CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I.1 Background of The Problem

While making half of the global population, women are poorly represented in the political process of most countries in the world (Congressional Research Service, 2019). This fact was asserted by the research findings from Congressional Research Service (2019) which indicate that only 23.4% from that total legislative seats in the world are occupied by female politicians. Although gender equality and women's empowerment has been part of the international agendas (United Nation, 2015; 2007), and numbers of nations have initiated their own program to promote an increase in women participation in politics (Congressional Research Service, 2019), huge barriers remain to exist when it comes to this issue.

The barrier that prohibit women to reach higher level position in their career is often termed as a "glass ceiling." The United States Federal Glass Ceiling Commission (1995, p. 13-15), defined "glass ceiling" as "the unseen, yet unbreachable barrier that keeps minorities and women from rising to the upper rungs of the corporate ladder, regardless of their qualifications or achievements." It needs to be stressed out, however, that "glass ceiling" does not absolutely prevent women to reach high level position (Cotter & Ovadia, 2001). This explained why in the context of political world, while 110 women has been elected as the head of their countries since 1960 (Congressional Research Service, 2019), this does not mean that there is no "glass ceiling."

According to experts, the obstacle that hinders women to attain high level job position is often rooted in their social and political culture instilled in their own countries (Norris & Inglehart, 2001). One huge factor that hinders women to reach high leadership position is due to socially constructed gender hierarchy, in which men considered as more viable to be a leader, while women are judged to be unqualified for the role (Sanghvi & Hodges, 2015). It indicated that countries with constantly traditional attitudes toward women will be reflected by its low representation of women in politics. According to Norris and Inglehart (2011), this traditional attitude towards women includes the social construction that women domains are meant to be in the domestic field and in her role as a caregiver.

In Indonesia itself, the political situation in the country does not seem to facilitate equal opportunity between men and women to enter political landscape. This condition was reported by the data gathered by the end of 2018 (Congressional Research Service, 2019) which shows that Indonesian women only filled 17.4% of the total seats available in the legislative parliament.

Female politicians are also treated in a compromising way in Indonesia, with mostly negative attitude towards them. It is found that Female politicians in the country are often judged more by their appearance and attractiveness rather than their capability and skills by the media (Ida, 2013). Women are also often judged by their stereotypical feminine standard, and condoned if they failed to meet the standard (Erry, Abdulla, & Udasmoro, 2013). However, despite the disadvantageous situation for women in Indonesia's patriarchal culture, Susi Pudjiastuti has been one prominent female figure on in Indonesia politics who is

able to preserve her good image and become the most admired women in Indonesia in 2018 (Kompas, 2019; Yougov, 2019).

While women in the patriarchal society are expected to behave in a feminine way, few high-ranking women choose to challenge the standard by exhibiting masculinity in their behavior (Gardiner, 2009). The same phenomenon is also noticed in the world of western politics, with many prominent female politicians like Hillary Clinton and Angela Merkel do display certain masculinities (Beards, 2017, p. 53-79). Regarding this mixture between masculinity and femininity, the term is often termed as androgyny (Summers, 2017).

The purpose of this research is to assess and analyze the representation of Androgyny in Susi Pudjiastuti team by analyzing her official Instagram account. This is taken into consideration, knowing the fact that in this modern era, humans largely use social media as a tool to self-present themselves (Rettberg, Burgess, Marwick; Poell, 2017).

Much of the related and similar research is mostly focused in Western countries, due to this researcher is interested in the condition in Eastern countries like Indonesia. Through this process, the researched has a hope that this paper can enlighten the underlying mechanism of Susi Pudjiastuti highly respected public image.

I.2 Problem Identification

Taking a step further from the issue of lack of female representation in politics, according to experts (Newman & White, 2012), the optimum level of

women representation in politics must meet the standard of "mirror representation" in one respective country. What Newman and White define as "mirror representation" is the condition in which the proportion of women in one nations population is reflected in the proportion of women in political office. The agenda of "mirror representation" was initially pushed with the assumption that elected officials of a gender will promote and support policies and government operation that would be beneficial for the people under same sex or gender identification.

Following the rule of "mirror representation," the representation of women in Indonesian is rather fall short to the standard. This understanding comes by knowing the fact that women makes 49.8% percent of the total population in Indonesia (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2015), however there are only 17.4% of women representation in parliament (Congressional Research Service, 2019). While Indonesia was rather ranked low in the chart, other highly developed country does not seem to perform far better. As Indonesia is placed in the 104th position when it comes to its female representation in the legislative parliament, highly developed country like the United States, United Kingdom, and South Korea also display terrible performance in promoting "mirror representation" in their countries (Congressional Research Service, 2019).

