



## BIAS GENDER IN PORTRAYING FEMALE POLITICIAN IN MEDIA: A TALE OF TWO CITIES

Theresia D. Wulandari<sup>1\*</sup>, Rani A. Balaraman<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>School of Communication, Universiti Sains Malaysia, 11800 Gelugor, Malaysia

\*Corresponding Author Email: [wulandari@student.usm.my](mailto:wulandari@student.usm.my)

Received: 21 August 2022 • Accepted: 3 September 2022 • Published: 31 October 2022

### Abstract

*Research on gender bias is always interesting and can continue research related to other fields. One is the study of gender bias in reporting women leaders in the mass media. The social construction in Indonesia distinguishes men and women. Megawati Soekarnoputri is a female leader known as the first and only female President in Indonesia. This study uncovers the news content of two newspapers in Indonesia, namely Kompas and Kedaulatan Rakyat, during Megawati's presidency in the era 2001 - 2004. The researcher uses a content analysis method with the "pen pix" dimension by Cathy Jenkins. This study then interviewed two female journalists from Kompas and Kedaulatan Rakyat to confirm the findings of the news text research in the context of the news production process at the Kompas and Kedaulatan Rakyat editorial staff. The study results show that Kompas and Kedaulatan Rakyat are still gender-biased and focus more on the appearance and personal character of female politicians. The implications of this research are considered essential for media actors' guidelines to maintain gender equality between women and men as news subjects through the choice of news angles and news content flow.*

**Keywords:** gender, media, female leader, Megawati, news content

**Cite as:** Wulandari, T.D & Balaraman, R.A. (2022). Bias Gender in Portraying Female Politician in Media: A Tale of Two Cities. *Asian People Journal*, 5(2), 75-86.

## INTRODUCTION

Several media engage about how gender becomes a consequence of social construction reflected in the behavior, perceptions, and other things that characterize differences in how men should be and women are. Since the 1970s, academics have researched gender injustice in the form of women's construction in the mass media, both print, and electronic media. Several researchers found many significant intertwines between women and gender in media studies.

Gender issues are always interesting to serve as a discussion and research material among gender researchers. Gender-related research is always exciting because it relates to many aspects of human life. Gender is understood as a gender difference between men and women biologically, and its discussion is a difference in the

role of men and women in social status. The difference in the role between men and women (gender stereotype) is up to the realm of education, occupation, family, sexuality, reproduction, power, and other opportunities in life that impact the production process, culture, and knowledge (Lorber, 2018; Ellemers, 2018).

Gender issues have also occurred in the mass media. News in the mass media is not separate from the female figure as a news object, particularly women politicians in government ranks. Thus, how the media framed women's political figure as news objects are also interesting to research. It is not merely looking at the news content but seeing the impact of mass media coverage on the public perception of female politicians. Mass media's coverage also becomes a new discussion material to be researched because many researchers assume that mass media contributed to the process of public perception forming and determining the concept of gender in the public community (Kie, Deaux, & Haines, 2008; Sharda, 2019; Mañoso Pacheco, 2019). It ranges from making and understanding to prejudice against what media package issues in the form of news through the choice of words and symbols in the news. Of course, it also applies to news-related issues of women politicians.

### ***Literature Review***

Feminists have become the state of interest of researchers in the media and gender who see gender injustice due to perceptions among people who see women have different strata than men. Women are inferior and possess specific sectors, while more sectors are predominantly male. Similarly, in the journalistic industry, masculine-impressed and redaction policies are more influenced by males. Many researchers understand that the discussions related to gender injustice as a consequence of social construction manifested in behavior, perception, and other things that seem to give standards on stereotypes between males and females.

According to De Lauretis (as cited in Lemish, 2008), all this "social technology" is produced in text discourse, art, and other discourse. In sum, De Lauretis describe that they reflect in real life through mass media discourse products. The journalists constructed a discourse in the mass media. Therefore, this study sought to dismantle the background of women's newspaper journalists in packing gender issues in Indonesia. The efforts to dismantle women journalists' discourse in Indonesia packed that news related to this gender issue by the news exposure of Megawati Soekarnoputri, the first president of Indonesia from 2001-2004.

