

Vivien Sylvina, Fitri Handayani, Marta Sanjaya. "The Framing of Women Figure in Indonesian Political Stage"

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*Vivien Sylvina, Fitri Handayani, Marta Sanjaya*  
**Marketing Communication, Bina Nusantara University, Indonesia**

## **The Framing of Women Figure in Indonesian Political Stage**

### **Abstract**

*Vivien Sylvina, Fitri Handayani, Marta Sanjaya*

**Marketing Communication, Bina Nusantara University, Indonesia**

The involvement of women candidates in Indonesia regional elections 2015 and the news construction by online media related to that phenomenon are being the core of this research. The curiosity of feminine issues struggle in a patriarchal political culture is served as the background for this study. By using qualitative analysis through framing approach, it aims to explore comprehensive understanding of how online media in Indonesia depicts women candidates throughout one week before and after the D-day of elections. The framing analysis model developed by Robert N. Entman has considered as the one which could support a hypothesis for exploring the context surrounding the text. The result shows that the domination of patriarchal culture in politics is gradually shifting to more equal ones which also proving that political culture is dynamic. Rather than confronting women leaders in term of gender, media actually aiming for public attention by looking at marketable news. Simply said, there is no need for women in politics to adopt masculine values instead of focus on her own empowerment since women and men can be defined only correlatively not comparatively.

*Keywords: women candidates, regional elections, framing analysis*

## INTRODUCTION

Culture shapes public perceptions and everything has their respective positions in accordance with custom, but change is absolute. Based on that simple logic and recent phenomenon, this study focused on how women exist in politics dominated by patriarchal culture.

When the discussion talks about women participation in politics, it must not be separated from the issue of gender. According to WHO, "Gender refers to the socially constructed characteristics of women and men"<sup>1</sup>. The construction of gender image changes continuously and differs from one area to another. In Indonesia, social and cultural context are primarily factors shaping the image of women and men. Unfortunately in politics, women hold marginal status compared to men. As being implied by Nimrah&Sakaria (2015:173) which stated that women involvement in politics especially in formal institution is still far from ideal. Yet, in more local investigation, Idris (2010:164) whom explore Minangkabau women nonetheless found that even in egalitarian local culture, women's representation is still low in West Sumatera.

Actually in Indonesia, the history of women's movement goes hand in hand with the history of nation, still for developing the basic analysis of current situation we can refer to New Order era between 1966 and 1998. Although Soeharto's regime often identified with centralization of power shrouded by patriarchal culture, it surprisingly began to take affirmative action for women into consideration<sup>2</sup>. However, not until reformation in 1998,

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.who.int/gender-equity-rights/understanding/gender-definition/en/>, accessed 18/11/16

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.komnasperempuan.go.id/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/Kertas-Posisi-RUU-Pemilu.pdf>, accessed 18/11/16

discriminatory policies against women widely discussed yet change always takes time. Women involvement in People's Representative Assembly (abbreviated as MPR) during 1999 to 2004 not exceeded 9% and women participation in provincial, municipal and regency assembly hovered between 3% and zero (Budianta, 2006:917).

Along with trial and error of democracy, on December 9<sup>th</sup> 2015, Indonesia conducted the first round of its regional election. The number of women candidates standing for local head of government offices reached an all-time high of seven percent. Data from the General Elections Commission (KPU) showed that 825 candidate pairs have participated in the elections, 57 of them are women signed up as a mayoral, regent or governor candidates while 61 others registered as deputy mayor, deputy regent or deputy governor candidates. In total, only 118, or 7 percent of the total 1,650 aspiring participants for the local elections were women<sup>3</sup>. And among the candidates, 46 won the election<sup>4</sup>.

The participation and the success of women's candidates in local elections got serious attention from public through media. As McQuail once wrote, "The entire study of mass communication is based on the premise that the media have significant effects" (1994: 327). The power of media lies in the fact that they construct the public sphere of information. However, the media have an extremely limited capacity to transmit a full and complete picture of events. Therefore, media focus on those aspects that can attract

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In fact, the number of women participating as the member of house representative in 1992 reached 12% an 10% in 1997 general election.

