Media Representation of Female Politician Candidates in Social-Historian Context

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Abstract: The 2024 direct elections in Indonesia failed to implement the affirmative action policy of 30 percent female representation in politics. This study examines how women are portrayed in campaign advertisements and media coverage. The aim is to identify the representation of female politicians within a socio-historical context. This research uses Ruth Wodak's critical discourse analysis method. Analysis of the 2024 election campaign shows that female politicians are not portrayed as competent figures in politics. This occurs due to several factors that hinder women from being elected as political leaders, including patriarchal culture, religious dogma, and gender bias.

Keywords: affirmative action policies, campaign advertising, female politicians, news coverage, representation

Abstrak: Pemilihan umum langsung tahun 2024 di Indonesia gagal menerapkan kebijakan afirmasi 30 persen representasi perempuan dalam politik. Penelitian ini mengkaji cara perempuan digambarkan dalam iklan kampanye dan liputan berita. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah untuk mengidentifikasi representasi politisi perempuan dalam konteks sosio-historis. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode analisis wacana kritis Ruth Wodak. Analisis kampanye pemilu 2024 menunjukkan bahwa politisi perempuan tidak digambarkan sebagai figur yang kompeten. Hal ini terjadi karena beberapa faktor yang menghambat perempuan untuk terpilih sebagai pemimpin dalam politik, antara lain budaya patriarki, dogma agama, dan bias gender yang berkelindan dalam dinamika politik di Indonesia.

Kata Kunci: kebijakan afirmatif, iklan kampanye, liputan berita, politisi perempuan, representasi

The number of women lawmakers winning elections has always been less than the target of 30 percent since direct general elections were held from 2009 to 2024. This phenomenon occurs across every political party, where the percentage of women politicians winning direct general election contests and being elected to the legislature is no more than 20 percent. (Parwati & Istiningdiah, 2020, p. 120; Pertiwi, Budiartha, & Sudibya, 2022, p. 495).

The common perception is that men always dominate politics. Women are considered incapable of leading compared to men and only serve as symbols in certain political movements. Countries with patriarchal systems (such as Indonesia) consider politics to be a dirty man's world that requires resilience, while women are considered weak creatures who are better suited to working within the family sphere (Heriyanto, 2023, p. 13). Political

science experts have noted that one factor influencing women's chances of gaining voters' trust in direct elections in Indonesia is lay perceptions of potential political experts shaped by the mass media (Nimrah & Sakaria, 2015, p. 178; Mariyanti, Sari, & Putri, 2024, p. 217). News coverage influences voters' perceptions and their decisions to accept or reject women as political candidates. This phenomenon suggests that the mass media industry reduces female political candidates' exposure to political experts because women are considered second-class citizens (Tuchman, as cited in Lira, 2022, p. 221).

Indonesian political system runs rules that any legislative member who will occupy a position as a representative of the people in the seats of the Regional People's Representative Council at the provincial level, the Indonesian Council of People's Representatives, and the National Assembly at the central level must go through a mechanism of direct general election by the people. Under Indonesia's election law, before the contestation phase of the campaign, each political candidate must complete the selection phase through their political party. In the initial phase, any person interested in becoming a candidate for a legislative seat must meet several requirements set out in the General Election Commission Regulations (PKPU) of the Republic of Indonesia No. 10 Year 2023. Candidates who are eligible and declared selected by a political party will be placed on the list of legislative candidates and permitted to campaign. The campaigns

determine the candidate's chances of being elected by the people in the direct general election before becoming a legitimate member of the legislature.

One of the rules in the direct election process is stipulated in Act No. 2 of 2008 on Political Parties, which requires a representation of at least 30 percent of female candidates on the list of candidates to the legislature (an affirmative policy). It is hoped that through this rule, women will have opportunities to contribute more actively to plans of action, roles, and ideas for political activities in favor of women (Widiyaningrum, 2020, p. 27).

According to Denton, Voth, Trent, and Friedenberg (2023, p. 97), the political candidates use two channels during the campaign: (1) the campaign propaganda tools through the posters and billboards spread across every corner of the electoral district, and (2) the news in the mass media. Both canals are used to present the candidate's profile, socialize their vision and mission, and shape political communication between candidates and voters during the campaign period. Political candidates win the hearts of voters in direct elections and gain the people's trust to serve as legislators.

There has been discussion of women's roles in politics, but no study has examined the language used in political advertisements compared with news coverage of female politicians during the 2024 election. Meanwhile, Van der Pas and Aaldering (2020, p. 130) concluded that the mass media differentiates between men and

women in their news exposure by topic, as seen in Table 1.