Therefore, media and women are one of the 12 crucial agendas of political issues within the Beijing Platform for Action in 1995 (Kusumaningrum, 2003). According to the discussion, this agenda is significant because the media also builds stereotypes, giving women limited access to the fight for their rights (Sadli, 2010). In Congress, that discussion also concludes that the media has limited access for women to serve as a source of news, even giving a very narrow space for women as editorial policymakers (Yusuf, 2004). The media is more male-controlled, so it is a masculine impression. The language of text, images, and symbols poured into the mass media content also shows the hegemony of men.

Since the 1970s, many academics (some focusing on the feminist movement) have examined the gender inequities constructed by the mass media, both printed and electronic. Some even describe women as second-class humans compared to men. According to Wood and Fixmer-Oraiz (2018), the Media reconstructs information, including packing a female figure in unrealistic ways and limited perception. Wood (2018) stated there were three ways of media portraying women and men differently, are (1) Sometimes the media portray the figures of men and women in unrealistic ways. Cultural standards that exist in men and women are not very important to note. Both males and females are depicted differently, thus bringing out a reflection and a gender-biased social view; (2) The media assesses the quality and function of the male and female bodies in different and subjective ways. The media also considers that women's physical characteristics are different from men's, abnormal, and need special attention; and (3) It depicts male and female relationships with conventional views to dispel violent acts against women.

Some examples of gender-biased preaching are as follows. Tuchman et al. (in Leiss et al., 2018) investigate those advertisements on television and radio in North America that see women only as housewives and sexual objects. Farida Jalalzai (2006) said that newspaper exposure in 1999-2000 in the United States placed candidates for different female senators than male candidates. As well as the newspaper in Iceland, gender bias appeared in news exposure to mass media. The male-to-female ratio is 5:1, although the number of female journalists in the media industry has increased significantly (Johannsdottir & Einarsdottir, 2015).

Gender-biased preaching also occurs in the mass media in Spain. The mass media provide different portions between men and women as news objects because women are often used as news materials for being victims of male criminals, in the form of text news and pieces of images. Women are also rarely used as news sources; even photographs of female journalists are seldom used (Aznar, Rodriguez-Wanguemert, & Morales, 2017). Likewise, in the Nordic countries, where all mass media companies 1970s up to 1999, media organizations are more male-controlled than women. Therefore, dominant men become decision-makers in determining news content. As a result, women have no portion as news speakers, let alone have power as decision-makers. Only one woman among two men occupies middle management, while top-level management of media companies in countries like Denmark, Finland, Iceland, and Norway with male domination (Byerly, 2011).

Since the second-wave feminism movement of the 1970s era, the involvement of women in politics has been increasingly marbling. The Times have changed, and women are slowly starting to demonstrate their existence to be empowered in many ways, no exception in political power. However, the feminist movement also has brought women into the political sphere. Not only has a voter, some women even reached the position of officials and political activists who occupy strategic positions in the governance system. Nevertheless, the involvement of women in politics still needs to be accompanied because the political world is running very dynamic by male groups (Zamfirache, 2010; Lombardo & Meier, 2006).

"We also draw into attention the fact that women need support, while men do not need training and information on the cause of male domination in politics, its effects on women or the development of more gender-equal attitude." (Lombardo & Meier, 2006)

Women's interest in politics began to marble in 1994, when 94% of women worldwide began participating as eligible voters. However, the number of women who had plunged as political leaders remained insignificant. Some women politicians of that era include German Chancellor Angela Merkel, Brazilian President Dilma Rouseff, and 5th Indonesian President Megawati Soekarnoputri. In total, only about 19% of women in the world occupy a high government position (Pande & Ford, 2012).

### ***Women Politicians in Indonesia***

Since they were free from Dutch colonial influences under Soekarno Era in 1949, Indonesian women played a significant role in the political movement in Indonesia. The rise of the female emancipation warrior, Kartini, made more women join the nationalist political party and even become the female military force (Blackburn, 2004). This role influences the strength of the modern women's organization in the era that also decays the dominance of Islamic groups in Parliament.

In the Era of Soekarno's Guided Democracy, the women's organization was increasingly active in 1950 by embracing women from all groups and classes. The female organization's significant role was the recovery efforts of civil society post-war independence in food, clothing, health, and education. The role of women leaders in social and political fields is widespread in many aspects. One of the female politicians is Sujatin Kartowijono, the chairman of the Women's organization, Perwari. Sujatin is active in social activities in campaigns for women in rural and labor groups (Blackburn, 2013; Martyn, 2004).