<sup>3</sup><http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2015/08/08/political-parties-overlook-women-candidates-local-elections.html>), accessed 08/01/16

<sup>4</sup> Litbang Kompas accessed 08/02/16

the audiences' attention. In politics, personal matter used to appear more appealing than another aspect.

Among the women candidates standing for 2015 elections, Tririsma Harini (Risma) and Airin Rachmy Diany (Airin) catch media attention. Each of them is supported by established political parties. Risma and Airin are also incumbents and eventually won 2015 elections. This study then attempted to explore how online media in Indonesia depicts them as women in politics. Media in this case was limited to new media because of its dynamics contents, interactivity, and accessibility. As we know, people tend to read online news because it comes in handy. Then, based on the data about Indonesia's top rank online media<sup>5</sup>, detik.com was chosen as the object of this research and for the sake of exploring media content; framing by Robert N. Entman is considered as one of the best choice.

## **METHODS**

The research is using qualitative analysis through framing approach. Framing involves selecting a few aspects of a perceived reality and connecting them together in a narrative to promote particular interpretation (Entman, 2010:389) and framing also requires conceptual process to classify news schemes (Silalahi, 2009: 27-28). This approach could appropriately support the exploration of context surrounding the text.

The object to be framed is articles in chosen new media which is detik.com throughout one week before and after the D-day of elections. Since this paper using framing method, researcher becomes the primary instrument of data collection. By using keywords related to women candidates and

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<sup>5</sup> <http://www.alexacom/topsites/countries/ID> accessed 08/06/16

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regional election 2015, there are 18 news depicting either Risma or Airin as central attention.

The concept of framing used to relate with agenda-setting tradition. The basis of framing theory is that media focus on particular issues then placed them within a field of meaning (Goffman, 1974). Robert N. Entman later defined the essence of framing, "To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described (1993:52). Framing is an omnipresent process in politics and policy analysis. That is, framing helps to classify what become matters or not.

As the explanation of Entman framing approach, first we need to talk about the meaning of the define problems. The beginning step for exploring object is to define what the issue is. Second, identifying the forces creating the issue called diagnose causes. Then, it can be followed by determining the moral judgment. After all, both predicting likely effect and suggesting remedies must be significant for closing the analysis.

Framing is quite popular for scholars and researcher in communication field. So there are some studies which can take into consideration since it discussed similar matter. First, Luechtefald and Richards (2016:20-36) study which was examined the combined effect of character and policy coverage about a political candidate in news media. Results indicated that when political news coverage highlights certain aspects of issues or candidates, audiences make decisions based on this salient information due to its cognitive accessibility. The results also showed that issue and image coverage, each in isolation, enhanced perceptions of the candidate's image strength and issue strength. These findings contribute to the understanding

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of effects of issue and image messaging on perceptions of political candidates.

Other related research done by Entman (2010) about Media Framing Biases and political power. His study was based on a case study of 2008 USA presidential campaign focusing on Republican vice president candidate, Sarah Palin. It showed that slanted framing can shift over time with changes in the interaction of real world developments, cultural norms, and journalistic decision rules with the sometimes proficient and other times maladroit efforts of competing elites to manage the news. The findings implied that, contrary to many critics' contentions, unbalanced news does not arise from the presumably stable personal ideologies of journalists.

Druckman (2005) also bring up the issue of media's influence on his research titled "Media Matter: How Newspapers and Television News Cover Campaigns and Influence Voters". The findings showed that television news and newspapers differ substantially in the quantity of coverage but do not drastically differ in terms of content. It further said rather than television, newspaper play significant role in informing the electorate.

## **RESULT**

As we began this paper from general perspective, we later find that detik.com most considering particular person to catch with – they are Airin and Risma. Both of them stand out from another women's candidate in 2015 regional elections.

### **How do their images shaped by new media**



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When other candidates likely narrated only to fill up news reportage, both Airin and Risma got special treatment as if media crave more of their story. Flexibility and accessibility of new media allow them to provide unlimited updates of their story to public, something that mainstream media could not fulfill.

