
Gender Representation in Golkar Political Advertisement version “Kesaktian Angka 5, Golkar Pilihannya”: Sara Mills’ Discourse Analysis

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Abstract

Indonesian Women are unable reach 30% of place in Parliament in the Three Last General Elections. This evidence can be connected with the media as the agent on the portraying gender’s relation. The connection between political advertisement’s narratives with the society’s condition signifies how actually gender division is implemented. This study wants to examine the construction of sexual division in labour through Sara Mills’ Discourse Analysis in Golkar political advertisement. Besides, the writer wants to analyze the cultural codes embodied in the advertisement. Using Sara Mills’ Discourse Analysis, the writer wants to focus on the subject – object position and the reader’s position on Golkar Political Advertisement “Kesaktian Angka 5, Golkar Pilihannya” by relating the gender relation and connecting the cultural codes depicted in the advertisement. This advertisement is taken because it is viewed by 26.000 viewers in Youtube channel. Besides, it clearly defines gender relation. The writer argues that advertisement’s portrayal cast man as the subject and marginalized women. Besides, the cultural codes imply that Golkar’s advertisement pushes us to agree to the notion of gender relation in which disadvantages women. In conclusion, this advertisement strengthens the traditional gender role in which makes women can’t join political world. Furthermore, Indonesia needs better understanding on women’s right.

Keywords: gender representation, political advertisement, Sara Mills’s discourse analysis

Introduction

The participation of women in politics has been widely argued. Some theorists said that the democratic society cannot be reached if there is no participation from all of the society – includes the women. Here, the political involvement can be described as any of activities aiming 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. Unfortunately, there are several factors which limit the women in the area of politics.

First, the patriarchal society has the huge factors which block the movement of women. Women should be in the private life and serve herself as mother and wives, while man is in the public sphere (Labani 14). This ideology will affect the gender hierarchy which shows the inequality of gender. Besides, the lack of women in political capability, economic factors, and social capital are the limiting factors which strengthened to the subordination of women. Moreover, the political factors, such as the formal political structure make the number of women in politics decrease because the man still dominates the political and national bodies.

In general, increasing the women’s participation is not easy. Since 1995, the recommendation of Beijing Platform has set the 30 percent for women in national decision maker position (Labani 13). From then, the quota of women in parliament has increasingly been applied in several countries, even though the implementation of gender quota needs the longer time.

Gender quota systems allocate a certain percentage or number of women as members of the body politic, either in candidate lists, a parliamentary assembly, other committees or government institutions (Dahlerup in Usu). It is argued that quotas are effective in increasing women’s political involvement . Furthermore, quotas are also considered by some to be a ‘fast track’ for achieving that (Usu) . In Nordic countries, for example, the introduction of quotas has increased women’s legislative representation

(Freindeval in Usu). In a very different geopolitical environment, Rwanda's gender quota achieved the highest share of women in parliament in the world.

Since 2004, Indonesia's women has already got the 30% quota in representing their parliament's position by several affirmative action like the Law number 10 / 2008 article 57. Actually, this condition will give women a freedom to feel the public arena; erasing the gendered sector of labour. In fact, the representation of women in Parliament on General Election 2014 indicates the unfulfilling of the 30% quota in Parliament. Based on the report, there is incline in number of voted women's parliament from 103 members to 97 members in General Election 2014 (Analisis Perolehan Suara dalam Pemilu 2014). This condition is different with the idea of making equality between man and woman in politics.

Moreover, the representation of women in media decreases the quality of women. The study of Prastyo finds that the women politician has been attached by her male's mate (Prastyo). Women politician, 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; they are the accompaniment of their 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 advertisements in the media. Moreover, Nielsen Indonesia declared that Golkar Party was the highest rank in purchasing political advertisement in the first quartal 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.

Historically, Golkar has hugely used the political advertisement to gain the society's attention. From the 1999, the mass media have given the bad attitude (Hamad). It is shown by the portrayal of negative trait of Golkar party. So, they have to build the good image of the party by using the unity of Golkar and the appearance of the expertise like Jusuf kalla and Akbar Tanjung.

Traditional gender role can be defined as the male-female relationship which accepted the male domination as the biological traits rather than as the political oppression (Ickes). It is the way how the male's domination can occur for long time and makes them in higher position than female. Here, several practices have already divided the male and female into the certain traits which should be owned by each of them; it is called masculinity for male, and femininity for female.

