

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Democracy is rooted from the idea that actually state power is based on the people's sovereignty (Labani 9). It needs the condition which makes the human has rights to speak up, to decide his/her position, or to do what he/she wants. Here, the involvement of citizens is one of the most notable requirements to uphold the democratic society. Next, one of the involvements done by society is the political participation.

Political participation can be described as any of activities that aims at influencing the structure of government and the election of leaders, including the policies that they will face (Labani 9). The form of participation can include the vote and political campaign. In terms of political life, the participation of every society is undeniable. The country needs the supports from its citizen – both man and woman – to build the democratic society.

Talking the political participation with the gender perspective is very important. It is because there are relations among the political participation, gender equality, and democratic process (Labani 12). They depend on the implementation of each aspects and vice versa. For example, the gender equality will make both gender can participate in the politics. It also affects on making better democratic process because every human takes his/her role. This notion had been argued by The European Network of Experts (Panday 490) that:

“A balanced representation of women and men at all levels of decision-making guarantees better government. Because of their history as a group, women have their own and unique perspective. They have different values and ideas and behave differently. Increased participation of women in decision-making will create a new culture and shed new light on how power should be exercised. Women attach great importance to the quality of contact between people [and] are less individualistic than men”

Unfortunately, there is limit which makes one of the gender cannot participate in the politics. To be believed that there is differentiation of man and woman in performing their roles and it is affected by the social and cultural values. Gender relation – the social relation established depending on the gender which creates the differentiation in right, responsibilities, and obligation for man and woman – is the value embedded to our society. Therefore, it characterizes the certain traits of both gender, such as man tends to be in the decision making while woman is associated with the nurturing style (Lips 4). To be clear, this division also separates that public as the man’s sphere and domestic as the woman’s sphere. It portrays when patriarchal system – which supports the gender relation value – is used as a tool to make women in the domestic sphere as mothers and wives (Labani 13) Therefore, politics can be associated with the man’s authority because it deals with the public sphere and the decision making.

As the man’s authority, politics cannot be easily entered by woman. Farzana (in Labani 13-14) stated that there are five limiting factors which makes woman cannot fully participate in the political world. First, ideological factor makes the woman in the domestic area and cannot join politics. Moreover, woman should negotiate with the cultural and social context. Second, political factor will limit

the woman's movement by the domination of men in political parties and national political bodies. In addition, the woman cannot be the decision maker. Third, factor which attached to society – socio-cultural factor – makes woman consider her position as mother which has to do the household things. This idea limits her availability in entering the political life. Gender roles and stereotypes attached by society make the woman be placed in the feminine sphere – who lack of credibility and leadership skills. Forth, the economic factor disturbs them in gaining access in politics. The political world needs the financial and material resources which ensure the influential power. Mostly, the women have no access to the resources and goods. Therefore, it limits the possibility to join the politics for women. The last factor is lack of social capital and political capabilities. The gender relation has successfully made women afraid of joining the political sphere. The results were easily guessed: they lack of the leadership skills, economic resources, and access to informational technology as well as education.

Despite the limiting factors faced by the women, the voices of them should be considered. Their participation is crucial because basically both men and women have different interest, priorities, and needs in the society. In short, one group cannot represent the need of another. The woman's representation will advocate the plurality of society's need (Labani 15). The needs, for example the health, equality in education, and employment opportunities, can be regarded as important as the other issues. Moreover, it will be the role model for other women to join the politics. In other words, women's participation should be increased because it is the way for the women to be aware of the limitations they have.

Cooperating with men and being the active citizens are the factors that will increase their awareness to be the agents of changes for their pressured groups.

One of the ways to enlarge the women's participation is the using of gender quota. The using of gender quota is based on the limitation faced by women in the political factors. The history of women to get the gender quota was started from the codification of first women's rights in the CEDAW, *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women*, in 1979 (Labani 13). The highest achievement was the recommendation of Beijing Platform for action and the UNDP Human Development Report who set the goal of 30 percent for women in national decision making position in 1995. At first, the implementation of this recommendation reached 10 percent. In addition, the number of countries implementing the recommendation has already grown faster nowadays.

