

Indonesian Women in Politics: Critical Analysis of Portrayal in Online News Sites

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Abstract: *In 2004 Election, Indonesian government launched a policy mandatory 30 percent female representatives in the legislature. This is an effort to accelerate an increase of women's representativeness in the parliament. This research describes the imaging of women as politicians in Indonesian online news sites: detikcom, Kompas.com, and Tribunnews.com. Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis was utilized as method of this research with feminist critical analysis as the corresponding method. The result shows that the imaging of female politicians is in the domestic area. They are pictured as emotional and weak persons.*

Keywords: *critical discourse analysis, female politician, online news*

Abstract: *Pada Pemilu 2004, pemerintah Indonesia meluncurkan kebijakan wajib 30 persen perwakilan perempuan di legislatif. Ini adalah upaya untuk mempercepat peningkatan keterwakilan perempuan di parlemen. Penelitian ini menggambarkan pencitraan perempuan sebagai politikus oleh situs berita online Indonesia: detikcom, Kompas.com, dan Tribunnews.com. Analisis wacana kritis Van Dijk digunakan sebagai metode penelitian ini dengan analisis kritis feminis sebagai metode yang sesuai. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa pencitraan politikus perempuan oleh media online tersebut ada di wilayah domestik. Politikus perempuan digambarkan sebagai orang yang emosional dan lemah.*

Kata Kunci: *analisis kritis, berita online, politikus perempuan*

After the era of New Order or *Orde Baru* (Indonesian) has fallen, Indonesian political contestation changed. The significant change was Megawati, the daughter of Sukarno (First Indonesian President), who became a vice president in 1999 and president in 2001. At the end of New Order, the discussion of women as politician became a frequent topic in media. After the offensive attack on the headquarter of *Partai Demokrasi Indonesia* (PDI/Indonesian Democratic Party), "Opposition Party"

of the New Order) on 27 July 1996, the name of Megawati as the leader of PDI was rising. This offensive attack became one of triggers of politics reformation in Indonesia. This event was called KUDATULI (*Kasus Dua Puluh Tujuh Juli*/Twenty Seven July Incident). Many militaries were indicated as actors of this offensive attack. During KUDATULI Incident in which dozens of the party's loyalists were killed and injured during the attack on party headquarter. Women's participation in practical politics

discourse became the strongest headline in Indonesian media. This issue became the most hits issue in Indonesian parliament after 1999 election.

Then parliament are brought by the constituent to release the law about mandatory of women's representative in parliament. After long assembly and session in parliament, Indonesian parliament issued the first law about mandatory of women's representativeness in candidate list legislature was set to 30% minimum. Many Political Parties set up their candidature legislature with women's representativeness. However, Tresnawaty and Astuti's (2015, p. 200) research describes the political parties have unwillingness to give a political education. Many female politicians became a compliment in parliament. Parawansa (2005, pp. 84-86) states there is an increase in the number of female representatives, and there is still a tendency for women who hold posts are traditionally seen as 'soft' (i.e. relating to women's issues).

The increase of women politician has significantly changed the tendency of media reporting (Rinaldo, 2008; Shair-Rosenfield, 2012; Susilo, 2016; Beta, 2016). Based on research of Shair-Rosenfield (2012) and Dewi (2015), media portrayed female politicians as "unique", rare, and sometimes not related with her political activity. Susilo (2016, p. 1418) states that before reformation era media focused on men politician and their masculinity, but after the increasing number of female politicians, the focus shifted to women who entered practical politics. Politics area

which was claimed as a masculine area (active and thinker) was open for women (alleged in feminine, soft, and feeling).

Arimbi (2009, p. 22) states gender had become one of the most applied notions of identity politics. Arimbi gives highlight about gender identity applied especially when formerly it referred to the social and organisational relationships between the sexes. Meanwhile, gender identity became high factors of labelling during women exposure in media.

On the other hand, much Indonesian youth moved their habit from reading news in a conventional method like newspaper and television to contemporary one such as reading the online news portal. Scientific statistics published by Aliansi Jurnalis Independen (AJI), an independent journalist alliance, show that in 2014 they indicated a rapid trend of Indonesian online news readers. After the mass bankruptcy in 2002, Indonesian online news portal became raising star in 2005 until now (Margianto & Syaefullah, 2012, pp. 38-39).

The rapidity of Indonesian online news portal growth has significant issue of ethics in journalism (Susilo, 2017). Much insensitive reportages were made by the journalists with a non-depth investigation. In relations to the statistical data from AJI, the rapid growth of online news portal in Indonesia was also linear with the quick growth of ethics problem in the online news portal (Margianto & Syaefullah 2012, pp. 38-39). The problem about insensitivity of gender in the online news media became one of our concern on this research,

especially how the media portrays women politician in the news.

Sobur (2001, pp. 37-38) states that mass media also helped to spread and preserve the gender ideology, which supported the ideology of gender bias and stereotypes. Women are always portrayed passively: relying on males, predominantly accepting the decision of male, and identified as a sex symbol. Sobur (2001, p. 38) dissects this discourse through the discussion of the text and context. This research also examines and describes the media portrayal of women as politicians.