Masculinity is something socially constructed as the traits of men. Patricia Leavy argues in her paper that the masculinity is associated with the power, strength, and intelligence (Patricia Leavy). Masculinity, Tannen stated that, as the social orientation that emphasizes the power and the social status (Ickes). The masculine disposition, then, is to attend the status and power implication of a social exchange before considering the solidarity and closeness. Eisler & Loye had stated that the masculinity trait is the ranking value which makes males tends to be aggressive in competition (Ickes). The masculinity itself, furthermore, emphasizes the ranking trait which deals with the taking charge, acting independently, and being decisive, forceful, as well as assertive.

Femininity is defined as the culture-driven and can be understood as a set of characteristics ascribed to women (Patricia Leavy). Besides, the femininity is associated with the social construction which successfully induced to the women. Traditionally, the feminine women would have the linking traits which

implies the good relationship to others, being kind, affectionate, and also caring (Ickes). The femininity also tries to teach the women how to do the household things (baking the bread, handling the toilet), how to dress, how to obey the men, and act more feminine and make marriage more exciting (Friedan). This quality of femininity also should be applied by women in order to be accepted as the part of society. This argument comes because the unhappy woman, the smart women who pursue career is classified as bad women (Friedan).

This kind of division creates the division in labor. There is specification of sexual division based on traits of femininity and masculinity. Mostly, the segregation is merely defined by the skill of the labor. Women tend to be unskilled and usually be in the cutting section, for example (Dex). Meanwhile, the man is the one who controls the machine and organizes the production. In addition, women should work in the natural talent of their femininity, taking care the children and husband, sewing, cooking, and washing (Rosen 184).

In analyzing the gender relation, one of the approaches can be done by using Sara Mills discourse analysis which based on the feminist perspective. Sara Mills concerns on how actually the reader and writer have been placed in the text. Besides, it will identify the position in which can legitimate certain position. Here, the method in analyzing based on Sara Mills Discourse Analysis:

Position of Subject – Object

Sara Mills has taken into account the representation as the most important part in the analysis. She really concerns on the position of Subject – object based on the stylistics or diction on the text. The tendency of higher-positioned actor will affect the representation of the actor and other characters. The actor will define the created reality, be interpreted and be shown to the society. The position of actor or the subject on the text shows the reader of the specific discourse and limits the subject's perspective (Eriyanto)

The position of subject and object will create the gap of representing themselves so that they cannot equally portray the perspectives. Sara Mills talks that there is dominant readers who knows everything and leads them into the certain framework in functioning the position of subject and object.

To show the position of subject and object in the text, Mills also analyze the created situation which can affect the subject-object position in text. The situation will cover who the subject is, who the object is and how the object is portrayed and defined. Sara Mills also contains certain ideology of marginalizing the women by the man. It also portrays the position to do the same actions. First, the position will show the point of view on certain limitation. It will make man as the actor who brings the man's voices as the narrator. It also implies that society depends on the narration. Second, the subject will represent that man has full authority to tell the truth to the readers. Third, the subjective defining process will affect the defining on the only one side.

Position of Reader

There are several benefits on using the Sara Mills on the text. First, this model will comprehensively look the text not only from the relation of production factor but also the receptive factor. Second, the reader's position will be placed in the important part. The using of pronouns makes the readers as the integral part of the whole text. There is negotiation between writer and reader by considering the readers. Using the pronoun "they" and "you" also signifies that the subject indirectly is asked to communicate with the text (Eriyanto). This process is strengthened by Sara Mills as the process of mediation. The mediation in the text is placed when there is negotiation between the reader and writer in which reader "enter" the text. Besides, cultural codes can influence the reader's position on the text. The cultural codes, then, will give the ideological messages. Therefore, the cultural codes will push the society to the certain position.

Several studies have been done. The study entitled "Wacana TKW dalam Novel "Aku Bukan Budak" dan "Dari Tanah Haram ke Ranah Minang" by Nurisma Yunitamurti mainly talks about the representation of Women Migrant Worker (*Tenaga Kerja Wanita*) in the Novels entitled "Aku Bukan Budak" and "Dari Tanah Haram ke Ranah Minang". The result is trying to reveal the dominance of capitalism around the

Women Migrant Workers (Yunitamurti). This similarity of this research and the writer's research is about the method used, Sara Mills' Discourse Analysis in identifying the text by using reader's position and the subject-Object position. The differences of the study have been found. First, the analyzed text is the novel which differs from my data which is political advertisement. Second, Yunitamurti takes the issue of marginalization of Women Worker in the area of capitalism. Meanwhile, my issue is the marginalization in Gender representation on Political advertisement through the sexual division of labour.