Table 1 Difference between Men and Women in Their News Exposure Based on the Topic

Aspect of Coverage	Expectation
Visibility	Men more
Visibility difference	Larger in higher-level political offices
	Larger in executive function
	Larger in plurality electrocal systems
	Larger during primaries
	Larger outside election campaigns
	Larger when further back in time
	Larger if female descriptive representation in low
Negative tone	Women more
Combative behavior overreported	Women more
Interpretative reporting	Women more
Viability coverage	Women more
Background coverage	Women more
Viability Assessments	Women more
Direct quotes	Men more
Personality trait coverage	Women more
Appearance coverage	Women more
Family life	Women more
Mention of gender	Women more
Policy issues coverage	Men more
Masculine trait coverage	Men more
Feminine trait coverage	Women more
Masculine issue coverage	Men more
Feminine issue coverage	Women more
Leadership trait coverage	Men more

Source: Van der Pas and Aaldering (2020)

Table 1 demonstrates the existence of structural inequalities characterized by asymmetrical power relations that often exclude members of disempowered social groups (Beauvais, 2019, p. 2). An example is the power gap between male and female politicians. This political disparity limits political participation in ways that clearly increase men's political power relative to women. Affirmative action policies have not yet been implemented during the 2024 election. This study explores the way female political candidates' campaign advertisements are presented through posters placed along the main roads of the Special Region of Yogyakarta. This study also examines media discourse on the representation of female political candidates in the Special Region of Yogyakarta, using the visuals and narratives on posters. Furthermore, it explores the influence of socio-historical analysis in efforts to unravel the representation of female political candidates through the mass media.

METHOD

This research employs Ruth Wodak's critical discourse analysis method. According to Wodak and Meyer (as cited in Berkovich & Benoliel, 2024, p. 30), the representation of women, men, or other gender identities in media texts is not neutral; instead, texts construct their existence within the text discourse. In fact, Wodak (2015, p. 4) clearly shows the existence of discourse strategies that shape public opinion, power relations, and ideologies hidden in the language between texts and can explain their real meanings. According to Uluk and Nurhadi (2023, p. 65), Ruth Wodak's discourse analysis can analyze various texts related to social-political issues to understand the process

of a text forming perceptions and opinions on particular social-political issues. Ruth Wodak's discourse model is carried out in several stages: (1) identifying the main themes, (2) observing text structures, and (3) analyzing implicit and explicit meanings (van Dijk, 2013, p. 232; Wodak, 2015, p. 2). From this stage of analysis, Ruth Wodak's discourse analysis method can unravel public opinion discourse on a particular social and political issue.

Therefore, in this study, the researchers run the research phase. First, scholars will gather information on current social and political issues from a variety of sources, including government documents, unpublished materials, and the media. The Ruth Wodak model can then be employed as a tool for data analysis. Second, a thorough examination of the organization and content of the texts in the chosen social-political concerns is necessary for this research approach. Scholars examine the process, audience, and intent of creating the text. Third, following the completion of the Ruth Wodak model data collection and analysis, the researchers offer an interpretation of the analysis findings. This is being done to find distinctions and convergences in the comprehension and interpretation of unresolved social-political issues.

In this research approach, the investigators also examine the social-political milieu in which the issue arises and its implications for the discourse on welfare and the opinions of the broader public. In general, the Ruth Wodak paradigm can be employed to critically analyze current

speech in this paper through data gathering, text analysis, interpretation, and social-political context interpretation. Data collection begins with collecting posters, followed by observation of their content—images, colors, and the choice of words and sentences displayed on the posters. The following process analyzes the content of the poster, which is then interpreted and associated with the social and political context of the 2024 direct general election campaign.

The material object of this research is a poster of the campaign tool of the candidate women politicians who entered the list of legislative candidates in the Election Commission of Yogyakarta 2024. The researchers took a picture of a campaign guard on a circular road outside the province of Yogyakarta, where people frequently pass the road. Sampling was conducted throughout the Yogyakarta Direct General Election's campaign, as established by the General Electoral Commission, from November 28, 2023, until February 10, 2024. Among the data gathered, 36 posters of women's candidate politicians' campaign tools were clearly displayed on billboards and large-scale posters. To confirm the findings of the campaign discourse analysis, the researchers also analyzed news texts from two local newspapers in Yogyakarta, namely Harian Jogja and Kedaulatan Rakyat. The researchers used the same analysis method throughout the manuscript to examine the framing of the mass media reports about future female politicians.

Referring to Ruth Wodak's textual discourse analysis method with the socio-historical context approach on the news texts above, the following conclusions can be drawn. The method explains that discourse in a text will always be linked to social, political, and historical contexts. These three things are reflected in linguistic analysis and further socio-historical context analysis (Wodak, 2015, p. 5), which indicate the existence of power relations within it. Likewise, in the content of the news text, Wodak's discourse analysis with the socio-historical context approach will detect the labeling of social actors as a form of power practice that determines a person's position in the social hierarchy. In addition, it will be apparent whether there are certain attributions that arise from the roots of the socio-historical context. Wodak's discourse analysis uses three layers of context, namely (1) micro context, namely the direct communication situation (who speaks, to whom, in what media); (2) meso context, namely institutional context, institutional policies, social rules, textual genres, (3) macro context, namely

historical context, for example social history, ideological developments, power dynamics, past conflicts, inherited national narratives (Wodak, 2001, p. 69).

