

# Indonesian Women Politicians Based on a Newspaper's Perception

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**Abstract**—Political news in the media in fact, in favor of the proclamation of male politicians, rather than female politicians. This study aims to determine the media frame the action ahead of Election 2019 Women Politicians in Indonesia on *kompas.com*. The theory used is, Female Political Culture, Political Communication and Political Action Women and Representation in Media Coverage of Women Politicians, new media theory and Hierarchy theory influence media content. This empirically using constructivist paradigm, with a qualitative method, and analysis framing, Robert N. Entman, which emphasizes Define problems, Diagnoses Causes, Make Moral Judgment and Treatment Recommendation. The unit of analysis, three samples *kompas.com* political news action news Women Politicians in July to December 2018. The results ideology patriaki *kompas.com* news for news quantity of women politicians. News theme and visual support more multi-perspective, not only themed humiliation of women only. Capabilities women politicians in the news and in the political field, so as to answer the problems of news. Giving headlines directly describe the content of the news. Sentences that use simple, clear, without the addition of feminism women. Framing news text shows Women Politicians able to address the latest issues, relating to facts that occurred. Moral values, and solutions are provided speakers, revealed fact that political women also have a good Traffic in seeing the standpoint of a problem, this indicates women politicians keep abreast of the latest technology and media and sensitive to the problems that occurred. Recommendations of previous studies, that media sources politicians see women as second choice, after a male speaker. News text analysis, as well as the theme, tends to accentuate the feminine side of women politicians.

**Keywords**—media; politics; women politicians; framing; entman; text; news; elections 2019; *kompas.com*

## I. INTRODUCTION

Indonesian women's politics in Indonesian media have not yet appeared fairly. This phenomenon is seen from the large amount of political news that was dominated by male police as its narrators. While observation, news of Indonesian female politicians, based on data from search and news grouping on *kompas.com* online media. As many as 30 Indonesian political news are only 6 news of women politicians. There are 24 news items that are still monopolized by male politicians. This raises the question, why does the media tend to choose male

politician speakers over female politicians? This temporary observation illustrates that the media in Indonesia is still masculine in determining the sources.

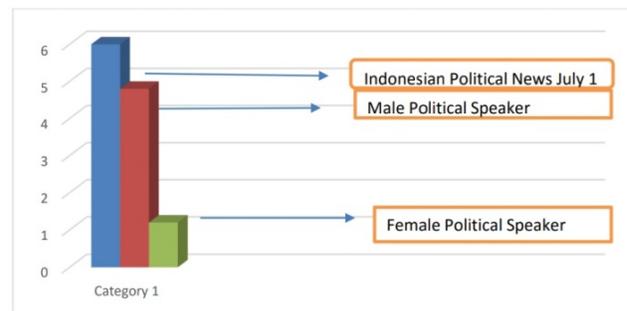


Fig. 1. Political news on *Kompas.com* and *republican.co.id*, published for 1 week from stairs 1 July 2018 to 7 July 2018.

Other temporary allegations related to the problem are due to the lack of women in the political world. There are myths in the community, which say women should not play and act in the political sphere, resulting in the existence of female politicians, the more difficult. The struggle to increase the number of women in the Indonesian parliament and government at this time is limited to quantity or numeric has not spoken of quality. Supported by the reality in the legislature and elected government, it is still male dominated. Besides that, the leadership of women in the parliament and in the government was also still dominated by men. There has not yet been found a female politician who dares to appear in the media, to speak boldly and as politely as a male politician.

It is known that for the period, female candidates have experienced an increase. Every political party that has sued its legislative candidates, in the parliamentary seat, always gives a place, for women because of one of the conditions, if they want to take part in the Indonesian election competition. But unfortunately, the selection results are below the expected target. Seeing the readiness of female politicians as legislative candidates cannot be separated from the education of their political parties.

Since the 1999 to 2014 elections, the number of women who have become members of the Indonesian Parliament has

not reached 30%. Policy of Law Number 31 of 2002 concerning Political Parties and Law Number 12 of 2003 concerning General Elections. Women's representation in the DPR shows an increasing trend.