The study entitled "Konstruksi Tubuh perempuan dalam Perspektif komposer Laki – Laki Melalui Lirik lagu Dangdut Populer Tahun 2000 – 2013" by Rima Firdaus Lahdji is concerning on the representation of women in the dangdut lyrics from year 2000 until 2013. The study shows that female body is constructed as the sexual object and the male gaze (Lahdji). Besides, it casts the male as the dominated one because they objectified the female's body. This similarity of this research and the writer's research is about the method used, Sara Mills' Discourse Analysis in identifying the text by using reader's position and the subject-Object position. Besides, the issue of gender relation is the same. The difference of the study is lies on the analyzed text. She takes Dangdut's lyrics which differ from my data which is political advertisement.

Methodology

As the goal of the research, the writer refers to interpretive approaches and qualitative method (Jackson, 1995, p. 7) as the base of the analysis because it is going to explain the portrayal of sexual division in Golkar Political advertisement version 'Kesaktian Angka 5, Golkar pilihannya'. The writer gathers data from youtube.com, specifically Aburizal Bakrie account which downloaded on September 7th, 2014. There are more than 200 videos uploaded by the account Aburizal Bakrie. Then, the writer focuses on Golkar campaign, entitled "Kesaktian Angka 5, Golkar Pilihannya" which uploaded on April 1st 2014. The parameters choosing this advertisement is based on the viewer on youtube.com (more than 26.000 viewers), the relation between male and female in which based on the occupation and gender portrayal offered by Sara Mills.

This study attempts to reveal the representation of gender in Golkar advertisement, especially "Kesaktian Angka 5, Golkar Pilihannya" version. There are some steps to collect the data in this research:

1. Choosing the Abu Rizal bakrie's youtube account which consists of several Golkar's political advertisement
2. Selecting one Golkar's political advertisement which is related to gender representation
3. Cutting the scene of Golkar Political advertismnt "Kesaktian Angka 5, Golkar Pilihannya" into the scene which engage with gender representation

Technique for data analysis in this study has some steps:

1. Classifying the advertisement into five scenes based on the speakers' occupations and relation within male – and female. The occupation of speaker will also contribute to how actually the position of male and female in advertisement.
2. Analyzing each of scenes by using the Sara Mills' Discourse Analysis in which the Position of Subject-Object and Position of Reader (Eriyanto 211). Position of Subject – Object will take the position based on the non-narrative methods like the camera angle and size. Meanwhile, Position of Reader will lies on the way of cultural codes are placed and affect the readers.
3. Interpreting the finding by combining the narratives of the political advertisements and the cultural codes. Besides, it will be contextualized by the current Indonesian's condition.
4. Drawing the conclusion

Analysis

The first part describes the narrative of the male lecturer who talks to viewer that the number five is important because the number represents Pancasila, *Five Pillars*. Besides, the representation of scene is probably in the library (a lot of shelves of books and the chairs and table) which also casts the male and female students who read the books.

Position of Subject – Object

Here, the subject of the scene is male lecturer because he is more portrayed rather than other characters. Based on the angle perspective, Male lecturer will be considered as the subject because he is portrayed as the narrator in the big close up. It means that the lecturer tends to give the emotion to the reader; the proximity to readers (Fulton 89, 116). This technique also gives the meaning that he wants to dominate the narrative. Male lecturer as the narrator of whole narrative also indicates the male as the story-teller who can describe every character subjectively. The representation of lecturer holding a book makes the symbolization that man as the one who gets the education. In addition, the position of Standing Male Lecturer versus Sitting Female also admits the relation that making man in the higher position. The traits of masculinity can be taken from this point: mastering the education, the confident look toward the camera, and the man's voice in whole narrative.

