

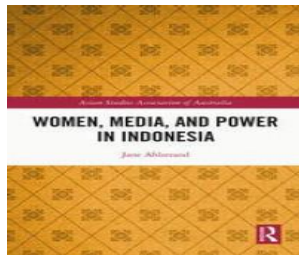
Dissecting Gender and Power Dynamics in Indonesian Online Media

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Judul Buku : *Woman, Media, And Power In Indonesia*
Penulis : Jane Ahlstrand
Penerbit : Routledge
Tahun Terbit : 2022
Jumlah Halaman : 177
ISBN : 978-1-003-08325-2

send : 03 September 2024

review : 06 November 2024

Receipient : 11 December 2024

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Introduction

Political women in Jane Ahlstrand's view have always attracted greater attention because of their differences with masculine political norms. (Subedi et al., 2023). In the context of socio-political change, prominent political figures can become icons through which ideological boundaries and power relations are contested and redefined in various discursive platforms. Women in the world of politics have become media icons that are very prominent in the conditions of socio-political transformation. (J. Ahlstrand, 2023). One of Ahlstrand's works is *Women, Media, and Power in Indonesia*, a book published by Routledge, sponsored by the Asian Studies Association of Australia (S. Ahlstrand, 2019). This book shows the important relationship between gender and power structures in democratic Indonesia, and the role of online media in regulating these power relationships (Robinson, 2020; Sakai, 2021). By using critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a theoretical framework (Fairclough, 2015), and social actor analysis as a methodological approach (Leeuwen, 2008). This study examines the discursive representation of three Indonesia women political figures, namely the Chairperson of the Indonesia Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) Megawati Soekarnoputri, the Mayor of Surabaya Tri Rismaharini, and the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Susi Pudji Astuti (Aspinall, 2019; Crouch, 2021).

The three are the most popular and influential figures in Indonesia representing three institutions, namely political parties, regional heads, and ministries (Budiardjo, 2020; Honna,

2019). These three female political leaders have attracted the attention of the public and the media because they are considered to represent the hopes and anxieties of the nation in a period of transition (Crouch, 2021; Sulistiyanto, 2019). This book shows the important relationship between gender and power structures in democratic Indonesia, and the role of online media in regulating these power relationships (S. Ahlstrand, 2019; Sakai, 2021). This report presents new linguistic evidence in the form of a discourse strategy that reflects the dynamic relationship between women and power (Fairclough, 2015; Sakai, 2021). In the context of political transitions where power structures have historically been gendered, women occupying non-traditional positions of power can become iconic figures because of their striking differences from male political norms (Aspinall, 2019; Leeuwen, 2008). Although their presence in politics "creates a strong public image," this is a threat to the masculine status quo (Robinson, 2020; Sakai, 2021).

This phenomenon has both historical and contemporary causes. Since independence, political discussion in Indonesia has often focused on individual politicians, rather than debating relevant policies or issues. Political opposition movements, the rise of populism, and political personalization in the era of democracy have also made charismatic political outsiders emerge as prominent icons, acting as an epitome of public belief. Populist leaders are usually defined as breakthrough makers who oppose entrenched elite groups, whose members are usually seen as enemies. Changes in the production and consumption habits of news media in the digital era play a role in shaping this political trend.

Poin Review

This book consists of seven chapters starting from an introduction that explains the background that discusses the shifting nature of the dimension of political power in post-authoritarian Indonesia, the main social actors occupy an important position in the political space and become the topic of public discourse. This phenomenon has both historical and contemporary causes. Since independence, political discussion in Indonesia has often focused on individual politicians.

This book plays a very important role in uncovering how online news discourse can determine women's political participation, and the reproduction or transformation of gender-based power relations in a country haunted by authoritarian legacies. In addition, the analysis of women as "outsiders" in traditionally male-dominated territories provides a unique perspective that challenges the underestimation of the neutrality of masculine political power, and contributes to understanding the role of women in the context of transitional politics. This book, examining the

representation of women and their agencies in interactive social power networks not only highlights the dynamics and vulnerabilities of their relationship with power, and their potential for political influence. Given the importance of the relationship between gender and power structures, Chapter 2 develops a framework to understand the subjectivity of women's politics in Indonesia, from the New Order period to the present. The chapter then provides an overview of Megawati, Risma, and Susi, including their personal backgrounds and political careers, as well as describing their comparative relationships with other women in politics in Asia. Descriptions of gender- and women-based power structures and their political identities form a comprehensive framework to support the interpretation of social consequence discourses.

Chapter 3 explains the role of news media in politics from the New Order era to the democratic era, including the influence of digital media on political involvement in Indonesia and around the world. The report outlines the evolving business models, and the boundaries within which journalists operate in the post-authoritarian era, and the relationship between business, politics, and the production and consumption of news media in the digital age. This chapter outlines the chronology of major events that covered Megawati, Risma, and Susi in Kompas.com news. The results of the discourse analysis Kompas.com presented in Chapters 4, 5, and 6. These chapters illustrate how the diverse representations of women's relationship with power are manifested through a series of specific discourse strategies, built on the components of women representation of social actors. It explains the function of strategies in reporting through selected quotes that reflect the dominant characteristics of each strategy, with individual factors influencing each social actor. Chapter 7 discusses the implications of the diverse discursive representations of women leaders and their relationship to power in Kompas.com discourse. In particular, it examines the implications of these findings on women's participation in politics, the democratization process in Indonesia, and the role of media discourse in the democratic era. This book also provides readers with up-to-date information about Megawati, Risma, and Susi's political career journey after the period discussed in this book.

