

# Alternative Media as Counter-Hegemony: A Case study of Konde.co and Magdalene.co

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## ABSTRACT

Alternative media have long been placed as media that provide space for marginalized groups from the mainstream media. When the mainstream media is controlled by an authoritarian political system, alternative media becomes an instrument of communication for opposition groups. Likewise, when the democratic political system which causes the mainstream media to be controlled by media conglomerates, alternative media remains a medium that is free from hegemonic capital power. Alternative media perform counter-hegemony against the mainstream media. Provides a different perspective from information dominance. This article aims to determine the form of counter-hegemony conducted by alternative media. The sample in this study is Konde.co and Magdalene.co. This research uses a qualitative approach with a case study method. Data collection is done by in-depth interviews, observation and literature study. The results showed that Konde.co and Magdalene.co played a role as a counter hegemony against the mainstream media. Both of them criticized how the mainstream media portrayed women from patriarchal ideology. Konde.co and Magdalene.co narratives favor women, always from the point of view of women and always defending women's interests. Unfortunately alternative media often have difficulty in operational funds. It needs to be adjusted in applying anti-business and non-commercial principles so that alternative media can live.

**Keywords:** *Alternative media, mainstream media, hegemony, counter-hegemony*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Alternative media have long been placed as media that provide space for marginalized groups from the mainstream media. When the mainstream media is controlled by an authoritarian political system, alternative media becomes an instrument of communication for opposition groups to voice their aspirations of resistance. Otherwise, when a democratic political system causes the mainstream media to be controlled by media capitalists, alternative media remains a medium free from the power of capital.

Actually alternative media have become a medium of liberation from state power and media entrepreneurs. If in the authoritarian era the mass media is controlled by the state, then in the era of democracy the mass media is actually subject to market law. This happened in Indonesia. The mass media in Indonesia is currently in the phase of a free market-driven environment [1]. The phase in which the media prioritizes business interests rather than public interest such as information and education. Furthermore, media liberalization in the reform era tends to encourage concentration of media ownership [2]. Freedom of media in the reform era was immediately achieved by large entrepreneurs to become businesses. A further development is the formation of cartelization of media ownership.

Fuchs [3] saw that the birth of media oligopoly was the control of media ownership only by a handful of media entrepreneurs. As a result, the commercialization of media content is very strong. Fuchs [4] says content that is popular and fits the market tastes that dominates mainstream media content. A more alarming condition is the growing influence of the political interests of media owners in media editorial policies [2]. Several major media owners in Indonesia are actively involved in political activities. Hary Tanoë (MNC), Surya Paloh (Media Indonesia), Aburizal Bakrie (Viva Media), Chaerul Tanjung (Trans Media) each have direct affiliation with political parties, and finally Eric Tohir (Mahaka Media) becomes the head of Jokowi presidential nomination team for the 2019 presidential election. The relationship between capital owners and workers in the context of the mass media between journalists and owners of the media industry is a hegemonic relationship. Through this hegemonic relationship, the media owner exercises control over the production of news carried out by the media so as to provide certainty for the ideology and interests of their capital [5].

Concern over the dominance of capitalist media, has been widely criticized by communication experts. Herman and Chomsky [6] from the beginning have seen various deficiencies and dangers due to the dominance of the media owned by large corporations. The danger is the loss to honest and objective journalism. Journalism is unable to present information that is neutral, balanced, and in

accordance with the public interest. McChesney [7] links the dominance of capitalist media with threats to democracy. Instead of preserving democracy, media conglomeration threatens democracy.

Keller's study [8] of four national newspapers in Indonesia concluded that concentration of ownership does not only threaten the media sector, but as a whole is a threat to a democratic society and market economy oriented. Kellner's research [8] also shows the existence of self-censorship behavior in media editors in Indonesia due to the influence of media owners and commercial influences (advertisers). Media owners can easily influence reporting policies if they are not appropriate for their needs. The media editor does not question the owner's intervention because he considers it to be the right of the media owner. Tapsell's research [2] emphasizes the self-censorship behavior of media editors in Indonesia in order to protect not only political interests but also the business interests of media owners. Media owners in Indonesia are generally entrepreneurs who have many companies. It is already an unwritten policy that media editors must avoid negative reporting regarding the business of media owners.