Not only *Perwari*<sup>1</sup>, in the 1950s era, there was also the organization of poor women in urban poverty, namely Gerwani. However, its influence grew faded in the new Order era of Suharto, which placed women inferior to men, according to Islamic teachings in many respects (Blackburn, 2004). Women were also increasingly being buried in the political realm, so voices and female figures grew less in the New Order era. In this era, even women's organizations geared toward domestic women's role in households. Through the women's organization *Kowani*<sup>2</sup>, the Government controlled increasingly limited female mobility spaces. At that time, the women's empowerment movement gave a role as a family education while contributing to the family economy. Therefore, the role of women in politics is getting smaller in Parliament, particularly in the era of the emergence of women in politics, the election of Megawati Soekarnoputri. He was the daughter of Indonesia's first president Sukarno who was elected chairman of the *PDI Perjuangan*<sup>3</sup> Party in 1992. Since then, Megawati Soekarnoputri emerged as an Indonesian female politician until she was elected as the fifth president of Indonesia, replacing Abdurrahman Wahid as a former president. She became the fifth Indonesian president from 2001 to 2004.

The researcher discovers two strong influence newspapers in Indonesia are *Kompas* and *Kedaulatan Rakyat*. *Kompas* covers national news (headquarters in Jakarta), and *Kedaulatan Rakyat* is regional level (headquarters in Yogyakarta). So, the research aims to observe how the two newspapers in Indonesia portrayed the news of the figure of Megawati throughout her reign as President from 2001-2004. The research also investigates how the mass media, specifically newspapers, depicted women as the subject of news in the political field. The implication of this research for media studies is to add to the repertoire of biased and gender-sensitive perspectives in the mass media industry in Indonesia, especially daily newspapers. The practical implications for the mass media industry players are to understand the concept of gender sensitivity in the newsroom because it impacts the news script products.

Megawati Soekarnoputri became president after Abdurrahman Wahid, or Gus Dur was revoked as president by the *MPR RI*<sup>4</sup> because of his efforts to issue a decree on the distribution of the *DPR/MPR Republik Indonesia* in July 2001. The particular session of the *DPR/MPR Republik Indonesia* held on July 23, 2001, ruled Megawati Soekarnoputri, who was then vice-President, became the fifth president of Indonesia from 2001 to 2004. Previous research mentions that men always dominate politics. There is no room for women in politics (Bligh et al., 2011; Braden, 2014; Bystrom, Robertson, & Banwart, 2001). Therefore, this research investigates how *Kompas* and *Kedaulatan Rakyat* portray Megawati as the fifth president from 2001 – 2004. This research is necessary because the media considerably impacts the public in determining perception, understanding, and prejudice to the subject of news (Ceulemans & Guido, 2015). In this case is a figure of women politicians in Indonesia, Megawati Soekarnoputri. According to many news coverages, research involving two things should serve in equal and balanced portions. However, based on the research results, much of the news coverage that raised gender issues in Indonesia raised the aspect of gender bias. More specifically, when it was about gender and

<sup>1</sup> *Persatuan Wanita Republik Indonesia*, Indonesian Women Union, the first women's organization in Indonesia that gave birth to a figure named Sujatin Kartowijono. *Perwari* was born since independence in 1945 with the aim of getting equal rights in politics for all women in Indonesia (Fatmawati, 2019)

<sup>2</sup> *Kongres Wanita Indonesia*, Indonesian Women Congress, the first women's meeting in Indonesia was held in September 1946 and brought together 82 women's organizations throughout Indonesia. One of the points discussed in the congress was about women's participation in elections

<sup>3</sup> *PDIP (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan)* is a political party led by Megawati Soekarnoputri which has a considerable influence in Indonesia to this day

<sup>4</sup> *Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Republik Indonesia*, The People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia is part of the highest state institution of the Republic of Indonesia, which was elected from the results of the general election for members of parliament, which is held once in five years in 33 provinces in Indonesia. The duties of members of the People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia can specifically amend the 1945 Constitution, inaugurate the President and Vice President, or dismiss them if they commit a disgraceful act (Arifin, 2019)

political issues, much preaching undertook the role of women (Anca & Gabaldon, 2014; Rinaldo, 2011). It only raised women related to their role in cultural aspects and depicted with subtle nature, weak, and tender, while men were portrayed as strong, mighty, and powerful (Ganahl, Prinsen, & Netzley, 2003; Reinchart & Carpenter, 2004).