Part One, Women and political power in Indonesia

This chapter explores the historical relationship between gender and power in Indonesia as a governing force in the broader masculine political agenda, while also identifying constraints, tensions, and opportunities for women in the political sphere in Indonesia and beyond. This section will then introduce Megawati, Risma, and Susi and explain their political careers, with reference to the broader political context of Indonesia and Asia. The New Order family state heritage channeled men and women into biologically determined roles to legitimize state power and

maintain control over the population. The state promotes an ideal model of women's depoliticization that is limited to the domestic sphere, separate from the deviant model of politically active and autonomous women. In the era of democracy, there are remaining and emerging factors that facilitate and hinder women's political participation in Indonesia. Given the history of gender in politics, the presence of women in politics is a violation of existing norms, which puts them in a dangerous position.

Megawati Soekarno Putri's Political Career

Megawati Soekarno Putri stands out as an eternal icon of Indonesia politics. Born in the city of Jogjakarta, Central Java on January 23, 1947, he has an extraordinary political pedigree (Ricklefs, 2012). Its status and influence include the end of the New Order and the democratic era (Mietzner, 2009). As the daughter of a nostalgic national hero, Sukarno, a prominent leader in the independence movement and the first president of Indonesia, Megawati's political path was almost guaranteed (Elson, 2009). Megawati has an extensive political track record, as chairman of the Indonesia Democratic Party (PDI) (1993–1998), chairman and founder of the Indonesia Democratic Party-Perjuangan (PDI-P, Indonesia Democratic Party of Struggle) since its formation in 1998; Vice President of Indonesia (1999–2001), and President (2001–2004). Megawati's official political career began in the mid-1980s, through her relationship with the PDI, the predecessor of the PDI-P. PDI is one of only two state-approved parties allowed to operate during the New Order period (Mietzner, 2009). The ultranationalist PNI (Indonesia National Party) is the largest component of this party, which was originally founded by Sukarno in the struggle for independence (Mietzner, 2012). The party's closeness to Sukarno's legacy was further strengthened by Megawati's membership in the party, and gave the PDI a strong ideological foundation (Eklöf, 2003). After becoming famous in the mid-1980s, in 1993 Megawati was elected as party chairman.

Towards the end of the New Order, under Megawati's leadership, the PDI became increasingly critical of the regime, and at the time was considered a threat to Suharto's enduring rule (Kingsbury, 2005). In 1996, the government and military carried out a maneuver to oust Megawati from office, and stormed the party headquarters (Mietzner, 2009). In 1998, emerging as a hero of *wong cilik* (small people), Megawati founded PDI-Perjuangan, and became a symbol of opposition in the Reformasi movement. Described as "a mother who has long suffered at the hands of the Suharto regime, she appears calm, righteous, gentle and reserved, yet very resolute in the face of adversity" (Soesastro et al., 2003).

In 1999, Megawati became vice president, although her party had won a majority of parliamentary seats. Soon after, he was appointed president in 2001 but only because of the impeachment of President Abdurrahman Wahid (Barton, 2002). As the country's first female president in 2001, Megawati is considered by some to be a symbol of women's political progress. When she became president, Megawati was once dubbed the President who "did nothing". Some media commentators dubbed him a President who "just sat still"(Kingsbury, 2005). Megawati does have a leadership style that does not interfere. This should come as no surprise. It was also the kind of leadership he showed over the years as chairman of the Indonesia-Struggle Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P), the party he formed, and which became his political vehicle. In fact, the party derives its political power from Megawati's "charisma". Megawati's charisma, in turn, remains a mystery. Whether it comes from Soekarno's charisma, or is it because Megawati has been martyred by Suharto by becoming a symbol of the oppressed (Soesastro et al., 2003). In 2004, Megawati's candidacy for president in Indonesia's first direct presidential election became a significant source of ideological contestation. Nationalist groups desexualized her through references to her maternal identity and Sukarno's daughter, while feminist groups constructed her as an icon of female leadership (Sen & Hill, 2000). However, certain rival groups have called for Islamic values to challenge Megawati, stating that Islamic teachings do not allow women to lead a country (Tapsell, 2017). Megawati was eventually defeated by Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) in 2004, and again in 2009 when she ran for president for a second time with Prabowo as her running mate. His relationship with SBY and Prabowo has reportedly been tense since the incident (Sherlock, 2012). Despite her disappointment, Megawati remains an enduring figure in the democratic era, leading the PDI-P. Her party's popularity remains stable and Megawati continues to receive public support from some of the public. Throughout her career, Megawati constantly used her father's image as a source of personal legitimacy and party identity, which contributed to her resilience. In March 2014, in her role as party chairman, Megawati succeeded in nominating Jokowi as a presidential candidate from the PDI-P. Jokowi's campaign was strengthened by the PDI-P alliance and Megawati's relationship with her father's legacy.

Tri Rismaharini's political career

In Southeast Asia, while elite family backgrounds like Megawati's can pave the way for women to achieve political power, there are also those who have successfully started their political careers at the grassroots level. Tri Rismaharini (Risma), who started as a civil servant and is now the first female mayor in the city of Surabaya, East Java. Born in Kediri, East Java, on November

20, 1961, Risma entered the world of politics from a non-political background, namely as a public service employee in the Surabaya City Government. Supported by the PDI-P, Risma was elected mayor in 2010. He held his first term until 2015 and was then re-elected in December 2015. For Risma, the importance of local duties and politics intersects with each other. He first gained a reputation as the Head of the Surabaya City Hygiene and Landscaping Office in 2007 for his contribution to the development of the city as a green and business-friendly city. In recognition of his transformative work, he was named "Person of the Year" in 2007 by the East Java-based daily Jawa Pos. Risma's success in Surabaya demonstrates an effective combination of politically savvy voters and courageous local leaders with a clear and sustained focus on the implementation of his policies.(Fionna, 2019)

As the Mayor of Surabaya, Risma gained more media attention at the national level in February 2014 after her appearance on the popular television talk show, Mata Najwa. During a television interview, Risma shed tears over the pressure she faced in her role and refused to confirm or deny rumors about her plans to resign. Risma immediately became a trending topic on Twitter until the hashtag #saveRisma emerged. He gained widespread public sympathy because he was a leader of high duty and morals, and suffered from politically motivated attempts to weaken him. Risma upholds feminist leadership values, she has also earned a reputation for her seemingly transgressive behavior, including her fierce personality, and for her "honest and unrigid political style". Risma is known for her direct and open emotional approach to addressing threats to the integrity of the city and the well-being of its citizens. Risma targets a number of violators with his fierce approach, including inefficient civil servants, drug dealers, and those caught damaging public facilities. Although it is clearly a violation of traditional gender norms, her irritable behavior is justified by her motivation to protect the community in her city, which is very much in line with the concept of motherhood discussed above. Risma also expressed her pious appearance in public by wearing the hijab, a style of hijab that has been adopted by most Muslim women in Indonesia as an expression of religious observance, especially since the Reformation. Risma, has a pious image supporting her political career, as she also takes advantage of traditional gender norms and emerging political values.

