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**MEDIA AND WOMAN : PICTURING MEDIA CONSTRUCTION TOWARDS WOMAN
POLITICAL PARTISIPATION IN POST REFORMATION AGE IN INDONESIA**

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ABSTRACT

This research aims to unravel the construction conducted by *Kompas* toward the news on Female Legislative Candidates in 2009 Legislative Election in post-reformation setting. Indonesia has undergone reformation since 12 years ago but the relation of women and politics is still much disputed and debated in the economic, social, cultural and religious contexts. Women often occupy marginalized positions in the political world, also in socio-cultural domain. Since Indonesia got its independence, the number of women in legislative institutions is not representative if it is compared to the total number of women in Indonesia. Through this study, researchers want to see more the key issues that have consistently raised by *Kompas* in its news related to women's political participation. This research contributes knowledge about media construction and ideology related to woman's political participation issue in post reformation era in Indonesia. As the media industry, *Kompas* is deliberately chosen as the research subject because of its national coverage scale and its dominating circulation. In the socio-cultural domain, *Kompas* also often offers ideas and discourses that give a lot of influence on the society. The method used in this research is Framing proposed by Gamson and Modigliani who divided the model into Framing and Reasoning. This research found that texts in *Kompas* promote political participation of women in Indonesia as the Indonesian development resources. In addition, the researchers also found that there are three main obstacles for the realization of increased representation of women expressed by *Kompas* namely: patriarchal culture that has marginalized women in the political space; culture of money politics which restricts women to enter the political domain without the availability of large capital, and the political and electoral systems in Indonesia which are not conducive to women's political participation.

Keywords : Framing, *Kompas*, women's political participation, 2009 Legislative Election

INTRODUCTION

The relation of women and politics is not much revealed in research. Women are often assumed as marginalized being in the political world. The terms public domain and domestic domain are a dichotomy that explains the roles of men and women in society. Women have often been involved only with the internal affairs of the household. In socio-cultural domain, women are only positioned to be the inferior party, as it is known in Javanese philosophy that calls women only as 'a friend at the back'.

In the post-reformation era marked by the emergence of many parties, women's participation in politics started to become an interesting phenomenon to be studied. This study will look at the framing done by the media toward Indonesian women's participation in the 2009 Legislative Election. The study will also reveal the issues consistently raised by the media in reporting women legislative candidates. Besides the educational function, information dissemination and entertainment, there are two functions of mass media that are advocative namely agenda setting function.

In the agenda setting function, the media has the potential to shape public opinion. In its report, the media will select the issues that are considered important and ignore certain topics. In this part, the media has a persuasive characteristic. Through its report, the media spreads its agenda so that it can finally influence the public agenda. This is similar to Benard Cohen's analysis which reveals:

The press may not be successful much of the time in telling its readers what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about
(Griffin, 2003: 398)

Women in the framing of media are not more than a commodity. The news on women in the media only concerns the existence of women as victims of violence or crime as well as entertainment for pursuing ratings. This study will specifically look at the construction or

framing done by *Kompas*, a printed media, toward female legislative candidates for Legislative Elections in 2009. In order to view the construction, the researchers will use a framing analysis, which allows the researcher to explore the framing of media on women and political participation. This analysis also reveals the central issues raised in the news related to women's political participation.

PROBLEM

Based on the background, the research questions of this research are:

1. How *Kompas* constructs the political participation of women in the Legislative Election in 2009 through its news?
2. Which central issues are consistently raised by *Kompas*?

OBJECTIVES

1. This study aims to find out the construction of *Kompas* news related to women's participation in the 2009 Legislative Election. It also reveals the central issues raised by *Kompas* in its reports on female legislative candidates.
2. Practically, this research aims to contribute to the political education through mass media, especially for female constituents, on issues relating to women.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Women's Political Participation

The idea of women's participation in the political domain has become a debate over the centuries. Public and private terminologies in the context of patriarchal culture then creates inequality and injustice of political participation between men and women. Compilation of writings produced by the Center of Women's Studies Hunter College clearly states that power is not impartial to women.

Power pervades the relations between women and men. And the distinction between the "public" sphere of politics and the "private" sphere of domestic life obscures the inescapable fact that excluding women from the public sphere.¹

Political participation is often defined as activities of a person or group of people to participate actively in political life, by choosing state leaders and this, directly or indirectly, influences government policy (public policy). Gabriel Almond also explicitly describes the meaning of political participation as an activity that is voluntary for citizens to influence the political process. Similarly, Samuel P. Huntington and Joan M. Nelson expressed in "No Easy Choice: Political Participation in Developing Countries" (Bates, 1983: 536).