This is the role of alternative media that remains important as an alternative information medium for the public interest. In the context of democratization, the control of the media by a small number of media entrepreneurs is seen as having the effect of eliminating the plurality or diversity needed for the growth of alternative discourses in the media space. Therefore, the presence of alternative media becomes logical and important in order to make room for alternative voices that have no place in the mainstream media which is largely controlled by large media corporations. Alternative media try to voice public dialogue and make room for marginalized people in the midst of the dominance of mainstream discourse [9].

Some media which position themselves as alternative media are *Konde.co* and *Magdalene.co*. *Konde.co* and *Magdalene.co* are alternative media with online platforms that focus content on gender issues and women's inequality. The two online media were established to provide different perspectives in discussing women's issues. It can be said that *Konde.co* and *Magdalene.co* resist the stereotypical views of women which are often given by the mainstream media. Research conducted by Martalena and Yoedjadi [10] concluded that *Konde.co* defended female victims of sexual violence. *Konde.co* criticized the way the mainstream media reported cases of sexual violence. Women victims of sexual violence are often reported as perpetrators who cause sexual violence. While the conclusions from the research conducted by Maryani and Adiprastio [11] revealed *Magdalene.co* is a media for women's advocacy on two dimensions; the dimension of developing access to information for women and the dimension of awareness on a variety of women's issues. The existence of *Magdalene.co* is an online alternative media that can expand access for women and provide insight into diverse issues related to women. Similar research conducted by Sofiyah and Rusadi [12] proves that *Magdalene.co* as a medium that carries the value of feminism, is able to be a safe space for the public, especially women, to take an opinion.

Based on the background above, this study has two objectives, first to find out the counter hegemony conducted by *Konde.co* and *Magdalene.co*. Second, the challenges faced by *Konde.co* and *Magdalene.co* in carrying out their role as alternative media.

## **2. BACKGROUND**

### **2.1. Alternative Media**

Atton [13] said that alternative media are media that offer communication democracy for people who have been excluded from media production. Atton in Holt [14] distinguishes between alternative media as a product (highlighting radical, counter-hegemony content and news values, alternative aesthetics and forms and non-advertising) and as a process (anti-copyright culture, de-professionalization, native reporting, collective organization and alternative distribution). Tim O'Sullivan in Ibrahim and Akhmad [9] defines alternative media as a form of mass communication that is seen as rejecting or opposing established and institutionalized politics, in the sense that they all support changes in society, or at least make critical evaluations of traditional value. Fuchs [3] mentions that alternative media is the production and organization of media that challenges capitalist media. Downing [15] explained that alternative media are often referred to as "radical" or "underground" media, because they are often critical and opposed to mainstream news production.

In various moments, alternative media become pro-democracy forces that operate underground and mobilize alternative voices to subvert tyrannical power. Alternative media are usually driven by a variety of grassroots, underground, radical groups, ethnic communities or subcultural political movements, which intend to give "another voice" in the public sphere. As a medium of resistance, alternative media against the hegemony of news and news sources that underpin the status quo [9]. While Fuchs [4] positioned alternative media as media that opposed capitalist media patterns in terms of production, structure, content, distribution and reception.

### **2.2. Hegemony**

The concept of hegemony was introduced by one of the Marxist thinkers, Antonio Gramsci. Generally hegemony can be defined as the influence, power, or domination of a social group over other social groups [16, 17]. Gramsci's thinking about hegemony is based on Marx's idea of false consciousness, a situation where individuals become unaware of the domination that occurs in their lives. Gramsci believes that public can be exploited by the social system that they also support. Ranging from popular culture to religion. Gramsci felt that dominant groups in society succeeded in directing people not to be vigilant [15]. Consent and consensus are components of hegemony [18]. Consent will be given by the population if they are given "things" sufficiently, for example freedom, material things

and so on [16]. According to Gramsci, although "false consciousness" or "mass delusion" can be used to obtain consent, it cannot perpetuate consent for a long period of time without material content [19]. Besides that the manufacturing consent depends significantly on the mass media. Newspaper, television, radio and magazine are all means for the manufacturing of consent under control of political and commercial power [20]

The application of Gramsci's thinking about hegemony is suitable to be applied to society today. Under a hegemonic culture, some people benefit while others lose. The public is vulnerable to the effects of power imbalances that are often subtle. That is, people tend to obediently support the dominant ideology of a culture. Hegemony can be further understood by looking at corporate culture today, where - using Marx's thought - ideas to master are ideas owned by the ruling class [16]. The dominant group will easily carry out hegemony. Borrowing Marx's assumptions, factory owners who control the means of production will master material production, then conglomerates who control the media will master the production of thought.

