriyanto, 2011), classification or categorization will influence and determine the public understanding of a fact or event reported by the media. The media, through the categories that are formed, determines and influences the public's emotions and views toward perpetrators of domestic violence who work as lecturers. A lecturer, as an educated person, should not act in this manner. The following quotation exemplifies how the actors' professions and actions are framed in the news text:

"...kalau suaminya yang berprofesi sebagai dosen di salah satu perguruan tinggi di Gorontalo itu, pernah mengaku, sebelum mereka berhubungan badan, maka korban diminta memulai dengan orang lain dulu. Menurut korban, suaminya mengatakan bahwa kamu harus dengan orang lain dulu setelah selesai baru suaminya masuk. Dan klien kami ini tidak melihat karena matanya dalam keadaan tertutup"(Syakir, 2020a).

Second, there is the rivalry between the perpetrator (challenger) and the victim (accuser). The sub-category created by the news article "Bantah Tuduhan, Oknum Dosen Tantang Istrinya Buktikan Laporan" is more legal. This news was published in the 10/03/2020 issue as a follow-up to the news three days earlier. In the context of law, news construction depicts a rivalry between perpetrators and victims. This news, like the previous one, relies solely on the perpetrator's attorney as a source of information. In other words, the local cyber media Hulondalo.id cited their attorneys as the source of information on the domestic violence case.

Even though the news point of view leans towards the legal aspect, the domestic violence case allegedly perpetrated by the Constitutional Court is still the contextual setting. Thus, the categorization is still related to physical violence and sexual violence as a form of reporting on domestic violence by unscrupulous lecturers. The sub-category of rivalry between perpetrators and victims is none other than the impact of domestic violence committed by the Constitutional Court the "*oknum*" on his wife in the realm of law. The rivalry between the two shows their aggressiveness in carrying out cases of domestic violence that have been

reported to the police. The victim accused the perpetrator of assaulting her and reported this to the police. Instead, the perpetrator challenges the victim to prove his accusations. Accusing and challenging both show aggression towards each other. The following excerpt of news content represents a sub-category of rivalry between perpetrators and victims:

“Ramdhan mengatakan, kliennya membantah semua tuduhan yang dialamatkan kepadanya. Bahkan mereka menganggap tuduhan pelapor tidak masuk akal. ‘Justru kami ingin menantang dalam pembuktian itu kan kalau secara hukum semua perkataan semua laporan yang disampaikan itu harus berdasarkan bukti.’ imbuhnya lagi” (Syakir, 2020b).

Cases of domestic violence presented by Hulondalo.id in the form of a battle between the perpetrator and the victim in the realm of law. Even though the reporting framing places more emphasis on the perpetrator’s side. The consistent use of the diction “*oknum dosen*” shows that the actor is the main focus of the Hulondalo.id. This shows the position of the media in responding to cases of domestic violence committed by the Constitutional Court. Ideologically, the Hulondalo.id sided with the victim where they made the perpetrator’s profession explicit as a lecturer in Gorontalo. Meanwhile, the identity of the victim’s profession is hidden and covered up. According to Edelman, the mention of the perpetrator’s occupation is a way for the media to describe domestic violence perpetrated by the Constitutional Court, whose profession is a lecturer (Eriyanto, 2011).

Table 2. Categorization Pattern of Domestic Violence News of “Oknum Dosen”

The perpetrator (Oknum Dosen/Husband)	Victim (Woman/Wife)
Forcer (aggressive)	Powerless (passive)
Challenger (active)	Accuser (active)

Source: Data analysis

Table 2 illustrates the categorization pattern of news framing on domestic violence which places perpetrators and victims in opposite directions and tends to be binary opposition. The position of the perpetrator as an aggressive person is contrasted with the position of a passive victim because of her powerlessness to refuse or fight against her husband’s requests. The prominence of the perpetrator’s identity in two successive stories shows the emphasis made by the media. It’s as if the public should know that MK as the perpetrator of domestic violence is a lecturer or educator in Gorontalo. In addition, the perpetrator is also classified as a sexually aggressive person. This aggressive attitude is shown by attacking (tying and blindfolding) and forcing the victim to have sex with others. The perpetrator’s actions made the victim powerless to refuse let alone fight. The effect of the acts of domestic violence carried out by the Constitutional Court

resulted in a feud between the perpetrator and the victim in the realm of law.

