

Perpetuation of Stigmatization of Minority Groups through Convergence of Content on Streaming and Social Media

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Abstract

Introduction: This study aims to show the misrepresentation of minority groups, specifically widowed women (hereinafter referred to as *janda*) in the era of convergence of media content (television as well as streaming and social media) in Indonesia. Media as the fourth pillar of democracy are supposed to inform and represent everything in a balanced and fair manner, instead of favoring the interests of the majority. The question we attempt to answer is: how the misrepresentation of *janda* on converged media content (FTVs) in a patriarchal society?

Methods: This study applied feminist perspective in media convergence as well as the narrative analysis of Chatman.

Findings: In general, the results of the study show that the convergence has not been in favor of *janda*, indicating that internet technology does not only strengthen the gender-biased values of media industry person in massively distributing FTVs (via streaming and social media) that threaten minorities, but also ignores the opposing feedback from netizens. As a result, the minority groups are increasingly muted. Reproduction of labelling of *janda* is a strategy of media owners to obtain maximum profits.

Originality: We noted many studies on *janda* conducted from various scientific perspectives. However, studies that observe the depiction of *janda* in the media convergence in the perspective of communication studies are scarce. This study provides a discussion on the representation of *janda* in the vortex of capitalism in media convergence as the major novelty in this line of study.

Keywords: Misrepresentation, Labelling of *Janda*, Convergence of Media Content, Ignores the opposing feedback from Netizens, Indonesia.

Introduction

Women, especially *janda*, in a patriarchal society is considered a subordinate group with a double bias against them. They have to bear not only the stereotypes that accentuate their role in household affairs, but also negative labels as seducers craving physical intimacy and many others. Ironically, digital media further marginalizes this minority group. The distribution of content/messages assumed to contain perpetuation of symbolic violence against minorities in the entertainment industry (soap operas and television films) on various media platforms has the potential to strengthen media ideology against minorities in the current era of convergence of media content. In other words, media convergence has not been in favor of women, particularly *janda*.

The concept of minority can be defined in various ways. In general, minority is related to quantity/number, but in terms of status, it can also be attached to an isolated

feeling of individuals who have lived in a certain group/area for a long period. Therefore, minority can also be perceived as inferior, 'alien' to society, and 'persecuted'. According to Marmaryan, there are several related studies of minority, including: 'economic minority', 'age minority', 'ethnic minority', 'racial minority', 'religious minority', 'language minority', 'gender minority', 'sexual minority', 'disabled minority', and others (Marmaryan, 2010).

The study of minority in the context of this study is gender minority, particularly *janda*. The single word *janda* refers to both widows and divorcees in Indonesian, but can be made more specific with the addition of qualifiers: *janda mati* (widow) and *janda cerai* (divorcee) (Parker & Creese, 2016). The phenomenon of gender minority in Indonesia is inseparable from the norms and values of patriarchal culture that reinforces the position of women as economically and socially dependent on men, causing them to have no bargaining position and use sexuality as a way to gain economic stability. These norms and values of patriarchal culture also influence media content. It is noted that several shows on television (mainstream media) as well as internet show gender bias.

Javanese culture has a proverb related to the ideal role of women as wives, namely *macak* (be well groomed), *masak* (be able to cook), and *manak* (be able to have children). It leads to the unfavourable perception of divorced *janda* and a societal stereotype that divorce is resulted from the inability of the wives to cook, to stay presentable, or serve their husband well. On the contrary, widowers (hereinafter referred to as *duda*) are given different perception and label. The society and media in Indonesia consider that *duda* has a more respectable position than *janda*. They even perceive *duda* as a 'cool' figure, hence the epithet of *duren* (shortened from *duda keren* that literally means 'cool' widower).

Various historical searches and previous studies discover that the structural negative components on the word *janda* are inseparable from political, social, economic and cultural aspects, ultimately creating negative labels for *janda*. *First*, anthropological perspective study conducted by Parker and Creese (2016) related to culture on Wawonii Island (off the coast of Southeast Sulawesi) through an ethnographic approach shows that *janda* have lower values than unmarried women. In terms of prospective brides, a virgin woman has a material value of 30 coconut trees, or three times higher than 10 coconut trees for *janda*. This structure that determines the social status of women on the economic value (price) is only a small example of discrimination against women and against *janda* in particular.

Second, Nadia (2007) explains political labelling in the New Order era under the regime of President Soeharto in 1965. The label of *janda komunis* (communist widows) is the most extreme stigmatization of *janda* that has ever happened in Indonesia, given to the women whose husbands were accused of being supporters of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), imprisoned for years or died in the 1965 mass killings. Becoming political prisoners, they are labelled *sundal* and *bom malam*, associated with the objectification of their body and sexuality to serve the sexual desires of the soldiers on duty in the barracks. Other names for them are *eks-tapol* (former political prisoners), *setan* ('devil'), savage women, communist women, and general killers. Nadia also emphasizes that the stigma attacks the moral identity and values of the women and those already stigmatized will have difficulty in building their self-concept as a respectable woman. Many of these victims of political labeling feel unsaved, paranoid, and depressed.

The *third* study (Creese, 2016) applied a legal perspective and focused on exploring the construction of legal status for *janda* in Bali during the Dutch colonial period from the mid-19th century to the 1930s. The Dutch colonial government established the

Balinese customary law system that emphasizes the etiquette of sexuality of women both in marriage and in separation due to a divorce or the death of the spouse, particularly in relation to the rights of women/*janda* to property and inheritance. The Dutch colonial government harmonized traditional Balinese customary law with modern legal practice, providing wider legal access for women and *janda* who were recognized for their economic and social rights. Creese emphasizes that the growing and developing patriarchal culture in Indonesia has caused *janda* to suffer from injustice and become second-class citizens in association with identity and social status until the present day.

