GENDER COMMUNICATION STRATEGY IN INDONESIA

Muhammad Edy Susilo, Nurul Latifatun Nisa
Department of Communication Science
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, UPN “Veteran” Yogyakarta
muh_edy_susilo@yahoo.co.id

Abstract
Reformation began in 1998, since then, the issue of women's quota in the legislature has surfaced. This issue was successfully established into a political policy that accommodates affirmative action for women in parliament. Quota policies that contain at least 30% of women's representation apply to the number of delegates, candidates, and officials. The purpose of this policy is to ensure the implementation of rules that pro to women. Nevertheless, still 30% quota has not been fully fulfilled. Some region in Indonesia show different development. This research was conducted in Minahasa, it has the largest number of women representatives of legislative members in Indonesia and in Wonosobo with the least number of women representatives in the legislature in Indonesia. This research uses experimental method and qualitative analysis. Experiments were conducted to find out how respondents rated female politicians and male politicians. The results of the experiment were further investigated with in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. Research shows that male respondents perceive male politics as more capable than female politicians. Meanwhile, female respondents also see male politicians more competent. This is in line with the stereotyping gender theory. Women politicians who have good political communication skills have the opportunity to be elected in political circles. The social structure also affects women's election as politicians. In Wonosobo, it is known that religious groups do not approve of women becoming legislators.

Keywords: affirmative action, gender stereotyping, politician

INTRODUCTION
The political reform in Indonesia in 1998 brings a great momentum for the State. One of the most important changes is the representation of women in the legislature. This issue initiated by the female activist circle. They highlighted the low representation of women in parliament during the New Order era. This lawsuit arose from unequal representation in parliament compared to the number of voters dominated by female voters. On the other hand, Indonesia has long passed the Law No. 68 of 1958 on the Ratification of the Convention on the Political Rights of Women. It regulates the Embodiment of Equality (non-discrimination), the guarantee of equality of elections and elected, guarantees participation in the formulation of policies, the opportunity to occupy bureaucratic positions, and the guarantee of participation in socio-political organizations.

Affirmative action on women in
politics is increasingly perfected. It can be examined when Law No. 22 of 2007 concerning Election Organizer stipulates that the composition of election organizers should pay attention to women's representation of at least 30%. The law states that: "The composition of membership of the KPU, Provincial KPU, and Regency / Municipal KPU takes into account women's representation of at least 30% (thirty percent)".

Women's representation in parliament, has not shown expected results. In the 1999 General Election or before the affirmative action was applied, the representation of women in parliament was 9.0%, then in the 2004 elections or after affirmative action, women representation slightly increased to 11.8%. In the next election, in 2009, rose to 18.2% (Mulyono, 2010).

In the legislative election of 2014, it was only able to yield women representation in the legislature as much as 97 seats (17.32 percent) in the House, 35 seats (26.51 percent) in the DPD, and an average of 16.14 percent in DPRD and 14 percent in the district / city DPRD (http://www.beritasatu.com/nasional/210327-kuota-30-keterakil-perempuan-di-parlemen-gagal-tercapai.html)

From the 33 provincial DPRD, there is a DPRD whose seats reach 30% for women, namely DPRD North Sulawesi. The highest female seats are in DPRD Kabupaten Minahasa which is 42.86% (15 out of 35 seats) (Republika.co.id). For the lowest seats proportion when there are only 2 women who sit as board members in Wonosobo. The amount means only 4.4% of the total number of 45 board members.

The theory used is the classical rhetoric approach, namely the art of persuasion, ethos, and pathos. Ethos: knowledge and trustworthiness. Pathos that we know as the style of speaking with the aim of touching the emotions are represented by "optimistic", "hopeful", "disturbing", "worrying". Ethos and pathos can also be associated with Marcus's (1988: 1991) research which contains the foundation of emotional messages in political campaigns. The nature of "inspire" and "boring" can be related to the concept of charismatic speech. Also "convincing" and "irrelevant" express acceptance or rejection.

Maximizing the potential of women politicians can be preceded by introducing effective ways of communicating. Form of proactive political communication prioritizes the rhetorical ability of candidates. That is how communication techniques with journalists and techniques to speak in public.
Proactive and effective political communication can manifest a well-known politician and have a chance to pick up votes. Popular communicators can more easily influence the communication process. This can be beneficial because politicians who are communicators have a strategic position.

Based on that, this research formulated the research questions to be solved as follows, how much gender stereotyping influenced voters in assessing the political communication ability of the candidate. This study aims to identify gender factors that influence voter while assess candidate’s political communication and provide an overview of candidate’s ideal political communication skills.

METHOD

This study uses mix method that apply quantitative and qualitative research. The research was started by using experimental method and continued with qualitative thick description approach. The synergy of the two methods is intended to provide a description of the gender factors affecting voter appraisal of candidate political communication skills. Then the results utilized in for the material of communication strategy about ideal political communication ability. From these steps researchers made model of political communication strategies that can be applied to optimize the potential of women politicians.

In the initial stages, the design of questionnaires for experimental research emphasizes the structure of good political speech. The object of the study was asked to assess and give opinions of the elements and structure of the speech that was aired. The scale used is 0-10. Where the number 0 shows the sign strongly disagree and 10 means strongly agree. Meanwhile. qualitative methodology tend to be associated with the desire of researchers to examine the meaning, context, and a holistic approach to phenomena. (Hayes in Mulyana, 2007: 6).