### **2.3. Alternative Media as Counter-Hegemony**

Alternative media not only appears under a corrupt and oppressive regime, but can also appear in a political climate that looks "normal". Alternative media can emerge to respond to free market globalization, neo-liberal policies, or the dominance of capitalism that is felt by a number of communities or ethnic groups that are marginalized under capitalist regimes that are not pro-public or not pro-people [9].

The position of opposition to alternative media can be classified as counter-hegemony against mainstream media [4]. Counter-hegemony shows that audiences are not always silent and obedient. The public is not always tricked into accepting and trusting whatever is given by the dominant power. They will use the same practices of hegemonic domination to challenge existing dominance [16, 17]. Forms of counter-hegemony can be ideological resistance such as anti-capitalism, anti-globalization, anti-liberalism [11].

### **2.4. Method**

This paper uses a qualitative perspective with a case study method. Qualitative research has a goal which is to understand the social reality of individuals, groups and cultures. Researchers use a qualitative approach to explore the behavior, perspectives, feelings and experiences of people and what is at the core of their lives [21]. In this research, an alternative media editor perspective, *Konde.co* and *Magdalene.co*, will be sought in voicing the counter-hegemony of female gender. The case study method is used to research, describe and comprehensively explain various aspects of an individual, group, program, organization or event systematically [22]. Case studies in this research are

alternative media organizations *Konde.co* and *Magdalene.co*.

The object of this research is a counter-hegemony conducted by *Konde.co* and *Magdalene.co*. While the research subjects were the editor of *Konde.co* and *Magdalene.co*. Research participants were selected by purposive sampling technique, which is the selection of research respondents based on criteria in accordance with the objectives of the study, such as editorial members who understand the editorial policies of *Konde.co* and *Magdalene.co*. The research participants were editor in chief *Konde.co* Luviana and editor in chief *Magdalene.co* Devi Asmarani. Data collection techniques were carried out with in-depth interviews. Researchers also conducted non-participant observations, literature studies from publications that support this research, and documentation from the *Konde.co* and *Magdalene.co* sites.

## **2.5. Results**

### **2.5.1. *Konde.co***

*Konde.co* is an alternative media with an online platform. Focusing on issues of gender inequality, marginalization of women workers, deprivation of the rights of minorities, against the perspective of mainstream media that often considers market tastes. *Konde.co* was established on March 8, 2016. This alternative media was born from the *Konde* institute and was initiated by a number of individuals who shared a common sense and thought about marginalization, discrimination, subordination, violence and stigma against women. The founders sought to change the situation of inequality through the media.

The choice of the name *Konde.co* has its own meaning. *Konde* is taken from the term accessories attached to women in Indonesia. *Konde* has a model and style that varies according to the character and culture of Indonesian society. Because of that, *bun* not only attaches women, but also the identity of diversity in Indonesia. So that *Konde.co* media content contains ideas or discourse to manage public space from the point of view of women and marginalized communities that provide understanding, enlightenment, awareness and critical power of the community. The target audience for *Konde.co* is all groups of young adults, housewives and workers.

*Konde.co* has a vision; against the violence of discrimination, subordination, violence and stigma against women and marginalized communities through the media. *Konde.co*'s mission: managing public space from the point of view of women and marginalized communities that provide understanding, enlightenment, awareness and critical power of the community.

### **2.5.2. *Luviana, Editor in Chief *Konde.co****

Luviana is a co-founder and editor in chief of *Konde.co*. Graduated as a Bachelor of Communication Science at the University of Atma Jaya Yogyakarta. Then she completed

her Masters degree in Communication Studies at Paramadina University Jakarta.

Career journey taken by changing jobs in several educational institutions and media institutions. She has been a broadcaster and reporter on RB FM radio (1993 - 1999), as editor of the Women's Journal (1999 - 2002), as a researcher and trainer at the Research, Education and Research Institute (LP3Y) from 1998 - 2002, a producer on Metro TV (2002-2014), as senior editor on KBR 68H radio (2014-2016), founded *Konde.co* and has been editor in chief since 2016 until now. Luviana was the director of a documentary film produced by *Konde.co* entitled "More Than Work". Luviana has also worked as a lecturer at Paramadina University since 2014.