The feud between perpetrators and victims forms the categories of challengers (perpetrators) and accusers (victims). Here perpetrators and victims are classified as active actors. Looking at the context, the Tuesday, 10/3/2020 edition of the news is a continuation of the news on domestic violence perpetrated by the Constitutional Court. The difference is that the Hulondalo.id editor takes the perspective of domestic violence from the perpetrator's side. While the previous edition (07/03/2020) raised cases of domestic violence from the victim's side. The construction of the news centered on the legal issues sparked by the victim's report to the police. Through the pattern of categorization that is formed, the position of the media is not neutral. They tend to side with the victims and subtly dictate the thoughts and awareness of the audience on a certain point of view. The focus is on perpetrators who work as lecturers, commit physical violence, and suffer from sexual disorders.

The news articulation packaged by Hulondalo.id editors makes the public not realize that their minds and consciences are conditioned on certain views. Their minds and consciences are subtly directed to judge the perpetrators of domestic violence negatively. Lecturers who are depraved, suffer from deviant sexual behavior, and do not admit their mistakes can become a negative perception that arises in the minds of the public due to the construction of news made by the media. This form of framing is called by Murray Edelman a form of categorization that targets the audience's subconscious and touches more subtle things (Eriyanto, 2011). A subtle message is not easy for audiences to recognize and realize but targets their subconscious, plays on emotions to empathize with victims, and denounces the actions of perpetrators.

The dramatic chronological narrative of the perpetrator's actions—binding, blindfolding, and ordering his wife to have sex with others—has the potential to provoke public emotion in responding to the violence reported. Ideally, the attitude of a lecturer who as an educator does not behave in such a way, treats his wife as cruel and depraved as that. This kind of perception may be intertwined in the minds of the audience because it is influenced by the categorization formed by the media and touches something more subtle and targets their subconscious. This kind of news construction shows that Hulondalo.id is like advocating for victims of perpetrators of domestic violence. In this position, the media plays a significant role where can influence public opinion and public policy (Kelly & Payton, 2019).

In contrast to the scope of categorization that is formed in reporting on domestic violence by unscrupulous lecturers, in reporting on domestic violence by the general public the scope is physical violence and economic violence. The categorization still positions perpetrators and victims in opposite directions.

Economic violence or economic harassment is referred to (Postmus et al., 2020) as an invisible form of harassment and this often occurs in intimate partners as well as in husband and wife relationships. In this context, women are still dominant as victims of domestic violence and their status is as the perpetrator's wife.

There are two victim identities constructed by Hulondalo.id cyber media, namely marriage identity (wife) and gender identity (woman). Of the two identities, marital identity is more prominent. This has been proven to appear in three news stories, namely "Pulang Mabuk, Istri Muda Ini Jadi Bulan-bulanan Suaminya," "*Sadis...!! Istri Dibacok Hingga Tewas di Depan Anak Sendiri,*" dan "*Padahal Baru Gajian, Istri Minta Uang Belanja Malah Pica Bibir.*" The remaining news uses gender identity (female) in the headline, namely "*Perempuan di Angrek Ini Nyaris Tewas Ditikam Suami.*" The categorization of the four news stories is built by the sub-categories of drunken-patient, sadistic and barbaric, stingy-hard, and bad husband-poor woman.