It should be noted that among 21 news related to women in regional elections 2015, 18 of them are depicting either Risma or Airin as central attention. So, it becomes reasonable to go with the flow and put them as the representative of women candidate in regional elections 2015.

Based on the release data of General Elections Commission (abbreviated as KPU),

"There is 810 pair of candidates which have been registered in 2015 regional elections. Among them, 752 is men candidate for regional chief while another 58 is women candidate. In addition, 746 men applied as deputy regional chief and 64 women have been sign on for similar position"<sup>6</sup>

These numbers actually are not good enough considering women involvement. However to be reminded that patriarchal style has been undertaken Indonesia political culture for a long time, especially during 32 years of the new order reign, it becomes understandable. Throughout this reign, patron-client relationship with jargon ABS (Asal Bapak Senang) meaning the act of 'apple polishing' is no longer incarnated as a taboo. This habit later shaping 'cronyism' but not long after reformation 1998 which bring Soeharto (president of new order reign) down, people started to reconsidering the idea of democracy including affirmative action for women in politics.

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<sup>6</sup> <http://www.kpu.go.id/index.php/post/read/2015/4101/810-Pasangan-Calon-telah-Terdaftar-dalam-Pilkada-Serentak-2015>, accessed 07/30/16

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Affirmative action for general elections was being first re-standardized through Law No.12/2003 about Legislative Elections. Based on this act of law, women are guaranteed to have at least 30% representation in parliament. Moreover, Law No.2/2008 stated that political parties just being legitimated if only they seize at least 30% of women representation.

Seven years later, in 2015, simultaneous regional elections were held in Indonesia. 58 women registered as regional head chief candidate but not many of them are truly highlighted by the media, none but two names stand out, Airin and Risma. Based on the data search from detik.com, there are 18 news related to Airin and Risma. Some of the news having similar theme so when we grouped it into column, from December 2<sup>nd</sup> until December 16<sup>th</sup> 2015, there are 11 News about Risma and 7 News related to Airin. As a note, some of the day has neither Risma nor Airin's news. Still it would be enticing to evaluate what media talks about them. Arranged by date, here are the explorations of detik.com news by elaborating them with each aspect of Entman's framing (define problem, diagnose cause, moral judgement and suggest remedies).

- December, 2<sup>nd</sup> 2015

<http://news.detik.com/berita-jawa-timur/3086416/risma-isi-kuliah-umum-terancam-disemprit-PDI-P-panwas-harus-adil>

The news is put forward since Risma was invited as keynote speaker in public lecture at Muhammadiyah Surabaya University (UMS) while Elections Supervisory Agency (abbreviated as Panwaslu) marked the invitation as a covert campaign since it held in educational institutions which ought to be neutral from political interest. In another hand, Risma winning team disproved such idea and considered it as disproportionately and unprofessional thing of Panwaslu. By examining the content, reader will realize that instead of throwing blame to Risma team, detik.com tend to

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speak up for her. The news is stressing a point that there is no logical relation between campaign and the invitation. So, it must not be surprise when the suggestion is about how Panwaslu should reconsider their assumptions.

- December, 3<sup>rd</sup> 2015

<http://news.detik.com/berita-jawa-timur/3087176/batal-beri-kuliah-umum-di-ums-ini-kata-risma>

Following the previous news, Risma was reporting called-off the invitation as keynote speaker in Muhammadiyah Surabaya University (UMS). That decision being made because she wants to preserve good condition for the elections. Detik.com still takes Risma's side, it clearly seen when the closing statement was mentioning that the campus committee probably receiving threats from Panwaslu to call-off the event.

- December, 4<sup>th</sup> 2015

<http://news.detik.com/berita-jawa-timur/3087760/risma-akhiri-masa-kampanye-di-jambi-jadi-jurkam-PDI-P>

This news specially reported Risma's activity as a campaigner of Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (abbreviated as PDI-P) in other region outside Surabaya. Party spokesman said that Risma's appearance in Jambi regional campaign (Jambi is one of region in Sumatera islands) believed to be able to jack up electability of PDI-P cadres since many Javanese migrants settled in that area.

This news itself clearly emphasized positive vibe for Risma whom described as remarkable figure in politics.