Susi Pudjiastuti's political career

Born on January 15, 1965, in Pangandaran, West Java, Susi was appointed Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries in October 2014 in the newly formed Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla presidential cabinet. Like Risma, and unlike Megawati, Susi does not have a political elite

"pedigree". He entered the ministry from an extensive business background in the fishing and aviation industries. Despite her wealth, Susi is generally considered an anti-elite figure in Jokowi's cabinet which is a challenge to the status quo. Similar to Japan's former foreign minister, Tanaka Makiko, Susi's image in the public eye as a non-traditional and outspoken woman puts her in the opposite position to the cold and aloof male political elite. She is one of eight women appointed to ministerial positions in Jokowi's presidential cabinet, and she is the first woman to lead the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries.

Since her appointment, Susi's hardworking and considered "*tattered to rich*" background has quickly become the focus of media coverage and public discourse throughout Indonesia, making her a popular yet provocative figure. Susi did not finish junior high school. His lack of education is seen as an anomaly in the traditional environment of the highly educated political elite. Instead of finishing high school, Susi started working as a trader in the seafood industry. As his business grew, he opened a seafood processing plant, and then established PT ASI Pudjiastuti Aviation (Susi Air) in 2004 with a small fleet of aircraft to distribute his products nationwide. Its charter airline operates a fleet of 49 aircraft in 2020. Susi's lack of education makes her an accessible grassroots figure, while her business success seems decent, due to her personal determination and talent rather than elite privilege. It does not mean that Susi's presence in the political realm does not reap criticism; Some male elite figures initially opposed his appointment, and then opposed his policies due to his lack of experience, education, and foresight.

Susi attracted media attention when she appeared for the first time in front of the public at her inauguration ceremony. The media reported her fashion choices in the form of a choice of traditional style clothes, wearing a lace kebaya and batik cloth (cloth) as a skirt. Instead of adopting Islamic clothing, her clothing choices uphold traditional and ideal feminine models from the past. At the inauguration, he was also caught on camera smoking while sitting on the ground outside the main parliament building. Susi is often photographed smoking; His famous image of smoking while drinking coffee while perched on a paddle board in the sea circulated on the internet in 2017, and quickly became a meme. The dragon tattoo seen on her ankle also immediately attracted attention, as a clear marker of her difference from the norms of the conservative elite, as well as the reserved female elite. Her past marriages to Germany men made her even more different than usual.

Similar to Risma, Susi is also known for her outspoken style and antagonistic attitude towards perceived threats. The pros and cons of women's leadership in Indonesia are crucial issues that are always discussed every year. The strong stereotype of leaders who must come from the

male gender is firm and strong, making female leaders considered underestimated in society. Susi Pudjiastuti is a female leader at the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries who has a masculine nature but is able to give birth to several programs that are beneficial for all fields. During his leadership, he managed to get work achievements that had never been obtained by previous ministers.(Balkis, 2020). For more clarity, the differences in character between the three figures above can be described in the following table.

Table 1 Comparison of Characters of Indonesian Female Leaders

Character	Source of Legitimacy	Identity	Leadership Style
Megawati	Soekarno Dynasty, PDIP	Wearing a bun and kebaya as a symbol of a respectable mother in Indonesia.	Not interfering, mysterious, charismatic.
Tri Rismaharini	Grassroots, starting a career as a Civil Servant	Wearing the hijab as an image of a pious and religious Muslim woman.	Emotional, direct and open in dealing with various threats.
Susi Pudji Astuti	Entrepreneur	Traditional feminist dress, smoking, dragon tattoo on leg.	outspoken and antagonistic attitude towards perceived threats.

Part Two, News Media and Democracy in Indonesia

Chapter 3 explains the role of news media in politics from the New Order era to the democratic era, including the influence of digital media on political involvement in Indonesia and around the world. The news media in Indonesia played an unprecedented role in shaping political engagement in the 2014 presidential election, and the public's perception of the leadership of Megawati, Risma, and Susi. Under the New Order government, Indonesia's journalists operated in a very limited environment, where news reporting was subject to formal and informal censorship mechanisms. The Ministry of Information is the main instrument of propaganda and censorship for the government. Journalists are monitored and controlled by ministries, and media deemed too critical of the government or president will be banned.

In order to survive in these conditions, journalists carefully self-censored, while editors closely monitored content to avoid the wrath of the New Order elite. Stories that focus on victims and individual episodes rather than thematic events, feature a single act of injustice without directly identifying or criticizing the perpetrator or the underlying cause. The obstacles to journalistic practice are further exacerbated by the existence of a legal mechanism in Indonesia. Although the initial reforms guaranteed freedom of the press, ten years after the Reformasi, the House of Representatives passed a law on information and electronic transactions (ITE) in 2008, which was later updated in 2016. The law contains provisions that criminalize defamation and

insults on the internet. (Balfas, 2014). The presence of these defamation laws, coupled with the ability of people in power to enforce them, forces journalists to be cautious in their reporting.