Female student, in the other hand, is the object. The selective focus which only focuses on male will be interpreted as the action to marginalized woman. Moreover, the intention of using the selective focus is giving a privilege to certain character (Fulton 116). The woman is being marginalized because she is described by the male character and she – as the student – will depend on the lecture who gives her the lecture and knowledge. Lecturer has the higher position in terms of obtaining the knowledge and mastering certain topics, while the students are the one who get the lecture from the lecturer. The femininity traits can be taken, for example the submissive woman (who cannot look at the camera), and the absence of voice in the public arena, especially the education.

Position of Reader

Here, the dominant reading lies on the subjective truth which comes from the male lecturer as the narrator. The attribute of male lecturer, such as the books, is related to men who are given the privilege to get the education. Lecturer is chosen, instead of teacher, because the lecturer also indicates the higher level of education. There are differences in the polarization of teaching among the gender. In European countries, for example, the female teacher is closely associated with the lower levels of education (EACEA 14). However, the education management is mainly dominated by the male. Here, there is a clearly division between gender in the education system. It seems that there is masculine culture which dominates the academic fields. The portrayal of male lecturer will emphasize that this subjective perspective is the truth for the society. Female teacher is associated to the lower level of education, such as kindergarten, because it deals with the way to raise and nurture the children – as the feminine characterization. Here, the position of reader will surely agree with the portrayal of female's subordination.

The second scene is described as male puppet shadow master holding two puppets. From the position, one puppet dominates and tries to tell the truth to another. The puppet shadow master, *Dalang*, narrates that *Pandawa*, Five Brother, is the State- Care Taker (*Panji Negara*).

Position of Subject – Object

From the picture, the writer concludes that it symbolizes man – man relation. The puppets are determined as Bima and Kresna. Bima is the male character which casts in the bigger size and placed on the right; almost in the center area. On the other hand, Kresna is placed on the left and characterized in the smaller position. From various characters in wayang, the writer argues that they symbolize those characters because they match with the characterization on the *Ensiklopedi Wayang Indonesia*. From the position, Bima is more dominant than Kresna. By stating that Pandawa is the State Guardian, Kresna does agree that Bima, as the member of Pandawa, can be more powerful than him because of the duty of guarding state. Bima, then, emphasizes his position as more powerful by showing that the State Guardian is himself, Pandawa. The relation between Bima and Kresna dominantly places Bima as the higher position.

Looking at the relation of the puppets and the *Dalang*, the writer considers that the position of *Dalang* is the highest characters from all of the characters. As the voices, *dalang* has decided the plot of the story. He also characterizes the different puppets with his different voices in order to easily recognize the

characters. In addition, *dalang* can decide which characters perform in the stage. *Dalang*, as the most powerful character in the scene, dominates others.

Portrayal of *dalang* as the dominant signifies the male's dominance towards other, especially women. The portrayal of men as the characters in the scene suggests that women are unable to perform themselves in the public. The presence of male characters are the symbol how men could aggressively take place and be the superordinate of others. Here, male characters are definitely the subjects.

The absence of women can be interpreted as the subordination of women to men. In terms of culture, women are positioned lower than men. Women have no rights to shows their appearances. They are characterized with their silence and absence. Consequently, women are placed as the object in this portrayal because there is no depiction of women.

Position of Reader

In the characterization, Bima is one of Pandawa (Five Brother) who reincarnates from God of Wind (Bathara Bayu) (Wangi 203). Besides, it symbolizes the bravery and strength. Meanwhile, Kresna is chosen because he was the mentor of Pandawa. He is characterized as the one who gives the solution of problems which indicates the male's traits. Besides, the center position will make Bima, the subject, as the one who rules and respectively tells truth.

Puppetshadow master, called as *dalang*, is the one who knows the puppet's narrative, philosophy of puppet's narratives, and well-played on the puppet (Wangi 403). Besides, there is also classification on the *Dalang* in which based on the spiritual degree. *Dalang* should be the one who gives the enlightenment (*pepadangan*) to the sad people. In addition, *Dalang* will give the Javanese's philosophy to show that he is the right one (*Ibid*, 404). Basically, *Dalang* is a male and the female turns to the *sinden* (singer in puppet show). From this view, we can conclude that the narrative tries to encourage us that what is shown in the show (the puppets themselves) is the right and truthful one because it is stated by *Dalang*.