### 2.5.3. *Magdalene.co*

*Magdalene.co* was born from the idea of two women journalists, Devi Asmarani and Hera Diani. They both disagree with mainstream media in describing women. The perspectives of women presented, especially the mainstream media that specifically target female readers, tend to be too light and emphasize the commercial element. Women's discussion in the mainstream media only represents fashion and lifestyle that often lack diversity. In September 2013, *Magdalene.co* was launched, as an alternative media for women with a focus on feminism and women's issues and gender equality. As a start-up media, *Magdalene.co* is jointly funded by its founders. There is no large capital or media conglomerate behind *Magdalene.co*. In this position, *Magdalene.co* has the freedom to produce content according to its perspective.

Besides publishing the editors' writings, *Magdalene* provides an opportunity for freelance writers to submit their work to be published. Topics on issues related to women, minority groups, empowerment, tolerance, pluralism and other aspects of progressive society. The article published is the work that has passed the curation of the editor of *Magdalene.co*.

### 2.5.4. *Devi Asmarani, Editor in Chief Magdalene.co*

Devi Asmarani is editor in chief of *Magdalene.co*. She was the co-founder of *Magdalene.co*, along with fellow journalist Hera Diyani. She completed her undergraduate education in journalism studies at the University of North Alabama in 1995. Then he completed post graduate education at Johns Hopkins University in the field of fiction writing studies. His journalistic career began by working as a journalist for the Jakarta Post (1996 - 2000), correspondent for The Straits Times (2000 - 2008), and became a weekly columnist for The Malay Mail Online (2014 - 2015).

Devi became editor in chief of *Magdalene.co* since 2013. In addition, Devi is active as a freelance writer, consultant and instructor for writing training. Devi has worked for several institutions, including UNICEF, World Bank, UNDP, AusAID. In 2018 Devi was awarded the SK Trimurti award

from the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI) for her efforts to establish the online media *Magdalene.co* which consistently addressed women's issues and gender equality.

### 2.5.5. *Counter-hegemony by Konde.co and Magdalene.co*

Observing the history of the establishment of the two online media *Konde.co* and *Magdalene.co*, the author can draw conclusions about the similarities between the two. Both *Konde.co* and *Magdalene.co* were born out of women's anxiety over the unequal views of society on women's rights. Gender inequality is increasingly institutionalized when the mainstream media follows the majority of thought which tends to favor patriarchal culture. Whereas if it refers to McQuails thinking about the function of media in society, mass media has various functions; information, correlation, continuity, entertainment, mobilization, the power of mass media in socializing and instilling values in society has a significant role [23]. This includes values that further highlight patriarchal culture. So it is not wrong if the initiators *Konde.co* and *Magdalene.co* have concerns about the perspective of the majority of the mass media on women.

Mainstream media views that favor the patriarchal culture cannot be separated from the ideology of capitalist media. The capitalist media model is to prioritize commercial content that is easily sold to the public. Market tastes guide how the media operate [24]. Croteau and Hoynes [25] offer two media industry models, namely the market model and the public sphere model. The first model is the dominant model in the media industry, as a model that bases on the operation of the media in the free market. The measure of the success of this media model is seen from the value of the benefits it receives. Whereas the second model is the public sphere model. Taking Habermass's idea, public sphere is a space where the public can dialogue freely, then the media are placed as elements of a healthy public space by providing a free circulation space for the exchange of ideas, opinions, and various views.

There is nothing wrong with the market model media. In the market model it is believed that the community will be served optimally if the business is handed over to the market. There is a fair transaction in the law of supply and demand. A healthy competition will produce the best media content [26]. But that did not happen. When the media obeys market laws by maximizing production, consumption for profit, the result is the removal of market actors who do not have adequate capital capacity, and dictates the media to avoid issues that are not in line with the interests of capital expansion and accumulation. That is, when the media only pursues profit, then media content will ignore topics that do not generate profits. Marginalization of non-commercial themes (idealism, education, quality information) occurs. Habermass [4] calls this phenomenon the colonization of public space by market forces. This is what happens when the media is controlled by capitalist ideology [27]. Croteau and Hoynes [25] say that the media tends to promote a worldview of the strong - "dominant

ideology" - and media texts include more messages that express dominant ideologies. In addition, the presence of alternative media is also inseparable from distrust of the mainstream media which is controlled by capitalists and sometimes involved in political activities [28].