As a triangulation step, the findings from the text analysis data in the poster were confirmed and verified with one of the media management journalists who was the object of the research. This step is taken to support the findings or make them more valid. The triangulation method involved interviewing with NN, the Deputy Editor-in-Chief of Harian Jogja. Secondly, an interview session was also conducted with AW, Senior News Writer of Kedaulatan Rakyat, who has written all the articles about female political candidates in Yogyakarta.

FINDINGS

There are many campaign posters of female politicians. Still, only 36 candidate names were collected at the research location along the main road of the Special Region of Yogyakarta ring road, covering Sleman Regency, Bantul Regency, and Yogyakarta City.

Table 2 Female Candidates' Profiles, Party Origins, Slogans, and Descriptions of Posters

No.	Candidate's Name	Origin of Parties	Poster's Slogan	Description of the Image in the Poster
1	Dyah Puspita Sari	PDI Perjuangan	*Penak Melu Mbak Pita #Pitakonan Solid Bergerak*	Candidate profiles alongside the 2024 presidential candidates, Ganjar-Mahfud
2	Cintya Amanda Labetta, S.H.	PDI Perjuangan	*Prestasi Tak Dapat Diraih Tanpa Semangat*	Candidate profiles with memes depicting party ornaments alongside the 2024 presidential candidates, Ganjar-Mahfud
3	Ipung Purwandari, S.H.	PDI Perjuangan	-	Candidate profiles alongside the 2024 presidential candidates, Ganjar-Mahfud

4	Tetty Tamiyati, S.E	Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN)	*Bantu Rakyat*	Profiles of the candidate and legislative candidate for the Indonesian House of Representatives from Yogyakarta, Sri Purnomo
5	Apt. Veronica Dyah Setiyani S.Farm	Partai Solidaritas Indonesia (PSI)	*Hadir Kerja untuk Rakyat*	Candidate profile only, no other candidates displayed.
6	Suistiningsih, S.E.	Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN)	*Tetap Amanah dan Merakyat*	Candidate profile wearing a hijab, alongside Yogyakarta Provincial DPRD candidate, Rifki Listinto, S.Si., M.Sc.
7	Suryani, S.E., M.Si. Akt	PDI Perjuangan	-	Candidate profile wearing a hijab, alongside Yogyakarta Provincial DPRD candidate, Imam Priyoni D. Putranto, S.E., M.Sc.
8	Astri Lisa Vindriarti	Partai Amanat Nasional	*Bantu Rakyat*	Candidate profile wearing a hijab, alongside Yogyakarta Provincial DPRD candidate, Sri Purnomo
9	Dara Ayu Suharto, S.H	Gerindra	-	Candidate profile wearing a hijab alongside Anton Prabu Semendawai, S.H., M.Kn., a member of the Yogyakarta Provincial DPRD
10	drg. Hj. Hanum Salsabiela Rais,MBA	Partai Umat	*Aku Ngerti sing Mbok Karepke*	Candidate profile alongside another female candidate from the same party
11	Siti Yuana Tri Semedi	Partai Umat	*Aku Ngerti sing Mbok Karepke*	Candidate profile alongside another female candidate from the same party
12	Sri Riyadiningsih	PDI Perjuangan	-	-
13	Dra. Hj. Siti Nurjanah	Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN)	*#Kerja Nyata*	Candidate profile with a hijab meme alongside the 2023 PDIP presidential candidates, Ganjar-Mahfud
14	Afiyata Biqadrilla Nur Aini S.H	Partai Garuda	*Saatnya Generasi Muda Berkontribusi Membangun Negeri*	Candidate profile wearing a hijab alongside the 2024 presidential candidate, Prabowo-Gibran
15	dr. Anik Yuni Hastuti	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS)	*PKS Pembela Rakyat*	Candidate profile alongside H. Boedi Dewanto, Sh., M.Sc., a legislative candidate for the Yogyakarta Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD)
16	Puji Utami, S.E	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS)	*Berkhidmat untuk Rakyat Pangan Murah, Kerja Gampang, Sehat Mudah*	Candidate profile wearing a hijab alongside several legislative candidates, including Yogyakarta Provincial DPRD candidates Dwi Santosa and Amat Furqan, and 2024 presidential candidates Anis-Muhaimin.