The narrative spoken by *Dalang* is "*Panji negara itu Pandawa. Pandawa itu Lima*" informs that the care-taker of nation is Pandawa, Five Brother who have the masculine traits. They are characterized as handsome, brave, intelligent, strong, expert in strategy, and so on. It also signifies that the diction of "*Panji*" is very important. The one who kept the national security will only male. The position of man is unchallenged.

The third scene portrays the male preacher, *ustadz*, who talks to the male students, *santri*, that number five is the most influential and important roles on Islam. The number reflects the time of *Salah* (prayer) and the Islam Pillar.

Position of Subject and Object

The position of the subject is the *ustadz* because he tells the narratives to the students. *Ustadz* has higher power than the students itself. It is because the position of *ustadz* is portrayed in the center and repeatedly viewed from medium high. In all the scenes, both *ustadz* and students are male. It is indicated by the usage of *kopyah*, the Indonesia's Male Muslim cap. The preacher, *ustadz*, is the one who tells the narration to the students. By using the hand's movement, he tries to convince us that he speaks the truth. Actually, the female is the real object in the scenes. It is because she doesn't portray herself in the scenes. The representation of her absence shows that the women is one who truly weak. She cannot only portray herself but also define her identity. Her absence of the scenes also signifies that woman cannot place herself in religion, particularly Islam.

In this portrayal, both male students and male *ustadz* marginalized the woman by "deleting" her in the scene. The position, then, becomes two ways in which marginalized women. First, the position of male preacher – female will always state that women cannot be the spoke-person of her religion. Besides, the position will legitimate the man as the one who controls the information. Second, the position of male students – female signifies that man has the privilege to get the information, in terms of religion. Woman should not be involved in the education and the public places, because normally the teaching of religion takes place in the public.

Position of Reader

Here, the scene chooses the representation of Islam. Rather than the other religion, Islam is considered as the religion which the highest number of believers. Here, the political advertisement wants to connect the reality of society in Indonesia, as the most populated muslim in the world. The scene is opened by the picture of Holy Quran.

Holy Quran is portrayed mostly three-fourth of the scenes from the left side to the right side. Here, based on the camera movement, the camera zooms in the Holy Quran. It wants to make the indication of surveillance – we should detect carefully to the text (Fulton 116). This means that we should take a look at the Holy Quran, as the basic guide for Moslem in order to do something. Holy Quran is the most important guide because it is the literal word of God. Although it has been revealed fourteen centuries ago, but it mentions the facts and information that recently proven by scientists (Ibrahim 5).

From those the prove, we can say that the portrayal wants to emphasize how important the Quran. There is single truth which is narrated by the preacher who holds the information. The position of reader will obey what preacher said because the truth is as the same as what they believe. Here, prove and narrative will lead the reader to agree about the marginalization toward women.

The verse which mostly cited to show the difference between men and women is:

“Men are the protectors and maintainers of women, because Allah has given the one (more) strength than the other, and because they support them from their means. Therefore, the righteous women are devoutly obedient, and guard in (the husband's) absence what Allah would have them guard. As to those women on whose part you fear disloyalty and ill-conduct, admonish them (first), (next), refuse to share their beds, (and last) chastise them (lightly); but if if they return to obedience, seek not against them means (of annoyance): for Allah is Most High, Great (above you all) ; An-Nisa (the woman:34)” (Ali 53)

The verse seems to argue that man should treat his wife with love and affection, while the woman should attend to the domestic duties and look up the man as the guide (Galwash 89). It is the way how actually the differentiation of women and men will guarantee the position of male as the subject and be dominant. By stating this, the writer argues that everything comes up from the narrative will be accepted by society. Then, there is no complain on the deletion of women in the scenes. The deletion seems to be normal because the woman should be in the private area and cannot represent herself publicly according to the Holy Quran. The male reader will basically agree and tries to strengthen his position; while the female reader will not complain on the deletion of her portrayal and be marginalized unconsciously.

The forth part deals with the university students who give Hi Five, as the greeting, to the other students. There is no narration on this part.

Position of Subject – Object

From the perspective of male – female position, the male is the dominant. It is seen by the representation of male in higher and bigger size than women. Besides, the man is in the front of women while in the first scene. It argues that man will gain higher position towards women. Male student is characterized as the leader and the woman as the follower. Besides, the scene, in which casts the woman is between the two men in long shoot, will be interpreted that women needs the man's protection. This is important because the women are characterized as weak and need companion (Tyson 83). In terms of campus life which related to education, it indicates that women will be in the lower position on gaining access to academic area. In short, the scenes will marginalize women in order to gain the access to get education.