METHOD

This research uses Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) method because Van Dijk provides clearer details in the structure, components, and elements of discourse. The CDA model seems to have a special place among analysts of critical discourse. Items which will be observed in text media are thematic, schematic, semantic, syntactic, stylistic, and rhetorical. Discourse analysis as a methodology will reveal the hidden discourse and will dissect correctly social construction from

media in the minds of media consumers. Specifically, in this study, media consumers refer to women who stumble construction corruption cases. Paltridge (2006, p. 9) explains that the discourse creates the world simultaneously and shapes the world as well and the purpose (meaning) of the text itself is always influenced by discourse.

The Van Dijk's CDA will be used to analyse the news text with details as follows (Table 1).

This research uses news from top three Indonesian online news site: *Kompas.com*, *detikcom*, and *Tribunnews.com* (Alexa.com, 2015). Indonesian media have been grown up after the fall of Suharto's regime. *Detikcom* became the first Indonesian online news portal which was founded in July 1998 (one month after the fall of Suharto's regime). The word "detik" was taken from Indonesian language means "second(s)".

In the same time, Kompas, the largest and biggest newspaper in Indonesia, re-launch their corporate website. In the 1995, Kompas made their website only for corporate needs, but in 1998, they

Table 1 Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis

| Structure | Item for Observed | Element |
|----------------|---|--|
| Macrostructure | THEMATIC (What it was said?) | Topic |
| Superstructure | SCHEMATIC (How to compile and assembled) | Schema |
| Microstructure | SEMANTIC (Meaning that wants to emphasize the news text) | Background, detail, intentions, presuppositions, nominalizations |
| | SYNTACTIC (How to deliver?) | Tenses, coherence, pronouns |
| | STYLISTIC (Word Choice) | Lexicons |
| | RHETORICAL (How and in what way the emphasis is done?) | Graphic, metaphor expression |

Source: Sobur (2001, p. 74)

changed it and then became public online news portal. *Kompas.com* also did the re-branding in 2008 after they have changed their management.

Tribunnews.com was founded in 2010 as an effort of Kompas to build the centre news agency that collected all the news from local newspapers network owned by Kompas. Supported by more than 500 journalists throughout Indonesia, *Tribunnews.com* became the online news portal with the broadest and strongest network of local news.

The period of news publishers for primary data source was taken from August 2013-July 2016. The news chosen are those which significantly represented women in the story.

FINDINGS

As part of the legislator, Indonesian parliament also related with ratification and filing of state budgeting. Connections and relations between budget and members of the parliament make women also became actress of corruptor.

Angelina Sondakh (legislator from Yudhoyono's Party and Miss Indonesia 2001 Pageant) became the female corruptor in *Tribunnews.com*, *detikcom*, and *Kompas.com*.

The phenomenon of women as the local leader have a significant change in Indonesia media reportages. Media are still tendentious when reporting women as the local leader. Table 5 shows the detail list of women as governor, mayor, and regent in Indonesia.

Table 2 Analysis on the News of *Tribunnews.com* (6 July 2016)

| Discourse Structure | Observed Matters | Elements | Information |
|---------------------|------------------|--------------------------------|---|
| Macrostructure | Thematic | Topic | Pondok Bambu Class IIA Detention Center in East Jakarta got Eid al-Fitr's unique remission. |
| Superstructure | Schematic | Schema | The name Angelina Sondakh is not included among the hundreds of fostered citizens. |
| Microstructure | Semantic | Background, details | The investigator's statement that the person concerned was unable to do so as a judicial collaborator, so remissions cannot be granted. |
| | Syntactic | Preposition | Appearance of "Remisi" word. |
| | Stylistic | Lexicon | The choosing of "Remisi" word and its mentioning as many as five times. |
| | Rhetorical | Graphics, metaphor, expression | The main person in the main image is Angelina Sondakh wears a red veil and holds the microphone. |

Source: Primary Data

Table 3 Analysis on the News of *detikcom* (6 July 2016)

| Discourse Structure | Observed Matters | Elements | Information |
|---------------------|------------------|---------------------|--|
| Macrostructure | Thematic | Topic | Five times Angelina Sondakh underwent Eid behind bars. |
| Superstructure | Schematic | Schema | Angie felt sure she was able to celebrate Eid with her family in time. She tries to be steadfast at all times. |
| Microstructure | Semantic | Background, details | Angie hopes the government will offer forgiveness the following year. She is also conscious of his actions that are harmful to many individuals. |

| Discourse Structure | Observed Matters | Elements | Information |
|---------------------|------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| | Syntactic | Preposition | Appearance of “Lebaran” word. |
| | Stylistic | Lexicon | The choosing of “Lebaran” word and its mentioning as many as fourth times. |
| | Rhetorical | Graphics, metaphor, expression | The main person in the main image is Angie washed her tears with a cloth. |

Source: Primary Data

Table 4 Analysis on the News of *Kompas.com* (27 May 2016)

| Discourse Structure | Observed Matters | Elements | Information |
|---------------------|------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| Macrostructure | Thematic | Topic | Angelina Sondakh complained about different things, one of which requested the leader of the high schools of the country to pay attention to her kid. |
| Superstructure | Schematic | Schema | Angie wants her kids who are still in college to be kept away from harassment and insults in her neighborhood simply because they have a mom who languishes in jail. |
| Microstructure | Semantic | Background, details | She also hopes to provide communication services so that inmates can interact with their families more readily. |
| | Syntactic | Preposition | Appearance of “Anaknya” word. |
| | Stylistic | Lexicon | The choosing of “Anaknya” word and its mentioning as many as six times. |
| | Rhetorical | Graphics, metaphor, expression | The main person in the main image is Angelina Sondakh holds the microphone. |