By political participation we mean activity by private citizens designed to influence government decision-making. Participation may be individual or collective, organized or spontaneous, sustained or sporadic, peaceful or violent, legal or illegal, effective or ineffective.

Deep-rooted patriarchal culture and political system dominated by males have a large negative impact for women's efforts to gain their rights and political participation. Women are not supported, and even in many cases inhibited to take an active role in the public space. Instead, they are expected to use their ability in the household environment, which is considered as a private space. Even in the nowadays reformation era, the dichotomy of public-private-sphere concept still dominates the people of Indonesia that makes Indonesia overcome discriminatory practices and "gender blind" in the electoral process, legislative institutions and political parties (*ibid*: p. 237).

Democracy as the essence of politics allows every citizen to participate in decision-making process. The discourse of women's participation in politics is closely associated with what is often called affirmative action to increase the quantity of women in institutions. Susan D. Clyaton and Faye J. Crosby analyzed as follow,

¹Bates, Ulku U et al, "Women's Realities, Women Choice", p. 536

*".....an attempt to make progress toward substantive, rather than merely formal, equality of opportunity for those groups, such as women or racial minorities, which are currently underrepresented in significant positions in society"*²

Affirmative action is often defined as a strategic step to seek progress in terms of equality and opportunity that are more substantive and not a mere formality for specific groups such as women or ethnic minorities who are currently under-represented in positions that determine the community. In its implementation, affirmative action is not related to quota. Quotas are assumed to formality only, so it is only for the fulfillment or the imposition of a certain amount or percentage of women representation. It is different from affirmative action which emphasizes certain qualifications as a basis for consideration to give an opportunity.

Realization of affirmative action related to women's political participation is often a polemic when it becomes the agenda of media through its news. Gender-sensitive media on the one hand is a powerful tool to broadcast to the public about the essence of women's representation in the political domain which is relevant to their qualifications, but on the other hand media has the potential to perpetuate the patriarchal political culture with a bias framing of women's political participation.

Political Participation of Women and Mass Media Framing

Historically, the media has significant relationships with women. These relationships demonstrate the role of women in mass media industry that serves as the object of news³. The news on women through various media cannot be said to have given more space to see the political position of women in society. *Swara Perempuan* Consortium in the writings states, the media still puts into discourse the social role and women's enjoyment in the lifestyle changes (2005: 4). Instead of putting affirmative action into agenda on women's political participation,

² Referred from Clayton, Susan D & Crosby, Faye J., "Justice, Gender and Affirmative Action", p. 3

³ *Swara Perempuan* Consortium wrote a lot on women and mass media

the media is still showing the women in the frame of patriarchal culture in various sections in the printed media in which the value of sensuality becomes the main commodity to increase the selling value of the media.

The phenomenon of women's participation in the political world is not a new theme but it remains a serious concern, especially by the media. Changes that occur in the political climate marked by increased representation of women in the macro-political structure become likely to discuss in the mass media to fulfill its functions. In this case, the media serves both as a transmitter of political communication messages originating from outside the media organization itself, and as an introduction to political messages that have been constructed by journalists (Mc Nair, 2003: 12). The second function is called as an advocacy function of media in the form of agenda setter.

Water Lippmann (1922 in Griffin, 2003: 390) put forward the opinion that the mass media creates images of events in our minds. Then, McCombs and Shaw developed the opinion,

*"...as laid out by McCombs and Shaw, the agenda setting hypothesis is relatively straightforward one. Specifically, agenda setting is the process whereby the news media lead the public assigning relative important to various public issues (Zhu and Blood, 1997). The media agenda influences the public agenda not only by saying "this issues is important" in an overt way, but by giving more space and time"*⁴.

Through a constructivist approach, agenda setting can be defined as the subjectivity of the media as an organization to bring the reality in the report. According to this view, reality or fact is not something taken for granted but it is a construction. If this view is linked to the nature of media as an agenda setter then, as written by Eriyanto (2002: 22), the media can also be defined as a construction agent.

⁴ The explanation is in Katherine Miller's book, *Communication Theories*, Mc Graw Hillm, Texas A7M university, 2001, Page 257-259

When the media becomes agents of construction, the product of media, namely the message itself should be a set of interpretive packages that give meaning to an issue as expressed by Gamson and Modigliani (Eriyanto, 2002: xvi). This package has an idea or frame which implies a range of views. Framing sees how the message or event or a reality constructed by the media and presented to the audience of readers.