Moreover, by spending the last day of campaign outside Surabaya, the news shaped assumption that Risma seems not to worry about her own fight. It

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should be good for her image because people will not see her as pushy candidate yet having confidence to win the election. Then, since the news is written in narrative style and dominated by interview with party spokesman so nothing can be associated with suggestion remedies.

- December, 5<sup>th</sup> 2015

<http://news.detik.com/laporan-khusus/3088666/jelang-pilkada-serentak-dana-bansos-airin-bengkak>

Besides Risma, there is Airin, an incumbent ran for South Tangerang election. Although she has kind of popularity, the news about her is often disreputable. This news for instance talked about misuse of government budget reserved for social welfare aid that allegedly used for the sake of her campaign. The presumption rose because of the proposal budget climb up from IDR. 29.5 billion to IDR.105 billion.

As the news goes on, we can see that detik.com was in favor of Airin's opponent. It described Airin as the wife of corruptor, Tubagus Chaeri Wardana, completed by her photo visiting Indonesia's Corruption Eradication Commission (abbreviated as KPK). No suggestion was offered explicitly about this issue but the closing statement said that the allegation had been known by the South Tangerang Supervisory Committee yet it does not proceed. It may be assumed that detik.com suggest the committee to investigate the case further.

- December, 8<sup>th</sup> 2015

<http://news.detik.com/berita-jawa-timur/3091235/kotak-makanan-dinsos-bergambar-risma-whisnu-ini-pengakuan-petugas-di-lapangan>

The issue in this news is about a finding of elderly food packages belonging to department of Surabaya social service which has Risma-Wishnu picture

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attached on it. From the image caption, the problematic food packages was found by the volunteers of Rasiyo-Lucy (Risma-Wishnu's competitors) yet the head of the Surabaya social service department denied that he or his men were involved in such infraction. Instead of being suspicious to Risma team, detik.com urges the need to clarify the allegation. It clearly showed by delivering witnesses testimony all over the text. Moreover, in the beginning of paragraph, the news spill out the word 'ridiculousness' to refer the bizarre case report. As a conclusion, both Head of Surabaya Public Relations and Risma's representative said that the government will fully supported the investigation of this case.

- December, 9<sup>th</sup> 2015

<http://news.detik.com/berita-jawa-timur/3091989/pesan-risma-untuk-rasiyo-jangan-ada-permusuhan>

This is the D-day of elections; it started by detik.com reporting their so-called Risma's winning statement. This issue actually started from PDI-P quick count stating that Risma-Wishnu won by 86.3% vote. As for Risma, detik.com depicts her as a humble person whom even suggesting her competitor to build Surabaya together. Still in the same day, detik.com also wrote about Airin. In <http://news.detik.com/berita/3091875/ditanya-pengaruh-boikotpartaipapa-dalam-perolehan-suara-ini-kata-airin>, they asked her respond about hash tag (#BoikotPartaiPapa) following the corruption case afflicted by one of her party leader. Reporters tried to dig a response since the result of South Tangerang quick count still lead by Airin.

Detik.com appears to vis-a-vis corruption case and Airin votes. It should be dangerous for Airin's image since the voters can sway their heart.

In <http://news.detik.com/berita/3091871/menang-hitung-cepat-pilkada-tangsel-airin-syukur-alhamdulillah>, Airin still on the spotlight in which

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detik.com talked about her response related to her winning result based on Charta Politica's quick count. She reported gotten 60.2% votes with a margin of error 1%. Stating those statistics, detik.com seems accentuating that Airin will be winning the elections in certain. Airin also said being calmed and even delivered her gratitude for South Tangerang people and her supported party (Golongan Karya later abbreviated as Golkar) which having been a big help for succeeding the regional elections. It looks like an image reborn after the jab for her.

However, the good image is dissolve quickly. In <http://news.detik.com/berita/3091522/gunakan-hak-suara-airin-berharap-kembali-pimpin-tangsel>, Airin reported to cast her vote at the polling booth nearby her home accompanied by his son. She stated her hope to win the elections. The problem is instead of describing her as incumbent, she is labeled as the wife of corruptor. Moreover, Bunyamin Davnie as her co-chief candidate is admitting have no Tangsel's domestic identity card which made him incapable to cast his vote.