Source: Primary Data

Table 5 List of Women as Governor, Mayor, or Regent

| Name | Position |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Ratu Atut Chosiyah | Governor of Banten |
| Rustriningsih | Vice Governor of Central Java |
| Tri Rismaharini | Mayor of Surabaya |
| Airin Rachmi Diany | Mayor of South Tangerang |
| Atty Suharti Tochija | Mayor of Cimahi |
| Anna Sophanah | Regent of Indramayu |
| Neneng Hasanah Yasin | Regent of Bekasi |
| Rina Iriani | Regent of Karanganyar |
| Sri Suryawidati | Regent of Bantul |
| Ni Putu Eka Wiryastuti | Regent of Tabanan |
| Juliarti | Regent of Sambas |
| Indah Putri Indriani | Vice Regent of Northern Luwu |
| Rustriningsih | Regent of Kebumen |
| Widya Kandi Susanti | Regent of Kendal |
| Christina Euginia Paruntu | Regent of Southern Minahasa |
| Idza Priyanti | Regent of Brebes |
| Rita Widayari | Mayor of Kutai Kertanegara |
| Cellica Nurrahadiana | Vice Regent of Karawang |
| Suryatati A. Manan | Mayor of Tanjungpinang |

Source: Primary Data

Table 6, 7, and 8 describes the Van Dijk's CDA analysis on the news which portrayed three Indonesian women as a local leader.

Ratu Atut Chosiyah or Atut was under arrested by corruption accident during her period as governor. She was jailed together

with her brother, Wawan, in the same corruption case. Atut was replaced by Rano Karno, her vice governor, former actor of Indonesian soap opera. Journalist started their reportage with strong bias about Atut as a woman.

Table 6 Analysis on the News of *Tribunnews.com* (18 March 2015)

| Discourse structure | Observed matters | Elements | Information |
|---------------------|------------------|--------------------------------|---|
| Macrostructure | Thematic | Topic | Christiany Eugenia Tetty Paruntu, Regent of South Minahasa, Province of North Sulawesi, uploaded the divorce certificate of her husband to the social networking group, <i>Facebook</i> . |
| Superstructure | Schematic | Schema | The picture is still there and different remarks are received. |
| Microstructure | Semantic | Background, details | It is alleged that the post was his reaction to numerous criticisms and even insults directed to him as the regent as well as personally. |
| | Syntactic | Preposition | Appearance of "Foto" and " <i>Facebook</i> " word. |
| | Stylistic | Lexicon | The choosing of "Foto" and " <i>Facebook</i> " word and its mentioning as many as two times. |
| | Rhetorical | Graphics, metaphor, expression | The main person in the main image is Tetty Paruntu smiled while carrying a bag. |

Source: Primary Data

Table 7 Analysis on the News of *detikcom* (27 May 2015)

| Discourse structure | Observed Matters | Elements | Information |
|---------------------|------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| Macrostructure | Thematic | Topic | An inquiry into the Corruption Eradication Commission was obtained by former Banten Governor Ratu Atut Chosiyah. |
| Superstructure | Schematic | Schema | Atut appeared cool when she arrived at the building. |
| Microstructure | Semantic | Background, details | In all-black dresses, Atut looks trendy. She was wearing a colourful scarf reading victory and carrying a brown strap black bag. She instantly went up the steps and into the building from the detention vehicle. |
| | Syntactic | Preposition | Appearance of "KPK" word. |
| | Stylistic | Lexicon | The choosing of "KPK" word and its mentioning as many as five times. |
| | Rhetorical | Graphics, metaphor, expression | The main person in the main image is Ratu Atut whose climbing up the stairs. |

Source: Primary Data

Table 8 Analysis on the News of *Kompas.com* (20 February 2014)

| Discourse structure | Observed Matters | Elements | Information |
|---------------------|------------------|----------|---|
| Macrostructure | Thematic | Topic | Major Tri Rismaharini of Surabaya felt no objection when she was called whiny because she often wept in public. |
| Superstructure | Schematic | Schema | If she was called whiny, she objected and often cried out for fear of losing her place |

| Discourse structure | Observed Matters | Elements | Information |
|---------------------|------------------|--------------------------------|---|
| Microstructure | Semantic | Background, details | She said the position she held as Surabaya's mayor was presently entrusted to her by God alone. |
| | Syntactic | Preposition | Appearance of "Menangis" word |
| | Stylistic | Lexicon | The choosing of "Menangis" word and its mentioning as many as three times. |
| | Rhetorical | Graphics, metaphor, expression | The main person in the main image is Reporters interviewed Tri Rismaharini with a smile |