There are several views of framing. William Gamson, one of the experts whom Eriyanto thinks wrote mostly on framing (2002: 217), connected the media discourse on the one hand with the general opinion on the other. According to Gamson, a change in the discourse of the media will influence public opinion. The media in this case plays complex role and functions that is part of the process of social movements. Frame, according to Gamson, can become a decisive aspect in the social movement participation.

According to Gamson, social movement requires at least three frames⁵. The first is aggregate frame, the process of defining the issue as a social problem. Individuals are assumed to have the awareness that the events she heard were a common problem that affects the individual. The second is consensus frame: the process of defining social issues that can only be solved by collective action. Frame in this case functions as constructing individual feelings in order to be able to engage in collective action. The third is collective action frame. It is a process of defining related to why it takes collective action and what kinds of collective action to do.

Collective action frames are constructed by three elements, namely: injustice frame, agency frame, identity frame (Eriyanto, 2002: 222). Injustice frame is generally characterized by the presence of injustice, inequality, and fraud which, according to Gamson, can touch the audience emotionally. Agency frame is associated with the construction of polarization, who is friend who is foe. Identity frame emphasizes the process of identification that we differ with them.

According to the explanation of Gamson, framing devices are directly related to the central idea which is emphasized in news. This device is characterized by the use of words,

⁵ These three frames are written in Eriyanto's book, *Analisis Framing*, LKIS, Jakarta, 2002

sentences, graphics or pictures, and certain metaphors. Reasoning devices are associated with cohesion and coherence of the text that refer to certain ideas. Through reasoning aspect of this, audiences will receive the message so that it appears as truth, natural, and fair. Reasoning can be done by arranging sentences, paragraphs, or a particular proposition so that each part of the message that it delivers appears normal, fair and reasonable.

By understanding the role, function and potential of the media that are very big for this social movement, it is not excessive if the researchers put the study of women's political participation within the framework of media framing. From the definition of media framing above, it can be concluded that the framing has a great effect for a social movement or political changes. From the production and presentation of this reality, there are some effects that have the potential to emerge as a result of a particular framing done by the media, namely the ability to mobilize the masses and lead public opinion on a particular memory. Thus, political participation of women which is aspired ideally should be positioned at the two poles of this framing effect, at one pole this reality could mobilize the masses to participate in the ideal aspiration, or otherwise threaten the aspired idealism. Through framing, it can also be seen whether news in media on female legislative candidates, with the power of the central issues, can lead public opinion on the ideal of collective memory, for example: the struggle of women leaders, or even deny the memory of it and replace it with something more popular.

Through this framework, the research team will investigate which frames used by the *Kompas* in the news on women's political participation in the 2009 Legislative Election, what are the issues that are appointed to lead public opinion in the mainstream media organization, as well as answering questions about what actually the tendency of these media organizations are.

METHODOLOGY

The method in this research is analysis framing. Framing is used to find out how journalists use their perspective or point of view when selecting issues and writing news (Gamson and Modigliani, 2002: 224). Gamson and Modigliani mentioned this perspective as a

package. This package can be viewed by using framing analysis devices developed by Gamson and Modigliani, namely the framing devices and reasoning devices. The research team uses the formula of Gamson and Modigliani in order to find out which frames are used by *Kompas* in reporting female political participation. Furthermore, framing analysis method is also used to reveal tendencies of *Kompas* in constructing news.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Framing and the Central Issues Raised by *Kompas* in Constructing Women's Political Participation in the 2009 Legislative Elections

The data taken from news in *Kompas* during March and mid of April 2009 were analyzed by using framing devices and reasoning devices. A process of framing device and reasoning device analysis can refer to a frame that is used by *Kompas* in constructing women's political participation in the 2009 legislative election. This analysis found that the frame used by *Kompas* is a frame that puts the political participation of women in Indonesia as the Indonesian nation-building resources. In addition, based on findings obtained by the researchers in the *Kompas* article from March 4 to April 8, 2009, the construction which had consistently raised in the texts on *Kompas* news is the importance of increasing women's representation in legislative institutions. *Kompas* also presented 30 percent quota of women representation in parliament as an affirmative policy that placed women in equal positions to men in the political sphere.