17	Hyacinta Dyah Tavipa	PDI Perjuangan	*Ojo Pedhot Oyot!*	Candidate profiles alongside 2024 presidential candidates Ganjar-Mahfud
18	Muryani, S.Pd.	Partai Umat	*Kudu Semangat, Sehat, lan Manfaat. Aminn.*	Candidate profiles wearing hijabs alongside Yogyakarta Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) candidate H.R. Ichwan Tamrin, M.S.E.
19	Windarti	Partai Nasdem	*Teruji dan Terbukti Wujudkan Aspirasi Masyarakat Siap Mengawal Perubahan*	Candidate profiles wearing hijabs alongside Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR) candidate H. Subardi, S.H., M.H.
20	Linangkung Prastiwi, S.E., M.M	Partai Solidaritas Indonesia (PSI)	*Ikut Jokowi Pilih PSI*	A sporty candidate profile, alongside fellow House of Representatives (DPR) candidate Irwin Agus Setiawan, S.Sn., and a poster with Jokowi and Kaesang.
21	Yus Subiyanti	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB)	*Ayo Nyoblos Tonggone Dewe*	Candidate profile only, no other candidates displayed.
22	R.A Yashinta Sekarwangi Mega	PDI Perjuangan	-	Candidate profile only, no other candidates displayed.
23	Siti Marfu'ah, S.E (Mbak Liliek)	Partai Nasional Demokrat	*Ayoo Lurr.. Mbangun Dusun Kanti Rukun Mbangun Deso Kanti Temoto Tetep akur yo Lur, nadyan bedo pilihan*	Candidate profile only, no other candidates displayed.
24	Griya Pradianzi	Gerindra	-	Candidate profile wearing a hijab, alongside Bantul Regency DPRD candidate Datin Wisnu Pranyoto and 2024 presidential candidate Prabowo
25	Gusti Kanjeng Ratu Hemas	-	*Wujudkan!!! Generasi Istimewa Untuk Indonesia*	Candidate profile only, without displaying the profiles of other candidates
26	Andriana Wulandari, S.E	PDI Perjuangan	*Tep Berjuang di Garis Rakyat..!!*	A sporty candidate profile, paired with the 2024 presidential candidates, Ganjar-Mahfud
27	Bangun Nilai Pasmasari K	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP)	*Perempuan Membawa Perubahan*	A candidate profile dominated by party identity
28	Wahyu Subekti Kurniawati, S.Si	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera	*Pangan Murah Kerja Gampang Sehat Mudah*	A candidate profile only, without the profiles of other candidates.
29	Hj. Nikendari, S.E	Partai Nasdem	*Mulat Sariro, Hangroso Wani*	Candidate profile wearing a hijab, alongside Yogyakarta City DPRD candidate, Teguh Hartono, S.Sos.
30	Rahayu Widi Nuryani	Partai Kebangkitan	*Lanjutkan Perjuanganku!!!*	Candidate profile wearing a hijab, alongside Yogyakarta Provincial DPRD candidate, H. Sukamto, S.H.

31	Aishah Gray, S.Psi.	Partai Solidaritas Indonesia	-	Candidate profile only, no other candidate profiles displayed
32	Dewi Indah Sari	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS)	*#Bersama Bergerak & Bermanfaat*	Candidate profile only, no other candidate profiles displayed
33	Salsha Aurelia Daninsky	Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN)	-	Candidate profile wearing a hijab, alongside Yogyakarta Provincial DPRD candidate Wildan Nafis, S.E., M.H.
34	Norma Prasetyarini, S.Farm.	Partai Dolidaritas Indonesia	-	Candidate profile only, without other candidate profiles.
35	Novi Sarhati, S.H	Gerindra	*Konsisten untuk Rakyat*	Candidate profile wearing a hijab, alongside 2024 presidential candidates Prabowo-Gibran.
36	Yuliana Tumonglo	Partai Demokrat	*Yuliana Siap!*	Candidate profile only, without other candidate profiles.

Source: Primary Data (2024)

Before analyzing 36 female politicians' narratives in the poster texts and campaign tools using Ruth Wodak's discourse analysis, researchers first searched for keywords that frequently appear in the poster texts using Voyant Tools. The results were as seen in Figure 1.

(enthusiasm), *murah* (cheap), *gampang* (easy), and *bergerak* (move). It can be noted that many campaign advertisements do not represent female political candidates as figures with a vision and mission in politics. It only shows the faces, names, and parties' identities. These word choices

Figure 1 Voyant Tools Analysis Results
Source: Primary Data (2024)

It was found that the posters were dominated by words: *rakyat* (people), *kerja* (work), *sehat* (healthy), *semangat*

are not particularly relevant to political posters, which require representations of leadership, strength, and resilience.

Furthermore, based on visual appearance, 22 posters feature the profiles of female political candidates alongside pictures of male candidates. Meanwhile, there were only two posters featuring female candidates side by side, and one poster without a picture. The other remaining 12 posters contained only photos of the political candidates without any male candidates' pictures. Each female political candidate displays pictures in their posters that are self-image dominance and party attributes. The color refers to the dominant color of the political party she represents. Aside from colors, the placement of the logo and the masking of the numbers in the embroidery dominated the poster. There was no lengthy narration of the female politician candidate's vision and mission. Some candidates even display self-images alongside pictures of themselves or male political figures in a single campaign advertisement.

