Media, Gender, And Society:
Relation of News Texts, Journalists' Cognition, and Sociopolitical Context in Framing Female Politicians in Lombok Post Newspaper, Indonesia

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Abstract

This paper unveils the framing of female politicians in local newspapers published by Lombok Post, and relates to the cognition of journalists and the sociopolitical reality in the province of Nusa Tenggara Barat. Anchored in the model of sociocognitive critical discourse analysis, this study discovered that the positive framing of female politicians in the newspaper was not inseparable from the provision of cordial relation between the journalist and female politician. The affirmative contents and cognition of the journalist regarding the female politicians were relevant to the sociopolitical context of the region depleted with the political racial identity and gender awareness of the community. Drawing on the empirical evidence, the domination of men in the editorial board of the mass media did not contribute to the presence of patriarchal news production in that good media relation built by the female politicians instead did minimize the news production policy that may be gender bias. This study demonstrates the importance of interpersonal communication competence and the maintenance of harmonious relation with the media and people for the sake of sustaining the positive image of female politicians constructed by mass media.
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Keywords : *Media, female politicians, journalists' cognition, critical discourse analysis, community of awareness*

Abstrak

Artikel ini mengungkap pencitraan politisi perempuan dalam surat kabar local "Harian Lombok Post" yang dikaitkan dengan kognisi wartawan dan realitas sosial politik di Provinsi Nusa Tenggara Barat. Lewat pendekatan analisis wacana kritis model kognisi sosial, studi ini menemukan bahwa citra positif politisi perempuan dalam teks berita tidak terlepas dari adanya relasi yang baik antara politisi perempuan dengan wartawan. Isi berita yang baik dan kognisi wartawan yang positif tentang politisi perempuan juga relevan dengan konteks sosial politik lokal yang masih kental dengan politik identitas etnik dan masyarakat yang sadar gender. Dari riset ini diketahui bahwa dominasi wartawan laki-laki dalam satu media tidak berkontribusi terhadap hadirnya media yang patriarki, karena *media relation* yang dibangun dengan baik oleh politisi perempuan dapat mereduksi kebijakan pemberitaan yang bias gender. Riset ini merekomendasikan pentingnya politisi perempuan membangun kekuatan ekstra media seperti meningkatkan kompetensi personal serta menjaga relasi baik dengan media dan masyarakat untuk menjaga citra positif politisi perempuan dalam konstruksi media massa.

Keywords: *media, politisi perempuan, kognisi wartawan, analisis wacana kritis, masyarakat sadar gender*

INTRODUCTION

The political discourses constructed by mass media have not showed a support for female politicians. General political news still portrays patriarchal position that discriminatively undermines women. This is evidenced by the presence of several research about misrepresentation of women constructed in the mass media. Krook (2017), for example, investigated the violence against women in the realm of politics, or another research by Pettersson (2017) about the ideological dilemma of radical female politicians in Swedia and Finland. In the context of Indonesia, Wulandari (2012) uncovered that the practice of patriarchal ideology in mass media is visible through two framing concepts, namely political masculine and female marginalization in in the political news reports. The three studies above do not only show the presence of discrimination against women and female politicians in social life but also indicates the dominant existence of studies negatively portraying women or female politicians in mass media as the foci of the study. Apart from the aforementioned studies, the current study figures out positive image of female politicians as constructed in the local printed mass media in the Indonesian context. This research unveiled the aspects that contribute to the presence of positive news about female politicians in mass media. Therefore, this paper does not only discover the news texts but also the real process and the dynamic of news media production.

Journalists are one of the elements that play crucial roles in the process of news reports production. Eriyanto (2001) cited the perspective of critical group who claims that journalists hold the authority to determine the direction of the news reports and discourse establishment, which they would publish in their mass media. The claim of the critical group is justified by the research finding of Brüggemann (2014) who uncovered the role of journalists in framing their news reports

based on their interpretations. Hence, to comprehensively look into the process of framing of female politicians in mass media, this study looked into the perspectives and cognition of the journalists on female politicians, including the relational pattern between the two.

The other aspects related to the production of discourse in the mass media report are the social contexts and realities. These are subject to investigate because mass media do not exist in vacuum. Unveiling the social realities through media reports will yield a comprehensive understanding of the contens of the news being reported. Abar (1999) mentioned that the studies regarding media using critical approach cannot ignore the surrounding realities and social structures. Therefore, the current study pertinent to framing of female politicians included the local sociopolitical realities as the tenets of the study, particularly related to news direction and cognition of journalists who authored the news reports.