Another study by Mahy, Winarnita, & Herriman (2016), using a multi-disciplinary perspective of socio-legal and anthropological, examines the stereotype of *janda* in Indonesia. The study involved an Indonesian dance group in Perth (Australia) and was also conducted in other areas such as East Java and East Kalimantan. The study shows that the stereotype affects the social status of *janda* and their opportunities to find a livelihood. The term *janda* carries many pejorative meanings related to sexual problems. According to them, this condition illustrates the normality of heterosexual marriages in Indonesia, positioning the social status of wives and mothers as ideal figures and *janda* as less respected figures. Thus, they criticize the policy in the regime of Suharto that validates the image of mothers ('state-ibuisism') as the highest achievement of status for women. The natural notion is husbands are the breadwinner while wives as mothers focus only on housework. Autonomous or financially independent women (including *janda*) are considered deviant.

Based on this explanation, it is obvious that the dominant structure in the society influences the perspective of Indonesian people that is 'highly biased' on the status of *duda* and *janda*, in which being *janda* means inevitably accepting a 'stab' by a 'stab' in social interaction as widowhood is much more painful for women than for men (Setiawan et al., 2018).

There is a great number of other studies describing the bad stigma of *janda* status obtained from a divorce or the death of the husbands. These studies historically examine the stigmatization of *janda* in several cultures in Indonesia. They explain the impact of the stigma on the wives having a bad relationship with their husbands and experiencing domestic violence, who tend to choose to endure the bad marriages in order to be free from the stigma attached to the status of *janda*. Worse, there is also a stereotype against young *janda*, dubbed *janda kembang* (literally: flower widow), that has sexual connotations. This reality, according to Dorothy Smith, is called rules, habits, and thoughts that control society. They are invisible, yet implemented as guidelines for interacting in daily life (ruling relations). Meanwhile, they are referred to by Sara Mills as a discursive structure, discourse, or power that frames the living habits of society, namely patriarchal culture (Mills, 1997).

We noted many studies on *janda* conducted from various scientific perspectives. However, studies that observe the depiction of *janda* in the media convergence in the perspective of communication studies are scarce. This study provides a discussion on the representation of *janda* in the vortex of capitalism in media convergence as the major novelty in this line of study. As researchers in communication studies, we are concerned about gender discrimination in the representation of *janda* in various media in Indonesia, as discussed in several previous studies as follows.

First, Yusuf (2020) discovers stigmatization of *janda* in the production of feature films in Indonesia, in which *janda* is illustrated as a beautiful, rich, young, and seductive figure and even a wandering ghost. Several examples of films that portray *janda* in a

negative way are “*Gara-gara Djanda Muda*” (1954); “*Si Janda Kembang*” (1973); “*Gara-gara Janda Kaya*” (1977); “*Sembilan Janda Genit*” (1977); “*Misteri Janda Kembang*” (1991); “*Kembalinya Si Janda Kembang*” (1992); “*Ku Tunggu Jandamu*” (2008); “*Janda Kembang*” (2009); “*Darah Janda Kolong Wewe*” (2009); “*Pelukan Janda Hantu Gerondong*” (2011) and “*Mati Muda di Pelukan Janda*” (2011). Yusuf also notes negative representation of *janda* in journalistic products (news in print media) and *dangdut* songs (one of the musical genres originating from Indonesia).

Second, a content analysis study conducted by Gerard & Poepsel on the Marvel Cinematic Universe film catalog reveals a character named Black Widow. There are five Marvel films produced from 2008 to 2017 that feature this character, namely *Iron Man 2*, *The Avengers*, *Captain America: Winter Soldier*, *Avengers: Age of Ultron*, and *Captain America: Civil War*. Negative labels such as 'sexy assistant' and 'deadly killer' are attached to this character. In addition, Gerard & Poepsel discover that movie viewers are encouraged to desire her, marvel at her power and abilities, and pity her. Black Widow is created and characterized using the perspective of the dominant social structure (male) (Gerard & Poepsel, 2018).

Third, another content analysis study conducted by Kumar (2011) on mainstream print media coverage of the rape case of a Muslim woman in India shows that media coverage influences the way Indians perceive the religious minority in that country. The interests of Muslims in India are underrepresented by media owners, newsmakers, experts, and the public consuming media content. When covering the minorities, media in India tend to portray them as criminals, even though they are victims in reality. Kumar emphasizes the apathy of media practitioners and educational institutions to the plight of minorities in India.

Based on our notes, the aforementioned previous studies focus more on how media content represents *janda* as the wrong party. When she is a wife, she frequently experiences verbal and non-verbal mistreatment. When she is divorced, the society and media reinforce gender bias. In addition, the focus of the previous studies is not to observe the scheme of misrepresentation of *janda* in the vortex of capitalism in media convergence as we observed in this study.

It is arguable that media are an agent that reinforces the stigma or label of *janda*. However in the context of democracy, media as the fourth pillar of democracy (after the executive, legislative and judicial institutions) are obliged to inform everything in a balanced and fair manner (Ellis, 2012; Praktikno in Siregar, 2014; García-Orosa, 2021).

Media convergence has been recorded to be increasingly thriving in Indonesia since 2007, where the government has focused on running digital television media broadcasts due to the rapid development of internet technology, especially in the entertainment industry (Julijanti, 2012). The entertainment industry in Indonesia was originally enjoyed via television and radio only. However, today entertainment industry massively reaches all segments of entertainment lovers through internet channels such as streaming media, and social media (for example: YouTube) (Tapsell, 2014; Mishra, 2014; Tapsell, 2015).

However, the power of media convergence is significantly great today that it can endanger the lives of people in Indonesia because it has the potential to perpetuate the dominant perspective of the society in perceiving the status of *janda* negatively. It is necessary to observe the assumption that consuming social media and streaming videos is a form of freedom to obtain information. Unfortunately, social media such as YouTube and channels such as vidio.com are in reality controlled by big entertainment companies

to further expand their dominance in presenting monotonous shows that marginalize minorities (women or *janda*). This is the theoretical assumption of this study.