The mainstream media in dealing with women's issues often only sticks to market tastes; accentuates lifestyle and fashion. Very light and rarely produce quality content and has depth of content. In addition, mainstream media often uses a masculine perspective by placing women only as sexual objects. Commodification of women's bodies, for example, became one of the issues that was strongly opposed by *Konde.co* and *Magdalene.co*. As the results of research by Sofiyah and Rusadi [12] that the commodification made women are no longer valuable, apart from only aspects body. Female body displayed or described in such a way as to construct the body image who are considered perfect in society, and used as a commodity that is considered has economic value in the market. Commodification and objectification of women body are still often seen and displayed in the mainstream media.

As explained by Luviana, editor in chief *Konde.co* and Devi Mariani, editor in chief of *Magdalene.co*:

"The normative view of the media is that women are working in the kitchen or in my children's reading books, father is at work, mother is at home, and family members consist of father, mother, child. Yet in the law, the family is all that is in the house, including domestic helpers. That's a normative perspective. Then the second is the market perspective on women. For example, we find a lot in online media, "Nikita Mirzani went to Farah Quin's party, her breasts spilled,". That's her wearing clothes that are open." [29]

"Because we are journalists. We really want to create quality content for women. Because for us at that time, media that focused on women's issues were still just like that, did not reflect, did not serve the needs of women who were not interested in fashion, and beauty. Meanwhile, conventional media which are not focused on women's problems, their perspective is still very masculine. So we think there needs to be a counter to this narrative, writing down women's experiences and looking at issues from that gender perspective." [30]

Luviana and Devi point out that there is a counter-hegemony that they do to the dominant thinking in the mainstream media. As revealed by Fuchs [4] counter hegemony is the basis for the birth of alternative media. Counter-hegemony shows that a part of the public is not always silent and submissive. The public is not always manipulated to accept and believe whatever is given by the dominant power. They will use the same practices of hegemonic domination to challenge existing dominance [16, 17]. Luviana and Devi develop media to provide resistance to mainstream media narratives that are not in accordance with their thoughts.

*Konde.co* and *Magdalene.co* chose a critical attitude towards events and issues involving women. *Konde.co*, for example, criticizes the way mainstream media review domestic violence. Mainstream media often places women victims of sexual violence not as victims, but as a cause of

sexual violence. [10]. Writing both events and opinions on *Konde.co* and *Magdalene.co* uses narratives that favor marginalized minority groups. Furthermore, even the two media voiced not only women, but also laborers, LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender), urban poor groups. They are a group of people who do not get attention or are marginalized from the mainstream media. Even if it is reviewed, then using the perspective of the majority which is often unbalanced. The representation of marginal groups in the media is depicted poorly. The following affirmation of Luviana and Devi Asmarani:

"The birth of *Konde.co* is indeed to fight for women and minorities. So not only women, but also LGBT, laborers, the urban poor. But with the perspective of women. Like what we categorize minority issues in Indonesia? In the past, there were women, laborers, urban poor, LGBT, different religions, then we were categorized, so we wrote women but used a minority perspective." [29]

"From the beginning we wrote about women but the content was not always about women. The content can be various but with a gender perspective. So we also cover minority issues, minority groups, issues of sexual orientation, transgender too, mainly issues that are not raised in conventional media. Or what the conventional media presents with poor representation, still reflects our patriarchal society. For example, we also often make film reviews but through our perspective, gender perspective." [30]

The hegemony and counter hegemony are ideological battles using mass media as a tool to influence the public. Althusser classifies the mass media as part of the ideological state apparatus. According to Althusser [31], in order to maintain its dominance, capitalism reproduces exploitative class relations between capitalists and workers. Capitalism reproduces the ability to subject workers through various apparatus. First is the repressive state apparatus, including the bureaucracy, the judiciary and the military. The influence of this apparatus is more emphasized in public areas and tends to be practiced through violence. The second is the ideological state apparatus, including religious institutions, educational institutions, and mass media. The influence of this apparatus is more emphasized in the private and individual spheres, and is practiced tends to be more on certain ideologies.