The rise of online news media

The digital revolution that is happening in Indonesia, as in other places in the world, has become a recent factor affecting news media practices. Since 2010, Indonesia's press has begun to undergo a rapid transformation, shifting from print production to digital news media platforms. Moving away from traditional engagement models with print media, new social and mobile media technologies have impacted the way readers interact with news, which includes monitoring, reading, scanning, clicking, snacking, or sharing. Profit-oriented online news agencies in Indonesia easily monitor key indicators of viewer interest, such as "trending topics," "clicks," and "shares," and tailor their content.

While news captions have always been necessary to present information that reflects the common knowledge and beliefs shared socially from the target audience in order to achieve clarity, now, more than ever, news content is tailored to the response of online readers. When targeting audience reactions, the overall quality of news will decrease, which can lead to a democratic deficit. The nature of online news media engagement shapes the way readers understand important political events and, more broadly, their participation in democratic political life. Online audiences tend to look at headlines, images, and leads rather than reading stories in depth.

Kompas

In line with the rise of digital media technology, news media companies in Indonesia, including the Kompas Gramedia Group, have switched to online platforms. Founded in the 1980s, the Gramedia Kompas Group emerged as one of the three major media conglomerates at the end of the New Order. In the era of democracy, it maintained its dominant market presence, consisting of several business units, including mass media assets such as Kompas newspaper, Kompas.com, Kompas TV, Radio Sonora, and the popular Gramedia bookstore chain. Founded in 1965, the Kompas print newspaper is "the most prestigious and best-selling daily newspaper in Indonesia. The newspaper managed to overcome restrictions and avoid mass bans during the New Order, "through careful self-censorship of sensitive political issues". Under the ownership of its chief director, Jakob Oetama, a member of the Chinese ethnic Catholic minority, Kompas gained a public reputation for accuracy and objectivity aimed at the interests of the middle, urban, and secular classes. Kompas's prestigious reputation has endured in the era of democracy and has consistently attracted the interest of Indonesia's political elite who want to take advantage of its

coverage.

A report published *Kompas.com* in 2013 showed that an average of 21 million people visit *Kompas.com* site every month, with an average monthly average of 180 million page views. In 2015, the majority of readers were between the ages of 18 and 34, 74% were male, including the upper middle socioeconomic class, and were in urban areas; 43% of readers are domiciled in the country's capital city, Jakarta. *Kompas* represents a highly influential news media site due to its proximity to the important urban middle class demographic, due to its good reputation.

Part Three, Overview of Kompas.com News about Megawati, Risma, and Susi

Kompas.com positioned Megawati, Risma, and Susi as key social actors in the political climate of the 2014 presidential election. Although Risma and Susi appeared later in the focus period than Megawati, media coverage of the three women became an important component of political reporting, and captured several important events and issues of the era. Over time, the reports build an impression of each actor, while providing a broader view of the processes involved in the change in government and its impact.

Megawati Soekarnoputri

Among the three women, Megawati has the most consistent media profile due to her fame in society. As chairman of the PDI-P, the party behind Jokowi's candidacy, Megawati is closest to the specific events surrounding the presidential election. From July 2013 to February 2014, *Kompas.com* focused mainly on speculation about the identity of the PDI-P presidential candidate, with reports mentioning Jokowi; Putri Megawati and PDI-P Administrator, Puan Maharani; or Megawati herself as a potential candidate. Megawati has been at the center of speculation because of her role as party chairman, and rumors of her personal political ambitions for her next term as president.

After months of speculation, in March 2014, Megawati announced Jokowi as the official candidate of her party. From then until June 2014, *Kompas.com* covered the presidential election campaign in detail. In addition to the presidential election campaign, in April 2014, *Kompas.com* also detailed the role of the PDI-P under Megawati's leadership in other important elections for the DPR, provincial DPRD, and district DPRD that took place ahead of the election. presidential election. *Kompas.com* prioritized Megawati's role as the general chairperson who gives instructions to party members who are running for office.

The presidential election in July 2014 was the next major event covered by Kompas.com. The reportage highlights the dark side of politics, which involves fierce political competition and rumors of sabotage and dirty campaigns. Kompas.com covered the intensity of the last days of the campaign, election day, voting results, to the final announcement of Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla's victory. Since the presidential victory until the end of June 2015, Kompas.com reported that Megawati was very focused on her relationship with the Jokowi administration. This implies its excessive influence in the decision-making process.

Kompas.com highlighted Megawati's role in securing Ahok's election as governor, as well as details of their more personal social interactions. Budi Gunawan's candidacy for the post of National Police Chief in January 2015 became a source of controversy in the early months of Jokowi's presidency, which embedded Megawati in controversial presidential decision-making. When the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) revealed that she was being investigated for corruption¹, Kompas.com news not only reproduced allegations about Megawati's role in Gunawan's appointment, but also her alleged efforts to criminalize the KPK to protect her interests. The last major event covered in this 24-month period was the PDI-P congress held in Bali in April 2015. Kompas.com focused on Megawati's return as party chair, having been in office since the party's formation in 1998. Kompas.com highlighted Megawati's party leadership and her influential role in important political decision-making that pointed to her undemocratic use of power.

Tri Rismaharini

Tri Rismaharini became a topic of minor coverage in 2013 in his role as mayor of Indonesia's second-largest city, Surabaya. But Risma began to become nationally famous in January 2014, when rumors began to circulate about her potential resignation due to political pressure. Coverage in Kompas.com intensified in February 2014, following her appearance on the popular talk show, Mata Najwa, which broadcast her personal struggles nationwide. Risma sheds tears as she talks about her desperate attempt to close the Dolly Lane red light district in Surabaya, and the internal and external opposition she faces. After that, Kompas.com reported on Risma's personal political struggle against his political opponents who criticized the plan to close Gang Dolly, as well as his problematic relationship with PDI Perjuangan. Over the next three months, Kompas.com covered the closing contest and Risma's determination to continue, protect the children of Surabaya, and ensure sex workers are directed to the morally correct way of life. The show culminated with its official closure in June 2014, after which Kompas.com published little

coverage of Dolly's Alley.