Fundamentally, streaming and social media are supposed to be a form of diversity in providing information for users, yet reality speaks differently. The media industry tends to flood the public with similar information in conformity with the ideology of the owners. This tendency is increasingly difficult to control since a large number of owners of entertainment industry create channels on streaming and social media and re-upload their shows in those channels. Without diversity of information in media, access to information is destroyed and biased, in addition to lacking in political and social participation. On behalf of democracy of communication, we should encourage free expression as widely as possible (Kennedy in (Baran, 2011)), including free expression of media products without any patriarchal and capitalist dogmas.

Several ideas that underlie this study are as follows: in the context of a communication perspective, various studies show that media has not been in favor of women. There is a misrepresentation of women and *janda* in media that reinforces gender-biased culture, social, economic, and political issues. This study attempts to explore the misrepresentation broadcasted on television as well as through converged media. There have been many studies of women in general, yet studies on the convergence of media content concerning *janda* in particular are scarce. Thus, this study provides a novelty in analyzing the convergence of media content concerning *janda*.

The Covid-19 pandemic has been the next consideration, as it causes a big change that would be unimaginable in the past years. People are restricted to visit public places (in-doors and out-doors) and are required to work from home, school from home, and stay at home to break the chain of Covid-19. Nearly all activities carried out offline have to be conducted online during the pandemic. Online activities are possible as digital technology allows the realization of IoT (Xia et al., 2012; Temelli et al., 2020), one of which is through convergence in media industry (Daidj, 2011). This condition has an impact on the increase in the average number of people consuming media, both television and streaming media. The data from Nielsen Television Audience Measurement (TAM) show that the duration of watching television has increased by more than 40 minutes, namely from an average of 4 hours 53 minutes per day to an average of 5 hours 29 minutes (Lubis, 2020). This condition is exploited by media industry owners to further disseminate contents considered to increase profits.

As the final consideration, the biggest contributor of audience for television shows is *emak-emak* (a popular term for unemployed women/housewives) and female teenagers (Komara, 2021). This study is expected to be a basis to inspire these target audience to be more media literate, considering that many gender biased shows or contents illustrate that women themselves are the ones who reinforce the negative stigma of *janda* (Artarina & Ariana, 2019). The questions raised in this feminist study (socialist feminist) are: how is the misrepresentation in *janda*-themed FTVs on streaming and social media in a patriarchal society in Indonesia?; and what ideology is hidden in such representation? This study attempts to show the misrepresentation of *janda* by media (FTV) uploaded on streaming and social media in a patriarchal society in Indonesia; and describe the hidden ideology of such representation.

The media selected for this study is a stand-alone television film (FTV) entitled "*Azab Perempuan Perebut Suami Orang*" (literally "*Divine Retribution to A Man-Stealing Woman*") broadcasted on Indosiar television station, then uploaded on the streaming site of vidio.com as well as YouTube, allowing the viewers to stream the show

multiple times anywhere and anytime provided that they have an internet network. The FTV is selected because it has been adapted to the characteristics in this study, namely (1) the content is full of negative labels to the main female character (*janda*); (2) the FTV is aired on television as well as streaming and social media in the past three years; (3) the FTV has been watched by more than 100.000 viewers on social media; (4) this FTV has received a warning from the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI) for displaying content that encourages viewers to learn about inappropriate behavior and/or justify inappropriate behavior as a normal thing in daily life; and (5) the FTV is broadcasted by a national television station but re-uploaded on streaming and social media.

Methods

To answer the questions in this study, we employed narratology, or a study of the story of a text--concerning what the story is, how the story is structured, and what we obtain from the story as a medium of communication (Foss & Littlejohn, 2008). In this regard, we applied a narrative analysis introduced by Seymour Chatman, assuming that this analysis is able to expose the negative label of *janda* in the story in the FTV, a stand-alone television film broadcasted in Indosiar television station, streaming media (vidio.com), and YouTube.

This method simultaneously analyzes story (*histoire*) and discourse as semiotic structures that are rich in meaning (Bal, 1997). Story is related to content, comprising of events (actions and happenings), and existents (characters and settings). Meanwhile, discourse is related to the expression of the story or the structure of events in the story. In other words, story relates to the factor of 'what' of the narrative, while discourse relates to the element of 'how' (Chatman, 1980). Using narrative analysis, we was able to describe the semiotic structures of negative labels addressed to minority groups (*janda*) in FTVs. The narrative structure according to Chatman is as follows:

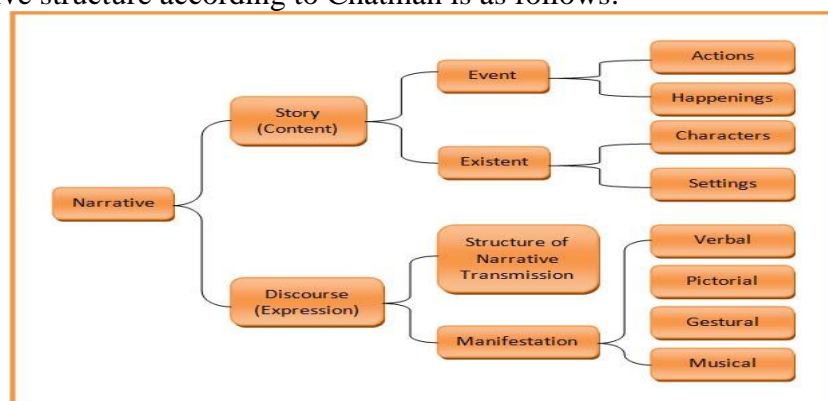


Figure 1. Narrative Structure (source: Chatman, 1980)

Description:

Firstly, we conducted an analysis on the content with the following details: we analyzed the events of the content of the media text studied, including actions and happenings. *Then*, we further observed the existent of the content consisting of characters and settings. *Lastly*, we examined the discourse of the media text studied by identifying (1) narrative structures and (2) manifestation contained (either verbal, pictorial, gestural, or musical).