TABLE I. DATA ON INDONESIA PARLIAMENT MEMBERS

|           |           |        |
|-----------|-----------|--------|
| 199-2004  | 44 people | 8,8%   |
| 2004-2009 | 65 people | 11,82% |
| 2009-2014 | 99 people | 17,86% |
| 2014-2019 | 97 people | 17,32% |

Source of: The author made based on data from the KPU [9].

In 1999-2004 only 44 female politicians in the Indonesian Parliament or 8.8%. The year 2004-2009 increased to 65 people or 11.82%. In 2009-2014, there were 99 people or 17.86%. In 2014-2019 there were 97 people or 17.32%

From the data above, it was concluded that the involvement of women in politics had made significant progress. But unfortunately, the revival of women in the political world, not comparable to the progress of the media to participate in publishing it. So that people perceive that female politicians do not have political ability.

## II. THEORETICAL REVIEW

There are several theoretical studies used in this study, so that the research achievements approach the desired truth. The theory chosen relates to the problems studied.

### A. *Female Political Culture in Indonesia*

Women's Political Culture, seen from the strength of patriarchal values in Indonesia, with the belief that "men are priests" or leaders are so strong, adopted by their communities. So, when choosing their representatives in politics, Indonesian women are still reluctant to choose their people. This is reinforced by Jones assuming, masculine political culture that exists and continues to be promoted in political institutions, turns out to have a significant impact on women's representation in the political sphere, even in European countries, such as Britain [1]. In his study, Jones and friends, that in political institutions themselves there has been a formation of stereotypical culture or culture and gender bias.

Political culture in Indonesia is a manifestation of the values adopted by the Indonesian people as a guideline for state political activities. After the reform era people called Indonesia had used participant Political culture, because Democracy was free. When the new order era of democracy was restrained, all forms of media were controlled and supervised by the government through the information department so as not to publicize the depravity of the government. Indonesia's political culture continues to undergo changes following the times, but the tradition of better women at home is still valid for some Indonesians.

### B. *Political Communication, Economy, Media and Women's Political Actions*

Often women who become legislative candidates do not have reliable political communication skills. Impressed shyly

and unable to convince the voter public that he deserves to be elected. Female politicians are considered contaminated by the way's male politicians' campaign for their political agenda. Sometimes, female politicians are considered to be following the forms and ways of communicating male politicians. Even though they have their own approach to the people. Not many women are aware of the need to "market self-image" in the mass media. Female politicians are considered less capable and can take advantage of the role of the public in the media. Political women are still considered reluctant to be friends with the media, and do not dare to appear to show themselves in the mass media. Media for them is limited to paid campaign advertising.

So far, female politicians have only become political spectators / spectators, so that the active involvement of their voices cannot be achieved. In addition, political campaigns carried out by women in reality are less able to capture the masses, because their political ideas and visions are less specific and do not focus on what they will do, especially for women and children they fight for. As a result, political communication by women is considered not to have a maximum effect on women's political and political activities.

This condition is related to the weak economic support that female candidates have. According to the Women Environment and Development Organization (2007), lack of economic resources is considered a trigger factor for the failure of campaigns carried out by women political candidates. From the results of their research, female politician candidates faced various economic and financial constraints in preparing for their political campaigns. According to Karl Marx, who also received Friedrich Engels's support, gender relations that occur in society are entirely social engineering. This theory is considered by adherents of structural functionalist theories to be too economic in giving an assessment of the position of women. This was written by Mohammad Zamroni, Lecturer in Communication and Media Studies at the Department of Islamic Communication and Broadcasting, Preaching and Communication Faculty, UIN Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta [2].

### C. *Representation and Coverage of Women's Politicians in the Media*

In Indonesia one of the national media online media presents the title "10 styles of Sacred Suaib, beautiful politicians and socialite hijabers". The issue of the Hijab model, one of the politicians from the Golongan Karya party, is more attractive to the media than its breakthrough in politics. Even other media, also raised the theme and visual of female artists who became politicians. With the title "Confused by the State if the artist becomes a member of the DPR", "The Five Most Beautiful Members of Parliament." And there is still a lot of mass media coverage that does not provide benefits for women involved in politics. Media coverage of female politicians is not always sexist, but there are still many that are nuanced in discrimination. So that in the end this picture will be able to influence public opinion circulating in the community.