The drunken-patient sub-category was awakened from the news entitled "*Pulang Mabuk, Istri Muda Ini Jadi Bulan-bulanan Suaminya*" placed by Hulondalo.id. This news is placed in the Criminal section so that it can be read that domestic violence cases are classified as criminal acts. This means that the initial categorization formed by the Hulondalo.id was domestic violence as a criminal act. In this initial categorization implicitly packing physical violence committed by the perpetrator is a criminal act.

Furthermore, the sub-categories formed in the news are the drunken and patient sub-categories. This sub-category is explicitly constructed in the news (see news excerpt below). The perpetrator committed domestic violence against his wife when he was drunk. This condition was immediately described by the Hulondalo.id cyber media in the news headline. The repetition of the word "drunk" in the news content emphasizes this word and strengthens the categorization of the perpetrator as a drunkard. The word "drunk" is repeated three times and is the only cause of domestic violence. This condition of the perpetrator triggered the act of domestic violence that was experienced by the victim.

The diction "drunk" and the expression light-handed are the words chosen to describe the fact of the incident in the form of acts of domestic violence. To provide a comprehensive picture of the formation of the drunken sub-category, the following excerpt can represent it:

"Memang kesabaran ada batasnya. Begitulah kira-kira yang dirasakan Rosnawati. Dia mengadukan suaminya ke kantor polisi karena diduga sering ringan tangan, apalagi sudah dalam keadaan mabuk berat...Awalnya, rumah tangga RN alias Onal dan Rosnawati berjalan harmonis...Namun

belakangan, sang suami sering pulang dalam keadaan mabuk minuman keras (miras). Awalnya Rosnawati bersabar. Akan tetapi, belakangan RN alias Onal malah ringan tangan.” (Alex, 2019).

Referring to the news text above, the local cyber media Hulondalo.id attempts to present facts about domestic violence incidents that have been repeatedly perpetrated by perpetrators. The sentences “...*malah ringan tangan*” and “...*sering memukul*...” can represent incidents of domestic violence that victims experience repeatedly. Hulondalo.id constructs the facts of domestic violence events chronologically. In the beginning, it was narrated that the family conditions of the perpetrator and the victim were harmonious. Then the harmony changed when the perpetrator often came home drunk and beat his wife.

Just like the news on domestic violence on individual lecturers, in this news Hulondalo.id journalists do not make perpetrators or victims the main sources. The information quoted is only sourced from third parties (police). Facts like that have the potential to manipulate the truth of events because the source of information is only from third parties. According to Edelman, such texts by means of the media define reality which emphasizes certain aspects and facts can be manipulated (Eriyanto, 2011). As a result, public understanding of events (domestic violence) is influenced by the framing and categorization formed by the mass media from potentially manipulative information.

The patient sub-category comes from the condition of the victim who is patient in facing the violent actions of her husband. The news articulation “Initially Rosnawati was patient” as a marker for the patient sub-category besides the word “patience” in the opening paragraph of the news content (see previous quote). Patience is the keyword for the attitude of the victim who is strong in facing her husband’s attitude. Although in the end that patience also collapsed when the husband continued to abuse the victim. Here, victims of domestic violence receive the label “second wife” from Hulondalo.id. Uniquely, this label only appears in news headlines, thus highlighting the identity of the victim’s marriage. The term young wife can refer to the position of the victim as another wife of the perpetrator. Could be a victim as a second wife and so on. Because the young wife is socially distinguished from the first wife.

Unknowingly, news framing as done by Hulondalo.id constructs a certain stigma on victims of domestic violence in the minds of the public. Labeling victims as “second wives” is a social label that has a certain social semiotic meaning (Hoed, 2014). The meaning can be positive or it can be negative. This depends on the public’s point of view in seeing the reported victims of domestic violence. The author argues that this label was unilaterally formed by the Hulondalo.id. because there is no information whatsoever that supports the social label made by the Hulondalo.id editor. The appearance of the label “second wife”

is only in the news headlines. Thus, news construction has been contaminated by the perceptions and interpretations of journalists or media editors of the events reported.