## METHODOLOGY

This study will use a quantitative content analysis method. This method aims to find the number of keywords that are the main categories in the research unit and predict other variables (Riff, et al., 2014; Neuendorf, 2017). Researchers use this method because quantitative content analysis has its strength, where the findings will differ from the intent of the communicator's message conveyed to the communicant. Through this methodology, researchers can conclude without confirming communicators who may have intentions beyond what the audience understands. This method has been a procedure for understanding how to communicate from a readable text for almost two decades. Even this method's research results can predict the quality of reports from the writing production process. The conclusions of the findings of this quantitative content analysis method can be a reference for observing further problems from written narratives and are even believed to be empirical and valid findings from text research. Pragmatically, the research runs the process of segmenting content in communication texts into units which will then be described in categories. In determining the category critically, this method will then count the number of times a category appears and becomes a topic of discussion in a text of a communication product. To maintain the validity of this methodology, the researchers used two decoders to read and observe each sentence in the news content (coding data) according to the categories in the coding sheet. The researcher uses data coding to determine the validity of the data operated (Rourke and Anderson, 2004).

The gender bias aspect of the news will be determined; each category will use the dimension of "pen pix" by Cathy Jenkins, which divides the gender bias aspects into two categories groups, namely public and private (Jenkins, 2002). Jenkins explains that the "*public*" dimension is subject to activities related to individuals outside the home and family. In contrast, the "*private*" dimension is related to the activities in the home and family, whether they happened in the past or current moment. The *public* dimension is education, work/profession, community, politics, military, and sports. At the same time, the *private* dimension is a news subject activity that includes spouses, children, relatives, physical appearance, dress, personality, age, and background. The explanations for a total of 14 categories are as follows:

1. **Education.** The education category is the background of the school the news object has, not only the name of the school but other descriptions related to the school;
2. **Work/Profession:** This category denotes activities that are paid in nature or other business activities that generate income;
3. **Community:** This is related to other non-formal activities, not paid, and related to efforts to empower and develop the surrounding area;
4. **Politics:** The description of this category relates to political activities, both formal and non-form, on local, regional, national, and international scales and relates to political groups.
5. **Sport:** This category is related to bodily activities and is included in the "public" category because it relates to general activities, open and easily accessible to others.;
6. **Military:** This relates to military activities related to positions, honorary ranks, state defense activities, and meetings with military leaders to discuss military issues;
7. **Spouse:** This category characterizes the mention of the spouse's name, marital status, or other activities related to the husband/wife or life partner;
8. **Children:** Articles that characterize this category include a description of whether the news object has children or not, the number of children, the names of the children, and the activities of the children;

9. **Relatives:** This category describes the relationship of the object of the news with relatives who are not husband/wife and children, kinship relations, as well as the activities of the object of the news with related relatives, such as aunts, uncles, nephews, cousins, and others;
10. **Physical appearance:** This category refers to news articles that show descriptions of physical appearance, body shape, facial appearance, voice, skin color, and other visible physical characteristics;
11. **Dress:** It is obvious that this category refers to the clothes worn;
12. **Personality:** Articles that show this category mention the character of the news object, for example, humorous, friendly, angry, emotional, and other subjective judgments described in the news;
13. **Age:** The age category refers to the age of the object of the news, the date and place of birth, the appearance of the young or old object of the news, and matters related to age.;
14. **Background:** The background category refers to the story of the news object's past, life's journey, past processes, and life experiences that are retold from the life experience of the news object that is no longer lived in the present.

According to Riff et al. (2014), in social science research, researchers can combine content analysis methodology with other research methods to find the depth of findings in research. The purpose of this convergence as a strategy is to complement research findings from one method previously and then validate them with other research methods. Social science researchers call this strategy triangulation. One of them is the interview method. In this study, researchers combined quantitative content analysis methods with qualitative methods in interviews with journalists, writers and actors in news production. Therefore, the researcher will continue the research phase by interviewing two journalists from *Kompas* and *Kedaulatan Rakyat*.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The researcher analyzed a total of 19 news manuscripts collected from newspapers *Kompas* and *Kedaulatan Rakyat* throughout the publishing period of the era of President Megawati Soekarnoputri's leadership from 2001 to 2004. From the total of 19 manuscripts, the researchers compiled coding consisting of 14 categories of Cathy Jenkins and counted the number of news articles containing issues about the 14 categories. The coding sheet was then analyzed by two coders and produced quantitative content analysis findings from 19 news manuscripts in *Kompas* and *Kedaulatan Rakyat* are as follows. According to the research results of the 14 categories in the Analysis Unit, the two coders' reliability number is above 0.7 or 70%. According to the content analysis process, the result table 1 in each test category is as follows:

Table 1: Table of content analysis results for a total of 19 articles in *Kompas* and *Kedaulatan Rakyat*

Dimension	News amount		The amount of total article		Total percentage	
	<i>Kedaulatan Rakyat</i>	<i>Kompas</i>	<i>Kedaulatan Rakyat</i>	<i>Kompas</i>	<i>Kedaulatan Rakyat</i>	<i>Kompas</i>
Education	1	3	8	11	12.5	27
Work/Profession	2	7	8	11	25	64.5
Community	0	2	8	11	0	18
Politics	3	6	8	11	37.5	55
Sport	0	0	8	11	0	0
Military	0	0	8	11	0	0
Spouse	2	5	8	11	25	46
Children	0	1	8	11	0	9
Relatives	5	6	8	11	62.5	55

Physical	3	3	8	11	37.5	27
Appearance	0	1	8	11	0	9
Dress	6	6	8	11	75	55
Personality	2	3	8	11	25	27
Age	4	11	8	11	50	100
Background						

To make it easier to read the results of the content analysis and to see the trend of reporting patterns in *Kompas* and *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, the researchers visualized the findings figure 1 as follows:

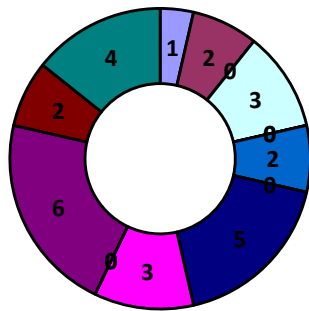


Figure 1: The visualization of content analysis data findings by *Kedaulatan Rakyat*

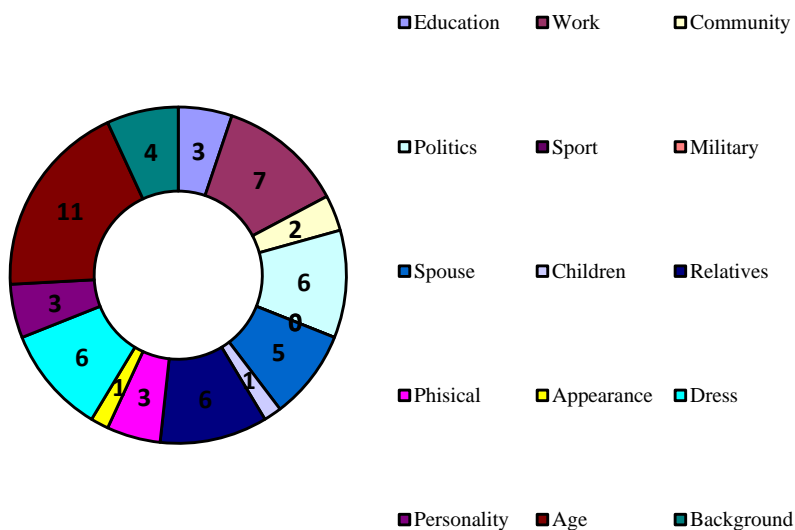


Figure 2: The visualization of content analysis data findings by *Kompas*

From the results of the quantitative content analysis of 19 news articles, the researchers found that the portrayal of *Kompas* and *Kedaulatan Rakyat* against Megawati Soekarnoputri as president from 2001 to 2004 was gender biased. This founding can be seen in several researchers' findings from news content analysis with 14 "pen pix" categories from Cathy Jenkins.