Kompas promoted Election Act No. 10 of 2008 as an access for Indonesian women to sit in the legislative institutions both at the level of Parliament, provincial assembly and district or city. *Kompas* also touched on the role of the party as a political force to conduct political education and cadre for women. Regarding this, Ninuk Mardiana Pambudi, *Kompas* senior journalist who concerns about women's issues, revealed (interview via e-mail, September 22, 2010)

"Kompas basically supports gender equality and justice. It was based on the fact that women who because of political and social situation are left behind men in

politics. We believe women have the experience and needs of development resources that are different from men and more limited access."

In realizing the 30 percent women representation in the legislative institutions, *Kompas* saw that there are three main obstacles that hinder increased representation of women in politics in Indonesia. These three constraints are patriarchal culture that has been rooted in the life of Indonesian society, the culture of money politics and political and electoral systems in Indonesia which are not conducive to women's political participation. Furthermore, following is the explanation by Ninuk Mardiana Pambudi,

"Since the Constitutional Court cancelled Article 214 in the election law in December 2008, the winner of legislative election is determined by a majority vote. Constitutional Court decision not only affects women candidates, but also men. On the one hand, determining the winner by a majority vote encourages the practice of money politics, but on the other hand it gives women the opportunity to be elected based on hard work in the field and minimizes the role of political parties in determining the elected candidate that are often colored by corruption and the strong patriarchal culture."

Based on the data that the researchers acquired, in the 2009 legislative election the representation of women increased. The total was 43 women. However, if it is observed based on the comparing the percentage of women (18 percent) and men (82 percent) in the legislature, the number of women is relatively very small. An increasing number are also not very significant as a form of representation of women who are the majority group on the basis of sex which inhabits the territory of Indonesia. The following table shows the number and percentage of women in legislative institutions.

Table 1.1 The composition of women and men in the legislature

	Women		Men		Total
	Total	%	Total	%	
1950-1955 (Province)	9	3,7%	236	96,3%	245
1955-1960	17	5,9%	272	94,1%	289
1956-1959 (Constituent)	25	4,9%	488	95,1%	513
1971-1977	36	7,3%	460	92,7%	496
1977-1982	29	5,9%	460	94,1%	486
1982-1987	39	7,8%	460	92,2%	499
1987-1992	65	13%	435	87%	500
1992-1997	62	12,4%	438	87,6%	500
1997-1999	54	10,8%	446	89,2%	500
1999-2004	46	9,2%	454	90,8%	500
2004-2009	58	11%	492	89%	550
2009-2014	101	18%	459	82%	560

Source: Data until 2004-2009, referred from Guidance Book of Women in Legislature of The election 2009, PUSKAPOL FISIP UI, 2009. Data 2009-2014 is downloaded from www.kpu.go.id⁶

Meanwhile, when compared with the prospective head of a region, the position of women remained in sub-inferior zone. It can even be said critically. Representation of women as candidates for the head region during 2006 was very small compared with men. According to the

⁶ Referred from a writing by Ani Soetjipto, Sri Budi Eko Wardani dan Yolanda Panjaitan, "Pengarutamaan Gender di Parlemen", downloaded from www.parliamentproject.org/download.php?id=190

data from the Election Commission, it shows that the number of candidates for the head area in 2006 is 298 persons (97.39 percent) while for women is only eight persons (2.61 percent). From the 8th of female candidates, four of them won the elections and the rest lost in the elections (Firmanzah, 2008: 34).

The revealed data above in accordance with the statement by Wahidah Zein Siregar's who quoted from Ronalt Inglehart and Pippa Norris, who wrote *Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Around The World* (2003). The statement was that women's participation in the public world, such as economic and social sectors, is almost equal to the participation of men. But, it is not the case in the political world. In almost all countries, female participation in political institutions is still very much behind the men. The number of women in parliaments around the world is still very low. Inglehart and Norris said, there are three kinds of obstacles for women to achieve equality with men in politics. First, there are structural barriers such as education, occupation, and socio-economic status of women. Second, there are institutional barriers such as political systems, levels of democracy and the electoral system. Last is the cultural barriers, namely the political culture, as well as public views on gender equality.⁷

In the next section, this study elaborates on three central issues inhibiting women's representation in parliament without any intention to quantify these three issues, as already mentioned above, namely the culture of patriarchy, the culture of money politics and political and electoral systems.

culture of patriarchy

Cultural dimensions are related to the position of women in society. Culture, traditions, and habits such as assumption or even the belief that the low status of women in the public world is often seen as a barrier to the entry of women in politics (Ani Sutjipto, 2005:48). Patriarchal

⁷ Referred from a writing by Wahidah Zein Siregar, "Rencana Penerapan *Zipper System*, Tak Jamin Keterwakilan Perempuan Meningkatkan", in *Jawa Pos*, 1 Maret 2008, downloaded from <http://gagasanhukum.wordpress.com/2008/04/01/rencana-penerapan-zipper-system-tak-jamin-keterwakilan-perempuan-meningkat/>

culture has become an ideology that separates the roles of men and women in all domains, especially social relations, economic and political. This culture puts women in a domestic space that is separated from the public space. Politics as one of the world's public space is identified with masculinity so that women in the context of gender become the other.

