

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Background of the Study

Corruption is not new in Indonesia. Global Corruption Report (2004) noted that one of the world's most corrupt leaders is Suharto, the second president of Indonesia, who allegedly embezzled up to US\$35 billion in a country with a GDP of less than US\$700 per capita. On 8 August 2011, KPK, which stands for Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi (Corruption Eradication Commission), arrested Muhammad Nazaruddin, the former treasurer of Partai Demokrat, for taking Rp 4.6 billion in bribes to rig a tender for the construction of an athletes' village for the 2011 Southeast Asian Games (*The Jakarta Post*, 2012). This arrest led to Nazaruddin's statements that made threats to other politicians in the same party. His statement brought Anas Urbaningrum, the former chairman of Partai Demokrat, and Andi Mallarangeng, the former Youth and Sports Minister, to the alleged involvement for graft in the construction of Hambalang sports complex (*The Jakarta Post*, 2013).

Other cases show that corruption is not only done by men. Some women coming from elite class such as Arthalyta Suryani, Miranda Gaultom, Nunun Nur Baiti, and many others were also involved in corruption cases. In the realm of politicians, KPK caught two women politicians involved in big corruption cases.

A lawmaker from Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN), Wa Ode Nurhayati, was arrested on 26 January 2012 due to her involvement in bribery and money laundering in a case surrounding the deliberations of the 2011 Regional Infrastructure Adjustment Fund (*The Jakarta Post*, 2013). Again, Indonesian people were surprised by the fact that Angelina Sondakh, a lawmaker from Partai Demokrat, was also involved in accepting bribes in the bribery case centering on the construction project of the 2011 SEA Games' athletes' village (*The Jakarta Post*, 2013). She was arrested by KPK on Friday, 27 April 2012.

The involvement of women politicians in those corruption cases attracts the media's attention to produce a lot of news articles reporting each development of the cases. In this case, the way the journalists frame the news about women politicians involved in corruption cases is not totally uniform. They have their own strategies to construct the portrayal of women politicians through the language used in the text.

Concerning the media's portrayal of women politicians, there are several studies that have been conducted. Bystrom, Robertson, and Banwart (2001) stated that men and women candidates were framed differently by the media during the general elections. In another research (2003), they found that female candidates continue to face some stereotypical biases in the news coverage of their campaigns. This finding is supported by Katembo (2005) who pointed out that women politicians in South Africa are still under-represented. Similarly, Wasburn and Wasburn (2011), in their case study about media coverage on Sarah Palin,

also found that *Newsweek* and *Time* discussed Palin's positions on issues related to triviality and family life more frequently than her positions on other issues such as economic policy and international matters which only involved her rival, Joe Biden. Another study by Media Monitoring Project Zimbabwe [MMPZ] (2012) also shows that media's attention of female politicians was often focused not on their intellectual substance but more on their gender and womanhood.

Those previous studies only concern the portrayal of women politicians who are not involved in committing crime. In addition, they have similar results in portraying women politicians although they were conducted in different countries. The results of those previous studies imply that most of media coverage on women politicians still follows the principle of patriarchal culture in which man is considered as super-ordinate while woman is sub-ordinate. However, research on the portrayal of women politicians involved in crime, such as corruption, is still limited.

Therefore, it would be interesting to conduct a research on the portrayal of women politicians involved in corruption cases since corruption is part of big crime which leads to society's assumption that politics is closely related to corruption. Besides, patriarchal culture, which influences the media in portraying women politicians as shown in those previous studies, also spreads widely in Indonesia. The principle in patriarchal culture, which differentiates the role of being man and woman, has been accepted, believed and practiced by society for a

long time ago. As a result, patriarchal culture has affected every aspect of human's life starting from family life, school, career, business, politics, etc.

One thing that plays important role in spreading patriarchal culture is the media. The media has power to influence people's mindset about what should be believed and what should be done. For politicians, the media is one of key cultural resources and mechanisms for linguistically structuring social relationship as well as defining social position and status (Louw, 2005). That is why the media becomes an important means to connect the readers to the issues in daily life. Regarding to the function of the media, we cannot separate it with the role of journalists. Tuchman (as cited in Louw, 2005) argued that journalists actually construct the news, rather than reflect the news. Thus, the language used by the journalist to produce a text in the media will affect the readers' perspective and impression toward particular issue presented in it. Therefore, an investigation on the portrayal of women politicians in the news articles about corruption cases is necessary to reveal whether the media, especially the newspaper, still follows and spreads the concept of patriarchal system or not.