1. Five categories appear most frequently in the news exposure about Megawati's figure in both *Kompas* and *Kedaulatan Rakyat*. The five categories are background, personality, spouse, age, and physical appearance. According to Jenkins (2002), background, personality, spouse, age, and physical appearance are categories that are part of the personal dimension. In other words, *Kompas* and *Kedaulatan Rakyat* are likelier to report news about Megawati from the news angle of her personal life rather than her activities or performance as president.
2. The most significant percentage of *Kompas's* news coverage is Megawati, whose background (100%) is the daughter of Indonesia's first president, Soekarno. The dominance of the following *Kompas* news exposure was associated with Megawati with her figure as president (64.5%). *Kompas's* articles also primarily relate Megawati to relatives (55%) and personality (55%), equivalent to Megawati's news politics (55%). In other words, although *Kompas* exposes much news about Megawati regarding her personal life as the president's son, *Kompas* still exposes Megawati's news regarding her figure as president and a political figure.
3. *Kedaulatan Rakyat* always fills in the news about Megawati, which cannot be separated from her leadership style, personal life, and her motherly, gentle, and protective character. From the findings of quantitative content analysis in *Kedaulatan Rakyat* articles, only a few (an average 25%) of Megawati's news exposure is associated with her figure as president and politician.
4. In addition to the above data findings, the researchers found 24 articles linking Megawati to the public dimension, while the number of articles linking Megawati to the private dimension was 58 articles. Thus, it can be concluded that *Kompas* and *Kedaulatan Rakyat* prefer to describe Megawati in their news stories that cannot be separated from her personal side than her figure as president, politician, and leader.

In addition to obtaining data findings from two newspapers, namely *Kompas* and *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, regarding the depiction of Megawati Soekarnoputri as an object of news, the researcher also examines how the mass media, especially newspapers in Indonesia, portray women as the subject of news coverage in the political field.

A total of 19 manuscripts and the findings of the news content analysis resulted in 24 newspaper articles *Kompas* and *Kedaulatan Rakyat* relating Megawati to her personal life and 58 news manuscripts *Kompas* and *Kedaulatan Rakyat* linking Megawati to public life as President. Thus, the researcher concludes that the mass media in Indonesia, especially daily newspapers, both nationally and locally, still frame women who are active in politics from the point of view of their personal lives, not their activities in the political field. This funding is in line with Fixmer-Oraiz (2018), who says that the media sometimes frame news about women differently and even between male and female news portions. The media views women's physical appearance very differently so the physical appearance of female politicians is more attractive as news material than male politicians as news objects.

With the dominance of news that raises the personal lives of women politicians compared to their political activities, it is evident that the media prefer male sources on political issues over women (Aznar, Rodriguez-Wangüemert, & Morales, 2017). This founding is where the media's gender bias in politics occurs (Johannsdottir & Einarsdottir, 2015), even though there are currently many women journalists in Indonesia. When the mass media



in Indonesia focus more on the personal lives of female politicians (their physical appearance, as well as the stories of their lives that are associated with families who already have a previous name, and only receive a small portion of news about issues of a general and political nature), so the phenomenon of biased gender of mass media in the political field occurs.

In addition to carrying out the quantitative content analysis of 19 news texts *Kompas* and *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, the researcher continued qualitative content analysis by interviewing two journalists who were part of the editorial staff at *Kompas* and *Kedaulatan Rakyat* during the reign of President Megawati from 2001 to 2004. They are Maria Hartiningsih (Maria) from *Kompas* and Atiek Widyastuti Hadi (Atiek) from *Kedaulatan Rakyat*. Based on Maria's experience, *Kompas* places a fair portion for journalists to choose sources used as news objects, including the gender of news sources. Not infrequently, male journalists also contribute to the writing of news scripts related to women's issues. The following research step is to confirm the findings of content analysis data of two journalists from *Kompas* and *Kedaulatan Rakyat* regarding how the editorial policies of the two media put women as news objects.

"We can even remind male or female journalists when writing stories about women with the wrong words. We can ask what the writing means and why we chose that word or sentence." (Maria, 2019)

A different experience by Atiek. She felt that the editorial policy of *Kedaulatan Rakyat* was still male-dominated and thick with Javanese culture, so there were not many opportunities for female journalists to present women as ideal news objects. Even Atiek, a female journalist, experienced an incident where her male editor could change her writing because he wanted to raise a news angle about women from a different side.

This phenomenon is related to the influence of Javanese culture, which tends to be patriarchal. The culture used to divide roles between men and women based on physical size (Hermawati, 2007) *Kedaulatan Rakyat* also reflects this culture in editorial management which men still dominate. Therefore, *Kedaulatan Rakyat* always applies male editors' editing, screening, and approval stages in the news production process. As a result, it is not uncommon for news stories of women with high achievements to rarely receive attention and are considered not to have high news value, according to the editor's view.