For example, in the poster shown in the image above, a female political candidate from Yogyakarta City, Griya Pradianzi, poses with the Head of the Gerindra Party in Bantul Regency, Datin Wisnu Pranyoto. In addition, the poster features a picture of Prabowo Subianto, a presidential candidate from the party supporting Griya Pradianzi. According to this poster, the female political candidate is supported by male politicians. Moreover, the placement of the female political candidate below the male candidate's name further underscores the poster's primary focus on male candidates. In addition, there is no vision and mission shown by the female political candidate, further strengthening the impression that prospective voters only know the female political candidate from their appearance, face, and/or male political candidate who is already known to the public, regardless of what vision and mission the female political candidate will carry out if elected as a people's representative.

Figure 2 Examples of Posters and Billboards of Female Political Candidates
Source: Primary Data (2024)

Likewise, the poster of a female political candidate, Restiorina Sinamo, shows a side-by-side picture with the Chairperson of the Yogyakarta Golkar Party, Gandung Pardiman. Although this poster shows the slogan of the vision and mission of the female political candidate, the installation of a picture of a male politician, who is already known as a politician, seems to show the lack of confidence of the female political candidate to compete in the political arena. The same is also seen on the poster for the female candidate, Muryani, who is side-by-side with the male candidate, Ichwan Tamrin Murdiyanta. Although both are competing in the 2024 legislative election, the impression is that the placement of the female candidate, Muryani, is not a priority and is merely a complement to the male candidate's poster.

Other examples include the poster of a female political candidate, Siti Hediati Hariyadi, who was once called Titiek Soeharto, featuring the phrase *Putri Ngayogyokarto, Putri Pak Harto* (daughter of Yogyakarta, daughter of Mr. Harto). It implied that this female political candidate prioritizes proximity to her potential voters by noting that she was a native of Yogyakarta City and the daughter of former President Soeharto, who wielded significant influence in the country. Likewise, another female political candidate, Yus Subiyanti, featured the sentence in the poster *Ayo Nyoblos Tonggone Dewe* (let's vote our neighbor), which invites potential voters to vote for their neighbor, a reference to her as a native of Bantul Regency. Meanwhile, another female candidate, Linangkung Prastiwi, used the jargon in the poster *Ikut Jokowi Pilih PSI* (follow Jokowi, choose PSI),

Figure 3 Examples Poster with Peripheral Persuasion Communication
Source: Primary Data (2024)

which implied she invited her potential voters, as the admirers and sympathizers of Joko Widodo, the elected president for two general election periods, to also vote for PSI (Partai Solidaritas Indonesia). This party supports her as a political candidate.

The analytical stages of these overall findings are linked to an interpretation of why the discourse on the representation of female politicians in campaign posters remains relatively gender biased. Intertextual analysis further clarifies these findings, starting with text analysis using Voyant Tools, which depicts women as political candidates who do not demonstrate the characteristics of strong, nurturing, or solution-providing leaders. Similarly, the campaign advertising media, in the form of posters, seem to reinforce the impression

manuscripts of two daily newspapers that circulate consistently in the Special Region of Yogyakarta, namely Harian Jogja and Kedaulatan Rakyat. During the campaign period from November 28, 2023, to February 10, 2024, only four news articles about female political candidates appeared in Harian Jogja. However, the news subjects were Megawati Soekarnoputri, Puan Maharani, and Akhid Nuryatithose (the chairperson of the Kulon Progo Regional People's Representative Council). All of them were already well-known female politicians from the previous direct general election period. It means there was no news coverage of female political candidates who had just competed in the 2024 direct general election period.

Table 3 List of News Articles

No.	Date of Publication	Title of News Article	Newspaper's Name
1	31 January 2024	Puan Targetkan Jateng Tetap Kandang Banteng	Harian Jogja
2	31 January 2024	Perajin Gerabah Curhat ke Puan	Harian Jogja
3	6 January 2024	Pandai Membaca Peluang Usaha	Harian Jogja
4	27 January 2024	Megawati Siap Turun Gunung Ke Jogja	Harian Jogja
5	31 January 2024	Disesuaikan Pemilu 2024, Kolaborasi Membangun Demokrasi	Kedaulatan Rakyat
6	19 January 2024	Khofifah Harus Nin-Aktif	Kedaulatan Rakyat
7	20 January 2024	Wujudkan Misi Bangun Kulonprogo	Kedaulatan Rakyat
8	10 December 2024	DPRD Minta Pemkab Sosialisasi Paradigma Pengolahan Sampah	Kedaulatan Rakyat
9	11 December 2024	Jangan Lupakan Pendidikan Politik Perempuan	Kedaulatan Rakyat
10	19 January 2024	Kena "Awu Anget" Baliho Roboh	Kedaulatan Rakyat

Source: Primary Data (2024)

of female political candidates as insecure by consistently comparing them to male candidates.