Results

In this critical paradigm study, we applied purposive sampling by choosing FTV shows on Indosiar since they dominate the television viewership from morning to evening

from mid-2019 until the Covid-19 pandemic era (Dalimunthe, 2020). The FTV studied is a *janda*-themed FTV from the category of *Kisah Nyata* (True Story) entitled “*Azab Perempuan Perebut Suami Orang*”. It is aired on Indosiar television station and uploaded on vidio.com (streaming media) and YouTube (social media), allowing the viewers to rewatch the show multiple times anywhere and anytime provided that they have an internet network.

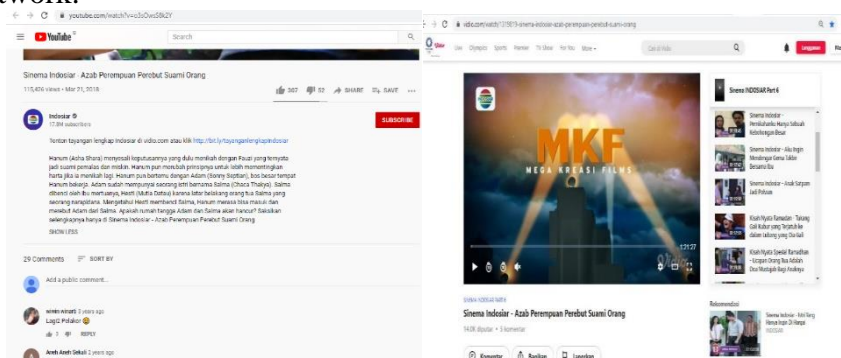


Figure 2. FTV entitled “*Azab Perempuan Perebut Suami Orang*” broadcasted on Indosiar and re-uploaded on vidio.com and YouTube (source: vidio.com/watch/1319819-sinema-indosiar-azab-perempuan-perebut-suami-orang; youtube.com/watch?v=o3sOwsS8k2Y)

The following is the synopsis of the FTV: Hanum regretted her decision to marry Fauzi who was apparently a lazy and poor husband. Becoming *janda*, she decided to prioritize wealth and justify all means to obtain it when she remarried. She then met Adam, the big boss at the office where she worked at. Adam was already married to Salma and had one child named Maura. However, since one of the parents of Salma was a prisoner, her mother-in-law (Hesti) hated her and criticized her everyday. Adam felt uncomfortable with this situation and gradually stopped loving Salma. Knowing this, Hanum decided to ‘interfere’ with their marital life and steal Adam from Salma. Adam then divorced Salma to marry his mistress (Hanum) and together with Hesti evicted Salma and Maura from the house. Unfortunately, Hanum became a materialistic wife and a liar who frequently disobeyed and treated Hesti badly. All her bad deeds were later known by Adam who regretted all his mistakes. In the end, Adam was forgiven by Hesti, Salma, and Maura, while Hanum died and received divine retribution from God.

This study employed narrative analysis by Chatman of the *Kisah Nyata* FTV Indosiar entitled “*Azab Perempuan Perebut Suami Orang*” with a total duration of 1:21:30. There is a total of 38 scenes/kernels in the FTV, from which we chose two scenes (the 6th and the 38th scenes/kernels) with the highest degree of negative labelling of *janda*. The application of the narrative analysis of Chatman on these two selected scenes/kernels is elaborated as follows:

The Sixth Scene/Kernel

1. Story (Content)

1.1 Event (Actions and Happenings)

Actions: Adam visited Hanum in her rented house, asking Hanum to be his girlfriend. Happenings: Adam asked Hanum to be his girlfriend.

1.2 Existent (Characters and Setting)

Characters: The two main antagonists, namely Adam as a director and owner of a company who has no principles, and Hanum as a man-stealing widow (hereinafter referred to as *janda pelakor*). Setting: The living room of Hanum’s rented house (interior).

2. Discourse (Expression)
 - 2.1 Structure of Narrative Transmission (Dialogues Containing the Elements of Labelling)



Figure 3. Adam in Hanum's rented house, asking her to be his girlfriend (source: vidio.com/watch/1319819-sinema-indosiar-azab-perempuan-perebut-suami-orang)

The Narrative of Figure 3: Adam visited Hanum in her rented house and frankly expressed his love for Hanum. *"You know my feelings for you... Let's date,"* said Adam shyly to Hanum. *"I'm not looking for a boyfriend. I'm looking for a husband,"* said Hanum firmly. *"Well... you know I'm already someone's husband,"* Adam protested. *"Yes, I know, but ..."* Hanum answered, pretending to be confused. *"I'm comfortable around you... but if you're looking for a husband, I still can't leave my wife and children. Let's just date first, okay?"* Adam frankly proposed. *"Ummm... well, okay then,"* Hanum said, agreeing to be his girlfriend. Meanwhile, the Narrative of Figure 4: Hanum smiled and had an intrapersonal dialogue. *"I will let your wife know about our relationship. I don't want to be just a girlfriend forever."*



Figure 4. Hanum smiling and having an intrapersonal dialogue (source: vidio.com/watch/1319819-sinema-indosiar-azab-perempuan-perebut-suami-orang)



Figure 5. Hanum implementing her strategy to ensure that Adam's wife learned about her illicit affair with Adam (source: vidio.com/watch/1319819-sinema-indosiar-azab-perempuan-perebut-suami-orang)

The Narrative of Figure 5: Hanum implemented a strategy to ensure that her illicit affair with Adam was known by his wife. When Adam was about to drink his coffee, Hanum accidentally nudged Adam's arm, causing the coffee to spill onto his coat. Hanum quickly took off his coat to clean it up. Instead, she went into her room and sprayed it with the perfume she usually wore. When Adam was leaving, he accidentally left his cellphone behind. Hanum picked it up but did not go after him.