After pre-research interpretation, it is followed by data collecting technique for modeling of communication strategy through observation potency of woman politic, in-depth interview to informant that is politician (cadre) of woman party, party leader, woman activist, public figure, and society. Focus Group Discussion (FGD) involving representatives of political politicians from Minahasa and Wonosobo regencies.

DISCUSSION

Women have rights and become they are majority of the population in Indonesia. Women can also participate in
The political climate by making herself a politician. The participation of women in developing the State shows the desire to get equal rights and obligations in politics.

The comparison presented of an experimental process on respondents who saw a video of a male candidate or saw a female candidate. The overall pattern looks pretty clear. Male candidates are considered by respondents to perform better than female candidates. In six of the nine features, the score for the male candidate is higher. As for the other three indicators of the nature, women candidates achieve higher values even with a thin margin. The nature in question is the assessment of speech content that is considered to have knowledge, give hope, and look optimistic.

The data shows that speech looks more fun, credible, relevant, convincing, inspiring, and reassuring when done by a male candidate in use. Although assessed if the contents of the speech provide knowledge and optimistic tone gives hope, respondents do not consider that women candidates are quite trustworthy of its integrity as a politician. Respondents preferred male candidates who delivered speeches and were considered more convincing.

When gender is included in the analysis, it is found that there are differences between male and female respondents in evaluating candidates of the same sex. One of the initial assumptions of the research is that voters will prefer candidates of their own gender.

There is no clear support for the overall assumption of gender solidarity. Generally there is a small and insignificant difference in how women evaluate male and female candidates. This shows that gender does not seem important to women. Turning to the value of a male candidate, the story becomes different. Men judge male candidates better on most indicators. Two statements in which men judge women's candidates higher are two traits that are the nature of many women's instincts, giving hope and optimism. Although far from significant, men in the study sample considered the speech somewhat tedious and more irrelevant when performed by female candidates.

Based on the in-depth investigation in the research, it can be seen that the political is not popular among women. Politics are too strongly identified with men. Many women are active in civic organizations such as Aisyiah and Muslimat NU, but they prefer to remain in the area and not to use their activities or popularity to become legislators. This is reinforced by religious doctrine that men are leaders and not women. This is
evidenced by the low leadership of women in a strategic position. In the executive institutions female leaders are also not many who sit in the strategic ranks. During the history of Wonosobo district, the highest position held by women is the vice regent, it is only one period ie 2010-2015. Women heads are also only 2 of 15 districts. Women leader in village, only range from 10-15 people from 236 villages in Wonosobo district, head of local government agency/agency still dominated by men.

In the campaign period leading up to the election, women legislative candidates mostly use approaches that reinforce gender stereotypes. One legislative candidate, for example, places herself as a "mother". Mothers are synonymous with gentle and nurturing traits. This is used as one of the attractions to win the hearts of voters. To further convince the prospective voters with the characteristics of motherhood used the slogan "Pokokke Melu Ibu" which means "Just Join with Mother".

Members of the legislature also use the rhetorical approach as described at the beginning of this paper. Classical rhetoric uses alloys of three components: ethos, pathos and logos. Ethos is a source of trust. Prospective Members of the legislature should be able to be trusted by the audience. There are two categories of legislative candidates: those who really have the competence to be legislative members and and those nominated to fulfill women's quota of 30%. For the first category, they have relatively good ethos because they have something offered to prospective voters. In general they also have experience in the organization. Meanwhile, for the second category has the opposite nature. Their ethos has not emerged because of their candidacy as a legislative candidate is the first experience as a candidate for politicians.

Prospective female legislators who have good ethos tend to be followed by good pathos too. Pathos which means an emotional appeal, or something related to human emotions, because when conveying oration or topic of the problem, it is often concerned with the listener's feelings and sometimes gives rise to empathy or even sympathy from the audience or audience. They are able to bring the atmosphere of listeners into the topic of the problem it conveys. If the expected response appears, then the speaker succeeds in having the aspect of Pathos within him. This is also supported by grammatical and his speech style.

The third aspect, logos, it appears that women legislative candidates have different communication strategies. There
is a fundamental difference when they are arguing on a different gender. In a male audience, they convey a rational, real or real argument and can be proven not just a promise but there must be evidence. While the female audience because there is emotional closeness, then the forward is the sense and motherhood that I have through a sociological approach and a sense of sympathy and empathy.

This clearly demonstrates that women politicians also participate in perpetuating gender stereotypes. Women's feminine concepts must coincide with love. If a woman chooses to be a politician and holds a certain position, then her abilities aim to prosper. The value women have is not only nurturing, but includes clear logic and purpose.

**CONCLUSION**

Indonesia is extensive country, some are still adheres to patriarchal culture in various regions. Legal umbrella that encourages women's political participation needs to be supported with adequate social change. There is an ambiguity in which women are allowed to engage in the public sector and contribute to family incomes, but when they will occupy positions of leaders, there are still many restrictions. The restriction comes from both religious and socio-cultural arguments.

Gender stereotypes are still firmly attached to the minds of people. Women are labeled and judged differently from men. At the same time, male and women politicians candidate communicate by perpetuating this stereotype. The image of women as care and loving mothers is used by politicians to win votes in the elections.

Women need to be accustomed to give the impression, be it in the social, cultural, and political. The findings show that women have the potential to become exemplary figures. Nowadays, not only make the most of knowledge, women spend more effort to be recognized.

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