Discourse Analysis in a News Article

In addition to analyzing the content of posters and billboards in the campaign, the researchers also examined the text

According to the research findings by using discourse analysis of the socio-historical context of Ruth Wodak, Harian Jogja news reported that Megawati Soekarnoputri was a figure who supported the presidential candidates Ganjar Pranowo and Mahfud M.D., not as a legislative

candidate. The news titled *Megawati Siap Turun Gunung ke Yogyakarta* did not use Megawati as a direct source but rather an interview with journalists about other PDIP (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan) officials in the Special Region of Yogyakarta Province. Likewise, the news about Puan Maharani did not present her as a legislative candidate. Instead, it portrayed the party strategizing on the Yogyakarta and Central Java regions as areas to win votes in the 2024 General Election.

Similar to the news coverage in Kedaulatan Rakyat, researchers only found six news coverages of female politicians competing in the 2024 Direct General Election, consisting of 5 news reports of well-known female politicians, namely Puan Maharani, Megawati Soekarnoputri, Khofifah Indarparawansa, GKR Hemas, and Akhid Nuryati, while only one news coverage of a political candidate who was competing in the 2024 direct general election, namely Widya Siswanti. The content of the Kedaulatan Rakyat news about Puan Maharani and Megawati Soekarnoputri was not much different from the Harian Jogja news exposure. In contrast, the news about Khofifah Indarparawansa concerned her gubernatorial candidacy, which drew criticism from fellow party members for competing in the General Election. Likewise, the news content about Akhir Nuryati as a candidate for Provincial Legislative Member did not explain her vision and mission. Instead, it focused on the incident in which her campaign equipment collapsed in the wind.

This means that Harian Jogja and Kedaulatan Rakyat are focusing more on publishing news about well-known female political candidates with a strong track record. Meanwhile, relatively new female political candidates who have never appeared in the media are not selected as news subjects. The names of the latest political candidates running in the election are only a handful, chosen from among many well-known female politicians.

Based on the interview with NN, Deputy Editor-in-Chief of Harian Jogja, it was found that several female political candidates in the era of direct general elections for the 2024-2029 period were not all ready to become politicians. NN added that the obligation for political parties to nominate approximately 30 percent of female candidates in their recruitment process left them unprepared to fight in their campaigns. This is shown by the evidence that not all female political candidates were willing to be invited to a special interview program by the mass media crew, one of which was in the podcast program by Harian Jogja.

> Several times, we invited female legislative candidates to be interviewed, to convey their vision and mission as political candidates. But many of them refused for various reasons. (NN, Deputy Editor-in-Chief of Harian Jogja, interview, April 2024)

According to NN, the rejection of the special interview invitation for this female political candidate could be due to several reasons, but mainly due to the unpreparedness and fear of journalists

to dig deeper into the readiness, vision, mission, and ability of this political candidate in answering critical questions from journalists which would further show the extent of her competence as a prospective leader.

Meanwhile, AW, Senior News Writer of Kedaulatan Rakyat said that the lack of publications on female political candidates was due to several factors, including not many political candidates being ready to be interviewed by journalists, some information regarding the campaign progress of female political candidates not having news value, and minimal support from the editorial team for publications on female politicians.

> Once, I wanted to interview a female political candidate, but she lacked confidence. Or, she lacked knowledge on the issue we wanted to confirm. (AW, Senior News Writer of Kedaulatan Rakyat, May 2024).

DISCUSSION

The researchers analyze the narrative text in the campaign advertisement using Ruth Wodak's discourse analysis approach to strengthen their findings. This analysis examined the structure and meaning of the text used in the posters and campaign safety tools. Therefore, it enabled researchers to interpret the significance of the narration. The analysis stages, in accordance with Ruth Wodak's critical discourse analysis method, begin with identifying discourse in the form of images and texts linked to social and cultural contexts. Furthermore, the analysis also links the relationships between texts and

discourses to uncover their true meaning. Researchers can ultimately interpret meaning explicitly through three stages of criticism: (1) immanent critique, (2) socio-diagnostic critique, and (3) prognostic critique (Wodak, 2015, pp. 8-9).

Based on the findings above, several points can be discussed. From the results of observations of campaign posters of female politicians, it can be concluded that several posters of female politicians seem to confirm the conclusion of Bünte and Thompson (2023, p. 13) who said that in countries that adhere to patriarchal ideology, the world of politics is less suitable for women because they are considered weak and more suitable to work at home. According to Ruth Wodak's discourse analysis stage, which includes linguistic analysis of data, word choice can be interpreted in the context of ideology, particularly in relation to social issues (Wodak & Meyer, 2015, p. 97). The results indicate that the average narrative in the posters portrays female political candidates as figures of the people who are healthy, enthusiastic, willing to move, and able to work efficiently and effectively.

According to Syiam (2023, pp. 61-62), political communication strategies are steps in carrying out political communication that involve creating, denying, obtaining, and destroying political content through interactions with both the public and their voters. Political communication goals are closely related to the political messages conveyed by political communicators. In line with communication goals, political communication goals include disseminating

political information, developing political coalitions, and shaping public opinion (consensus). It can be concluded that female candidate politicians are easy to work with, and their spirit drives change by providing everything at low cost and effortlessly.