Taking sources of information from the police made the news that was published on January 29 2019 carry double information. The first information is related to acts of domestic violence and the second information is related to the police's success in resolving the domestic violence case without going through a court. The police managed to mediate between the perpetrator and the victim to reconcile. The mediation conducted by the police is part of a restorative justice program entitled "active problem-solving."

The sadistic and barbaric sub-category is different from the other sub-categories. Because this sub-category is formed from the actions of perpetrators of domestic violence that kill their victims. The victim's death was the most severe and horrific case of domestic violence reported on the December 9 2018 edition of the cyber media Hulondalo.id and made headline news. Strictly speaking, the Hulondalo.id media editor considered that the perpetrator was someone who was sadistic and barbaric. The title and content of the news are strong enough to represent this assessment.

The assessment carried out by the cyber media Hulondalo.id is a form of media categorization of the perpetrators of domestic violence who killed his wife. Lifting the news headline "Sadis..!! Istri Dibacok Hingga Tewas di Depan Anak Sendiri," Hulondalo.id described how sadistic and barbaric the perpetrators were who had the heart to kill victims even in front of their children. The sadistic framing of the perpetrator was awakened from the start through the news headlines. The word "Sadis!!" in the news headlines indicates affirmations and warnings marked by an exclamation point (!). Public understanding is led to provide the same assessment as the assessment of the Hulondalo.id cyber media which is articulated through news headlines.

There are at least two conditions constructed by Hulondalo.id cyber media related to the sub-category "sadistic and barbaric." First, the sadistic subcategory is constructed by the condition of the victim who was killed by her husband. Second, the barbaric sub-category is constructed from the actions of the perpetrators who beat the victims to death in front of their children. Here you can see how the domestic violence perpetrated by the perpetrator of domestic violence was so dramatic. We can read the dramatization of events through the words that Hulondalo.id journalists chose, such as the words "excuse", "devil", and "soaked in blood." Of course, this choice of words represents a situation that can influence public perception of the events being reported.

The chronological narrative of events is so heartbreaking. Starting with quarrels, and beatings, and ending with stabbings that killed the victim. All of this was witnessed directly by the biological children of the perpetrator and the victim.

The sentences seemed to legitimize the media's assessment that the perpetrator's actions were truly sadistic. Because even in a helpless condition, the victim continued to be attacked by the perpetrator and stabbed him. The stab wound to the victim's neck is believed to have killed the victim due to loss of blood. The following quotation can show how the construction of the facts of a dramatic event is narrated by the Hulondalo.id and forms a sadistic and barbaric sub-category for perpetrators of domestic violence:

“Pertengkaran pasangan suami istri itu terjadi di ruang dapur. Sedangkan sang anak berada di kamar. Saat itu, anak korban mendengar teriakan minta tolong dari sang ibu. Ketika bocah tersebut keluar kamar, AY mendapati ayahnya sedang kesetanan memukul ibunya. Ketika korban terkapar, tak lama kemudian AY sang suami membacok korban. Parang tajam itu mendarat di leher bagian belakang Ibu Rumah Tangga (IRT) tersebut. Saat itulah korban tak bangun lagi. Diduga kuat korban tewas karena kehabisan darah” (Alex, 2018b).

In the stingy-meaning sub-category, the dominant emphasis is placed on the perpetrators of domestic violence. This sub-category was formed from a piece of news entitled “*Padahal Baru Gajian, Istri Minta Uang Belanja Malah Pica Bibir.*” The tough and stingy subcategories are the categorization structure of domestic violence within the scope of physical violence and economic violence. In the construction of news, physical violence occurs after economic violence. As mentioned in the introduction, Komnas Perempuan categorizes the act of not providing a living as a form of economic violence. The treatment of not giving a living was narrated by the Hulondalo.id who did not give money to his wife even though he had just received a salary. The headline explicitly describes this.