2.2 The Manifestation of Labelling (verbal, pictorial, gestural, or musical)

The type of shot used in Figure 3 is Long Shot (LS): a shot that shows the full body of a person including the background. It aims to show the characters (Hanum and Adam). The FTV producers wanted to show that Adam fell in love with *janda* named Hanum and asked her to be his girlfriend even though he already had a wife and a child. The shot used in Figure 4 is Medium Close Up (MCU), framing the subject from chest up. This type of shot aims to show details. The FTV producers wanted to highlight Hanum smiling happily, planning a strategy to steal Adam from his wife. Furthermore, Figure 5 was taken using Medium Long Shot (MLS). The subject in this shot is framed from waist up and the background remains proportional to the main subject (Millerson, 1987).

The producers aimed to show Hanum planning a strategy to ensure that her illicit affair with Adam was discovered by his wife. Low Angle shot is used to suggest that Hanum is an evil and domineering *janda*. This scene is clearly misleading and demeaning *janda*.

In addition, the scene includes background music. According to Millerson (1987), background music is played in accordance with the mood of the actors. The narrative analysis of this scene discovers the negative labelling of *janda* as *janda pelakor*.

The Thirty-Eighth Scene/Kernel

1. Story (Content)

1.1 Event (Actions and Happenings)

Actions: The mourners are unable to lift the coffin containing Hanum's body.

Happenings: Hanum, described in the previous scenes as *janda pelakor*, received divine retribution from Allah: her body became extremely heavy.

1.2 Existent (Characters and Setting)

Characters: Hanum (the main antagonist) who received divine retribution from Allah and died before she could repent for her sins; Adam (the main antagonist) who had realized his mistakes (being unfaithful and divorcing his wife, Salma); An exhausted mourner (cameo) who confirmed that the late Hanum received divine retribution; and Ustadz (chaplain) (cameo) who prayed in order that the body could be lifted and buried. Setting: in the public cemetery (exterior).

2. Discourse (Expression)

2.1 Structure of Narrative Transmission (Dialogues Containing the Elements of Labelling)



Figure 6. The mourners are unable to lift Hanum's coffin (source: vidio.com/watch/1319819-sinema-indosiar-azab-perempuan-perebut-suami-orang)

Narrative of Figure 6: The mourners were struggling when carrying the coffin containing Hanum's body, overwhelmed with the weight of the coffin. "It's so heavy ... put it down a moment, Sir?! ... Just a moment ...," said one of them. "Is something wrong, Sir?" asked Ustadz who accompanied the funeral procession. "Ustadz, we give up! This body is too heavy," explained the mourner. "That's right, Ustadz ... it is because she stole someone's husband," another mourner added.



Figure 7. Ustadz praying for the late Hanum (source: vidio.com/watch/1319819-sinema-indosiar-azab-perempuan-perebut-suami-orang)

Narrative of Figure 7: Hearing the residents' statements, Ustadz immediately uttered, "Astaghfirullah al-'Adzim ..." before offering tausiyah, "Ladies and gentlemen, destroying the marital relationship of others, even wanting to separate husbands from wives, is a great sin, as noted in the Hadith narrated by Abu Dawud: 'The Prophet Muhammad SAW said: those who want to destroy the relationship of a woman with her husband or a slave with his master is not one of us.' Therefore, let us pray and ask for forgiveness for the late Hanum, may Allah SWT forgive all her sins and mistakes, because Allah is the Most Forgiving ... Astaghfirullah al-'Adzim ... Astaghfirullah al-'Adzim ... Al-Fatihah ..." that was ended by all mourners in unison with "Amen!". Afterwards, Ustadz said, "Gentlemen, let us try to lift the coffin again by reading Bismillah with a sincere heart." Meanwhile, narrative of Figure 8: Following the prayer by the mourners for the late Hanum, the coffin became lighter and the mourners finally could lift it up.



Figure 8. Hanum's coffin finally lifted by the mourners (source: vidio.com/watch/1319819-sinema-indosiar-azab-perempuan-perebut-suami-orang)

2.2 The Manifestation of Labeling (verbal, pictorial, gestural, or musical)

Medium Close Up (MCU) shot is used in Figure 6, framing the subjects from chest up. MCU is most frequently used in television shows. The shot shows one of the mourners, exhausted from lifting the extremely heavy body of the late Hanum. The producers aimed to show the displeasure of the mourner at the late Hanum as *janda pelakor*. Figure 7 was taken using the same shot (MCU) to show respect to the Ustadz

who offered *tausiyah* and asked for the sincerity of the mourners to pray for the late Hanum in order that the body could be lifted and buried. Meanwhile, the type of shot used in Figure 8 is Long Shot, in which the wider background dominates the frame (Millerson, 1987). The producers wanted to show that Hanum's body could finally be lifted after Ustadz and the mourners prayed sincerely. The scene includes religious music (Silver et al., 2016) by Opick entitled "*Bila Waktu Tlah Berakhir*". The narrative analysis of this scene discovers the negative labelling of *janda* by FTV producers as receiving divine retribution from God (died in a pathetic condition without a chance to repent for her sins).

Referring to the results of the narrative analysis of Chatman of the text studied, there are various negative labels for *janda*. In the 6th scene/kernel, the producers portray *janda* smiling happily while thinking of removing the legal wife of her boss and spraying her perfume on his coat to provide clues to the legal wife regarding the illicit affair (Figures 4 & 5). In the 38th scene/kernel, the producers label *janda* receiving divine retribution because dying without a chance to repent for her sins (Picture 6). In other words, *janda* in FTV are frequently labelled or associated with negative characters, a fact of which is inseparable from the religious belief regarding sins and their long-term consequences for the sinners even until their death.