Position of Reader

Here, the students will be connotated with the agent of change who try to make the betterment of nation. By several evidences above, the readers will highly accept the university students as the representative of goodness in developing the country. When we deal with the symbolization of students, they are commonly known with their demonstration which requires the strength, energy, and challenge the tyranny. In addition, Nilan in her work argues that there is other type of masculinity which against

Bapakism, and they called themselves as *pemuda* (Nilan 328) It represents the ideal of masculinity that had a heroic trait to fight.

The cast of being masculine which embedded to *pemuda*, male university students, implies the perspective that man will lead the way and place woman behind him. Society will also accept that the male domination is naturally happened as it embedded to the male students university as their traits to struggle in the demonstration. Here, the readers can connect the traits of male university students to the idea that male domination over the female is congenital.

The last scene deals with the female nutritionist who explains the benefit of number five in nutritional terminology.

Position of Subject – Object

From the scenes, we can analyze that the subject seems to be the woman because the woman is the only narrator who tells the story. It also implies that the object of the narratives is the reader. By narrating the scenes by herself, it doesn't mean that she can represent herself totally. Actually, the woman, as the nutritionist, is the object of gaze by the readers. Here, the position of Subject – Object refers to the position of Readers (mostly Male) – Nutritionist (woman). It is because the women pose to please the reader, in which mostly male. The characterization of occupation also signifies the traditional gender role which casts the women in nurturing and caring. The characterization of women is suitable with the femininity attached, like the long hair, white teeth, and pink shirt. As the nutritionist, the nutritionist should be matched with the character of healthy body. The idea of healthy consists of the healthy appearance, such as long hair, white skin, white teeth, and shaped body (Pramadhani). It also confirms the statement that "Western Standards demand that a woman's body be thin, free of "unwanted hair", deodorized, perfumed, and clothed. It must conform to an ideal physical type" (Blood 46). It also implies that the woman in the scene is the one who should suit with the characterization of femininity. Besides, the scene depicted the nutritionist tools, signifies that women cannot touch the tool because there is no interaction between the woman and the technology. Here, the woman is portrayed as the one who cannot use the technology. Moreover, female in the marketing target is seen as the user and the consumer (Subono). From those explanation, the writer concludes that the position of female is as the object because they should occupy the job which related to the femininity. Besides, the woman cannot represent herself in a better way; there is still attachment to the feminine characters. The position of scene signifies that men is the only subject who make woman is objectified and marginalized

Position of Reader

The position of reader will closely attach to the definition of traditional gender role which casts woman as feminine and objectified. The reader will agree that the representation of woman is basically as the same like what they look. The woman should obey the specific characterization in order to be look-at-ness by society. The features of woman such as the white teeth, cheerful, and the nurturing job are the most suitable representation for the nutritionist.

Interpretation of Finding

Power and Knowledge as the traits of Hegemonic Masculinity

The characteristics of man portrayed in the scenes indicate that the men are more dominant than other. Talking about the relation of male – female characters, it can be argued that the female characters are subordinated by male characters. Male Lecturer, Male *Dalang*, and Male *Ustadz*, and Male Student are the examples of how actually male dominates the public sphere. Moreover, the traits of dominating also occurs when they are compared to the other male characters. For example, the scene of Lecturer part portrays that there are two male characters which categorized as male lecturer and male students. Here, the male lecturer is often depicted and holds the position of narrator. Compared to the male student, male lecturer can be defined as higher than male student. Besides the different position, the degree of both characters is classified because of the different positions. Male student is silent and his position is characterized by the male lecturer. He can appear in the scene as the supportive role of lecturer. It also means that the appearance of male student covers the power of lecturer.

From the explanation, the writer argues that the hegemonic masculinity portrayed by the male characters includes the traits of power and knowledge. The power of male characters lies on the way how they portray the attributes attached to them. *Dalang*, rather than *Bima*, is considered as more powerful because it is believed that *Dalang* is the narrator who controls the plot of the story. The knowledge is also the important to be discussed because it plays on the positioning of certain characters. Lecturer, for example, holds more knowledge rather than students. It is depicted by characterizing male lecturer to hold the book. Here, book’s fuction is to legitimate the power and knowledge of lecturer.