In the news headline, Hulondalo.id presents ironic facts about husband-wife relationships. Husbands who are supposed to provide for their wives instead turn into acts of violence. Even though the perpetrator, according to the Hulondalo.id report, had only received a salary. Such textual facts show a stingy attitude from a husband to his wife. This attitude then gave birth to economic violence perpetrated by husbands against their wives. From this economic violence, it continued to physical violence in which the husband beat his wife until her lip was split. The condition of the victim whose lip was split was immediately illustrated by the news headline, namely “...*malah pica bibir.*” The use of the word “*pica*” brings the news closer to Gorontalo's local audience. Because the word “*pica*” in Gorontalo dialect is equivalent to the word “*pecah*” in Bahasa.

The chronology of domestic violence by the perpetrator is presented in flashback form. The reporting begins with the victim's report to the police and then explains the reasons. This is where the media tries to describe the causes and effects of domestic violence in the news. The news source is single and only refers

to police information. Of course, this information is based on the victim's report to the police. As a result, news construction frames domestic violence cases as legal problems. The act of violence that caused the victim to split her lip became a serious legal issue. The description of the condition of the victim who experienced a split lip can only be seen in the title, not included in the news content. The contents of the news only reveal the occurrence of domestic violence. Consider the following news excerpt which illustrates the relevance between content and title:

“Padahal saat itu Roni baru saja menerima gaji. Tapi bukannya uang yang diberikan, namun sang suami malah menampar Salma sebanyak tiga kali. Awalnya Salma tidak ingin mengadukannya kepada pihak yang berwajib, akan tetapi sang suami seakan tidak mau memedulikannya lagi” (Alex, 2018a).

Explicitly the act of violence committed by the perpetrator was repeatedly slapping his wife. The impact of the slap was not reported in the news content but appeared in the headline. Here it seems clear that the use of the phrase “*pica bibir*” strengthens the form of categorization within the scope of physical violence in the news. Complex domestic violence events are simplified and narrowed down through categorization made by Hulondalo.id journalists so that they are easily understood by the public (Eriyanto, 2011). In other words, the formation of the category of physical violence comes from media narratives that describe the perpetrator's actions (slapping) and the condition of the victim's chapped lips. Behind all that, the subcategory has the heart to stick to the perpetrator. The perpetrator no longer provided a living for his wife, what happened instead abused his wife until her lip was split.

In the bad husband-poor woman sub-category, news framing places perpetrators and victims against each other. In the previous section, it was stated that gender identity (female) is used by Hulondalo.id as a representation of victims of domestic violence in addition to marital identity (wife). This is reflected in the news released Thursday, 11/28/2019 with the title “*Perempuan di Anggrek Ini Nyaris Tewas Ditikam Suami.*” In the opening paragraph, the news articulation describes a conclusion to the domestic violence incident that happened to SS alias Ani. Because the victim of domestic violence was concluded as a person with bad luck. As a result of the abuse of her husband, the victim had to undergo medical treatment. The perpetrator allegedly assaulted the victim using a kitchen knife. The act of persecuting is an evil act that ignores human values.

This violence was triggered by his fights with his wife from morning to night. In addition, the perpetrator did not accept that he was saved by his wife when he tried to commit suicide. The incident of domestic violence that occurred is an irony. Instead of thanking the victim, the perpetrator abused the victim

causing him to receive medical treatment. The textual facts on the news on domestic violence published by Hulondalo.id form a contrasting categorization between perpetrators and victims in the scope of physical violence. The subcategories of poor women and husbands of criminals are an indication of the categorization of the opposing positions of perpetrators and victims.

The poor women sub-category refers to the media's conclusions about the condition of the victim who experienced violence even though she had saved the perpetrator. The phrase "*Nyaris Tewas Ditikam Suami*" amplifies and dramatizes domestic violence. As if this title legitimized the editorial conclusions of the Hulondalo.id media which stated that the victim was a poor woman. Even though the third paragraph of the news stated that the victim's success in thwarting her husband's suicide attempt was influenced by the victim's large body. In other words, the victim's large body did not prevent her from getting violent with her husband.