After the event, Kompas.com focused on Risma's popularity in the community and the potential for her career advancement. This includes his involvement in various activities in modernizing Surabaya and protecting its citizens, including the use of CCTV technology to monitor the city, the implementation of e-governance, personally cleaning up trash from rivers and streets, defending local parks. from damage, and even scolding drug dealers for harming the younger generation. Kompas.com contains news that has attracted international attention for Risma's efforts through the awarding of awards, such as the Socrates Award for his leadership in developing Surabaya as a modern and environmentally friendly city. After the presidential election in July 2014, Kompas.com raised speculation that Risma would be nominated for the ministerial position, which was then followed by coverage of Risma's rejection of the proposal.

In December 2014, the AirAsia flight disaster occurred when an AirAsia passenger jet malfunctioned. When the pilot failed to regain control, the plane crashed into the Java Sea, killing all 162 people on board. The majority of those killed in the accident came from Surabaya. Kompas.com highlighted Risma's duties at the official crisis center set up at Surabaya airport, where she helped the families of local victims. Overall, the pattern of media reporting illustrates that Risma plays a direct role in paying attention to the welfare of Surabaya residents.

Susi Pudjiastuti

Susi appeared later in Kompas.com coverage than Risma and Megawati, only after she was appointed Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries in October 2014. In the first two months, Kompas.com focused on his unique background as a hard worker. entrepreneur who initially sold fish at the market, then owned his own seafood company and charter airline, Susi Air. Kompas.com also highlighted Susi's unusual behavior, emphasizing her differences with the rigid norms of the political elite and her popularity in society.

Since November 2014, Kompas.com began to report on Susi's role in the implementation of the ministry's policies. Kompas.com briefly explained that these policies are aimed at addressing illegal, unreported and unregulated (IUU) fishing in Indonesia waters; protect natural resources; developing the marine and fisheries industry; reducing bureaucracy; and empowering local fishermen. As part of its broader stance on illegal fishing practices, Kompas.com also provided episodic coverage of the impact of his ministry's interventions, including a ban on transshipment at sea between Indonesia and foreign vessels, a trawl ban for large vessels, and a trawling ban for large vessels. the closure of fishing ports due to illegal practices, fines against fishing companies,

and its stance against slavery. The most visually impactful policy covered by Kompas.com was blowing up illegal fishing vessels overseen by his ministry and the Indonesian Navy.

Kompas.com also covered criticism of Susi. In the first month of her appointment in October 2014, Kompas.com report featured the voices of experts questioning Susi's eligibility for cabinet positions due to her lack of qualifications. Since then, Kompas.com has covered criticism of his policies from a variety of sources, including local governments, local fishermen, academics, and the House of Representatives. In January 2015, reports of anonymous threats against Susi on the basis of her policies also surfaced, urging her to resign. Kompas.com used to cover Susi's direct response to the attack.

Changing Media Culture, Changing Gender Politics

Online news media has clearly become a source of new and influential political discourse in Indonesia, as in other countries in the world. Fierce competition between news outlets, fast production schedules, and demands for proximity and thrill are pushing journalists to tailor their stories to suit reactive online readers. As a product of leading news media groups, Kompas.com plays an important role in the new climate of media production and consumption. For Megawati, Risma, and Susi, their political careers in the 2014 election were largely influenced by Indonesia's media. As outsiders to politics, these three women certainly fit the new values of news, and their coverage helps support an online news agenda devoted to clicks, likes, comments, and shares. While increasing the role of individual leaders can create a great interest in political issues and spark a reaction from readers, such a style of reporting can also limit the depth of engagement with events. Critical analysis of the discourse generated by influential mainstream news sites, Kompas.com, is a key site for understanding how news affects women's role in politics, as well as reflecting on and shaping political discourse on power.

Part Four, Special but limited powers: Navigating women's political leadership in Kompas.com

This chapter highlights the pattern of mitigation in the representation of Megawati, Susi, and Risma in the Kompas.com discourse. Power relations continued to shift and populist movements intensified during the 2014 presidential election, politicians used crowd-pleasing tactics to channel public support. As will be shown in this chapter, the discourse of mitigation strategies gives Megawati, Risma, and Susi influence in the current political climate. By building novelty, accessibility, and lack of self-interest, discursive mitigation patterns increase popular

appeal and legitimize their presence in politics, while creating reader interest. However, experts have turned their critical gaze to discourse practices related to leadership models that are said to be more accessible and preferred by many in the context of socio-political transformation. Examining the various mitigation patterns contained in the representation of Megawati, Risma, and Susi and their relationship with power in the Kompas.com discourse aims to critically trace the causes and consequences of their socio-political consequences on the process of democratic transformation and democracy in Indonesia. women's political participation. As will be illustrated in this chapter, mitigation practices in Kompas.

Access regulation strategies erode the dominant hierarchical position expected of traditional elite political leaders. Rather, the strategy dictates the public's accessibility to Megawati, Risma, and Susi, their lack of interest in gaining power, and their subordination to other elite actors and institutions. Instead of highlighting decisive actions of women's political leadership, the report focuses on the unusual physical appearance and behavior of women.

Setup Access

The strategy of regulating access puts women in a narrow, but limited position in political leadership roles that reflect democratic ideals and populist values. Underestimating the power of their relationship seems to alter the existing hierarchical power order between politicians and members of non-elite groups by portraying women as accessible, grounded, and untainted by self-interest. Yet this strategy upholds the established gender hierarchy by underestimating women's authority, ambition, and agency. This strategy will be discussed based on its main representative foundation. Illustrative examples of Kompas.com discourse show how such representations function to mitigate the power of leaders, and are connected to the broader socio-political context.