Fritjof Capra, a thinker from Asia, has a brilliant idea about the fight against the patriarchal system by thinking feministic. According to Capra, a patriarchal world system or masculinity tends to colonize and give no room at the side of the alignments on the weak and exploited. Masculinity is associated with strong, deceitful, and manipulative while feministic is associated with weak, submissive and not doing unordinary things.⁸ In politics, the image of men and women are constructed as two sides of a magnet which have different characters. The men become a powerful figure, bold, assertive in acting, competitive and strong, while women become a person who is portrayed as feminine, gentle, emotional and just tends to surrender to face life. In the image as such, the position of women becomes lame and inferior.

Deep-rooted patriarchal culture and political system dominated by males have a large negative impact for women's efforts to obtain rights in political participation. In fact, in reformation, the dichotomy of public-private room concept still dominates the people of Indonesia. This makes Indonesian women have to overcome discriminatory practices and "gender blind" in the electoral process, legislative bodies and political parties. Traditional cultural norms that have been internalized resulted in the majority of women are not psychologically ready to participate actively in the political field (2005:237).

In a paper raised by *Kompas* on 16 March 2009, *Kompas* explicitly quoted Syarifah, female candidates who asserts that the lack of capital and culture of patriarchy in political parties becomes barriers for women candidates. Similarly, *Kompas*' quotation on the statement given by Tutu Septiana from Institute for Research and Development of Resources and Environment (LPP SLH) that women cannot be separated from their husbands or family names so that when

⁸ Referred from a writing by a female legislative member, Angelina Sondakh, "Hak Perempuan Pasca Reformasi", downloaded from www.angelinasondakh.com/nsroom/artikel/hak-perempuan.pdf.

promoting themselves, women's identity is uncontrolled. In the political sphere, patriarchal culture also dominates the structure and political culture of Indonesia. This culture dominates the recruitment process of party cadres and mechanism of decision-making in political parties.

Political history of Indonesia noted that the number of women's representation in parliament is never significant. In the Assembly, women were only about 5.5 percent in 1971 and then increased to 10.1 percent in 1992. New women's participation became a political issue in elections in 1997. (Robinson in *Women in Asia*, 2000:155). Previous discourse of gender equality in the political sphere is not widely discussed and is not viewed as a perspective in the life of the nation state. Assessment quota of 30 percent came into effect on 2004 election in line with the movement and the demands of women activists.

Based on statistics on the elections of 2004, there were ten political parties which claimed to have registered their candidates for the legislative with 30 percent quota for women; Crescent Star Party (PBB), 35.4 percent, New Indonesian Society Party (PPIB) 42.2 percent, Mandate Party National (PAN) 31percent; Indonesian Justice and Unity Party (PKPI) 32.1 percent, the National Awakening Party (PKB) 32.1 percent; Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), 35.7 percent, Reform Star Party (PBR) 36.4 percent, Prosperous Peace Party (PDS) 32.5 percent; Golkar Party (Golkar), 32.5 percent; and Regional Unity Party (PPD) 46.4 percent. (Kompas, January 8, 2004 in Zaki 'Ulya). The series of above data indicate that the need for the party's gender equality perspective to dismantle discriminatory and patriarchal practices which downgrade women's rights and opportunities to be selected so that the representation of women, 30 percent achieved.

Women Research Institute in the national discussion that was held in 2008 ever mentioned the role of political parties as the political heart of a less impartial towards women's participation. Political parties do not have a strong commitment to encourage women into the formal political institutions. Discrimination also occurs in the internal body of the party, with the dominant men as party officials, while women are given positions which do not occupy a strategic position for decision making. These conditions make difficult the discourse of 30

percent women representation in parliament for women are not involved in the recruitment mechanism of party cadres.