"It could be because of the influence of the personal life of the company owner which is strengthened by cultural influences so that he considers women as second people compared to men in the society and also to the editorial management." (Atiek, 2019)

The involvement of women journalists in the media industry, which does not guarantee the position of women as news subjects on an equal basis with men, proves that the very masculine media industry has not fully sided with women's interests. The editorial decision that does not give women a large portion as news sources or news subjects (Aznar, Rodriguez-Wangüemert, & Morales, 2017) or prominent figures in political issues is reinforced by the fact that Atiek (*Kedaulatan Rakyat*). According to Atiek, she felt discriminated against as a female journalist, Atiek hopes that the editors of the mass media will be more in favour of women as news subjects as well as men. Lombardo and Ford (2012) state that women in the world must receive support in the political field to be equal to men.

This state is conveyed by Padovani et al. (2022) about the importance of gender sensitivity in the mass media for achieving women's rights in the mass media. Women's rights in the mass media, including policies on gender equality in the mass media, opportunities and access to equal career path positions between men and women, equal pay, media support on gender equality issues, opportunities for women to be part of news content, and multi-

platform mass media that is sensitive to gender equality. So, just like Maria's experience in the *Kompas* newsroom. *Kompas*, which provides space for male journalists to fill out news pages about women's issues, is a positive thing in the media industry's efforts to side with the issue of gender equality. Likewise, the selection of women as news sources is proof that the *Kompas* in the editorial system have shown an alignment with gender issues. Unfortunately, this alignment does not appear in the news content, especially in the news frame of Megawati Soekarnoputri when she was president from 2001 to 2004.

## CONCLUSION

Based on the description of the background, theory, methodology, and data findings, the researcher concludes that research on media and gender is always interesting to study. Researchers took two case studies from media exposure representing local and national daily newspapers, namely *Kompas* and *Kedaulatan Rakyat*. The sample in this study was 19 articles. From the results of a quantitative content analysis study on a total of 19 news articles during the Megawati Soekarnoputri presidential era during 2001-2004, the researcher concludes that the two newspapers headquartered in Jakarta and Yogyakarta have almost the same reporting patterns.

The similarity is the dominance of Megawati's news coverage, which primarily relates her to her personal life, especially Megawati's relationship as the daughter of Soekarno, Indonesia's first president. *Kompas* and *Kedaulatan Rakyat* also associated Megawati's news with her personality, even though *Kedaulatan Rakyat* described Megawati's figure as motherly, gentle, and protective. Only a few *Kedaulatan Rakyat* articles link Megawati with political activities or her figure as a politician. Slightly different from *Kompas*, although most articles relate Megawati to her personal and family life, *Kompas* still presents news about Megawati's activities and her figure as president and politician. From this finding, the researcher concludes that the mass media in Indonesia, especially daily newspapers, still associate the figure of political leaders in Indonesia with other things outside their activities as politicians. On the other hand, news content about the profiles or activities of female politicians cannot be separated from their personal, family, appearance, or personality assessments.

The findings of the text analysis using the quantitative content analysis method are in line with the findings of the qualitative analysis using the interview method with *Kompas* and *Kedaulatan Rakyat* journalists. The two female journalists said they had experience reporting on women's issues, which were still gendered biased. Especially at the *Kedaulatan Rakyat* editorial desk, the influence of gender bias in reporting on women as political leaders are due to the influence of patriarchal culture. Meanwhile, gender bias is still visible in the reporting in *Kompas*, although the editors allow journalists to explore issues that favor women's interests.

## REFERENCES

- Arifin, M. Z. (2019). Suatu Pandangan Tentang Eksistensi Dan Penguatan Dewan Perwakilan Daerah. *Jurnal Thengkyang*, 1(1), 1-15.
- Aznar, M. M. (2017). Portrayal of women and men in the Spanish press. *Revista Latina de Comunicacion Social*, 72, 765-782.
- Blackburn, S. (2004). *Women and the state in modern Indonesia*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Bligh, M. C., Schlehofer, M. M., Casad, B. J., & Gaffney, A. M. (2012). Competent enough, but would you vote for her? Gender stereotypes and media influences on perceptions of women politicians. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 42(3), 560-597.