Nomination techniques based on gender, familiar, and new

Through the representative nomination category, a form of identification through the practice of naming (Kompas.com confirms Megawati, Risma, and Susi as distinctive political figures, but still kept away from power. In the strategy of organizing access, nomination typically involves merging an honorary degree with a minor degree or pseudo-title to identify the leader as an accessible and new individual. This nomination technique draws on anti-elite populist values; normalizing the presence of women in the political sphere; and lowering their perception of the relationship with power. These techniques are especially prominent in the representation of Risma and Susi. As newcomers, identifying them in such a way contributes to the formation of their

captivating image in the eyes of the public, while at the same time mainstreaming their political agenda. On the other hand, for Megawati, the representation helps navigate her precarious relationship with Jokowi and her continued presence in the world of politics.

Discourse, women's leadership, and special powers

Kompas.com strategically mitigate the relationship between women leaders and power, both as individuals and in interactions with important groups in the context of socio-political change and rising populist sentiment. Women are placed in a lower position with limited personal choice, which is contrary to the conventions that prevail in general political leaders, and at the same time uphold gender norms. This mitigation strategy still increases public attractiveness, or at the very least, helps normalize their presence in the political arena. In access regulation strategies, nomination techniques underestimate women's status, while improving their accessibility. This representation symbolizes the expansion of the democratic political space to accommodate a more intimate form of leadership, especially for Risma and Susi. In Megawati's case, candidacy based on informal titles combined with minor titles serves to diminish the impression of her political power and the threat she poses to the political order and Jokowi, while facilitating the continuation of her political leadership.

Their instrumentalization and abstraction function to censor the perception of women's political ambitions by suppressing the impression of their agency in pursuing or accumulating power and popularity. Although the possession maintains the presence of the three women in the discourse, the foreground of the instruments or qualities associated with their leadership serves to release women from the process of gaining power and popularity. In keeping with traditional expectations of women in Asian politics, power seems to be given to them, not deliberately sought for personal gain. Abstraction adds a positive connotation to Risma and Susi's actions when assessing their leadership, while limiting their agency.

The representation of each political figure in his interaction with the media provides evidence of the navigation of power relations between these two important political forces. The media is generally described as a collectivized and functional group in relation to professional activities, as a testament to the strength of their numbers and perceptions of professionalism. Despite some media activation and the passivity of women political figures, direct media activation is largely relegated to a lower structural level of reporting.

Part Five

Chapter 5 examines how Kompas.com discursively positioned Megawati, Risma, and Susi in top-down power roles. This is done through discursive portrayals of their dominant interactions with other social actors, as well as through their collaborative relationships with institutions. In the context of gender, their strong actions are justified by the performance of duties, for the common good, and the protection of the party, city, or country. The institutionalization strategy builds a sense of synergy between leaders and institutions, but puts women in exercising their power privately under the institution. The two strategies identified are often constitutive because they usually appear together in a single news report.

Personification strategies prioritize the identity and agency of individual leaders, and construct women as identifiable "faces" of impersonal political institutions a key element of personalized leadership (Whimster, 2004). Mostly in headlines and leads, this strategy puts women in higher positions of authority and agency compared to members of certain subordinate social groups, as an indication of their status in a hierarchy. For news media institutions operating in a competitive online environment, focusing on women as the unique and recognizable face of a political institution also has the potential to increase the commercial appeal of the news, and drive greater online engagement.

Individual nomination and activation

Various nomination techniques serve to represent three individual women in the strategy. These techniques include formal, semiformal, and unique "pseudo-titles" (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 40) that establish public status and authority as well as its legitimacy. These headlines also correspond to the structure of the news text in the headline and lead to the establishment of a clear link between the identity of the leaders and their subsequent activation in authoritative social processes. Kompas.com often uses semiformal nominations in headlines, naming leaders based on one component of their full names. Instead of eroding power, as suggested by a study on women in politics (Bucciferro, 2014; Ibroscheva & Raicheva-Stover, 2009; Robson, 2000), the nomination of one name in the headlines in the context of Indonesia is actually proof of their superiority. as an identifiable "household name".

From a stylistic point of view, variations in nominations increase reader engagement with news reports by avoiding repetition. For Megawati and Susi, fake titles usually align their successful identities in the past with their current political leadership roles. For Risma, this confirms her status as a unique and innovative leader. First of all, turning to Megawati,

Kompas.com occasionally identifying her with the pseudo-title, the fifth President of the Republic of Indonesia. This title emphasizes Megawati's legitimacy and authority by referring to her historically strong position as a former head of state, but ignores her current position as chairman of the PDI-P. Kompas.com consistently combines this candidacy technique with direct or indirect references to her father, Sukarno and his legacy, over power through her dynastic roots. Quote (5) includes a title and lead as an example of this nomination technique:

(5) Megawati Message to Jokowi to Bring the "Spirit" of KAA Back

The 5th President of the Republic of Indonesia, Megawati Soekarnoputri, regretted that the spirit of the Asian-African Conference produced in 1955 was not repeated in the 60th anniversary held this year. Megawati Message to Jokowi to Rekindle the "Spirit" of KAA. The Fifth President of the Republic of Indonesia, Megawati Soekarnoputri regretted that the spirit of the Asian-African Conference achieved in 1955 was not repeated at the 60th anniversary held this year. (9) The Mayor of Surabaya, Tri Rismaharini, declared the City of Surabaya as a City of Literacy. Surabaya Mayor Tri Rismaharini declared the city of Surabaya as a Literacy City. Through the act of "declaring", Risma took a leading role in openly defining Surabaya's new identity as a "City of Literacy," in line with the city council's plan to increase literacy levels among the younger generation. His declaration supports the agenda of change and support for the welfare of ordinary people. Risma's direct involvement in the Surabaya cleanup agenda is clearly seen in the news of the closure of the Dolly Gang red light. In snippet (11), the title activates Risma as an individual involved in the material process of "closing" or "closing" (closing) of Dolly Alley. (11) Risma Closes the Glittering Story of Dolly's Prostitution Localization Risma Ends the Glittering Story of Dolly's Red Light District

Activation in the verbal process also emphasizes the role of the leader's command in controlling the actions of subordinates, especially in the implementation of regulations and policies. Kompas.com constructs these moments of authoritative command as evidence of a certain strong leadership style that benefits the common good. Quote (10), for example, activates Megawati in the process of "warning" (warning) her party members to avoid corruption in the headline. Given the popularity of the anti-corruption movement among civil society, Megawati's authoritative order was justified because of her concern for the public interest.