Like a roller coaster, Airin depicted as humble both to residents and to reporters in <http://news.detik.com/berita/3091504/begini-wajah-sumringah-airin-saat-mencoblos-di-tps-17-alam-sutera>. She also reported escorting Ministry of Home Affairs, Tjahjo Kumolo, and Banten Governor, Rano Karno, to monitor the elections. Later on, she was told running a recitation for moms surrounding her neighborhood which contributed to her religious image.

Compared to Airin, in <http://news.detik.com/berita-jawa-timur/3091499/risma-mengaku-tak-ada-persiapan-khusus-di-rumahnya>, Risma reported having no event prepared in her home for elections event. She just mentioned that a lot of people came to her home so she feels a little

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bit tired night before elections but she remained friendly along the way to pooling booth. Besides that professional image, she described religious as well by quoting her thought about how she let Allah (God) determine the elections result.

Aside from reporting her activity in elections day, detik.com also asked Risma vision for Surabaya. She answered that she will concern to prepare Surabaya's citizen facing the AEC (ASEAN Economic Community). In <http://news.detik.com/berita-jawa-timur/3091469/jika-menang-risma-siapkan-warga-surabaya-untuk-mea>, Risma explained that the future challenge is harder compared to five years ago. Because of that, both human resources and facility must be taking into consideration. For supporting the idea, detik.com later quoted Risma statement, "facility is good so is the harbor...". The quotation somehow gives the reader idea that she done well as incumbent and have an intention to make it better.

Furthermore, Risma pointed the issue of money politic in elections which is said to have reported by her but not processed. It indirectly implied the alleged was committed by competitor team because of only two candidates contesting in Surabaya elections although it actually not mentioned by Risma herself. As a closing, Risma underline on human resource development supported by good facility to face the challenge of AEC.

Similar to Airin, detik.com asked Risma about her winning issue in <http://news.detik.com/berita-jawa-timur/3091451/ditanya-calon-pemenang-ini-jawaban-risma> as well. Risma respond that she is not too relied on survey result rather surrendered by God's decision. By doing that, media clearly strengthened religious image of Risma. Likewise, Risma personal dignity as leaders also put on the spot when she mentioned her hope that there is no personal selfishness attached in election.

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Risma's activity in the D-day of election also portrayed in <http://news.detik.com/berita-jawa-timur/3091437/risma-nyoblos-di-tps-1-ada-yang-nggoda-nyoblos-siapa-bu>. As a popular political figure, her steps is constantly monitored and reported by both regional and national media. In this news, she illustrated as humanist and down to earth type of person.

Although surrounding by victory prediction, Risma herself never mentioned that she will run a winning party. Through <http://news.detik.com/berita-jawa-timur/3092901/risma-pastikan-tidak-akan-pesta-kemenangan-bagaimana-PDI-P>, she stated that both her campaign team and PDI-P having no intention to hold such party. As the description flow, it crystal clear that media want to deliver the message that Risma is a prudent leader and having high sense of responsibility. Those ideas are created along the fact that she rather *blusukan* (kind of popular public service by doing field work) than carry out winning party. Her choice also supported by PDI-P with a statement that the victory of incumbent merely thought as a higher mandate and commitment rather than something to celebrate.

Along the news, detik.com attached photos featuring Risma and the female member of NU (Nahdlatul Ulama) in Surabaya which purposely loaded with political message since NU is one of the largest independent Islamic organization in Indonesia which also have a very large influence in social and political life both in East Java and the whole nation. Some respected political figures surely come from this organization including the fourth former president of Indonesia, Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur).

Then the last news about Risma in the election day is in <http://news.detik.com/berita-jawa-timur/3092780/rasiyo-pilih-tunggu-hasil-kpu-risma-tidak-mau-tidak-apa-apa>. Detik.com wrote Risma responses related to her competitor whom said doesn't want to admit the quick count



result. The news probably bring up because the competitor seems not congratulate Risma yet for quick count result although it should be normal for waiting an official result from KPU. As a moral judgement, the news is tend to taking side to Risma by depicting her as casual person while the competitors depicted as "not-so-easy going" in response to quick count.