The analysis pertinent to the representation of female politicians in this study did not only analyze the news reports, which most of the previous studies focused on, such as Ward (2017) who unveiled the presence of discrimination of media reports against women politicians of black ethic, Asian, and minority groups or BAME (Black, Asia and Minority Ethnic); or a study by Susilo (2016) regarding women politicians who are accused of corruption found that they were constructed discriminatively by media. Unlike two of the studies above, the current study sequently looked into three elements in the process of news reports, namely texts, journalists' cognition and social context as suggested in the method of discourse analysis "sociocognitive approach", particularly related to the model of "Discourse-Cognitive-Society triangle" proposed by Van Dijk (2015).

RESEARCH METHOD

This study aimed to uncover the reality of women politicians in the construction of mass media coverage, especially to uncover the correlation between news texts, journalists' cognition, and the local socio-political context. The right method to uncover this study is the critical discourse analysis method of Van Dijk's social cognition model.

The approach enabled this study to look into the news text reports including its hidden realities. The texts analyzed in this study were from a local newspaper, Lombok Post, published in West Nusa Tenggara Province (NTB), particularly regarding the internal conflict of the Islamic political party, Partai Persatuan Pembagunan (PPP) (literally translated into United Development Party) in the province, in which women politicians were involved. To uncover the hidden realties of the news reports, this study looked into the cognition of journalists in viewing and perceiving the female politicians or analyzed the relation of the two before the news reports were constructed. The analysis beyond the texts also investigated the social, political and cultural contexts of the people in NTB, including their responses regarding the presence of female politicians. The results of the correlational analysis beyond the textual news reports were what made this research appealing with its new findings.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS
1. Representation of Female Politicians in the Text of Mass Media

The unequal gender composition in a media or the dominance of male personals in the management and editorial team of certain media does not make any discrimination against women. This was proven by Lombok post when construction its news report about the internal conflict of the Islamic party, PPP branch NTB, which involved both female and male politicians. From three editions of the news published respectively on the 9th, 25th, and 26th of January, analyzed in this study, the Lombok Post media established positive image and discourse about women politicians. The three news reports can be expounded as beneath.

News Report-1: The Dominated Discourse
Dominantly citing one's opinions or of a group of people in certain mass media can be one of the indicators for supporting the informants or the objects of the news report. This was evidenced in daily news report of Lombok Post, 9th January 2016 regarding the internal conflict of PPP NTB. In this edition, Lombok Post issued a report entitled "PPP NTB Versi Romi Tak Galau" (PPP version Romi isn't gloomy), followed by subtitle: **"**Related to decree withdrawal by the Ministry of law and human rights". This twelve-paragraph news was dominated by the opinions of the committee of the party led by Hj. Warti'ah in that they dominated the nine paragraphs, while two paragraphs were for her opponents, and the remaining one paragraph was for the introduction of the news. The selected title for this edition showed the endorsement of Lombok Post for the female politicians because the selected title indicated courage. The phrase "not gloomy" in the title of the news was cited from the statement of Hj. Warti'ah for his cadres to be stronger in facing the political conflict.

In this edition, Lombok Post looked consistent syntactically, especially pertinent to the choice of syntactical form using deductive news report structure. The biggest mass media in NTB began its news reports by general information, such as publishing the legal decision of the Ministry of law and Human Rights, particularly related to the legality of the committee members of PPP party in the central level, followed by the opinions of both of the party's members who were involved in the conflict. The endorsement of Lombok Post was seen from the scheme of the report being constructed. Lombok Post used the opposite position of pyramid scheme, presenting important things in the beginning and complemented with minor relevant things subsequently. The viewpoints of woman politician, Hj. Warti'ah, including her group were accommodated in the initial nine paragraphs. This showed that Lombok Post perceived the ideas of woman politicians were more important than their opposite gender politicians.

Lombok Post mass media endorsed woman politician by means of more rhetorical ways, especially in the form of picture attachment of Hj. Warti'ah with her team members. The image showed the consolidation and power of the PPP party's committee members led by a female politician. The presence of the pose of one group of a political party when reporting a conflict among the members is a form of very rhetorical endorsement.

News Report-2: Advantageous Position and Status

The lexical choice and terms used by the mass media in describing the status or position of the informants can not be regarded as something independent and spontaneous, but as ideological product with various accounts, which Schudson (2003) mentioned as something selectively chosen. The mass media of Lombok Post, the 25th of Januari 2016 edition contained pronouns that indicate the media endorsement for woman politicians.