Meanwhile, Pande and Ford (2012, p. 3) put forward three significant reasons for ensuring equality between women by implementing a 30 percent quota for women in politics. First, an affirmative policy enables women to participate in politics and achieve equality with men. The gaps between men and women in various areas of society can also be reduced. Secondly, the presence of female politicians contributes to policies that advance women's interests, such as equal pay for men and women. Thirdly, a 30 percent quota for women in politics can change the political climate, which men currently dominate. Instead of guaranteeing a certain percentage of legislative seats for women by establishing a 30 percent quota for women, the percentage of seats ultimately won by women does not necessarily correspond to that quota (Schwindt-Bayer, 2009, pp. 10-11).

Based on the findings, researchers concluded several points. The narratives in political advertisements of female politicians that lack vision and mission for advancing in the election competition show that they are present but not relevant to the activities that will involve them in politics. This finding further demonstrates that female politicians' campaign advertisements lack the principles of political communication that make

campaign advertisements a strategy for a group of people or individuals with a particular mental orientation or political ideology to gain power and strive to achieve it. It would be good if there were support for female political candidates during the campaign period to raise public awareness of the importance of women's roles in politics (Nugrahajati, Hendariningrum, & Soeprapto, 2025, p. 37).

This is due to the strong patriarchal culture in Indonesia, as well as the influence of local social networks, one of which is religious-based and views women as unfit to lead like men (Wulandari, Rahmawati, & Rosdiana, 2023, p. 171). Furthermore, Indonesian politics supports institutional power structures, such as financial, political, and network power, that men dominate compared to women (Ahlstrand, 2022, p. 149). Therefore, the research conclusions from the 2024 election poster data indicate a power relationship between men and women, including in the political context.

The most crucial factor in achieving this goal is the delivery of political messages deliberately crafted by political candidates for potential voters, designed to communicate behavior consistent with the communicator's expectations. Conversely, campaign posters and banners that lack a narrative of vision and mission depict female candidates as incapable of participating in the political world. Posters and billboards use a peripheral communication strategy that directs voters to identify female political candidates based on their appearance, family, beauty,

or other factors unrelated to political performance. Political communicators, in this case, women political candidates, can play major social roles in shaping public opinion (Nimmo as cited in Sarihati, Luthfie, & Kurniadi, 2022, p. 63). This has become important because there have long been differences in public perception of male and female political candidates. Men in politics are considered more competent because they can handle crucial issues. In contrast, women in politics were skilled at addressing social and health problems and were not considered any wiser than men. Therefore, the view is that female candidates have limited political advantages over male candidates (Braden, 2014, p. 66; Bystrom, Robertson, & Banwart, 2001, p. 2002; Devitt, 2002, p. 451).

Based on previous research analyzing the structure and meaning of words in campaign advertisements, the appearance of a female candidate in posters suggests her confidence as a political candidate, as she must compete with other male politicians on the same poster. The goal is to strengthen her image as a female politician worthy of being elected by her voters. This appearance supports the argument that it is difficult for women to gain public trust as political leaders. The efforts of women and men in politics in developing countries are said to be limited by a glass ceiling because, on the one hand, men provide women with opportunities to be active in politics. On the other hand, men seem to want to maintain their power over women (Zamfirache, 2010, p. 176). Therefore, there is an opinion that women's involvement in politics in third-world countries is challenging because, according to social norms, women are in a second-class position to men (Pande & Ford, 2012, p. 8; Tripp & Kang, 2008, p. 341).

Based on the analysis of language and symbols in election campaign advertisements by female politicians, the results were then confirmed by the study of news texts from two local newspapers in Yogyakarta, namely Harian Jogja and Kedaulatan Rakyat. Several conclusions can be drawn from the analysis of four news texts from Harian Jogja and six from Kedaulatan Rakyat. The mass media in Yogyakarta Province provides less support for female political candidates campaigning in the 2024 Direct General Election. The question support is the news space for these female political candidates to become subjects and can convey their vision and mission more freely to their prospective voters.

Hasanah and Aprianti (2019, p. 5) stated that mass media exposure is one of the factors that shape public perception during the campaign period. Not only perception, but media exposure contributes to the attitudes and decisions of prospective voters in direct elections, especially new voters. According to research on the 2014 direct general election, negative news exposure significantly influences their attitudes and choices in the voting process, such as not voting for the exposed candidate. Meanwhile, there are many discriminatory news exposures, including those targeting female political candidates (Adcock, 2010, p. 136; Soza, 2014, p. 18).

The lack of opportunities for women to appear as politicians is because, in the culture of society in Indonesia, women are still considered a marginalized group. Women are often seen as caring, gentle, and weak, so in politics, these traits are considered less appropriate. Therefore, women are considered only spectators and political objects (Rahmah, 2021, p. 86). Several female political candidates are willing to be interviewed by the editorial team of Harian Jogja. Yet their answers are less satisfactory and tend to give only formal answers. This formal answer suggests that the female political candidates were less knowledgeable about the issues journalists asked about.