- December, 13<sup>th</sup> 2016

Three days after elections, detik.com came back with other news about Airin in <http://news.detik.com/berita/3094369/kalah-di-pilkada-tangsel-gerindra-gugat-kemenangan-airin-ke-jalur-hukum>. The news focused on a lawsuit from the competitors against Airin-Benyamin after KPU announcing official result of elections. The litigant represented by the Deputy Chairman of Gerindra (political party which supporting Airin's competitor), Sufmi Dasco Ahmad, reported 26 cases of alleged violations by Airin team throughout campaign period. He also reported KPU commissioner and the Elections Supervisory Agency South Tangerang to Honorary Board of Elections Implementation (HBEI) for ethics infringement.

As a moral judgement, this type of news is cover one-sided story which actually not fair. This assumption was come up since detik.com only mentioning litigant statement. Moreover, the lawsuit is explained not only filed by one competitor but two of them which means it filed by all candidates except Airin. The lawsuit is especially about ethic violations in which government facilities use for campaign purpose. However, the litigant was still in process to decide which institution intended to cast a lawsuit because the violations mostly happened before the elections. This kind of information detected as unbalanced and could lead to assumption that the alleged violations likely occurred.

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Although this paper is determined to consider one week before and after the elections as a periodic context, still from December 14<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> there is no news talked about Airin and Risma or even the elections. That probably because of Setya Novanto's resignation issue.

## **DISCUSSION**

Many literatures widely discussed about political culture while it still lack of determination of what is manifest in its. However, that crystallizes when Diamond mentioned political culture as something which could not ignore the importance of mass culture besides the elite ones (Marijan, 1999:61). This hypothesis becomes plausible when associating with the circumstances of some country including Indonesia.

Democracy in Indonesia brings awareness to the people about how mass culture actually having great influence toward political culture. For Indonesia, this condition may prominently occur due to traumatic experience toward new order reign in which centralization of political power in the hands of elites which also applying patriarchal patterns make the slump at all levels. Mass movement called reformation 1998 eventually both tearing down Soeharto reign and embracing freedom of public opinion.

In relatively short time, many media sprung to facilitate the trend of speech freedom. At that point, media became a new force in democracy which promoting mass culture to different level of influence in political life. The way media can serves information to public also meant it could define the pattern of public value and ideologies and, consequently, voting behavior and public policy opinions (Howard, 2005:33). All of those factors can be contributed to reconstructing political culture.

In the other hand, globalization hitting Indonesia came along with international issue including feminism. Beauvoir (1956: 20) once stated, "In industry and politics, men have a great many more positions and they monopolize the most important post". That is why it becomes understandable that political news in media often classified as masculine thing. By demanding the changing perspective where women and men are equal as human being, Beauvoir's version of feminism spread around the world, Indonesia is no exception.

After all Indonesia itself have had a long story related to women empowerment such as the struggle waged by figures like R.A Kartini and Cut Nyak Dien. So that when the international feminist movement notably discussed around 2000s, Indonesia has had enough idea although that old knowledge seems not reach the peak point of understanding yet. However, through the sprung up of democracy and feminism idea, it could be said that patriarchal political culture in Indonesia start to subdued.

### **Airin and Risma: why do they catch the attention?**

People used to associate politic with power. The expansion of the power of governments, in one way or another, generally defines as 'political' (Minogue, 1995:6). When men do the politics, people simply assumed that they need to pursue power and let alone what power can do to people's life, almost everything. Power usually defined as capability to impress people to do something they want or they do not want to do (Dahl, 1957:202). Since rising and maintaining power needs a sort of competence, people who pursued the status seen as the educated ones although it does not usually true. But the condition is some countries especially the one which practicing patriarchal culture treats education as a traditional prestige only for men. Consequently at the present time, when women are beginning to take part in

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the affairs of the world, it is still a world that belongs to men (Beauvoir, 1956:20).