(12) Minister Susi Takes Strict Action on Slavery Practices in Fisheries Businesses

Minister Susi Takes Crackdown Against Slavery Practices in the Fisheries Industry
Kompas.com also enables leaders in "softer" material processes, such as protecting, encouraging,

and helping especially subordinate individuals or social groups. In these cases, women are portrayed in constructive and nurturing roles. However, Wodak's (1997) study on women's leadership discourse also reveals the use of "soft" maternal discourse strategies as a way to disguise the exercise of authority and control over others in order to achieve desired results. In Kompas.com news, the soft action occurred consistently against vulnerable social groups, as an index of the strength of women leaders. The title below activates Megawati in the process of "pushing" or "pushing" (pushing) women to enter the political realm. Building individual power in contrast to the middle-class elite Power is not only indexed through personal agency, but by reference to other social groups in interaction. With regard to individual candidacy and activation, Kompas.com highlights the personal strengths of Megawati, Risma, and Susi through the contrasting representation of subordinate groups, which are mainly made up of middle-class political elites and ordinary people. Although Megawati is individual, nominated and activated in the verbal process of "confessing" (confessing) and the material process of "pushing" (pushing), Kompas.com represents those who are subjected to Megawati's actions as a collective group classified as "young people." As a social category, youth rank at a much lower level than members of the political elite.

Kompas.com activates Risma in the verbal process of "confession" and the material process of "repatriating" the "citizens" to Indonesia. Although Kompas.com officially nominated the resident as Anies Deka Sany, through possessiveness he became "owned" to Risma. Moreover, by portraying himself as a goal in Risma's "return" process, Kompas.com positioned Anies in a passive role, relying on Risma's intervention. Instead of highlighting Anies' struggles in Malaysia, this full report highlights Risma's role in helping Anies, perpetuating the relationship of dependency between vulnerable citizens and their strong but caring leaders. A similar dichotomy between leaders and citizens is also evident.

Institutionalization

Although personification gives the impression that women leaders are individuals responsible for important political actions, institutionalization refers to the role of a broad institution, such as a party, city, or central government in determining political outcomes. It is true that the values of news about the feasibility of news not only show "the attention and interests of various elite actors, but also institutions" Often coinciding with the first personification strategy, institutionalization serves to anchor the personal power of each leader to institutional power, while at the same time providing a recognizable and commercially viable "face" to these institutions.

Institutionalization is generally realized through sequential and interchangeable activations between leaders and institutions in a shared social process, and through the impersonal representation of social actors and their actions, often in the form of objectification or nominalization. Although the standard concept of institutionalization involves the representation of social actors that are not personal in relation to their institutional ownership, this strategy in the report Kompas.com include the additional practice of successive activations. Together, the two forms of representation collapse the distinction between leaders and institutions, and confuse the institutions and the true identities of those responsible for political actions. The process of mystification in Kompas.com news eliminates the space for dissent, as well as strengthening the relationship between the hierarchy of power and the gap between society and the elite. Successive activations generally put individual leaders forward as agents in headlines and lead through personification, before reconfiguring their participation in events through the activation of the institutions they represent in the shared social process. The leader's initial position as an individual agent in the headline creates an impression of power that radiates from the individual to the institution. Especially in the representation of newcomers, Risma and Susi, the collective representation of this institution creates a sense of synergy between leaders and organizations. In this case, although Kompas.com prioritize the identity of each leader, their ability to act, influence others, and achieve social outcomes is in line with the institution.

The real crisis

In addition to the choice of spatialization of impersonal representation, Kompas.com also uses instrumentalization to describe social actors with reference to the instruments they use to perform a task (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 46). This representational choice often occurs in conjunction with the passive elimination and nominalization of agents. This serves to build impersonal authority, obscure agency and responsibility, and minimize the space for dissent through generalizations. Citation (26) shows how instrumentalization follows Risma's early individual activation to establish a seamless relationship between individual authority and institution in relation to modern e-governance practices in Surabaya, and more implicitly, population control. Risma understands that the working mechanism of the Surabaya City Government is mostly carried out electronically. For example, said Risma, the management of business development permits. In the seminar, Risma explained that the mechanism of the Surabaya City Government is mostly carried out electronically. For example, said Risma, the management of business development permits.

Following Risma's personification, Kompas.com pursued an institutionalization strategy that led to the concealment of agencies and individual identities. Kompas.com first realized this by referring to the working mechanism instrumented by the city government. Rather than social actors, this "mechanism" is applied in the passive verb without an agent, done. The agency is still oppressed when mentioning Risma's example of business licenses through nominalization in management and development. This grammatical operation moves these tasks to the realm of bureaucracy that is not personal. Nominal also gives the impression that there is no time limit in the implementation of these tasks, while hiding individual responsibilities. Although Risma explained, the division of roles and the process of carrying out tasks is still secret.

Building and legitimizing the authority of women leaders

The analysis reveals two main strategies used by Kompas.com to strengthen and legitimize the relationship between women leaders and power. Through this strategy, Kompas.com reproduce the hierarchical arrangement of power, by positioning the leader both explicitly and implicitly in the exercise of top-down power over subordinates. Personification draws attention to the individual as a clearly identifiable agent at the helm of a political institution, which is largely embodied in the title and lead. Semiformal and formal nomination techniques determine women's popularity and authority. Pseudo-candidacy serves to legitimize, rather than diminish their power by emphasizing their unique strengths and personal histories that qualify them for leadership positions.