Mainstream media and alternative media use different representations in presenting women in the media, based on differences in patriarchy and feminism. The British sociologist Stuart Hall [32] is a scientist who believes that the mass media is an effective tool for perpetuating the dominant ideology. The mass media is involved in, Hall's term, "political significance" in which the media provides world images with certain meanings. This is what Hall said as "representation". Media representation is related to the problem of power and ideology because the process of giving meaning to an event indicates the definition of reality. Both mainstream media and alternative media each represent reality based on their ideology. Mainstream media tends to represent women from the standpoint of patriarchal culture. While *Konde.co* and *Magdalene.co* put forward the

representation of feminism. This is the role of Konde.co and Magdalene.co balancing inequality.

### 2.5.6. *Alternative Media Challenges*

The hardest challenge of maintaining alternative media is not on idealism, but in terms of the media economy. Actually it is not right if we analyze the economic side of alternative media. The communication experts put alternative media different from the mainstream media, both in terms of organization, management, and commercial targets. Camaerts and Carpentier [4], for example classify alternative media as small-scale media, not doing business and avoiding commercial affairs. Camaerts and Carpentier's have reason, if doing business and being commercial would pollute the goals and idealism of alternative media. By doing business alternative media will tend to behave like the mainstream media, such as prioritizing market tastes. Camaerts and Carpentier: "The drive for profit can result in a lack of quality, complexity, and sophistication (as e.g. yellow journalism that simplifies reality and is focused on singular examples, emotionalism, and sensationalism)."

In contrast to the above view, Fuchs [4] actually criticizes the view that places alternative media that is non-commercial, anti-business and chooses to manage small-scale media organizations. According to Fuchs, alternative aspects are not seen from the scale of small media organizations and non-commercial attitudes. But more on the consistency of media content that voiced opposition to the mainstream media domination. Fuchs reasoned, with the small scale of the organization and capital, it would be difficult for alternative media to distribute its contents on a large scale. For alternative media on a community scale, an anti-business and non-commercial model is still possible because this media only serves communities with a relatively small audience. But not for alternative media with a broad target audience (country scale), certainly requires capital and professional organizations to be able to achieve greater circulation. For Fuchs, alternative media must think about aspects of the media business so that the wheels of the organization can run well. The same opinion was said by Holt [14] The financial aspects are crucial for the existence of both mainstream media and alternative media. Holt does not limit alternative media income only from donations. According to Holt, some alternative media have managed to attract paying audiences or other sources of income, such as advertising revenue through YouTube. Others are backed by organizations (or states) with an interest in intervening in public discourse (for political, cultural, religious or financial reasons).

As an alternative media capital problems are obstacles encountered throughout the course of the media. Konde.co, for example, was founded and run by a number of social activists who have a concern for the fate of women. They raised capital jointly, and founded Konde.co. Daily operational costs are a contribution from the founders. To finance Konde.co, they offer a crowdfunding model to every party who has the same concerns with Konde.co's idealism. Crowdfunding is defined as the process of funding a project or company utilizing the network by making open

offers or receiving funds from the crowd [33]. Carvajal, Aviles and Gonzales studies [33] show that crowdfunding business models have been chosen as an alternative for non-profit media funding and public interest journalism. The crowdfunding model is certainly unreliable to fund Konde.co's operations on a regular basis. Excluding funding from crowdfunding, Luviana worked on a number of projects outside Konde.co's activities, including; writing training for women workers and prisoners. They are trained to express their ideas and aspirations through writing. Writing training is a project of several institutions; LBH APIK, Kalyana Mitra, and ILO. The results of this cooperation are used to finance the operations of Konde.co. With such limitations in funding, Konde.co certainly cannot pay writers and editors as professional media do. Most people who work for Konde.co are voluntary. Even if given compensation only transportation costs. There is no honorarium for coverage and writing. Luviana is the only one who has a background as a professional journalist. While the other founders of Konde.co came from their backgrounds as activists from non-government organizations. They work because of idealism, without questioning income. Different from Konde.co, Magdalene.co. more able to breathe. Magdalene.co since its founding as an online magazine chose to manage with a commercial business model. Magdalene.co in the fifth year received a grant from an international institution. When it was born in 2013, Magdalene.co was fully funded from the pockets of its founders, Devi Asmarani and Hera Diyani. But in 2018, Magdalene.co received a grant from the Media Development Investment Fund (MDIF), a donor agency that helps develop alternative media in democratic transition countries. With this funding grant, Magdalene.co is better able to develop itself, including renting offices and paying 12 employees, including its founders Devi and Hera. According to Devi, managing alternative media can no longer just rely on donations or fund raising. A new business model is needed that guarantees the viability of alternative media without hurting idealism. As Fuchs [4] thought that alternative media must still be managed professionally in order to reach a wider audience. Magdalene.co develops business teams to find fixed income.