Gender quota systems allocate a certain percentage or number of women as members of the political body, either in candidate lists, a parliamentary assembly, other committees or government institutions (Dahlerup in Usu 1). Larsrud and Taphorn stated that gender quota itself can be divided into two categories, the legal quota system and voluntary party quotas (Usu 3). Legal quota system can also be divided into two parts: constitutional quota and legislative quota. Constitutional quota refers to the recognition of gender quota in Constitution of a country. Legislative quota is the given quota in the election law and or political party rules. Meanwhile, the voluntary party quota is the agreement of giving the quota voluntarily as the internal party policy.

It is argued that quotas are effective in increasing women's political involvement. Furthermore, quotas are also considered by some scholars to be a 'fast track' for achieving the equality (Usu 3). In Nordic countries, for example, the introduction of quotas has increased women's legislative representation (Freindeval in Labani 13). In a very different geopolitical environment, Rwanda's gender quota achieved the highest share of women in parliament in the world. There are positive trends from the implemented program in several countries.

Looking deeper to Indonesian context, we may consider the position of women in politics has widely been discussed. Women's involvements in the national context have been recognized since the women's organizations were attached to the nationalist movement which first based on the religion, ethnicity, and region (Wieringa in Usu 5). The examples are Poetri Mardika which affiliated with the nationalist organization Boedi Oetomo and *Aisyiyah* as the woman's organization of *Muhammadiyah*. At the beginning, they focused on the social role and non – political matters. Since then, the women's movements had developed more varied in terms of the activities and the roles from the period of pre-independence to the New Order.

The notable events which related to the political events was the first General Election in 1955. Women, for the first time, had rights to vote. Although the number of women performed the voting was 60 percent from the total voters, their representatives in the House of Representatives and Constitution Assembly were small (Martyn in Usu 6). The following regime, New Order, actually had given the special treatment for women in order to "create" them as the mothers and

wives. In term of politics, women are only made a small number of representatives. The ruling regime in the New Order limited the women's movement and activities in the politics by making them as the "*state ibuism*" which characterized the women to serve the husband, organization, and state in term of Dharma Wanita (Parawansah in Usu 7).

In short, women nowadays need the better condition to uphold their rights in the politics. Post – Soeharto reformation had already made the condition of women better than before. One of the serious steps to uphold gender equality is the implementation of gender quota. A gender quota system was first adopted for the General Election of 2004. Under Law 12/2003, it addressed that a quota of 30 per cent for women should be implemented by the political parties as the requirement to participate in the 2004 General Election (Siregar in Usu 9). Later, Political Party Law 2/2008 had obliged that there were 30 percent female candidates in the electoral lists and the party's board. Actually, this Law should make women have greater opportunities in entering the political world.

In fact, the gender quota which has been applied in Indonesia cannot make women reach the least proportion of 30 per cent in the Parliament. There is the decreasing number of women's representation from General Election 2009 to the latest General Election 2014. Moreover, the representation cannot fulfill the quota of 30 percent of female candidate in the House of Representative. The comparison can be seen from the table below:

	DPR (House of Representative) period	Total members	Total of Female member	Total of Male member
1.	DPR (2004-2009)	550	63 (11.8%)	487
2	DPR (2009-2014)	560	103 (19 %)	457
3	DPR (2014-2019)	560	97 (17.3%)	463

Table 1. The Number of Women's Representation in House of Representative of Indonesia

Courtesy: *kpu.go.id*, accessed on January 23rd 2015 at 19.00

The case of under-represented women in Indonesia is quite interesting to be discussed. Compared to other nation in South East Asian region, Vietnam and the Phillipine got the higher rank in the women's participation on 2009 General Election in each countries, respectively as 25.8 percent and 20.5 percent (Labani 87). It also reflects that the political actions in both countries have successfully induced women to enter the political world. Although the number of represented women in the parliament do not guarantee their position as the decision maker but the representation of women is important as the way to uphold their rights.

Here, the gender quota applied in Indonesia cannot help the women to fully achieve their rights. Although there is positive change in giving the chance for women to participate in the General Election but the decreasing number of women's representation in House of Representative signifies the strong value of traditional gender role attached to the society. be

Looking back to the socio-cultural factors that limit the women's representation in politics, it can be argued that the traditional gender role plays important role. This value has been added to the representation of women in public area, particularly media.