Negative labels for *janda* are also discovered in other scenes/kernels of the FTV. We classified them into two categories. *First*, the inherent stereotype of identity, in which *janda* have different negative characters from legal women or wives in general. Prior to the widowhood, she is described as fussy (1st kernel) and disobedient (2nd kernel). During the widowhood, she is described as a flirtatious (3rd, 4th and 8th kernels), heartless (9th and 20th kernels), stubborn (10th kernel), materialistic woman (4th kernel), seducer (5th kernel), *pelakor* or man-stealer (5th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 13th, and 14th kernels), homewrecker (7th and 14th kernels), liar and slanderer (11th kernel) who does not hesitate in justifying any means (8th kernel), destroying the happiness of others (10th kernel), and using others to fulfil her ambition to steal someone's husband (12th and 13th kernels). Following her second marriage to the new husband, she is represented as a cunning (16th and 17th kernels), extravagant (22nd kernel), greedy and evil woman (9th, 15th, 21st, 24th, 26th, 27th, 29th, 31st, and 34th kernels) who loves to slander others (18th, 20th, and 25th kernels), pit others against each other (19th kernel), and oppress others (22nd and 23rd kernels).

Second, women are always the guilty party, whether they are previously *janda* who then remarry or wives divorced by their husbands. The first is described as a hypocrite who does not love her stepdaughter (29th kernel) and disobeys her mother-in-law (30th, 31st, 33rd, and 34th kernels), bringing bad luck (36th kernel) and regret to the mother-in-law (32nd kernel), inviting divine retribution of God at the end of her life without a chance to repent for her sins (36th and 37th kernels). On the other hand, the later (wives divorced by their husbands) is represented as a woman who suffers with her child, blamed by the society even though it is the husband who decides to divorce her and prefers to marry an unfavorable *janda* (28th and 35th kernels).

All the scenes in the text studied contain media languages that label *janda* negatively, both verbal (through dialogues between characters and intrapersonal dialogue of a character) and non-verbal (visualization with certain shots to show negative stereotypes of *janda*). The negative labeling through verbal and non-verbal languages are shown as follows: (1) women (*janda*) are portrayed as evil antagonists using Medium Close Up and Close Up shots, dying painfully of divine retribution using Big Close Up shot that frames the facial expression of *janda* in a terrible pain while dying, and having her disgrace exposed using Long Shot. (2) On the other hand, women are also depicted

as protagonists (the legal wife and mother-in-law) who suffer because of *janda* using Medium Close Up and Close Up shots. (3) The character of a man (husband) who regrets and curses himself for being tempted by *janda* is depicted using Medium Close Up shot. (4) The bad behavior of *janda* who does not deserve a place of honor, whether in life or after death, is filmed in mystical and religious nuances.

Discussion

Referring to the results of narrative analysis of Chatman that explains the story (what) and discourse (how) (Chatman, 1975; Austin, 1979), the convergence of media content in general has not been in favor of women. In a sense, internet technology has supported the gender-biased media industry person in massively distributing FTVs that are detrimental to the minority groups without providing their viewers a forum to offer feedback. Furthermore, digital technology allows media owners to expand their reach of audience and earn high profit from the reproduction of shows that stereotype *janda*.

In particular, the misrepresentation of *janda* in the convergence of media content is perceived as follows: *First*, women are always the guilty party. *Second*, there is different stigma attached to *janda* asking for a divorce and *janda* divorced as well as *janda* considering remarrying and *janda* deciding not to remarry. *Third*, *janda* who want to remarry are portrayed as a homewrecker. It is evident from the characters and situations discussed (how). The character of *janda* is portrayed as fussy, materialistic, liar, slanderer, disobedient, and others. She receives divine retribution even after her death. In such context of media shows, she does not obtain the opportunity to repent for her sins and does not deserve to be forgiven by the surrounding community for her mistakes.

There is a mystical stereotype of the identity of *janda* that is packaged with a religious context in media shows in Indonesia. Such mistreatment towards *janda* (dehumanization) raises the need to further scrutinize the expression that all humans are equal before God. We must remember a religious fact that nearly all of the wives of the Prophet Muhammad SAW are *janda* and they are treated well. It should be an example and inspiration for all to treat *janda* similarly. *Fourth*, divorced *janda* who decide to be celibate remains blameworthy in the eyes of the surrounding society for causing their former husbands to remarry other women.

Fifth, instead of portrayed as a guilty party, husbands who have an illicit affair, wreck their own marital home, and remarry are perceived as the party who has made a mistake that is resolved with a feeling of deep regret and then forgiven by his family. They are still portrayed as people with a respectable position in the society, such as the owner and director of a company. In other words, media bias in converged media content in Indonesia emphasizes that women are expected to maintain best behavior and the dignity of the family, while men are free from this expectation.

It is arguable that media owners tend to represent the view of the majority. In Indonesia, it leads to a patriarchal mindset that permanently degrades or discriminates women and it apparently legitimizes various forms of injustice, oppression, and deprivation of human rights of all women. Gender inequality and its implications actually lie in such a biased social system based on the strong-weak category, where the strong dominates the weak (Setiawan, 2009; Zabihzadeh et al., 2015; Black, 2020; Connell, 2014; Moreton-Robinson, 2011). It is a similar case to the discrimination and negative labeling of *janda* in media contents in Indonesia, either on television mainstream media or streaming and social media. *Janda* are blamed by the society for her inability to protect the good name of their husbands, to cook, to stay presentable, or serve their husband well,

causing their husbands to leave them. It is also related to the patriarchal thinking concerning marital life in Indonesia in which the role of women are only limited to household affairs (Lestari & Sunarto, 2018).