According to Falk also, the press is not only important for constructing the ideas of audiences about candidates, but it is

also important to shape the cultural understanding of audiences about gender and women [3]. Falk argues that news coverage of female politician candidates who are stereotyped, which illustrates that women are weak, cannot make decisions, have problems with their families, etc., are obstacles for female candidates.

The study conducted by Kim Fridkin Kahn shows that in various newspapers in America that were examined using content analysis stereotyped female politicians who emphasized conception or the view that women were not born with the fate of being a politician, but women born with the fate of femininity or "feminine traits" and reporting to female politicians in the end dominated more on feminine issues compared to the issue of women's political substance [4].

The media also seems to question women's abilities as political candidates [5]. Krishna Sen, once wrote about public and media pressure on Megawati's candidacy as president of Indonesia. That issue was appointed a lot by the media when it was issues related to "haram" a female leader in Indonesia. The mass media coverage which is more likely to support the dominant voice that opposes women's political leadership in Indonesia. Efforts to overthrow Megawati from the female presidential candidate at that time were strong enough, which in the end the mass media succeeded in forming a public agenda to antagonize women as political leaders in Indonesia.

*D. Reality Construction*

The hierarchical theory of the influence of media content was introduced by Pamela J Shoemaker and Stephen D. Reese. This theory explains the influence of the content of a media coverage by internal and external influences. Shoemaker and Reese share several levels of influence on media content [6]. Namely the influence of individual media workers (*individual level*), the influence of media routines (*media routines level*), the influence of media organizations (*organizational level*), influences from outside the media (*outside media level*), and the last is ideological influence (*ideology level*).

The assumption of this theory is how the content of media messages, delivered to audiences, is the result of the influence of the media organization's internal policies and the influence of the external media itself. Stephen D. Reese argues that the content of media messages or media agendas is the result of pressure from within and outside media organizations. In other words, content or media content is a combination of internal programs, managerial and editorial decisions, and external influences that come from non-media sources, such as socially influential individuals, government officials, advertisers and so on.

*E. Framing Concept*

Robert N Entman quoted by Eriyanto states that the selection process is from various aspects of reality so that certain parts of the event are more prominent than other aspects [7]. He also includes the placement of information in a typical context so that certain sides get a greater allocation than the other side.

Another definition of framing was delivered by Todd Gitlin in Eriyanto, that framing is a strategy of how reality/world is formed and simplified in such a way as to be displayed to the audience [8]. Events are displayed in the news to appear prominent and attract the attention of the audience. It is done by selection, repetition, emphasis, and presentation of certain aspects of reality. The perspective or perspective through construction ultimately determines what facts are taken, which parts are highlighted and omitted, and where to take the news.

**III. RESEARCH METHOD**

The researcher used a qualitative method with a descriptive approach. The researcher wants to analyze the media in its reporting, by exposing the data or the description and interpretation of the framing of a news. Framing and constructing the existing news reality, then Robert Entman's framing analysis will be used Framing Entman itself emphasizes how to describe in a selection process and highlight certain aspects of reality by the media. Entman divides into four elements, namely: Define Problems (defining the problem), namely how an event is seen, Diagnose Causes (estimating the cause of the problem), estimating the problem or source of the problem, Make Moral Judgment (moral choice), what moral values want to be presented in the news, Treatment Recommendation (emphasizing completion), namely the completion of what you want to offer to overcome the conflict [7].

In framing Entman the most basic concept is to refer to how to provide definitions, explanations, evaluations and recommendations in a news, to find out the framework of the media. The object of this study is the text of political news about the Actions of Women's Politicians on kompas.com online media for the period July 2018 to December 2018. The selection of kompas.com is the object of research because the two online media are national media that have political news content.