From a commercial point of view, news coverage Kompas.com attract readers by highlighting the role of individual women in political action, thus giving the public an impression of a more personal approach to leadership and encouraging greater closeness with politicians. Given the relationship between gender and political power, women's representation as a source of power from the top down may have the potential to destroy the gender binary that defines access to the political realm (Bedi, 2016). When women adopt political personalities whose authority is generally shared by men, they take a transgressive and perhaps transformative stance. But in the case of Indonesia, this transgressive attitude appeals to populist discourses of change, while using masculine political norms as a source of power to recreate the authoritarian power structure of the New Order.

Conclusion

I will give some notes to the author and readers of this book. As for my notes during reading this book for the first author, this book highlights the close relationship between gender and power

structures in Indonesia, especially in the context of democracy. The author uses a critical discourse analysis (CDA) framework to explore how online media portrays the power of women in politics, focusing on three well-known female political figures: Megawati Soekarnoputri, Tri Rismaharini, and Susi Pudjiastuti. This study shows how media discourse can influence and reflect women's political participation in Indonesia. *Second*, Political Transformation and Women's Engagement: This book outlines how the Reformasi era in Indonesia provided opportunities for women's involvement in politics, but also created new challenges. The author explains that despite the increase in women's participation, male-dominated power structures remain a significant barrier for women to achieve higher positions in politics. *Third*, the author examines the important role of the media in the democratization process in Indonesia, especially how online media, such as Kompas.com, shape and reflect political involvement. This book shows how the media can reinforce existing gender norms and, at the same time, offer opportunities to transform gender power relations. *Fourth*, this book uses the analysis of social actors to understand how Megawati, Risma, and Susi are represented in media discourse. The authors explain that their representation is influenced by certain discourse strategies that reflect the dynamic relationship between power and gender. This includes how they are portrayed both as individuals and as part of an institution. *Fifth*, contradictions in Democracy: Although increased women's participation in politics is often seen as a sign of democratic progress, this book shows that it also creates contradictions. Women who manage to achieve positions of power often have to navigate patriarchal power structures, which can ultimately strengthen existing power hierarchies rather than challenge them. *Sixth*, analysis of the 2014 Political Crisis: This book also provides an in-depth analysis of the 2014 presidential election in Indonesia, which is considered an important period of socio-political transition. The author explores how Megawati, Risma, and Susi were portrayed during this election campaign and how their representation reflects broader ideological tensions in Indonesia society

Megawati, Risma and Susi are portraits of Indonesian women who do not depend on their husbands. Although they were raised in different spaces, all three have one thing in common: they are successful female leaders in the public office they hold. Despite having different leadership styles, all three have fans who are mostly shaped by media coverage. All three are representatives of Neo-Ibuism, a form of gender politics built on what was inherited from the authoritarian period to the era of Indonesian reform, but combining the dynamism and political competitiveness associated with the era of democracy, including its emphasis on citizen independence and agency. Neo-Ibuism implies that women can make progress only by taking on additional burdens, rather than seriously renegotiating gender roles, let alone challenging patriarchal power structures. In

short, this is an ambiguous picture, which allows us to see both signs of progress and severe obstacles in the past (Ichsan Kabullah & Fajri, 2021).

In the future, we want to see a much more complete book on the discourse of female leaders in online media, but by comparing several media. It would be even better if this study was drawn into the realm of local media in the regions, so that the face of Indonesia in the media realm is not only seen from Jakarta as the capital city but also includes what is reported by the media in the regions.

Although this book already presents an in-depth analysis, it would be better if the author included more interviews or direct views from the women who were the object of study, such as Megawati, Risma, and Susi. The direct perspective of them or those closest to them who have insight into their career journey can add authenticity and depth to the analysis. This book can be enriched by the addition of more detailed quantitative data, such as statistics on women's involvement in politics at various levels, or data on women's representation in the media over time. This data can help reinforce the arguments made in discourse analysis.

Given the important role of social media in shaping public opinion, the author may consider expanding his analysis by examining how these female figures are represented and accepted on social media platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram. This will provide a more comprehensive picture of the influence of digital media. Adding more comparisons with other countries in Asia, or even outside of Asia, could provide a broader context about women's place in politics and how the media influences those perceptions. This will help readers understand whether the phenomenon described is unique to Indonesia or a global trend. This book contains many academic theories and terminology that may be difficult for non-academic readers to understand. Using simpler language or providing a glossary of terms can make the book more accessible to a wider audience. It would be helpful to have a special chapter that focuses on the concrete impact of media representation on women's political careers in Indonesia. This chapter could explain how the media influences public perception, voter decisions, or gender-related policies.

The presence of women in Indonesia is an encouraging situation. On the other hand, the media as a means of conveying information to citizens has the greatest influence in spreading news about female leaders. In some media news about female politicians, women are still considered as weak and whiny individuals. The media still focuses on the personal lives of female politicians such as their family life, clothing, voice intonation, and sometimes ignores performance. Mass media is not the only influential factor, but mass media has developed into a socialization agent

and increasingly determines the intensity of public consumption. The influence of the media will also be stronger because the female figures shown are one way to strengthen stereotypes that have formed in society. Efforts to create gender-sensitive media must be accelerated to ensure the acceleration of sustainable women's participation in politics. Women as politicians cannot be considered as something unnatural or unusual. Politics may not refer to masculinity, but if the media still reports female politicians as weak individuals, it will strengthen this stereotype.

The trend of bold media consumption in Indonesia which continues to increase can be concluded that the future of the media industry must be our concern. The future is how the media is no longer a judge for women, and continues to prioritize accuracy in reporting. Through the studies presented in the book in the future, we hope that it will become a thought for media stakeholders in the newsroom, so that there will be changes in the frame of media reporting.

Acknowledgments

We would like to express our deepest gratitude to Mr. Yasril Yazid and Mr. Assyari Abdullah for their invaluable motivation and support during this group project. Thanks also to the Aristo editorial team for their input and suggestions in writing this article.

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