The choice of words in the news headline phrase "*...Nyaris Tewas Ditikam Suami*" can be an affirmation as well as an initial picture of the fate of victims of domestic violence. The Hulondalo.id tries to string together the causality of the domestic violence by emphasizing the aspect of his fight with the victim. There are three terms used by Hulondalo.id journalists to emphasize this aspect of the fight, namely "*bertengkar*" (fighting) and "*berdebat*" (arguing). The terms "*bertengkar*" and "*berdebat*" are used for events that occur in the morning and the term "*ribut*" is used for events that occur in the evening. These choices are a form of media definition of an event that it deems important and in this case the quarrel between the perpetrator and the victim as the cause of domestic violence.

Referring back to Edelman's statement, emphasizing certain aspects and facts can lead to media manipulation of events. Furthermore, the news about domestic violence by DT published by Hulondalo.id was only cited from the online media Gopos.Id. This means that Hulondalo.id journalists are not present at the crime scene to clarify and gather additional information to back up the facts. Not to mention that the news does not describe the victim's rescue process for the perpetrator who attempted suicide. The news editor only stated that the perpetrator failed to commit suicide. It could be that other facts behind the incident are important to present so that the public can know and understand the incidents of domestic violence in a comprehensive manner.

Observing the previous explanation on the categorization of domestic violence constructed by the local cyber media Hulondalo.id, a pattern is formed that positions the perpetrator (husband) and victim (wife) face to face, as shown in Table 3. When examined further, framing is designed to give the perpetrator a negative impression while giving the victim a positive impression. This impression later became a sub-category that built opposite categorizations between

perpetrators and victims in the scope of physical violence and economic violence in the domestic violence news published by Hulondalo.id. The sub-categories of drunkards, sadists and barbarians, stingy and stingy, and evil husbands (persecutors) create a negative impression of perpetrators who commit acts of violence. In contrast, victims are categorized with positive impressions as patient wives and poor women. Even though on certain sides in the news the identity of the victim tends to be displayed.

Tabel 3. Patterns of Categorization of Domestic Violence News in Society

Perpetrator (Suami)	Victim (Istri)
Pemabuk (drunkard)	Penyabar (patient)
Sadis dan biadab (sadistic and arbaric)	-
Tega dan pelit (stingy)	-
Suami jahat (bad husband)	Perempuan malang (poor woman)

Source: Data Analysis

Ideological Position of Media

The Hulondalo.id coverage of domestic violence incidents in Gorontalo did more than just create certain categorization patterns for the reported events. However, it also presents the media's ideological position on the events covered. The complex reality of domestic violence is simplified into the news to make it more orderly and meaningful to the public. The media defines reality and the social actors involved in the news construction process. Furthermore, the media identifies events that are valuable and newsworthy. Contextualization, in addition to identification, is an important part of making an event newsworthy. Identification and contextualization serve to order and contextualize random events for audiences (Eriyanto, 2011).

According to Shoemaker and Reese, media content is a representation of reality rather than a reflection of reality. The worldview depicted by the media is mediated by media reality. Individual factors of the media crew, media routines, media organizations, extra media, and social systems all influence a media perspective. These five factors influence media content in a hierarchical order (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014). The analysis results show that individual factors of the media crew, media routines, and media organizations influence the construction of news by the Hulondalo.id.

Categorization is a means of framing the reality of domestic violence that occurred in Gorontalo by Hulondalo.id by placing actors in a certain position in the text and making them in a certain ideological position as well. The results of the study found that the ideological position of the media tends to be ambiguous. On the one hand, the Hulondalo.id appears to defend victims, especially in reporting cases of domestic violence perpetrated by *oknum dosen*. On the other hand, Hulondalo.id hides the victim's profession and only displays his initials.