TABLE II. FRAMING ENTMAN MODEL

| <b>Issue Selection</b>   | <b>Associated with the Selection of Facts</b>   |
|--------------------------|---|
| Define Problem           | How is an event / issue seen? As a what? Or what is the problem?  |
| Diagnose Causes          | What event was seen caused by what? What is considered the cause of one problem?  |
| Make moral Judgement     | What moral values are presented to explain the problem? What moral values are used to legitimize or delegitimize an action? |
| Treatment Recommendation | What solutions are offered to overcome the problem / issue? What path is offered and must be taken to overcome the problem? |

Source: [8].

The data obtained will then be processed and elaborated in the form of units, with Robert Entman's framing. According to Sobur, saying that the two factors of the framing can make news framing sharper through a selection process that is feasible to display. In making a decision to highlight which side should be raised in a media, the involvement of journalists

in producing a story must be based on the value and ideology of the journalist.

#### IV. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Based on the search for political news data on Kompas.com, it was found several news samples that were as

specific as the news criteria for female politicians to be studied. Female politicians (women who are involved in politics in parties, as well as parliamentarians), while researchers still find a lot of political news that talks about, the theme of women politicians, but the sources are men, or the political news of the speakers is women, but not women politicians or activists in an institution, agency (KPU, Bawaslu, Komnas HAM, etc).

TABLE III. NEWS OF WOMEN'S POLITICIANS AHEAD OF THE 2019 GENERAL ELECTION AT KOMPAS.COM

| Month / 2018 | Political News | Women's Political News | Male Resource Person | Activist / State Agency | Female Politician |
|--------------|----------------|------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| July         | 520            | 4                      | 2                    | 1                       | 1                 |
| August       | 429            | 2                      | 1                    | 1                       | 0                 |
| September    | 610            | 3                      | 2                    | 0                       | 1                 |
| October      | 623            | 9                      | 0                    | 3                       | 6                 |
| November     | 660            | 11                     | 3                    | 2                       | 6                 |
| December     | 610            | 6                      | 1                    | 2                       | 3                 |

Source kompas.com. Compiled by researchers December 31, 2018.

In July, there were 2018 520 political news published by kompas.com, but women's political news was only 4. With 2 speakers who discussed political actions about women, they were men. Meanwhile, there were 2 female resource persons, 1 from activists / state agencies and only 1 person who worked as a politician.

In August 2018, there were 429 political news on kompas.com with 2 political news that discussed the actions of female politicians. This month there were no female politician speakers, these 2 news sources were male and female activists or officials.

In September 2018 there were 610 political news published by kompas.com, with 3 of them news of actions by female politicians. Three of the news are 2 of them are male politicians and 1 female politician.

In October 2018 there were 623 political news published by kompas.com with 9 news that discussed women's political action. In this month the news that talks about the actions of female politicians is that the three speakers are state activists or officials and 6 of them are female politicians.

In November 2018 there were 660 political news and there were 11 political news published by kompas.com which discussed the actions of female politicians. There are 3 male politicians as sources, 2 activists or state officials and 6 speakers are women politicians.

In December 2018 there were 610 political news published by kompas.com, with 6 news stories about the actions of female politicians. One of the news sources was a male politician and 2 state activists or officials. Three other news stories were filled by female politicians as their narrators.

The researcher chose 3 news of women's political actions, party members and women who sat in the legislature from various circles. Starting from, former Journalists, activists, and entrepreneurs. With a variety of backgrounds representing the voices of women in this parliament, researchers want to see how the media frames these politicians.

#### A. Reality Construction Contents Kompas.com

Analysis based on the hierarchical theory of influence on the content of the media, concerning the news of the Actions of Women Politicians Towards the 2019 Election on kompas.com. Shoemaker and Reese share several levels of influence on media content.

1) *Influence of individual media workers in the context of the research found (individual level):* At this level, kompas.com acknowledges that their reporters /reporters in the field are more men than women. But kompas.com has never distinguished the assignments of its reporters in covering the news.