Source: Primary Data

Table 9 List of Women as Minister in Indonesia before Reformation Era in 1998

| Name | Position | President/Prime Minister (Cabinet Name) |
|--------------------------------|---|--|
| Maria Ulfah Santoso | Minister of Social Affair | Sukarno/Sutan Sjahrir |
| Soerastrri Karma Trimurti | Minister of Labor Affair | Sukarno/Amir Sjarifuddin |
| Rusiah Sardjono | Minister of Social Affair | Sukarno (Kerja III, Kerja IV, Dwikora I) |
| Lasiyah Soetanto | State Minister of Female Empowerment | Suharto (Pembangunan IV) |
| Anindyati Sulasikin Murpratomo | State Minister of Female Empowerment | Suharto (Pembangunan V) |
| Nani Soedarsono | Minister of Social Affair | Suharto (Pembangunan IV) |
| Haryati Soebadio | Minister of Social Affair | Suharto (Pembangunan V) |
| Mien Sugandhi | Minister of Women Representation Affair | Suharto (Pembangunan VI) |
| Endang Kusuma Inten S. | Minister of Social Affair | Suharto (Pembangunan VI) |
| Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana | Minister of Social Affair | Suharto (Pembangunan VII) |
| Tuti Alawiyah | Minister of Women Representation Affair | Suharto (Pembangunan VII) |
| Justika S. Baharsjah | Minister of Agriculture | Suharto (Pembangunan VII) |

Source: Primary Data

On the other side, journalist portrays Tri Rismaharini or Risma as a mayor with some weaknesses. Risma is portrayed by the press as an emotional and maudlin person.

In executive and presidential ring, there are nine women serving as active ministers in Jokowi's cabinet. This condition makes this cabinet the most female ministers in Indonesian ministry history. Jokowi also made a history by choosing the first women in position of coordinating minister. Puan Maharani served as the Coordinating Minister for Human Resource and Cultural Development.

Women as minister in the Indonesian ministry have a long story since the Sukarno's era. In 1947, when Sutan Sjahrir was the prime minister, Maria Ulfah Santoso became the first women minister and served as Minister of Social Affairs. In the next cabinet, Amir Sjarifuddin as prime minister chose Soerastrri Karma Trimurti, as known as S. K. Trimurti, to serve as Minister of Labor Affair. Women's representativeness as minister could be found in many sectors of Sukarno's cabinet and they served in important areas. Women representativeness was maintained in Suharto's era. List of female ministers in Indonesia was detailed in table 9.

Data in table 9 indicated that during Suharto's era or known as *Orde Baru* (1968-1998), women's representativeness in the cabinet was limited in a domestic sector like in social affair and women representation issue. Suharto also started the women's representativeness in the council of ministers in Pembangunan IV (in 1983), 15 years after his regime was founded. It was entirely different during Sukarno's presidential era (1945-1968). Starting from the cabinet with Sutan Sjahrir as the prime minister, women were represented as ministers in 1947, two years after Sukarno began his regime.

Table 10 indicated that the number of women served as minister was raising up. When she acted as the minister, Endang Rahaju was passed away and replaced by Nafsiah Mboi, whose also a woman. The

composition of women in every cabinet during Yudhoyono's regime was always four. Mari Elka Pangestu and Sri Mulyani Indrawati have two times period of Yudhoyono's cabinet to serve as a minister.

Related to table 11, many strategic ministries were led by women in Jokowi's Cabinet. Foreign Affair, Finance, and Coordinating Ministry were led by female minister. Women's representativeness in politics became the concern of Jokowi's plan. During issue of a cabinet reshuffle in 2015 and 2016, Jokowi also never changed and reshuffled the female ministers.

Two topics are chosen to describe how the media portrayal Indonesian women as ministers and in the presidential ring. First issue was about Susi Pujiastuti who lost her son and the second was about Khofifah's action about children abuse.

Table 10 List of Women as Ministers in Indonesia after Reformation Era in 1998

| Name | Position | President/Prime Minister (Cabinet Name) |
|----------------------------|--|--|
| Tuti Alawiyah | Minister of Women Representation Affair | Habibie (Reformasi Pembangunan) |
| Justika S. Baharsjah | Minister of Social Affair | Habibie (Reformasi Pembangunan) |
| Khofifah Indar Parawansa | Minister of Women Empowerment | Abd. Wahid (Persatuan Nasional) |
| Erna Witoelar | Minister of Urban Development | Abd. Wahid (Persatuan Nasional) |
| Rini M. Soemarno | Minister of Industry and Trading Affair | Megawati (Gotong Royong) |
| Sri Redjeki Sumarjoto | Minister of Women Representation Affair | Megawati (Gotong Royong) |
| Meutia Hatta | Minister of Women Empowerment | Yudhoyono (Indonesia Bersatu I) |
| Mari Elka Pangestu | Minister of Trading Affair | Yudhoyono (Indonesia Bersatu I) |
| Mari Elka Pangestu | Minister of Tourism and Creative Economy | Yudhoyono (Indonesia Bersatu II) |
| Sri Mulyani Indrawati | Head of National Development Planning | Yudhoyono (Indonesia Bersatu I) |
| Sri Mulyani Indrawati | Minister of Finance | Yudhoyono (Indonesia Bersatu II) |
| Siti Fadhillah Supari | Minister of Health | Yudhoyono (Indonesia Bersatu I) |
| Endang Rahaju Sedianingsih | Minister of Health | Yudhoyono (Indonesia Bersatu II) |
| Nafsiah Mboi | Minister of Health | Yudhoyono (Indonesia Bersatu II) |

| Name | Position | President/Prime Minister (Cabinet Name) |
|--------------------|---|--|
| Linda Amalia Sari | Minister of Women and Child Empowerment | Yudhoyono (Indonesia Bersatu II) |
| Armida Alisjahbana | Head of National Development Planning | Yudhoyono (Indonesia Bersatu II) |