Konde.co and Magdalene.co do not reject commercial advertisements. Ads from Google AdSense, for example. But Luviana and Devi admit that with a limited number of readers, they cannot expect to get a large income from Google AdSense. Online media monetization from Google AdSense relies on the number of visitors (traffic), the greater the number of visitors, the more the number of ads. The current number of Konde.co readers is around 1,500 - 2,000 people per day. With an age limit between 20 - 45 years. While the number of Magdalene.co news readers is around 500,000 per month or around 16,000 per day. Compared to mainstream media readers, the number of Konde.co and Magdalene.co readers are small. But the number of stories produced by the mainstream online media is very large, around 1,500 items per day. While Konde.co only produces 1 item per day and Magdalene.co only produces news 4 items per day. The amount of writing is small with

consideration of promoting quality and avoiding clickbait. Clickbait is a manipulation of the human cognitive side called the curiosity gap or the so-called curiosity difference. Where the headline provides a reference that intrigues readers so they are encouraged to click on the link to fill their curiosity [34].

For commercial advertisements, both *Konde.co* and *Magdalene.co* impose strict conditions. *Konde.co*, for example, will not accept advertisements from companies that have problems with women. Ads that are accepted are sometimes in the form of advertorials. While *Magdalene.co* requires that it will not accept cigarette advertisements and cosmetic products that sell skin whitening. But they admit that revenue from advertising is very small. Therefore alternative media must be able to develop sources of income outside advertising. One of them is a working room developed by *Magdalene.co*. The services offered by *Magdalene.co* from the working room are to work on producing all sorts of order content (videos, writings, books), providing training and organizing events to be sold to sponsors. Another form of income that is being developed in 2020 is selling membership by holding training classes for various skills (*Magdalene Learning Club*). Another form of revenue development from *Magdalene.co* is producing podcast content. Podcasts titled *Magdalene's Mind* are produced one episode per week. Contains interviews and events with a duration of 30 minutes. The podcast is sold by several applications, including Spotify, Soundcloud, Apple Podcast, Google Anchor.

The problems faced by *Konde.co* and *Magdalene.co* have been addressed by McQuail. McQuail [23] revealed that conflicting goals often confuse media managers. The goals of media organizations are considered ambiguous because they confuse functional organizational goals with normative organizational goals. Functional aims to produce and provide goods or services for financial purposes, while normative organizations aim to advance a value or achieve a condition with a certain value, based on the voluntary commitment of the participants. Ideally the media can balance the two goals so that their existence is maintained. The following are figure hegemony and counter hegemony, and alternative media challenges, revealed by this research.

### ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This research was funded by Research and Community Service Institute (LPPM) Universitas Tarumanagara.

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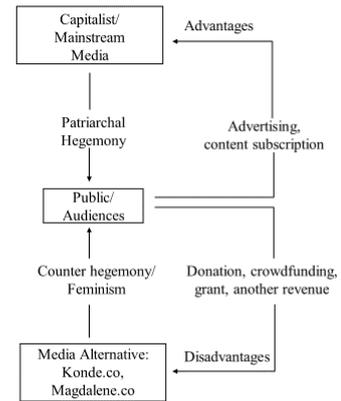


Figure 1 Hegemony, counter hegemony, and media alternative challenges

### 3. CONCLUSION

*Konde.co* and *Magdalene.co* are alternative media established with one purpose, criticizing mainstream media narratives that tend to place women unbalanced. As an alternative media, *Konde.co* and *Magdalene.co* carry out counter-hegemony over the dominance of mainstream media patriarchal culture. In addition to feminism, *Konde.co* and *Magdalene.co* voiced the aspirations of marginal groups; the workers, LGBT, minority groups.

*Konde.co* and *Magdalene.co* face the classic problem of alternative media, namely capital difficulties. These constraints are overcome in various ways, including conducting funds and doing side work. Due to the difficulty of capital, often alternative media are managed in a voluntary way (volunteerism), which ultimately complicates the development of the media.

Alternative media need to reconsider the anti-business and non-commercial principles which often make it difficult to develop their organizations. As long as it does not injure idealism, provide strict conditions, do business and explore the commercial side, it does not need to be avoided.

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