Selection of speakers in the news cannot be separated from "closeness" between speakers and reporters. This is to smooth the news source itself and comfort in digging up information.

However, for the selection of selected speakers must be credibility in their respective fields, kompas.com has applied it to all resource persons including female politicians.

#### 2) Example

- Why was Grace Natalie chosen? Because those who can answer the reception of candidates, those who have important and high positions in one Grace party are the chairmen of the PSI (Regional Leadership Council).
- Why was Irma Suryani Chaniago chosen? Because in addition to members of the Republic of Indonesia DPR Commission IX he is also an Indonesian labor activist
- Lena Maryana Mukti was chosen because as a Party DPP (PPP) that was consistent with women's issues so far.

TABLE IV. KOMPAS.COM ANALYSIS NEWS

| Date                         | Title   | Interviewees   | Visual  |
|------------------------------|---|--|---|
| 17 July<br>2018 13:20 WIB    | Grace Natalie Doesn't Need To Be An Artist, Anyone Can And Is Received As A Candidate | Grace Natali<br>Chairperson of the PSI<br>DPP (Indonesian Solidarity Party)      |  |
| 25 October<br>2018 09:03 WIB | Regarding the UMP increase, workers don't want to be provoked                         | Irma Suryani Chaniago<br>Member of the House of Representatives<br>Commission IX |  |
| 19 November<br>2018 21:06    | The Baiq Nuril Case, Politicians Remind MA about the Guidelines for Judging Women     | Lena Maryana Mukti<br>Chairman of the PPP DPP<br>United Development Party        |  |

Source kompas.com. Compiled by researchers December 31, 2018

Here it is seen that kompas.com chooses indeed based on the position or ability of the resource person in answering issues and problems.

**B. Influence of Routine Kompas.Com (Media Routines Level)**

Before an issue or problem is packaged becomes news. At this level there will be divided into 3 elements:

1) *News source elements (suppliers)*: On whom the news is worth confirmation. There is a selection of topics that match the current conditions. Likewise with political news. The editor will coordinate with reporters in the field for processing data. Before publication.

Example:

- News 1. When all members of the recipient party are candidates for elections
- News 2. Head on National Labor Day
- News 3. The warmth or viral issue of abuse of one honorary teacher at Mataram 7 High School.

Kompas.com besides having a mainstay topic, it also adapts to issues that are in the midst of trends in society.

2) *Elements of a media organization (processor)*: Editors who process news on kompas.com reporters are dominated by men, while for editors there are more women. And now the Kompas editor-in-chief is a senior female journalist, Ninuk Prambudy.

Changes in the policy of a female editor in chief will affect the content of her media content. This indicates a shift in the political news value of women on kompas.com with the selection of quality issues.

3) *Audience (consummers)*: News readers on kompas.com through what was done by them, mostly men for National

news readers. While political news content is in the National news.

**C. Influence from the Organization Kompas.com (Organizational Level)**

Besides that, it also relates to the structure and policy of a media organization. The purpose of a media is a capitalist economic system that is related to profit.

As is well known Political Economy Media female politicians are not as strong as male politicians. That is why women politicians have not been able to build popularity like male politicians in the media.

**D. Influence from the Outside of Kompas.com (Outside Media Level)**

Outside media influences there are several elements that make it up.

- News sources, related to issues and speakers who are still dominated by male politicians
- Advertisers and readers, related to Media Political Economy. Most female politicians do not have the final finals as strong as male politicians. In addition, women politicians have not used mass media as a strategy to gain votes.
- Control from the Government, related to the power managing the State. The government is still dominated by male officials compared to women. Women will be able to stick out in the media when they have "privileges" or prominent achievements.
- Market Share, related to screening advertisements through news content. Political news has always been a hot topic to talk about and attract public attention to read it. This is what attracts advertisers.

- Technology, a feature of the use of technology in the media. Both through the process of making media interesting, as well as media users as political news information seekers. This is related to the results of kompas.com news reader survey more men than women.