The words chosen for the title or the content of the *janda*-themed shows broadcasted on television media and re-aired on streaming media (vidio.com) and social media (YouTube) are provocative and demeaning. *Janda* is only used as sexual objects and a target for labeling and blame. Such media text is not suitable for public consumption. Moreover, the role of social media for people to stay connected (Cu & Le, 2021), especially YouTube is currently a popular social networking site for sharing various information (Al-Marroof et al., 2021), and also the most popular social media in Indonesia in 2020-2021 (Dahono, 2021), thus, the negative impacts of FTV shows uploaded on YouTube on the self-identity and social status of *janda* are increasingly difficult to contain.

Convergence of media content in Indonesia has not been in favor of women. The reproduction and distribution of content through various media channels (convergence) by elevating the status of *janda* as the cause of household conflicts can be interpreted as a form of perpetuation of objectification and discrimination against *janda*. Supposing these negative labels for *janda* displayed in the media content are considered common and the shows are watched by many audiences (starting from children, teenagers, to parents), it is feared that the audience will accept this labelling as common as well. In fact, women are always described typically by the media, whose place is at home as housewives, depending on men, unable to make important decisions, having limited professions, always seeing themselves as symbols of sex, object of fetish, object of affirmation of patriarchal work pattern, object of harassment and violence, always blamed and passive, whose function is only as consumer of goods or services, as well as persuasion tool (Busby, Dominick & Rauch in Sunarto, 2009; Lopez, 2017). According to Fry (in (Sunarto, 2009)), such description is actually a form of oppression and violence.

Based on these explanations, it is arguable that media (television media as well as streaming and social media), as part of the structure of the society in Indonesia, have negative influences in labeling *janda* through the contents of their programs. Especially in the digital era allows various parties to participate in spreading contents related to *janda* who are considered to be attractive, sexy and 'selling'. In the last three years, there have been more contents that marginalize *janda* as *pelakor* (man-stealing women), a highly popular term in the media. Worse, these contents are used in sales-based accounts attempting to attract the attention of netizens through this infamous nickname. In addition, the contents frequently incorporate the figure of *janda* with contexts that have no correlation with the status at all, such as a dangdut song titled "*Corona*" aka "*Comunitas Rondo Merana*" (literally "*Community of Miserable Widows*") following the early Covid-19 pandemic in Indonesia. This song is obviously inappropriate, insensitive, and lacking a deep concern for the current global situation due to the pandemic (Ardian, 2020).

The power of media convergence is significantly great in social life and has the potential to be harmful since it perpetuates the dominant perspective of the society in labeling the status of *janda* negatively. This phenomenon is in accordance with the opinion of Baliey (in (Ariani & Rachmadani, 2020)) that the depiction of gender of women in the media is divided into discrimination and tendentiousness. In this sense, discrimination means that women are defined by media only based on their physical bodies and how they are physically attractive to men. Meanwhile, tendentiousness means that media present women only as passive beings, serving as targets for

wrongdoings/mistakes. The media deliberately eliminates traces of participatory and accomplished women in the public sphere.

The internet technology has been considered to end the domination of information by mainstream media providers and start the era when all individuals are free to create information, known as the era of many-to-many communication. However, it does not seem entirely correct. Based on the findings of this study, internet technology strengthens large-scale media industry person to massively disseminate misleading and harmful FTV shows without following up the feedback provided by viewers. In the end, it remains one-way distribution of information. Why? Based on the data obtained, the FTV Production Coordinator (G.R. Hendra) from Mega Kreasi Films/MKF production house ‘merely’ laughs at the criticism from netizens regarding his products. Instead, he considers the criticism as evidence that his FTV has been watched by many people in Indonesia. In other words, in the era of new media and convergence of media content, the distribution of information (in this case, FTV) remains one-to-many, namely from media industry, capital owners, or media practitioners (one) to the wider community (many).

The major media industries have their own streaming media channels in which they freely upload the contents that have previously been broadcasted on their television stations. People may consider that these videos are free to air. However, in reality, based on our observation, there are 55 advertisements aired on this FTV entitled “*Azab Perempuan Perebut Suami Orang*”. It indicates that higher number of views means higher number of incoming ads. Observed from the perspective of business, the money obtained by the major media industries will increase as well. Thus, the status of *janda* is merely commodified by media to obtain more profit. Furthermore, the media practices in Indonesia illustrates that media owners only prioritize one voice, namely their own voice. It is possible due to the concentration of ownership and monopoly. Media owners tend to be profit-oriented, adhering to patriarchal and capitalist notions, leading to gender-biased media shows. Indeed, plurality of ownership is an important norm to oppose the concentration of ownership and monopoly, both for the public and private media industries (Pires, 2016). In principle, the media system should not be dominated and controlled by several interest groups (McQuail, 2010).

As we can observe, plurality of ownership does not exist in Indonesia. There are many media outlets, yet the owners are the same people. As a result, media content is uniform: Jakarta centric, namely positioning Jakarta as the center of broadcast production and decision-making and minimizing the elements of regional culture. An obvious example is television ownership in Indonesia that is concentrated in four media groups, namely: MNC Group (owned by Hary Tanoesoedibjo), CT Corp (owned by Chairul Tanjung), Visi Media Group (owned by Bakrie), and EMTEK Group (owned by Eddy Kusnadi Suryaatmadja) (Souisa, 2020). The centralized commercial television system in Indonesia cannot support the incomparable wealth of diversity. Diversity is actually the key word (Armando, 2011).