Still today Beauvoir's statement may be half true in some particular area including politic. At least in Indonesia, politics recently seems more inclusive and equal. Some women have proved that they can hold a high position in political stage. Then following the phenomenon, media began to pay attention to women in politics. In 2015 elections, the attention catchers surely are Tri Rismaharini and Airin Rachmi Diany.

As purposely explored in discussion chapter, detik.com seems applying different taste when it comes to talk about Risma and Airin. Although both of them describing as influential figure in politics, somehow the news bluntly preserves Risma in a good term while Airin treats in reverse. But, they also have some similarities. First, both are big party member; while Airin is Golkar (Golongan Karya) cadres, Risma coming from PDI-P. Despite the low of public trust in political party today (Mujani and Liddle, 2010:41), still it has big effect to support campaign activity and to secure allies in government especially since they are incumbent which means that they need solid team to consistently supported their existing and future policy.

As it mentioned before, although Airin's image does not constantly good, both she and Risma often described as hospitable figure. However, the news written by detik.com for Risma is truly having more positive ambience than for Airin. Reader can easily tell only by skimming the narration or the inserted picture. The most visible thing is the news content about Risma often described her as professional politician (she described as assertive, friendly and public oriented) while Airin rather been associated as a family member of corruption actor (she is in-law of Ratu Atut and wife of Tubagus

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Chaeri Wardhana; both of them are Indonesia's Corruption Eradication Commission custody).

That is to say, Risma recognized more by her capability to handle her district than by her political channel yet Airin started getting attention after her relative was charged as perpetrators of corruption which make her seemingly never separated from frills as one of the member of "Atut dynasty" (being called as dynasty because Ratu Atut's family have a very strong power in Banten province). Also when Risma and PDI-P described as a solid team, Airin and her supporting party, Golkar, only depicted together for discussing #BoikotPartaiPapa (this is a twitter hash tag popular for boycott Golkar party after corruption case against one of party's leader).

Based on gender analysis, Airin case is very unfortunate. Because she is the wife of corruption actor, all of her activity bluntly associated with the bribe of public money. Following the case, there are even some statement pointing the act of corruption is often caused by wife's lifestyle. Whereas if the logic is reversed, when women do bribes, it is very rarely or even never mentioned that the act is driven by lifestyle of husband. In paternal society, this logic can be explained because men used to be the breadwinners while women hold domestic care so when the husband involves in corruption, the closest person who deserves to be suspected is the wife.

Another unfortunate image for women related to corruption is the case like Malinda Dee (this is a famous case in 2011 about the manipulation of customer funds in private bank). Although it categorized as serious criminal cases yet media start to focus more on her lifestyle ranging from her property, her personal affair till her body treatments procedure. Frankly speaking, it was so sexist.

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Even if it seems completely insignificant, when those kinds of treatment continue, women will have a negative label which lead up to a weak bargaining position in criminal cases such as corruption. The image of women, especially those who have or are in the circles of power, can be assumed as having a luxurious lifestyle and consumptive that led to the abuse of power. Whereas, the most disadvantages group of corruption probably are women, as transparency.org mentioned in statement "While women are less involved in corruption, they are even more disadvantaged from the consequences of a corrupt system"<sup>7</sup>.

As the words flow in the news, we can also tell that when detik.com reporting some cases related to the elections problem, they taking side. For Risma, her rival is not highlighted much and mentioned only to fit out her profile while for Airin, information in the news dominated by her rival especially when the issue talked about the allegation of power abusing by Airin's winning team. To add the detail, photos inserted in the news for Risma are more diverse compared to the documentation for Airin which often used repeatedly (and of course dominated by her photos in KPK).

Another comparable thing among them is image. Risma seems less feminine in figure compare to Airin. Airin is depicted as beautiful women with all feminine labels while Risma seems indifferent with her look. She rarely uses make-up and accessories and it somehow broke the assumption of women and make-up as interdependent factor for building a confidence.