As has been mentioned before, the barriers that prevent women to reach higher levels in the career is often termed as "glass ceiling" (Federal Glass Ceiling Commission, 1995). Experts have provided numbers of explanation points regarding why this barrier might exist in one environment, these includes structural factors, the impact of political institutions, cultural factors (Norris & Inglehart,

2001). For the purpose of this paper only, the only factor that will be focused on is cultural factor, which often includes traditional gender roles, stereotyping, and sexism. This is considering the research conducted by the World Values Survey, which indicates that cultural factors play a tremendously huge role in preserving "glass ceiling" in politics (Norris & Inglehart, 2001).

It is reported that female politicians across the globe are faced with multiple challenges that hinders the to reach higher level career (Beaudoux, 2017). These challenges include tendency to focus on female politician domestic life, attaching them to related and powerful male associates, labelling them as emotional, judge them by their looks, and commenting on their voice. Need to be noted that these challenges are not usually imposed towards male politician, which signifies not only injustice balance between both sides of political figure, however also the double standard that is imposed towards women.

According to numbers research and expert however, it has been found out that female politicians often choose to challenge this compromising working environment by doing the opposite of what they are expected to behave in regard to their gender (Gardiner, 2009). This strategy is done by exhibiting masculinities in their behavior, it has been proven to be effective with research found that women with more masculine traits have more access to higher paying jobs (Drydakis et al, 2017)

The same similar behavior was also recorded in studies conducted by Nakyung Choi (2019) regarding "Women's political pathways in Southeast Asia." According to Choi, there are three general pathways for women to actively

participate in the political process of their country. These include "elite" path, a "grassroots" path, and a varied set of "middle" paths. According to the study (Choi, 2019), politician from three different branches of pathway possesses distinct motivations, political capital, strategies, and personal circumstances. Choi in her simple and brief chart of characteristics between three categories of female politician, mentioned that female from "middle" path, usually employs a unique strategy "flexible use of masculine and feminine aura." This research findings were drawn from ethnographic analytic of four most populous countries in South Asia, including Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam. The result however, has not been further elaborated by Choi, which is considered by the researcher of this paper as an open field for further study and examination.

I.3 Research Statement

With the research background, it can be concluded that this thesis paper has the research statement such as:

How Androgyny is represented in Susi Pudjiastuti through Instagram?

I.4 Significance of Study

Every research initiative needs a firm argument about how significant they are in their field of study and toward the world, in this thesis, it will be divided into several points.

I.4.1 Significance on Academic Field

Under the context of this point, the significance of this research can be sorted into:

- Enriching the studies regarding androgyny and its representation in the media.
- 2. Offers a comprehensive analysis and knowledge regarding political figure public image.
- 3. Provides a detailed description about how Susi Pudjiastuti represent androgyny through her official Instagram account.

I.4.2 Significance on Practical Field

Through this research, it is hoped that it can give deeper insight about how female political figure in Indonesia maintain their positive image in the society, especially in the case of this study, regarding the political image of former Indonesian's Minister of Maritime Affair Fishery, Susi Pudjiastuti.

I.5 Research Objective

Researcher on this paper has numbers of objectives that can be sorted as such:

- Understand in depth how androgyny is represented in female politician in the case Susi Pudjiastuti Instagram account
- Comprehensively illustrate Susi Pudjiastuti's public image is regards of her gender that is shaped through her Instagram account.

I.6 Organization of Study

I Introduction

This chapter will consist of the brief explanation about the issue being discussed in this paper, so that the reader can be well familiar with the topic. Important points such as research background, problem identification, formulation of problem, significance of study, research objectives, and writing system.

II Literature Review

This chapter will include a comprehensive elaboration of organizational socialization with the firm reference from previous studies. This will be used to build stronger understanding toward the reader of this thesis paper.

III Research Methodology

The chapter will briefly explain about this scientific paradigm being used in this research, the methodology, and how this paper gathers its data collection.

IV Discussion and Finding

This chapter will be consisted of the in-depth analysis over data that has been collected. All the data will be interpreted and sorted into sub-points, in the purpose that is can be easily read and understand. This chapter will also explain the relation between this paper collection of data related to the scientific theoretical understanding that is being used, which will also lead to the conclusion.

VI Conclusion and Advice

The chapter will consist of the conclusion for this entire thesis paper, and the advice for further research of similar topic.