That is, the media's position is to protect victims through text by negating their professional identity.

However, on the other hand, Hulondalo.id shows a different position when reporting domestic violence by the general public. The media seems to be positioned as an institution that perpetuates the practice of patriarchal ideology. Because in some news, Hulondalo.id exploits victims who are generally women, both from the aspect of the violence experienced and their identity. From the categorization patterns formed, it is clear how the perpetrators of domestic violence (the husbands of victims) seem aggressive and dominant. News headlines generally place women in a marginal and dominant position as victims of domestic violence from men (husbands). This kind of position can ideologically legitimize acts of violence committed by men and women should accept them.

Even though in one news it was revealed that the victim of domestic violence was able to put up a fight before he was almost killed by the perpetrator. Journalists prefer to make headlines "*Perempuan di Anggrek Ini Nyaris Tewas Ditikam Suami*" rather than formulating it to be "*Sempat Melawan, Perempuan di Anggrek Ini Nyaris Tewas Ditikam Suami.*" Such facts may be influenced by the ideology of journalists and the ideology of the media. Thus, the ideological position of Hulondalo.id is not neutral. Moreover, concerning their framing of perpetrators of domestic violence who have a certain social status, such as a lecturer. The media tends to side with the victims by not showing their identities compared to their victims from ordinary society whose identities are shown directly.

CONCLUSION

The explanation concluded that the construction of domestic violence news in Hulondalo.id is classified into three forms of violence, namely physical, sexual, and economic violence which then cover the categorization formed in the news. The placement of domestic violence news in the Headline and Crime rubrics can be interpreted that domestic violence cases are still important events and constitute criminal acts. Generally, the identity or actions of the perpetrator, and the condition of the victim immediately appear in the headline. For example, "*oknum dosen, suami, istri*" represents the professional identity and marital status, "*menyerang, menikam, and memukul*" represents the acts of violence committed by the perpetrators and "*nyaris tewas, tewas, menjadi bulan-bulanan, dan pecah bibir*" represents the victim's condition.

Based on the above construction of domestic violence news, an opposing categorization pattern between perpetrators and victims is formed. Domestic violence perpetrators and victims are in polar opposite positions. Physical and sexual violence are covered by the categorization pattern formed in lecturers' reporting on domestic violence. The pattern of categorization is built on coercive

(aggressive)-powerless/forced (passive) sub-categories, as well as offender and victim rivalry sub-categories as challengers (active) and accusers (active). The general public's reporting on domestic violence is divided into two categories: physical violence and economic violence. The pattern is built on the drunken-patient subcategory, the sadistic and savage subcategory, the stingy subcategory, and the evil husband-poor woman subcategory.

Individual factors of media crew, media routines, and media organizations tend to influence domestic violence news content produced by local cyber media Hulondalo.id, according to the categorization pattern formed. The ideological stance of the Hulondalo.id cyber media is ambiguous. On the one hand, the media appears to be defending the victim, but on the other, it demonstrates a different attitude. The local cyber media Hulondalo.id appears to perpetuate patriarchal ideology as a social institution. This is evident in the text, where the victim's identity is exploited, acts of violence committed by men gain legitimacy, and women are justified in accepting violence. The discovery of sub-categories in this study contributes significantly to identifying forms of categorization in a news text. The sub-categories discovered in this study are novel in the context of the application of Murray Edelman's framing theory, and they are useful for delving deeper into the media's categorizations.

There are undoubtedly limitations to this research because it focuses on a single theme. Where the limitations are found in the theme of domestic violence in Gorontalo and the news that is specifically studied in one of the local cyber media, namely Hulondalo.id. As a result, additional research can be conducted to investigate the theme and media in greater depth. The study can be comparative among local media or it can also examine other domestic violence issues in various lines of mass media, such as domestic violence committed by public officials, which may take different forms of framing.

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