As a party that has a female presidential candidate, Democratic Party of Struggle saw the recruitment of women as a form of consciousness of the party to put women in an equal position with men in the political space. Hari Putri Lestari, Vice Chairman of East Java PDI Struggle of Women and Children Affairs revealed that the representation of women has become a political agenda of PDIP although there has been no internal legality to guarantee it. The following explanation by Hari Putri Lestari about the internal policy of PDI Struggle towards women's political participation, (interview via email, 29 September 2010)

"In written there is no rule in the Articles of Association & Rules of the Party as well as an assessment of DPP to this day does not exist, but in fact can be seen and verified from the First Female Governor Ratu Atut Chosiyah, SE (Banten province) is also supported by the Democratic Party of Struggle, as well as Regents and Mayor in Indonesia, among others, Kediri, at Surabaya since in the leadership of Mayor Bambang DH, for the positions of head of health department, library, cleaning, etc. as well as the head of women's health clinic were given to women. In the period of 2010 until 2015 there is the management of an appeal (while not yet written) that the composition of the management has regeneration of 30 percent of women."

Patriarchal culture also limits alternative female constituents to choose female candidates. Based on a survey conducted by the Research division of *Kompas*, gender equality is not a deciding factor in female voters' political decisions. In contrast, a survey conducted by *Kompas* in 2009 asserted that the religious factor is an important consideration to make a choice. Female voters also have not educated to choose women because women's political choices are still strongly influenced by the political choices of the family. In an article dated March 7, 2009, *Kompas* asked female speakers who openly expressed doubts the quality of female candidates. This suggests that the stereotype of masculinity in politics is still degrading the capacity and capability of women.

Cultural Politics of Money

Money politics is a counterproductive phenomenon of democratization. In the practice of money politics, the internal body of a political party becomes a strategic environment for the growing proliferation of these cultures. This is based on the finding that political parties need funding and big funding sources to finance the operation especially when the party joins elections. Party gains more funding from the nominated candidates or third parties. In such circumstances, the practice of money politics becomes inevitable. Money then becomes a tool to buy and sell votes, either in the context of political relations with constituents or the candidate with the elite party.

Adnan Topan Husodo, deputy coordinator of Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW), in his writing "*Pergeseran Praktik Politik Uang*" (2009) revealed that the ICW successfully recorded criminal offenses during the 2009 legislative election. The data collected showed an increase in the number of findings, particularly in the context of money politics. In the 2004 legislative elections, which according to the data of Election Supervisory Committee 2004 there were only 50 cases of money politics. In the 2009 legislative election, ICW monitoring data in four cities, namely Jakarta, Semarang, Surabaya and Makassar, found at least 150 suspected cases of money politics. This number will swell as nationally each region has the same potential to do money politics.

In addition to the increasing number of money politics, other changes can be seen from the side of the actor. In the 2004 legislative elections the actors of money politics usually were a shadow campaign team members from each political party, whereas in the 2009 legislative election political the actors of money politics not only the shadow team but also the legislative candidates themselves. The interests to get the most votes from voters, direct interaction with them, as well as the increasingly tight competition, has sparked the practice of money politics by the prospective legislators (Adnan Husodo, 2009).

Election Supervisory Body (Bawaslu) found that the practice of money politics was caused by four things: first, the lack of democratic understanding of candidates and political

parties. Elections are still regarded as an opportunity to obtain a position which can be used to accumulate wealth so that they justify a variety of ways to win the election by having to shell out a lot, not to reach out to constituents or to fight for people's aspirations. Second, the community had not yet fully understood the meaning of democracy, so that the electoral violations still occur. This happens because of lack of awareness of democratic society, who prefers political parties and candidates who share the money, not based on the extent of the vision, mission and program of parties/candidates participating in the election which brought a change and realized the aspirations of voters. Third, the absence of strict regulations made money politics and position misuse keep continuing. Fourth, money politics happened due to a shortage of supervisory and non-functioning Integrated Law Enforcement Center (Gakumdu) in all provinces.⁹

Kompas discussed the culture of money politics made women difficult to jump into the 2009 legislative election. In the political structure attached to the culture of patriarchy that put women's role in domestic domain, women depend socially and economically to men. Domestication makes women entangled in the affairs of the household and they are financially dependent on their husbands. Great political cost of capital and capital limitations eliminate women so that women are not competitive enough in the political contestation.