Source: Primary Data

Table 11 List of Women as Current Minister in Indonesia

| Name | Position | Date of Started Serving |
|--------------------------|--|-------------------------|
| Puan Maharani | Coordinating Minister of Human Resource and Cultural Development | 27 October 2014 |
| Retno Marsudi | Minister of Foreign Affairs | 27 October 2014 |
| Khofifah Indar Parawansa | Minister of Social Affairs | 27 October 2014 |
| Susi Pudjiastuti | Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries | 27 October 2014 |
| Rini M. Soemarno | Minister of Government Corporate Affair | 27 October 2014 |
| Nila Moeloek | Minister of Health | 27 October 2014 |
| Siti Nurbaya Bakar | Minister of Environment and Forestry | 27 October 2014 |
| Yohana Yembise | Minister of Women and Child Empowerment | 27 October 2014 |
| Sri Mulyani Indrawati | Minister of Finance | 27 July 2016 |

Source: Primary Data

Table 12 Analysis on the News of *Kompas.com* (24 January 2016)

| Discourse structure | Observed Matters | Elements | Information |
|---------------------|------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| Macrostructure | Thematic | Topic | Susi Pudjiastuti, Indonesian Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries, continues to weep every time she gets visitors. |
| Superstructure | Schematic | Schema | Susi wears a black dress and chats with ambassadors and other peers in her personal residence's dining room. |
| Microstructure | Semantic | Background, details | Minister Susi only conveyed appreciation to the President and Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia and all levels of government for helping to restore the body of his son. |
| | | Syntactic | Appearance of "Terima kasih" word. |
| | Stylistic | Preposition | The choosing of "Terima kasih" word and its mentioning as many as one times. |
| | | Lexicon | The main person in the main image is Susi Pudjiastuti accompanied by her kids and grandchildren. |
| | Rhetorical | Graphics, metaphor, expression | |

Source: Primary Data

Table 13 Analysis on the News of *detikcom* (7 October 2015)

| Discourse structure | Observed Matters | Elements | Information |
|---------------------|------------------|----------|--|
| Macrostructure | Thematic | Topic | Social minister Khofifah Indar Parawansa went in a box to attend tahlilan at the boy's house. The Social Minister couldn't hold back tears when praying. |
| Superstructure | Schematic | Schema | Social Minister Khofifah wished to provide economic help from the space for the death of the victim's mom. |

| | | | |
|----------------|------------|--------------------------------|--|
| Microstructure | Semantic | Background, details | Weeping for Social Secretary Khofffah, hoping the family left behind would be sustained. The family expects the perpetrators to be discovered quickly. |
| | Syntactic | Preposition | Appearance of “Tahlilan” word. |
| | Stylistic | Lexicon | The choosing of “Tahlilan” word and its mentioning as many as three times. |
| | Rhetorical | Graphics, metaphor, expression | The main person in the main image is a veiled female was hugged by Khofifah Indar Parawansa. |

Source: Primary Data

DISCUSSION

Women as Corruptor in Parliament

Ruben and Stewart (2013, p. 208) describe the role of the media which is so actively duplicating and disseminating knowledge (issues) becomes one of its powers that just cannot be circumvented. Related to Ruben and Stewart idea, the spreading issue in media become dominant because the media have a “legal resource ownership”. Media have a legal permit to spreading issue in public sphere (Rachman, 2017; Winarti, 2017). Vassiliadou, Kafiris, Thompson, Aliefendioglu, and Arslan (2005, p. 8) explain in their record report on gender in North Cyprus about how social media changes, primarily related to gender issues, to formulate an equation that is illustrated as follows.

$$\text{Media} = \text{Resources} + \text{Spaces}$$

Media have legal resources and have spaces strongly to infiltrate their idea in the society mind. Vassiliadou et al (2005) add that the social changes caused by the media, produce information, the frame of mind, and assumptions that marginalise women because the media have resources and spaces which are not widely accessed by people (women). They do not have access

to these media constituent elements, so then their position has been disadvantaged by the news media. Related to the context of the reporting of Angelina Sondakh as corruptor, media use their resources (journalist and newsroom), mixed with their spaces (domain) to create the labelling that women in the politics are close with corruption.

The topic referring to Angelina Sondakh who never got any remission from the government is used in this research. From *Tribunnews.com*, the news written by Hamonangan (2016), entitled “*Sejak Diputus, Angelina Sondakh Tak Pernah Dapat Remisi* (Since Getting Verdict, Angelina Sondakh Never Got Remission)” is chosen. This news was put in National and Law Rubric. The journalist starts the reportage with a lead story of 183 convicts who got the first remission from the government because of the celebration of Eid Mubarak, but Angelina Sondakh, the corruption actress and the parliament member never got it. The journalist also adds labelling about Angelina Sondakh as ‘Miss Indonesia’ in the sentence “*Puteri Indonesia 2001 tersebut bisa berinteraksi dengan sesama warga binaan lainnya* (the Miss Indonesia 2001 can interact with

other convicts)”. Her labelling as ‘Miss Indonesia 2001’ doesn’t have any relation to her crime as a corruptor. The journalist uses this labelling to accentuate Angelina’s position as a woman (Miss Indonesia are always related to gender as a woman) with her association in corruption.