Silent, Absence, and Domestic sphere as the traits of Traditional Femininity

Women are categorized as the subordinated because they cannot present themselves independently. The female characters need male characters to represent the female characters’ identity. For example, the female student is depicted to show that male lecturer has power rather than her. She does not give the narration to the scene, showing that she is unable and lower position. In the scene of *Ustadz*, woman has no power to present herself. Religion aspect has tremendously affected the portrayal and it makes the woman cannot represent herself. Here, the absence of woman indicates the superiority of man. In addition, it brings the notion that woman is incapable in the religion area. The absence of woman indicates the higher level of subordination. By “deleting” her from the scene, we acknowledge the woman should be placed in the lower positio. Her appearance is not so important. Besides, woman is characterized as the expertise in domestic sphere. Rather than giving the better chance to speak, the portrayal of woman in the last scene as nutritionist is the way to uphold that nurturing is the right thing to do as female. Taking care of health, for example, can be associated to feminine traits. Moreover, it is characterized by woman because simply man cannot do the same thing like women – man cannot be involved in the female specialty like nurturing. It is not because of the man’s incapability but it is not so important to be dealt with. It also does not engage with the capability of organizing and leading. The segregation also signifies that public and domestic spheres are considered as the gender matter.

Bringing Cultural Codes as the National Context

By using the *Dalang* and *Wayang* in the advertisement, it has been argued that Javanese culture is being the national culture in terms of leadership style (Rademakers in Irawanto, Ramsey dan Ryan 356). Bapakism, as the central leadership style in Javanese, centered male as the leader in the hierarchial (Irawanto, Ramsey and Ryan 357) . moreover, the central *Bapak –or father-* will be the mentor, protector and display honesty. The portrayal of Javanese value indicates that the advertisement neglects the existence of other culture and embodies that Javanese culture is the best suited to Indonesia.

As the major populated Moslem Nation, Indonesia has merely been affected by the Islam as the religion. Moreover, it is implemented by the rulling president. Soekarno and Gus Dur were attached to Islam by using *kopyah*. Besides, from the Soeharto era, Islam was the main tool to place the multiple burden to woman (Suryakusuma 131). He particularly used Islam to propagate the division between man and woman. It means that the Islam deals with the power to man. The portrayal of Islam also shows that the advertisement implies to neglect the existence of other religions.

Conclusion

Golkar Political Advertisement entitled “Kesaktian Angka 5, Golkar Pilihannya” shows the gender relation between male and female. Here, the number of five is used because Golkar got number five in the General Election 2014. The advertisement tries to link the several occupation and the correlation of number five in each occupations. The occupations portrayed by Golkar advertisement are Male Lecturer, Male *Dalang*, Male *Ustadz*, University Students, and Female Nutritionist. Each of the characters states that actually the number fie is inseparable with the socio-cultural condition of Indonesians. Take the example of the *pancasila*, as the State-Pillar which consists of Five principles is depicted in the advertisement.

This advertisement portrays traditional gender role value which makes man more dominant than woman. The portrayals indicate that the woman cannot position herself because men are dominating the public spheres. It also indicates that there is still gender stereotyping that separates male – female spheres.

The portrayal signifies the power and knowledge as the main point of male characters to dominate the other characters. The attributes attached to the male characters, such as the book for lecturer and puppet for dalang, will legitimize their position in domination. Meanwhile, absence, silence, and domestic sphere are the characteristics of women's subordination. The deletion of woman's portrayal will strengthen the idea that woman is incapable to do the public sphere.

From the Sara Mills' position, the writer argues that the narrative will strongly urge the reader to agree with the narration which lowers the position of woman. The cultural codes in the narrative are taken as the prove that several representations are rooted from Indonesian social condition. Javanese and Islam values are depicted because both cultural codes will gain the public's attention. These portrayals are also attempted to nationalize the certain cultural codes. Besides, the using of cultural codes will make generalization to the Indonesian. It is so bias to state the Javanese and Islam values as the national values.

At last, the writer argues that the advertisement will stereotypically depict the woman as incapable creature in politics. Here, the woman should be in domestic sphere in order to strengthen the domination of male in public sphere. The political advertisement will give the idea that women cannot stand in politics although there is the quota of woman. The political advertisement will be the gender socialization to spread the idea that politics is the male's domination.

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