Kompas also discussed that women's condition was getting worst with politics in Indonesia which still tolerate the culture of money politics. Giving tributes or donations to the village heads from among party officials is seen as fairness. This is what later became the agenda of female activists in the Women's Day as reported by *Kompas* on March 10, 2009. They rejected politicians who bought votes of their constituents with money.

Firmanzah in *Political Marketing* (2008: 43) described that the political world consists of producers and consumers. Parties or individual contestant are manufacturers who become the producer of a political product. Just as in the business world, the product will be offered to the

⁹ Referred from articles *Parpol Mengejar Mimpi* on Berita Indonesia On-line. Downloaded from <http://www.beritaindonesia.co.id/berita-utama/parpol-mengejar-mimpi/page-3>

public. On the other hand, people in this case are the political consumers who decide and choose political parties and political product.

Texts in *Kompas* on March 18, 2009 that touched on a large political cost that should also be borne by the candidates to make media promotion so that they can be known by wider community. This cost is not just millions and even billions in a matter. This phenomenon indicates that in contemporary Indonesian politics, candidates need a new approach to gain votes from constituents. The winning party in political contestation is those who do not just have a level of electability but also popularity. Popularity can be increased not only through the media and the press but also through the ability of candidates to formulate a solution to the problems of constituents. In such circumstances, it is difficult for female candidates to break through the attitude of pragmatism of constituents which is identical with economic problems.

Political and Electoral Systems

Through some news raised by *Kompas* news ahead of legislative elections of 2009, it was found that one of the issues they wanted to be highlighted is that the electoral system in Indonesia does not fully support women's participation. One of the causes was due to political elections. Election is a tool to indicate that a country is a democratic country. According Pamungkas (2010: iii), the election is a means to establish political representation by choosing the representatives who sit in the legislature, as well as select top management executives. However, in reality, for many years, the concept of representation is actually a major problem in the system that glorifies representation. Prior to 2008, this problem did look striking considering there were no relevant legal instruments for the overarching concept of this representation. However, after the enactment of Law No. 10 Year 2008 regarding General Election House of Representatives, the problem had shifted, namely to the low enforcement.

Kompas revealed a notion of political participation of women in the 2009 legislative election should be high, but the practice in the field showed that the system of political communication, particularly campaign and the provisions of the Commission was precisely the obstacle for female candidates to be elected in the 2009 legislative election. In news that is

presented by *Kompas* on April 8, 2009, for example, the core element of *Kompas* news stating that the culture of theological obstacles for women legislative candidates are judged to be not too hard. However, the question of political interest emerging barrier is assumed as the election of women legislative candidates.

"However, in practical politics, women's existence is highly dependent on the developing political interests." "It is difficult to predict", Lies said.

This quotation strengthens the argument that the real representation of women has found a good umbrella but practical political conditions indeed influence the position of women. The easiest practical politics can be used in the legislative election is during the campaign and during the election itself.

Act No. 10 year 2008 on the legislative election for House of Representatives has mandated the need for political education focusing on justice and gender equality. According to Anugrah (2009: 9), such event aimed to raise awareness of the rights and obligations of every citizen of Indonesia, especially regarding women representation in politics. In the Law No. 39 year 1999, in its explanation of Article 46, explained that "the representation of women is the provision of equal opportunities and equal position for women to carry out their role in the field of executive, judicial, legislative, party, and elections to justice and gender equality" . Meanwhile, another study mentioned that women's political participation is identified with the representation of women in the world of macro politics, namely political parties, parliaments and government structures¹⁰. The Act No.10 year 2008 also contained the principle of affirmative action, in which there must be at least 30 percent women in parliament. When referring to the change in the way, the real representation of women in law has earned her umbrella. The existence of the review and setting back on the principle of representation of women or so-called female quota system stems from dissatisfaction with some circles (Grace, 2009: 10). They

¹⁰ Referred from an article entitled *Esensi Partisipasi Politik the easiest Perempuan* in <http://www.sripoku.com/view/4470/Esensi-Partisipasi-Politik-Perempuan.html>

assume the role of women in politics is still very low, while political issues are more and more sentimental discourse that negates the role of women. Thus, affirmative action became an important concept that continues to discourse through this Act. However, what is happening is still the same as in previous years. This question is answered by looking at the political interests of patriarchy that is still rampant so that political interests automatically negates the power of the legal umbrella earlier.