Based on Ruth Wodak's critical discourse analysis (Wodak, 2001, p. 65), the contextual dimension, which shapes media texts produced by the media and meaning construction, is analyzed. Thus, it can be concluded that the mass media in Indonesia, still dominated by male journalists, plays a role in representing female political candidates through a series of news texts produced. By linking linguistic findings to socio-historical dynamics, the discourse emerging in the news in Harian Jogja and Kedaulatan Rakyat seems to position female politicians as figures unable to understand political issues. Female political candidates are described as lacking political knowledge, allegedly because their supporting political parties fail to provide adequate training.

Using a discourse analysis methodology with a socio-historical context approach, the micro context in the news texts of two mass media, namely Kedaulatan Rakyat and Harian Jogja, focused on national-scale female politicians as sources with news value due to their popularity, compared to news exposure on female political candidates in their regions. Meanwhile, in the meso context, male-dominated mass media institutions seem to provide less support to female political candidates, resulting in less news exposure about them. In addition, patriarchal culture, religious dogma, and the lack of political knowledge and education among female politicians make female political candidates less attractive as sources of news information.

CONCLUSION

In political strategy, female political candidates usually use communication channels to reach potential voters through campaign advertisements, such as posters and billboards, during the campaign period. They presented themselves, their vision and mission, and their jargon as a representation of themselves as female political candidates worthy of being elected in direct general elections. In the 2024 direct general elections, female political candidates had the opportunity to formulate their political strategies through a campaign set. For example, the content of billboards and posters is the responsibility of female political candidates, along with the campaign teams of their supporting political parties. In that case, another communication channel that can be utilized is news exposure through the mass media. Unfortunately, since the 30 percent quota for female politicians (affirmative policy) has been in effect in

Direct General Elections in Indonesia since 2008, the number of female politicians who have won the general election has never reached 30 percent.

Through research across 36 posters and billboards featuring female political candidates in the Special Region of Yogyakarta Province, researchers found that the content of the campaign advertisements needed to portray female candidates as qualified figures. The images and narratives on posters and billboards convey the perception that female political candidates lack confidence as political leaders. The choice of images juxtaposing female political candidates with male politicians or figures, or the minimal exposure of visions and missions, strengthens this interpretation.

This demonstrates that female politicians' campaign tools during the 2024 Yogyakarta election did not yet fully formulate political communication strategies supporting female candidates. The choice of words and images also lacks the persuasive and engaging elements needed to support female politicians' campaigns, thus preventing the target of 30 percent female politicians winning the election. In addition to campaign prop channels, the researcher also found that news coverage in Harian Jogja and Kedaulatan Rakyat needed more space for female political candidates. The existing news only featured well-known female political figures; some did not place them as news sources. This is very unfortunate, given that exposure to mass media, especially news, is one of the determining factors in these female political candidates' chances of winning the general election. This happens because the mass media shapes public perception and opinion, including the image of these female political candidates as leaders.

The representation of female political candidates in mass media coverage (Harian Jogja and Kedaulatan Rakyat) can be explained through Ruth Wodak's critical discourse analysis, which uses text and spoken language as primary modalities to uncover implicit meanings. One of the stages is the analysis of discursive strategies, which serves as a step in uncovering the construction of meaning. A single word can assume different meanings in various social contexts. This means that there is a dialectical relationship between discourse and the situations, institutions, and social structures that shape it through the choice of words used in statements, which Wodak calls discursive practice. Discursive practices are said to influence the reproduction of unequal power relations, for example, between social classes, men, and women.

Thus, the spoken language conveyed by the leadership of Harian Jogja can be considered a form of social practice that implies a power relationship between media companies that have the power to select and cover female political candidates, and journalists who produce news scripts, opposing female political candidates as news objects. From a discourse analysis perspective, using Ruth Wodak's socio-historical approach, it can be concluded that the journalist's statement demonstrates a power relationship between journalists in reporting on female political candidates.

The choice of words and the narrative that emerges is not simply the power of the sentence itself, but it is constructed by a discourse controlled by the newsmaker. This power is not merely personal discourse, but a social construct that has hegemonized a person's views and ideology.

Likewise, the discourse on campaign posters for female political candidates demonstrates that power is an asymmetrical relationship between social actors occupying social positions considered different within a particular social group. This means there is power that seems to place a person in a particular position through authority expressed in a specific object. The discourse structure of posters of female political candidates, side by side with those of male politicians, demonstrates the dominance and hegemony evident in the images and narratives chosen. The way linguistic forms seem to be controlled and constructed by someone or something that regulates a particular social situation through the texts and images created, where women's power is determined and reinforced by men who are side by side in the same frame.

This research contributes to supporting parties in constructing better discourse for female candidates' campaign advertisements. It may emphasize the strengths of female political candidates and help clarify their political vision and mission. It is hoped that, beyond campaign advertisements, the female political candidates have a sound political education, so they are considered worthy sources of political news, recognized by journalists.

Likewise, further research can be conducted to develop communication strategies better suited to the needs of female politicians.

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