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<sup>7</sup> In many countries, the allocation for programmes focusing on women is only a fraction of the total national budget. In Argentina and in the Dominican Republic, the grant for women's programmes budget amounts to 0.0046% and 0.002% of the total national budget, respectively

[http://www.transparency.org/news/pressrelease/gender and corruption are women less corrupt](http://www.transparency.org/news/pressrelease/gender_and_corruption_are_women_less_corrupt), accessed on 08/14/16

It means that the reduced budgets are often those which related to women interest. In Indonesia for example, the lack of nursing areas in public spot still is unsolved problem.

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Feminist movement itself started from 1960s usually prohibits the use of make-up just like Beauvoir (1956:176) stated, "woman's body seems to man to be his property, his thing. Make-up and jewellery also further this petrification of face and body".

Other than make-up, Risma also portrayed as a modest women whom like to do *'blusukan'*. She even frequently showed unique activity which is uncommon both for women and men's leader, which is managing traffic jam in the city<sup>8</sup>. So, can we say that the not-so feminine thing of Risma is the reason why she favored by many residents? It might be true but take a look of what she did in one television program called Mata Najwa on February 2014 wherein she cried talking about her resign issue. She pours her emotional state to public but surprisingly people love her more.

Then, what makes her having daring image? Most likely that is because of her activity as the mayor of Surabaya. She gained a lot of praise for her work notably when she successfully closing Dolly, the largest prostitution district in Southeast Asia located in Surabaya. That surely a controversial decision to make, public are torn between pros and cons but the majority (especially women and children activists) welcomed it very well<sup>9</sup>. Prostitution itself is a business that considering person, mostly women, as commodity. If the feminist often mention 'my body is my right' then obviously the business of prostitution violates those statement. Throughout the news about the closure of Dolly, Risma is often described as the first

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<sup>8</sup> <http://news.detik.com/berita/2904851/risma-dipantau-polisi-gara-gara-sering-atur-lalin-begini-ceritanya>, accessed on 08/01/16

<sup>9</sup> <http://www.rappler.com/indonesia/115429-risma-pilkada-penutupan-gang-dolly-surabaya>, <https://m.tempo.co/read/news/2016/05/13/078770576/risma-sebut-pemeriksaan-gadis-di-surabaya-terkait-gang-dolly>, accessed on 08/01/16

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female mayor of Surabaya whom also the only leader who dared and finally able to close that district<sup>10</sup>.

To take into consideration, she may dare to challenge great risks closing Dolly because she is a woman. This assumption is reinforced by her statement in media that the most disadvantaged from prostitution activity are the children and women. It does not mean that men as a leader having no sense to children and women but it would differ in term of Risma wears the same shoes as a woman. Moreover, there is no doubt that women embrace strong ties with children as her maternal feeling. While Risma having a ton story to tell, media rarely talked about Airin's public policy.

## CONCLUSION

Patriarchal culture manipulated the idea that some areas of life taboo for women. The negative stigmatization against women body is raised in a way to confirm that it becomes a barrier to self-actualization, including in a political stage. However, the image is change gradually. Indonesian start to believe or rather said recall the memories that women are able to handle power and public issue. As Allen (2016) said that, "three main ways in which feminists have conceptualized power are as a resource, domination and empowerment".

Rather than threatening power as a resource to redistribute social good or relation of domination between men and women, the involvement of women in politics today can be seen as empowerment. By using 2015 regional

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<sup>10</sup> <http://news.detik.com/berita/2942211/cerita-dari-surabaya-langkah-berani-mengubur-sejarah-gang-dolly>, accessed on 08/01/16

The news describes Risma was willing to sacrifice her life as long as the systemic problem caused by Dolly could be resolved.



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elections in Indonesia as a context, we can see that a new media (in this case is detik.com) tend to portrait women as a human being not 'the other' as Beauvoir (1956:16) once stated. Also, the image of women leaders, mostly represented by Risma whom having ability to well execute her political power, gain a lot understanding that women in so-called masculine world having capacity to produce change (Miller, 1992:241).

As for the partiality of news, it must be a note for media both conventional and new media to stand in its ethical corridor. In democratic societies where people's power rest in the hands of a remarkably small number of people (Miller, 2003:40), media should provide educated information regarding public issue. Therefore, it must be unfortunate if media act as a tool for covert campaign although skepticism is always there.

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