News in *detikcom* has similar accentuation with *Tribunnews.com*. *Detikcom* (Kusuma, 2016) gives title “*Habiskan Lebaran Kelima di Balik Jeruji, Angie Berharap Pengampunan* (celebrate Eid Mubarak five times in jail, Angie wants remission)”. This news was issued in the same date with the *Tribunnews.com*. The journalist starts the reportage with Angelina Sondakh’s statement that she never got remission, and now it’s five times she celebrated Eid Mubarak in jail. The second paragraph of the news shows accentuation about Angelina’s domestic life. The journalist adds the Angelina Sondakh’s statement about her homesickness, especially with her son and daughter. Indirectly, the journalist makes a punctuation or highlighter about Angelina Sondakh’s family life that she is a female corruptor with son and daughter. Domestic area of Angelina Sondakh becomes the main idea of this news, shifted from the notion of Angelina Sondakh’s remission hope.

Kompas.com (Belarminus, 2016) has more precise accentuation about Angelina Sondakh’s son. The news entitled “*Angelina Sondakh Minta agar Anaknya Tak Dihina Hanya karena Dirinya Dibui* (Angelina Sondakh wants her son not to be humiliated, just because she was jailed)”.

The journalist had central idea about Angelina’s vent about her son who always got bullied because of her convict status. In this news, the writer focuses on Angelina Sondakh crying in front of the Head of People’s Consultative Assembly, about the bullying experienced by her son. *Kompas.com* also mentions that Angelina Sondakh wanted a remission from the government because she was homesick with her son. Journalist exploits the domestic side of her life, especially her son’s bullying, to raise up the viewer.

Many comments from readers bullied her as female corruptor. Commentators concern her position as an immoral mother and as criminal. It makes a significant pressure for a woman as criminal. People have assumptions and label that a woman with criminal record is a bad mother. Positioning woman as a mother itself is a domestic side of a woman which is not a public side for viewing and exposure. Vassiliadou et al. (2005, p. 8) states that all the media exposure of women had significantly attacked the domestically side of women.

Women as Mayor, Regent, and Governor

Since Dutch colonial era, women never got “significant role” in Indonesian political and movement. Vickers (2005, p. 28) states that men dominated the public image of the Indies, women occupied awkward positions on the fault lines of Dutch–Indonesian relations. Around the Sukarno’s era or *Orde Lama*, women never got a position as local leader, for examples, governor, mayor, or regent.

Women only got the position as minister in the many cabinets. Until the Suharto's era, women still never got a position as a local leader. Women only have a strategic position as head of government's women organization (*Dharma Wanita*), and it was common position of wife's regent, mayor, or governor.

After *Orde Baru* was fallen, and PDIP became the winner party in 1999 national election, there were many discussions in Indonesian media headlines. Arimbi (2009, p. 27) stated Megawati Soekarnoputri become the first Indonesian female president with the world's most populous Muslim country. Arimbi (2009, p. 27) indicated that opinions from the majority media especially that of Indonesian Muslims was divided into two opposing camps: those for or against her appointment.

After Megawati Soekarnoputri became president in 2001, the effort to accelerate women participation in practical politics was gained up. It was the starting point which women that can be a leader, not only as president, but also as governor, mayor, or regent in the local area (provinces, cities, or regencies).

In 2007, Ratu Atut Chosiyah was elected suddenly as the first female governor in Banten Province, a region with strict Islamic practice. Many Indonesian media reported Atut as a breakthrough for Indonesian democracy because she became the first female governor. In 2008, Rustriningsih was elected as Vice Governor of Central Java Province and the public became hysterical about women as a local executive government.

Three topics are used to describe the way media portray Indonesian women as a local leader. The first is about the second married and divorce of Southern Minahasa Regent, Christina Paruntu. The second is about Ratu Atut Chosiyah, Governor of Banten in her case of corruption. The third is about Tri Rismaharini, Mayor of Surabaya, about Dolly problem (the biggest prostitution site in Southeast Asia).

For the first topic (Buol, 2015), *Tribunnews.com* gave a title "*Bupati Minahasa Selatan ini Unggah Foto Akta Cerai Suaminya di Facebook*" (Regent of Southern Minahasa Uploads Her Husband's Divorce Certificate in *Facebook*) in regional section. The journalist starts the reportage by informing that Paruntu uploads her husband's divorce certificate in *Facebook* group of Southern Minahasa society. The press also reported that Paruntu gives a note in her photo "*segala fitnahmu tentang keluarga kami, ini saya jawab* (all your slander about our family, I already answered it)". The journalist gives illustration by putting the Paruntu's photo complete with accessories like necklace, many rings, and other expensive accessories including the expensive purse.