Lombok Post used a pronoun when mentioning Hj. Warti'ah with the position she held as a member of legislative at that time. This can be seen from news reports on the 25th of January 2016 when the mass media deployed the term "Ketua Komisi V DPRD NTB" (the leader of commission V of NTB legislative assembly) to refer to Hj. Warti'ah (the leader of PPP party NTB). The way of using the term reinforces the position of the informant in the publication of the mass media. This technique benefits female politicians because in the same edition, Lombok Post never used the political position to replace the name of H. Muhammad, who was the political rival of Hj. Warti'ah.

In the beginning of January 2016, the report on the internal conflict of PPP NTB had entered the phase of physical contact. Both parties wanted to claim and gained the legal control over the base camp of the party. This was evidenced as in the title of the news report of Lombok Post edition 25th Januari 2016, "PPP Djan Faridz Gagal Kuasai Markas" (PPP version Djan Faridz failed to gain control over the base camp) and completed with subtitle "Berebut Kantor di Tengah Ketidakjelasan" (competing for the office in an uncertainty). The title and subtitle above depict the escalation of managerial conflict of the internal party which was leading to physical contact to get the authority for the base camp. Despite mentioning one of the parties involved in the conflict (PPP NTB led by male politicians), the tile had a negative connotation in that it portrayed them as weak party and failed to gain authority over the base camp of the party PPP. For this reason, the title advantaged Hj. Warti'ah because she was portrayed as a strong politician who retained his position as a legal general leader of PPP party branch NTB who controlled the office.

News Report-3: Importantly Perceived Opinions

Showing someone's opinions who is in conflict in mass media is one of the indicators of its endorsement. This can be seen in the texts of Lombok Post newspapers dated 26 January 2016 regarding the conflict of PPP party NTB. The biggest newspaper clearly cited Hj. Warti'ah's statements. The quoted statements were related to the fundamental aspects being debated in the internal conflict of the Islamic party. The statement was "Kami Mengacu Pada Surat Dari Dirjen Administrasi Hukum Umum Pada 31 Desember 2015. Jelas Mempertanyakan Keabsahan dan Pemalsuan Dokumen Muktamar VIII di Jakarta" (we referred to the decree of the general law administration agency dated on 31st December 2015, which firmly questioned the legality and falsification of the document of the consensus VIII in Jakarta).

Lombok Post Newspaper edition 26th January 2016 still published the news pertinent to the conflict of gaining control over the base camp of the political party with the title "Dua Kubu PPP Berebut Kuasai Kantor" (two parties of PPP competing for the office) followed by a subtitle: "Kubu

Warti'ah Siagakan Pasukan" (Warti'ah's party is massing troops)**.** Although the title themactically sounds neutral, the subtitle accommodates the information of Hj. Warti'ah. Seen from schematic structure, the news report of Lombok Post did not use any single "*lead*" of news, but it used *insert* pattern to emphasize certain part of the content that needed to be shown up. The inserted content derived from one of the parties involved in the conflict, which was from the group led by Hj. Warti'ah. This way benefited the woman politician because it did not give equal rooms to her opponents (H. Muhammad).

Comparison of female and male politician representation in the news report texts of Lombok Post

No	Indicator	Media Representation	
		Female Politicians	Male Politicians
1.	Title	Two out of three titles were perceived good	Mentioned in the title, but had negative connotations
2.	Cited opinions	The number of citations of the opinions outnumbered the opposition. 20 citations were recorded in the three editions.	8 times cited in the three editions
3	Stress on the news	The opinions of the group were endorsed in one edition	The opinions were not endorsed
4	Image/Picture	Poses with the committee members were attached	The picture was never attached

From the three editions of the news reports regarding the internal conflict of the PPP party in NTB, Lombok Post framed female politicians in more affirmative ways, from the title selection, the number of cited statements, the number of stressed sentences in the form *insert*, to the accommodation of images enclosed in the news report (see table 1). Despite having met the elements of *cover both side*, the lexical choices and some stresses made by the Press has shown a positive attitude towards the female politician (Hj. Warti'ah) as one of the parties involved in the conflict.

The tendency of mass media in constructing the realities of female politicians more positively than they do to the opposite gender politicians is identical to the endeavor of representation (Eriyanto, 2001), which, in the context of critical discourse analysis, is meant to be an effort of media to show someone, a group of people or certain opinions in a news report in a way that is better. Although Lombok Post frames woman politicians, the mass media does not publicly misrepresent or undermine male politicians who become the opposition in the news report.

2. Competition and Social Relation of Female Politicians

The intellectual and social competition is of paramount importance for a politician including female politicians in that it preserves their existence the political sphere. This is evidenced in the figure of Hj. Warti'ah as s female politician, who successfully becomes the representative, and chairs the female youth union of Nahdlatul Ulama (the biggest Islamic organization in Indonesia) and alumni association of PMII (Islamic Students Association Movement). With the prestige and positions she is holding, Hj. Warti'ah is regularly subject to the sociopolitical news reports in NTB. In this context, the interaction between her and journalists is inseparable.