Among many newspapers published in Indonesia, *The Jakarta Post* is the only one newspaper written in English. *The Jakarta Post* was born in 1983 when Suharto's repressive New Order regime was at its height and the media was muzzled. The occurrence of *The Jakarta Post* was closely related to politics and authorities at that time. The history of the newspaper dates back to a conversation between the Minister of Information Ali Moertopo and Jusuf Wanandi, who

represented the government-backed Golkar newspaper *Suara Karya*. Minister Moertopo mentioned the possibility of publishing an English-language newspaper of the highest editorial quality to serve up to date information to foreigners in Indonesia and expatriates. Thus the company, PT Bina Media Tenggara, was founded by four competing media groups publishing some of the leading national publications: *Suara Karya, Kompas, Sinar Harapan and Tempo*.

In addition, there is no doubt about its credibility as trusted news sources. In the official website of *The Jakarta Post*, it is noted that the remarkable performance of *The Jakarta Post* is supported by its international award as the first winner in International Newspaper Marketing Association – Editor & Publisher Award. Moreover, *The Jakarta Post* is reachable by many people since it launched the online version, which allows the readers to access it whenever they want. Due to its close relation with politics, easy access and the achievement it gained, the writer finally chose news articles from *The Jakarta Post* to discover the portrayal of women politicians involved in corruption cases.

In order to find out the portrayal of women politicians in the news articles about corruption cases, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) proposed by van Dijk which covers three dimensions including text, socio cognition, and social context were used to analyze the data. Textual analysis, the first stage of van Dijk's analysis, was used to find out certain strategies used by the journalist in producing the text. In addition, socio-cognitive approach as the core of van Dijk's theory was applied to investigate how a text is produced by a journalist with his or her own

mental awareness. In this case, the journalist is not considered as a neutral individual, but an individual person who has various values, experiences, and ideology in his or her life (Eriyanto, 2001). The last dimension, social context, deals with inter-textual analysis which relates the discourse in the texts with the discourse developed among society.

By using CDA, the writer could examine the portrayal of women politicians in the news articles about corruption cases. It could be revealed by looking carefully at the language produced by the journalists to deliver the news as well as certain ideology and belief which influence the journalists to construct the portrayal of those politicians. Besides, socio-cognitive approach which was applied in this research is beneficial for the writer to understand the concept of gender that lies in the journalists' mind and influences them to construct the portrayal of women politicians involved in corruption cases.

## **1.2. Statement of the Problem**

As an important means in communication, the media, especially newspaper, should be objective in presenting the news. However, the objectivity itself is still questioned since there is an ideology that influences the journalist in producing a text. Therefore, it is possible if each journalist who writes about the involvement of women politicians in corruption cases creates different portrayal of them.

Coming from this phenomenon, the writer collected some news articles in *The Jakarta Post* to find out the following problems.

1. How are women politicians portrayed in *The Jakarta Post*'s news articles about corruption cases?
2. How is the portrayal of women politicians in corruption cases related to the concept of gender in Indonesia?

### **1.3. Objective of the Study**

This study is intended to find out how women politicians are portrayed in *The Jakarta Post's* news articles about corruption cases and how the portrayal is related to the concept of gender in Indonesia. By applying CDA with socio-cognitive approach, the portrayal of those politicians can be revealed through the topics of the texts, the schematic structure, and the language features used by journalists to produce the news articles. Moreover, by paying attention at the mental awareness of the journalist and the same belief shared by society, certain ideology about the concept of gender which affects the way the journalist deliver the news can be discovered as well.

### **1.4. Significance of the Study**

The writer hopes that this study may give contribution to the study of Critical Discourse Analysis and the study of gender as well as to provide reference for further studies. Besides, this study is expected to give insights for those who are interested in Critical Discourse Analysis especially the study of the portrayal of women politicians in news articles about corruption cases. In general, this study may also give better understanding for common people that the media is never neutral in presenting the news because there will be hidden values that control the production of a news.



## 1.5 Definition of Key Terms

a) Portrayal :

The act of showing or describing someone done by a journalist in producing a news article (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 2013)

b) Politician :

Someone who is active in government usually as an elected official (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 2013)

c) Textual Analysis :

The first level of van Dijk's theory on CDA which deals with the language use in the text (van Dijk, 1997)

d) Socio-cognition Analysis :

The second level of van Dijk's theory on CDA dealing with knowledge or beliefs of the journalists as members of social groups which affect the production of texts (van Dijk, 1988a)

e) Societal Analysis :

The third level of van Dijk's theory on CDA concerning the inter-textuality between the discourse in the text and the discourse in social situation (van Dijk, 1997)

f) Patriarchy :

The traditional concept where men are expected to take primary responsibility for the welfare of the whole community (Abudi, Yieke, & Kitetu, 2011)