Figure 1 Photo Illustration Used in the *Tribunnews.com*

The journalist reports that they re-confirms the regent via mobile phone, but Paruntu refuses to give clarification about her post on *Facebook*. However, after the Paruntu's rejection statement, the journalist gives his opinion that allegedly the posting is her response after she gets many critics and even bullying, either as a regent or as individual. His opinion was written without any confirmation from Paruntu. The journalist then leads the readers that Paruntu as a regent has many bullying about her personal life. When a woman serves as a regent, woman must be freed from her life. She must be sanctified from any scandal especially from their housewifery affair.

In the next paragraph, journalist againsts Paruntu's personal life before a regent as a widow with one son. The reporter tells about Paruntu who married Palinggi, the House of Representative member and police member during her period as a regent. Palinggi was a widower with three sons from the previous wife. In this paragraph, journalist exploits personal life of Paruntu, because she is a regent. Her love story became public consumption and everyone knows that Paruntu was a widow with one son.

In other paragraph, the journalist states Paruntu as a lovely regent for Southern Minahasa people and many of her decisions and policies towards the regency become an excellence. In the last sentence, journalist still tells about Paruntu and Palinggi marriage in Israel during her period as a regent. It is a highlight accentuation from the journalist about Paruntu. The press

wants to against Paruntu using her personal life by describing how women as regent are interpreted by media. With the clear statement about Paruntu's life and many accentuations with her sensational marriage with Palinggi, this news is viewed more like a gossip news with political interest, on how the story make construction in the readers' mind, Paruntu as female regent had a scandal and controversial marriage.

Related to the statement of Arimbi (2009, p. 12), many aspects of women's lives are still heavily circumscribed by social codes that are often discriminatory. Arimbi (2009, p. 12) states what women will be, how women will behave, her interaction within her family or outside familial relations on the outer side of her life occupation and her education, all is determined by the boundaries of cultural/social space; that defined her across her society, and each discriminatory where she can exercise and serves to create immobilised women. Paruntu's act as a regent is circumscribed by social codes and labelling from society and media (for this context).

In the second topic about Ratu Atut Chosiyah (Governor of Banten), this research focuses on the statement reported by Batubara (2015), "*Atut tampil kece saat tiba di gedung lembaga antirasuah tersebut*" (Atut looked swag when arrived in the Corruption Eradication Commission building). This statement indicates that journalist reports the news about Atut without neutral prejudice. In next paragraph, the reporter still focuses about Atut's appearance. She brings a luxury bag and her trendy veil. Grosz in Shilling (2001,

p. 442) states women are ‘more biological, more corporeal, and more natural than men’, and therefore more suited to the world of solitary existence than men. Women (Atut) is exploited on her natural look with attribution “trendy”. The journalist sees Atut, not as perpetrators of corruption, but more as a woman with luxury item that come to Corruption Eradication Commission building (Batubara, 2015). Accentuation and diction from the title about colourful veil indicated that the journalist wants to blow up the women as governor must be looked luxury and funny.

In the next paragraph (Batubara, 2015), the press still spotlights Atut’s domestic attribute. Journalist uses diction, “*Meski begitu, senyum terus merekah dari bibirnya yang dipoles tipis gincu merah*” (however, she is still smiling with lightly red lipstick on her lips). Opinion from journalist leads the reader that women as criminal still come with beauty face, indicated by the lips with lipstick.

The schema of this news spotlights the domestic attribute of Atut from paragraph to paragraph. Bias from the main idea to reportage the corruption case of Atut. Baran and Davis (2012, p. 56) explains the dangerous of media power with their scheme of reportage can subvert traditional norms and values, and directly influences the minds of average people so that their thinking is transformed. In the statement of Carey in Baran and Davis (2012, p. 56), media collectively but in particularly the newer, illiterate media of radio and film, possesses extraordinary power to shape the beliefs and conduct of ordinary men and women.

The third topic is about Risma, Mayor of Surabaya. Based on Ihsanuddin (2014), *Kompas.com* on national section gave title “Disebut Wali Kota Cengeng, Risma Tak Keberatan” (get labelling as maudlin mayor, Risma does not mind it). The journalist starts the reportage with information about Risma who does not mind about the labelling as a maudlin from society. Risma sometimes cries in the front of media, especially after she talks about activity in Dolly, which was the biggest and largest prostitution area in Southeast Asia. She talked and cried in two minutes on the TV talk show and became viral. Kompas journalists describes and compares with Risma’s problem that always gets resistancy from the parliament. She also cried in front of a TV show, when she talked about the Congress that wanted her to resign from her position as Mayor of Surabaya.

Through seven words of “cry” in the text, journalist accents how weak Risma as woman and Mayor of Surabaya. Castells (2009, p. 193) argues that power relationships are mostly based on the shaping of the human mind by the construction of meaning through image-making. In relations to Risma’s case, the journalist affirms Risma as a maudlin mayor. The reporter uses many words indicating Risma’s crying. The journalist also affirms Risma as female mayor who is emotional and weak. Risma as woman and mayor only could cry when the problem came in her city. With the construction of meaning, journalist creates and shapes the image of Risma as woman and mayor in the

domestic area. However, crying or not, that is her choice, but the journalist has already developed the reader mind and affirms that Risma as a maudlin mayor.