In the news on *Kompas* April 3, 2009 stated that GKR Hemas got political support from her supporters. However, after a thorough analysis of framing, it was found that this high support was referring to the overarching power of political activity GKR Hemas, namely her husband HB X. Thus, it appears that the political system of patriarchy is still coloring strongly politics in Indonesia, which then impacts on the existing electoral politics. For example also, the news on March 31, 2009 stated that women in determining the choice was not based on gender alone, but still pay attention to aspects of the choice of husband, religious, prosperity of party. So, because of such a standard system, the implementation of Law No. 10 year 2008 faced any obstacles even though including affirmative action. For example in the implementation of decision of the Constitutional Court on a pure proportional system which replaced Article 214 of Law No. 10 year 2008 concerning the zipper or zig-zag method, it is difficult for women to obtain the most votes. Through the news in *Kompas*, we can see that reality has not enabled women to compete with the men in the political world.

According Nugraha (2009: 66), the impact of the decision of a majority vote indirectly has had over affirmative action, namely an increase of 30 percent women representation in parliament, as mandated in Article 53 and Article 55 of the election law. In addition to electoral politics which was not able to break the marginalization of women, political parties became a significant issue that needs to be put into discourse by the media, in this case *Kompas* to address problems of women's representation in elections. In the story about female candidates suspected of corruption, *Kompas* showed that political parties in which the female candidates were members were just off hand and would not provide an explanation.

"Chairman of the Executive Board of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle Branch Salatiga Teddy Sulistio was reluctant to respond to the establishment of Sri Utami Djatmiko as a suspect." (*Kompas*, April 2, 2009). Devices reasoning presented in the previous framing analysis showed that although there is potential for women, both legal and personal but political party support is still not optimal.

Indeed, the presence of Act No. 2 year 2008 on political parties has brought fresh air to release from the impression of patriarchal law. In this article it is stated about women representation system. In the system there is good representation of women in the management of the party at the central and at provincial and district / city, with a minimum 30 percent quota provision. Considering Law No. 2 year 2008 that allegedly favored the representation of women, then at least there are two things that must be considered, namely political education and political stability in implementing the Act.

With the Law No. 2 year 2008 it is supposed every political party seeks an effort to educate voters, especially female voters to use their votes as they consider female candidates as their choice. In the news *Kompas* March 31, 2009 stated that the religion and the party establishment were still the dominant factors that determine the choice of women. So, if political parties did nothing to educate the public about the importance of women's representation, then the law is only manifested in the 'toothless tiger' mere.

Ironically, the news in *Kompas* April 2, 2009 presented a case in which the female legislative candidates who faced legal problems just did not get support from political parties where they were members. In fact, political parties should have quickly taken action, referring to the Act No. 2 year 2008 which requires the presence of women in the entire body of his party. So, if a political party is captured by the media, actually it does not give proper education to the community relating to the participation of women legislative candidates and the presence of law enforcement who follows these things, then the representation of women was just a mere ideal.

Through some news, *Kompas* has consistently put forward the idea that no matter how the legal umbrella of electoral system in favor of women's representation has been made, but if

the implementation is still considering the political culture of patriarchy, the result would be negated and marginalized women. In addition, the uncertainty of political parties in response to Act No. 2 year 2008 is also an obstacle for the realization of women's representation in electoral education in the community. Response to this, in the news on March 31, *Kompas* wrote that political parties need a sharp step to solicit support for the representation of women. Therefore, the necessary attitude of political parties to participate success of the realization of women's representation is needed. Instead of reporting women as a commodity in the media, *Kompas* in this case becomes advocator for women to get support, especially in the electoral system.

CONCLUSION

Based on the findings which have been described in previous chapters, the conclusion of this research is *Kompas* through its news from March 1 to April 9, 2009 had been doing construction on women's political participation as an important agenda in developing politics in Indonesia in the post-reformation era. Women's political participation must be realized by increasing women's representation in legislative institutions. Texts in *Kompas* promote the political participation of women in Indonesia as the Indonesian nation-building resources. Increasing numbers of women in the legislature will have implications on policy formulation in favor of women. Women's political participation is also assumed to be a triumph of democracy other than viewed as an affirmative policy implementation. Based on several news articles in *Kompas* that were targeted in this study, researchers found that increased representation of women with a quota of 30 percent was analyzed by *Kompas* by sharpening obstacles or barriers of the political participation of women.

Researchers found that there were three main obstacles for the realization of increased representation of women which were revealed by *Kompas*. The first was patriarchal culture which has marginalized women in the political space. The second was the culture of money politics which restricts women to enter the political sphere without a large capital availability and the latest was the political and electoral systems in Indonesia which were not conducive to women's political participation.

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