- Braden, M. (2014). *Women politicians and the media*. University Press of Kentucky.
- Byerly, C. M. (2011). *Global report on the status women in the news media*. Washington, DC: International Women's Media Foundation [IWMF].
- Bystrom, D. G., Robertson, T. A., & Banwart, M. C. (2001). Framing the fight: An analysis of media coverage of female and male candidates in primary races for governor and US Senate in 2000. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 44(12), 1999-2013.
- Ceulemans, M., & Fauconnier, G. (2015). Mass Media: The Image, Role, and Social Conditions of Women A collection and analysis of research materials, UNESCO. *International Women Online Journal Of Distance Education*, 4(2).
- De Anca, C., & Gabaldon, P. (2014). Female directors and the media: Stereotypes of board members. *Gender in Management: An International Journal*.
- Ellemers, N. (2018). Gender stereotypes. *Annual review of psychology*, 69, 275-298.
- Fatmawati, D. (2019). *Peranan Sujatin Kartowijono dalam Persatuan Wanita Republik Indonesia (PERWARI) Tahun 1945-1960* (Doctoral dissertation, UIN SMH BANTEN).
- Ganahl, D. J., Prinsen, T. J., & Netzley, S. B. (2003). A content analysis of primetime commercials: A contextual framework of gender representation. *Sex roles*, 49(9), 545-551.
- Jalalzai, F. (2006). Women candidates and the media: 1992-2000 elections. *Politics & Policy*, 34(3), 606-633. doi:10.1111/j.1747-1346.2006.00030.x
- Jenkins, Cathy. (2002). *The more things change: Women, politics and the press in Australia*.
- Kusumaningrum, Ade. (2003). Radio, media alternatif suara wanita. *Jurnal Wanita*, 28.
- Leiss, W., Kline, S., Jhally, S., Botterill, J., & Asquith, K. (2018). *Social communication in advertising*. London, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Lemish, D. (2008). Gender: Representation in the media. The International encyclopedia of communication. doi:10.1002/9781405186407.wbiecg008
- Lombardo, E., & Meier, P. (2006). Gender mainstreaming in the EU: Incorporating a feminist reading? *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 13 (2), 151-166.
- Lorber, J., (2018). The social construction of gender. In *Inequality in the 21st Century* (pp. 347-352). London, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Martyn, E. (2004). *The Women's Movement in Postcolonial Indonesia: Gender and Nation in a New Democracy*. Routledge. doi:10.4324/9780203299197
- Mañoso Pacheco, L. (2019). Gender asymmetries in news reports Miscelánea: *A Journal of English and American Studies*, 57, 121-139.
- Neuendorf, K. A. (2017). *The content analysis Guidebook*. New York, NY: Sage.
- Padovani, C., Belluati, M., Karadimitriou, A., Horz-Ishak, C., & Baroni, A. (2022). Gender inequalities in and through the media: Comparing gender inequalities in the media across countries. *Success And Failure*, 79.

- Pande, Rohini; Ford, Deanna. 2012. *Gender Quotas and Female Leadership*. Washington, DC: World Bank. © World Bank. <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/9120> License: CC BY 3.0 IGO
- Riff, D., Lacy, S., & Fico, F. (2014). *Analyzing Media Messages: Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research (3rd ed.)*. Routledge. doi:10.4324/9780203551691
- Rinaldo, R. (2011). Gender and Moral Visions in Indonesia. *Asia Pacific: Perspectives*, 10 (1), 44-60.
- Sadli, Saparinah. (2010). *Berbeda Tetapi Setara: Pemikiran Tentang Kajian Wanita*. Jakarta, Indonesia: Penerbit Buku Kompas.
- Sharda, S. (2019). Promoting Gender Diversity in the Boardroom: Exploring Multiple Perspectives. *IUP Journal of Business Strategy*, 16(1), 50-75.
- Wood, J. T., & Fixmer-Oraiz, N. (2018). *Gendered lives*. Massachusetts, MA: Cengage Learning.
- Yusuf., Iwan. A. (2004). Peningkatan Kepekaan Gender dalam Jurnalisme. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik*. 7(3), 351-376.
- Zamfirache, I. (2010). Women and Politics—the Glass Ceiling. *Journal of Comparative Research in Anthropology and Sociology*, (1), 175-185.