Women as Minister in Presidential Ring

For the first issue, the research uses news from *Kompas.com* (Nugraha, 2016). *Kompas.com* gives title “*Menteri Susi Menangis Setiap Menerima Tamu*” (Minister Susi Cries Every Time She Receives Guests). The journalist designs to accentuate the position of Susi as a minister. The word “minister” in the title is used to highlight Susi’s position in the cabinet. The journalist makes a contrast with word “cries” to accentuate Susi as the minister who always cries. He makes the first mind for the reader that Susi as a maudlin minister. It contrasts with how Susi is always described in media as “masculine minister” with her eccentric style with the cigarette.

According to Nugraha (2016), the journalist starts the lead with a statement “*Menteri Kelautan dan Perikanan RI Susi Pudjiastuti terlihat masih menangis setiap kali menerima tamu*” (the Indonesian Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries, Susi Pudjiastuti, is seen still crying every time she receives guests). This sentence is written by the journalist to make re-accentuation again with the position of Susi as the minister in the cabinet and she always cries when receiving guests. Repetition of title and the lead of the news shows what the journalist wants to emphasise in this reportage.

In the third paragraph (Nugraha, 2016), press details how Susi is crying in

front of foreign ambassador. It is written “*Susi pun sentak mengambil tisu dan mengusap air matanya dengan raut muka memerah*” (Susi was instantly took a tissue and wiped her tears with a blushing face). The journalist describes how Susi’s face is looked when she cries. The reporter shows how maudlin Susi is. The journalist never cited Susi’s statement or how Susi feels after her son passed away.

Related to this news, this research finds in the online media, the reporter uses excessive exposure about women. The position of women as politicians (minister, legislative member, or local leader) are always mentioned by the journalists and it is used for labelling the subject. Susi as a minister has been already said many times from the title, lead, body news, and closing. Press reportage her position as a politician (minister) connects with the domestic issue. Susi as a mother cried when her son passed away is showed when she met the foreign ambassador. This main idea againsts the women as politicians became taboo to do how women look or do. Crying as associated with femininity and weakness does not match with the politics. The journalists create and infiltrate into reader’s mind what Susi does becomes taboo for her position as a minister.

In the second topic, this research uses news from *detikcom* (Medistiara, 2015), entitled “*Mensos Khofifah Menangis Saat Berdoa untuk Bocah Tewas Dalam Kardus*” (Minister of Social Affair Khofifah cries while praying for a boy killed in a cardboard). Same with how *Kompas.com*

reports about Susi, *detikcom* also uses the word “crying” in the title and mention the position as minister. A big photo of Khofifah who is crying is showed as the illustration of the situation.



Figure 2 Photo Illustration Used by *detikcom*

In figure 2, it is showed Khofifah hugs the woman and cries. This picture in relations to the title, makes a perception in the readers’ mind that Khofifah as female minister looks maudlin. In the lead, the journalist does the same accentuation style as *Kompas.com* portrays Susi in the previous news. Khofifah’s position as minister re-mentioned again in the lead. The reporter uses the word “*tak kuasa menahan air mata*” (can not hold her tears) for highlighting what Khofifah did in this situation. The journalist emphasizes the female minister as a weak minister.

In the body text of the news (Medistiara, 2015), the reporter still focuses on how maudlin Khofifah is. The press reports that Khofifah cries when leading the prayer for the boy killed in a cardboard. The reportage of Susi and Khofifah have a similarity that the online media portray the female ministers as weak persons. Through some words “crying”, the journalists want to create and infiltrate into the reader’s mind the idea that women in politics (ministry) are weak persons.

This fact indicates that the media has the main idea that women do not match working in political area. Politics become a masculine area, not suitable for the person who is feminine. Media still uses the conventional packaging to portray women as politicians. Women are still in her weakness completes with her attribute glossy lips, shining hair, and what another domestic quality. Women as a gender identity still gets oppression experience in media construction. Active masculinity is reinforced by patriarchal culture in the media industry makes femininity and women are powerless facing the onslaught of the construction (Susilo, 2015, pp. 225-226).

CONCLUSION

As part of the “Reformation Era”, the raising of female politicians in Indonesia is a delight situation. On the other side, media as a tool with the strongest and largest effect to spread and infiltrate the idea have a serious issue in ethics. Particularly in the online media, some news about female politicians still strongly indicate women as weak and maudlin persons. Media still focuses on the personal life of female politicians like their family life. Reportage about Angelina Sondakh is written with insensitive gender. The journalist reports the Angelina Sondakh’s domestic side related to her son and her achievement as a beauty pageant and it does not relate with her crime as a corruptor. On the other news, the journalist put the judgment about Paruntu’s personal life without confirmation from Paruntu. It becomes bias when the journalist writes news by mixing their opinion.

The media is not the one and only influential factor, but the mass media has

grown to be an agent of socialization and increasingly decisive for the intensity of the public to consume. Media effect will also be strong because the female figure of the display is a way of strengthening the stereotype that has been built in the community. The effort of creating media based on sensitivity gender must be accelerated to make sure the rapidity of sustainable women's participation in politics. Women as politicians can not be labelled as unnatural or uncommon. Politics may not refer masculinity, but if the media still reportage women politician as weak persons, it will strengthen this stereotype.

Trends of consumption of online media in Indonesia increases and it can be summed up as the future of the media industry that concerns us. The future is how media do not become the judge to women, and still prioritising accuracy in reporting. In addition, the news about the domestic side of women as politicians become firmly our concern to welcome the next future.

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