Moreover, the representation of women in media decreases the quality of women. The study of Prastyo finds that the female politician has been attached by her male's mate (Prastyo). Female politicians, in Indonesia, are portrayed as the one who get their fame and success because of male's help. In addition, the women are described as *konco wingking*, Javanese term to show the dependencies of women; she is the companion of her husband.

Therefore, it is important to analyze the portrayal of women, particularly in politics, through the political advertisement. It is because the media is the place where *gender role socialization* takes place. It proposes that individuals observe, imitate, and eventually internalize the specific attitudes and behaviors that the culture defines as gender appropriate by using other males and females as role models.

Political advertisement is the medium to correlate the political party with its voters. Then, the content of political advertisement should represent the society condition and attract voters (Tinarbuko). As the consequence, we should correlate the political party with the logo, number, and brand of its party. It will make society remember certain party and choose it (Tinarbuko).

Golkar, as the prominent party, also wants to show the strength by giving the various political advertisement in the media. Moreover, Nielsen Indonesia

declared that Golkar Party was the highest rank in purchasing political advertisement in the first quarter on 2014 (Faisal). It is increased higher as 686% or 170 Billion Rupiah than previous political year. Therefore, the Golkar political advertisement, entitled “Kesaktian Angka 5, Golkar Pilihannya” is chosen as the data in order to analyze the gender relation. This advertisement talks the benefit of number five in several aspects, like education, culture, religion, and nutrition. For example, the education aspect is portrayed by the appearance of lecturer who talks the *Pancasila*, Five Pillar.

The unfulfilment of gender quota as 30 percent in Indonesia in three last General Election becomes the gap of this study. Instead of evaluating the political systems in Indonesia, the writer wants to closely look at the portrayal of advertisement of political party to reveal the way how political party depicts the relation between man and woman.

1.2. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

From the background explained above, the writer formulates the statement of the problem:

How is the gender representation in Golkar political advertisement version ‘Kesaktian Angka 5, Golkar Pilihannya’?

1.3. OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The objective of the study seeks to answer the question released in the statement of the problem. This study focuses to reveal the gender representation in Golkar political advertisement version ‘Kesaktian Angka 5, Golkar pilihannya’.

Besides, it also tries to break down the cultural aspects which embedded to the advertisement.

1.4. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The significances of this study from the readers are various. First, for the lay readers, it will give a specific knowledge to understand the representation of gender in certain political advertisement. It means that society can be aware of what the ideological issues are sent by the party. Second, by analyzing this study, the writer expects to strengthen the idea that political advertisement content is really close related to the certain cultural and ideological values which based on gender. Third, for the society, this research can be their knowledge to enrich the specific cultural tendencies toward the political advertisement areas. Fourth, by analyzing this study, the writer expects that it will be useful and can give many contributions for the next researchers in Universitas Airlangga particularly for those who are interested in analyzing gender representation in political advertisement.

1.5. ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

In structuring the study, the writer is going to have five chapters. First chapter is Introduction contains the emergence of the issue and explores a bit about the theory, method, and limitation. Second chapter consists of Theoretical Framework, Previous Studies and Review of Related Studies. Theoretical Framework will explain the theory used to analyze the findings. Previous Studies inform the reader about the finding of several studies which correlate with the political advertisement and Golkar. Review of Related Studies will guide the

reader to explore several studies which has differences and similarity to the writer's study. The purpose of this chapter is to prove that the writer's study differ from other studies. Third chapter is the Methodology contains how the writer collects the data and analyzes the data. Fourth chapter is the Analysis of The Study which contains the explanation of the issues as well as the findings of the issue. Fifth chapter, Conclusion, contains of the result of the findings in previous chapter.

1.6. DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

- Femininity : A term that shows the women's linking traits which implies the good relationship to others, being kind, affectionate, and also caring (Ickes)
- Masculinity: A social orientation that emphasize the power and the social status (Ickes)
- Sara Mills's Discourse Analysis : The method in analyzing on how the reader is placed and the relation of subject – object of the text, particularly in the feminist issues (Eriyanto)
- Traditional Gender Role: A term that shows male-female relationship which accepted the male domination as the biological traits rather than as the political oppression (Ickes)