The monopoly in production and distribution of shows also occurs in media practices in Indonesia. There is a production house recorded to produce a great number of shows (soap operas and FTVs) on television, namely Mega Kreasi Films (MKF). It has produced thousands (up to 3500) FTV series including “*Suara Hati Istri*”, “*Sinema Indonesia*”, “*Pintu Berkah*”, “*Pintu Berkah Ramadan*”, “*Kisah Nyata*”, “*Kisah Nyata Ramadan*”, “*Azab*”, “*Azab Spesial*”, “*Suratan Ilahi*” as well as soap operas such as “*Mermaid In Love 1*”, “*Mermaid In Love 2*”, “*Aluna*”, “*Nina Sahabat Sejati*”, “*Bubu*”, “*3 Mata Batin*”, and others (MKF, 2020). It is concluded that MKF is the main supplier

of FTVs and soap operas to SCTV and Indosiar television stations. MKF was founded by three brothers (Sonu Samtani, Sonya Samtani and Shalu Mulani) who are nephews of Gope T. Samtani (the owner of Rapi Films production house), meaning MKF has blood relationship with Rapi Films. In addition, there is also a production house named MNC Pictures that is a subsidiary of MNC Group. Therefore, it is not surprising that MNC Pictures is the main distributor/supplier of soap operas or films aired on television stations owned by MNC Group (RCTI, MNCTV and Global TV).

Based on the aforementioned explanation, the conceptual flow of the findings of the study on the convergence of media content in Indonesia towards the minority groups (*janda*) is presented as follows: patriarchal ideology, evident from the political, social, and cultural systems, becomes the ideological basis of the media owners, practitioners, and advertisers in Indonesia. It is observed in gender-biased media contents as they merely voice the interests of the dominant group. This scheme is detrimental to the minority groups and marginalizes the voices and values of these groups. Ideally, two-way communication should be implemented in this digital era. However, in the case of FTV broadcasting, media tend to ignore the opposing feedback from netizens in online streaming (still one to many in the new media era). As a result, the minority groups are increasingly muted by the gender-biased media controlled by patriarchal community groups.

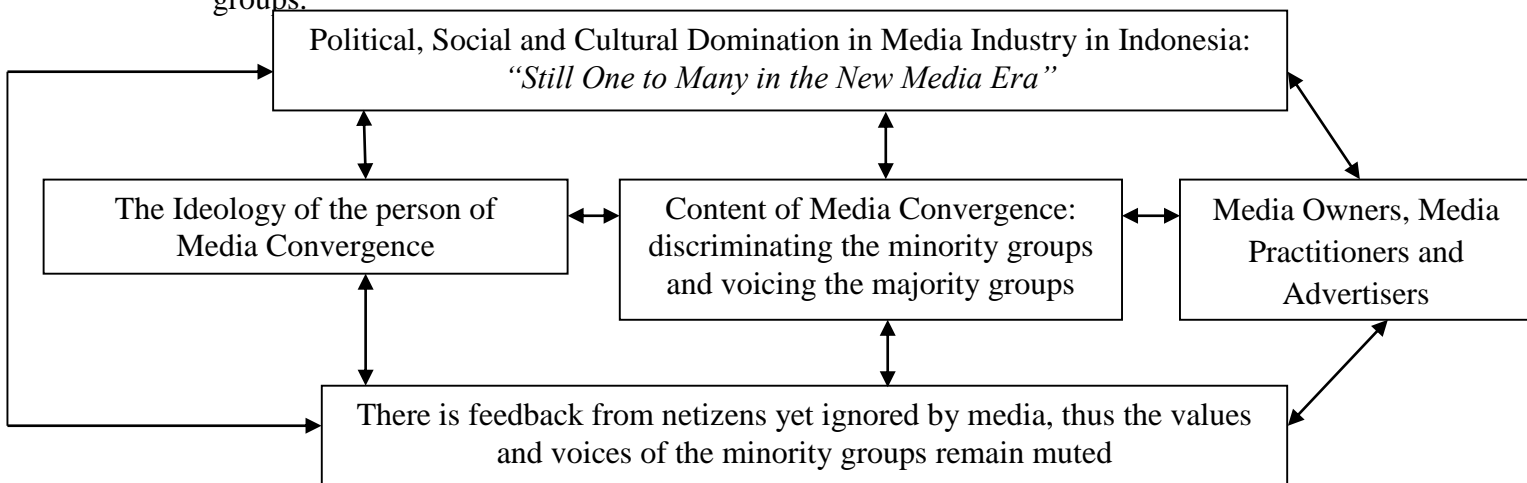


Figure 9. The Scheme for the Convergence of Media Content in Indonesia towards the Minority Group (*Janda*)

Meanwhile, the limitation of the study is that we could not directly observe the production process of the FTV at the shooting location since it was conducted during the Covid-19 pandemic. Thus, we had discussions with FTV producers via video calls. Another limitation is we could not include more scenes to show intertextuality. The goodness criteria of the study is evident from the historical situatedness. The stigma attached to *janda* persists, becoming a sexy term to sell. It is not surprising that various feature films from the 1950s to the present day use the title of *janda* to attract viewers.

Conclusion

This study concludes that the content of media convergence has not been in favor of women. The existence of the covid pandemic has been used by media owners through online/streaming platforms, to strengthen media capitalism and further marginalize minority groups in the media. Media practitioners tend to continuously produce and reproduce content that contains stigma and negative labelling of the minority groups

(*janda*), further reinforcing the patriarchal values in the social, political, cultural and religious systems in the society. Referring to such phenomenon, it is necessary to have a movement or research in the form of media literacy. Media literacy is defined as the ability of media consumers to access, test, create, and interpret media messages that can influence their beliefs and analyses on certain topics related to information produced by media (Shinta et al., 2019; Tutiasri & Febriyanti, 2021). Media literacy concerning the phenomenon of media shows with the theme of marginalized groups (*janda*, poor people, people with disabilities, people with HIV/AIDS, or even LGBT) that do not educate and tend to be ‘trashy’, needs to be continuously conveyed to the public since an early age. It can be conveyed face-to-face or even through the internet technology. Moreover, with the presence of the internet and smartphones, it has formed a digital literacy culture in society (Lestari et al., 2018). It aims to create media literate community who are more capable and critical in selecting educated shows from shows with negative connotations. We strongly suggest media literacy as the recommendation of the study.

Conflict of Interest

We certify that there is no conflict of interest with any financial, personal, or other relationships with other people or organization related to the material discussed in the manuscript.

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