*E. The Influence of Ideology Kompas.com (Ideology Level)*

At this level the media is influenced by various groups who are able to change media news standards. The media will be influenced by something dominant and have interests. So far, the political news in Indonesia is still influenced by "the interests of the government, and the party" where all these interests are still dominated by male politicians.

TABLE V. ETMAN ANALYSIS OF MEDIA FRAMING ON ACTIONS OF FEMALE POLITICIANS ON KOMPAS.COM

| Issue Selection          | Reality Facts of Kompas.com  |
|--------------------------|--|
| Define Problem           | Despite the latest issues or issues provided by the media, the Women Politicians, they are able to answer these problems or issues, according to their actions and authorities, as Politicians |
| Diagnose Causes          | Today's female politicians are able to see what caused the issue or problem to occur. By giving a straightforward and firm answer.   |
| Moral                    | In each of the News, Women's Politicians are able to provide moral decisions or messages that are in accordance with existing issues.  |
| Treatment Recommendation | The Women's Politics are able to provide Solutions to Problems. Through actions or policies.   |

Source kompas.com. Compiled by researchers December 31, 2018.

*Kompas.com* also highlights more interesting topics. This fact shows that the purpose of kompas.com in choosing this angle is to build a positive image for female politicians so that the public, or readers, will look more at female politicians based on their abilities, in the 2019 election. Kompas.com has motives and values that want a compass. com in the minds of the readers, namely that female politicians also have good communication skills with the media.

*Kompas.com* conducts descriptive and informative reporting. This can be seen from the news of the actions of women politicians published in the July-December 2018 period. Kompas.com seeks to build a positive image of female politicians.

In the first article, *kompas.com* "Grace Natali: No need to be an artist, ready to be accepted as a legislative candidate" denied that the issue of people who had popularity was accepted as candidates, concerns were unfounded. *Kompas.com* also explains where the worries or issues come from, which is the number of artists who suddenly run for the people's posts.

The author considers that kompas.com is more about describing the facts, does not build a negative construction for female politicians who are the speakers.

Although he admitted there were still a lot of political news about men compared to women, this was because, in the political world there were more men than women. Even if there

are not all women, they hold important positions in politics. And not all politicians who dare to appear in the media are in the public spotlight.

*Kompas.com*, ahead of the 2019 election, explain the facts they got from the results of coverage and confirmation of the latest issue. Kompas.com also does not emphasize certain facts in order to get more attention, kopas.com explained everything. Statements and facts related to emerging political issues.

Analysis based on Etman framing. The results of the research report kompas.com

- Still patriaki ideology for the quantity of news politicians, found women. Based on the amount of political news more news on male politicians. While news of female politicians is still small.
- Supporting news and visual themes are more multi-perspective, not only women's themes, but have been included in themes related to their policies in parliament. Confirmed news, according to the capability of female politicians according to their fields of politics, so as to be able to answer news problems.
- Giving headlines directly describes the contents of the news. The sentence used is straightforward, clear, without highlighting women's feminism. Framing the news text shows that Women Politicians are able to answer the latest issues, related to the facts that occur.
- Moral values, and solutions provided by the speakers, confirmed the fact that political women also have good ability to see the cornerstone of a problem, indicating women politicians are following the latest media and technology developments and are sensitive to the problems that occur.

V. CONCLUSION

- From the quantity of news kompas.com still patriaki ideology. Political news is in line with cultural views.
- Kompas.com puts women's news in a professional way.
- Women Politicians for kompas.com are women who are knowledgeable in politics and have a way of maintaining good relations with the public.
- The media has an interest in highlighting women's news

VI. ADVICE

- In constructing the news, kompas.com has its own ideology and authority in loading the news, so that even though it contains a recent political issue but it will have a different view depending on each media. Although having the right to convey an issue, it must be realized that every media must provide clear and informative information to the public so that it can be well understood by the public.
- In presenting the news, kompas.com is expected to be more balanced and diverse. Also, the background of the speakers so that the news does not cause partiality to

certain parties and the media should not form a public perception. It would be better if the audience in receiving an information in order to filter the contents of the news in advance so as not to cause their own perceptions.

- Morally, any media or politician who will account for what is done.

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