The communication constructed between the journalists and the resource speakers cannot be denied. Their position and profession enable them to possess chemistry: journalists need information or opinions from the eligible respondents, while the latter also requires media framing at the same time. This is what happens to the journalists of Lombok Post newspaper and the female politician (Hj. Warti'ah). The news regarding the political conflict of the regional representative council of PPP party NTB involving the female politicians is written by the journalists of Lombok Post coded "Tan/r10". Hj. Warti'ah as the politician of PPP party was functioning as the regional representative of NTB during which the current study was undertaken. Tan, on the other hand, required a commentary from Hj. Warti'ah as the one who is involved in the conflict, while she needs the media as a facilitator of her opinions, as well as a framing for her in the public and her political oppositions. The mutual relationship pattern between the politicians and journalists as above is potential to maintain their relationship.

The intense meeting between the journalists and respondents contributes to the stronger bond between the two. The sustainable friendliness can also contribute to the creation of good perception and judgment. This phenomenon is found in the case of political journalists of Lombok Post and Hj. Warti'ah. The journalist, Tan, asserts that the intense interaction between him and the female politician cannot be separated because of his profession as a political journalist, who has to gain information from the members or leaders of the regional representative council of NTB (interview with Tan, July 2017). Apart from interviewing, the journalist also admits to be occasionally involved in a political discussion with Hj. Warti'ah. After involved in three discussions with them (Hj. Wartia'ah and Tan), I myself witnessed their intimate relationship. For this reason, the relation between the journalist, Tan and Hj. Warti'ah is stronger than that of the journalist with other politicians form PPP party, such as H. Muhammad, who becomes the political rival of the female politician.

The appreciation of a journalist on the respondent can be seen from his perception. Tan can be said to have a positive appreciation towards Hj. Warti'ah, not to mention this appreciation is more than given to male politicians. When describing the profile of Hj. Warti'ah, Tan did it very thoroughly with a positive impression. He showed a comprehensive understanding about the figure of Hj. Warti'ah, which is unlike describing the profile of H. Muhammad (male politicians), whose profile is limited to his knowing. The lack of information about H. Muhammad is caused by the less intense interaction between him and the male politician. Tan and H. Muhammad just met after the internal conflict of PPP NTB had gained public attention. This fact also indicates that the journalist has a closer tie to Hj. Warti'ah than Mr. H. Muhammad. This allows Tan to possess more

content and information when writing about Hj. Warti'ah in the political conflict of PPP party NTB.

Similar ethnic background also contributes to the establishment of well bond between two people. This study discovered that there was a strong correlation between the same ethnic identity of the journalist and female politician and their everyday close relationship. The journalist Tan and Hj. Warti'ah share similar ethnicity, Sasak (the indigenous tribe of Lombok Island), while the opposition (H. Muhammad) is PPP party politician from the ethnic of Mbojo (the indigenous of Sumbawa Island). From the author's observation, Tan is friendlier to Hj. Warti'ah than to H. Muhammad. This is evidenced from the time allotted for the meeting, interpersonal style of communication and use of language. Besides having a long duration of communication in various places, the communication between Tan and Hj. Warti'ah is less formal and is sometimes in a special dialect of Sasak language. This is not the case when the journalist met H. Muhammad. The communication between the two remains flat limited to the topic of political conflict of the party PPP. This reasserts that similar ethnic background contributes to the creation of intimate relationship between interlocutors, who are carrying out interpersonal communication.

The intimacy yielded by similar ethnicity between the journalist and respondents can be associated to their perceptions. The journalist, Tan, creates a positive perception for Hj. Warti'ah by presenting her as a strong, brave and smart politician (Interview with Tan, July 2017). Such a perception is also relevant to the image of the female politician and her group in the news report. I proposed closing questions to the journalist Tan with three choices: gender, intensity of communication and ethnicity, which should be ordered based on the level of their effect on writing the news reports. The journalist mentioned that it was the intense communication; second, ethnicity and followed by the gender in the last order (Interview with Tan, July 2017). This empirical evidence suggests that the factor of ethnicity has a correlation with the direction of news reports, and gender is not the priority for the journalist when writing news about woman politicians.

3. Community Awareness of Gender amid the Political Identity

Gender awareness in social milieu thrives through the process of learning the values inherited from generation to generation and practiced across different eras. The ethnic in the province of NTB has history and local wisdom that are bound within the values of gender awareness that honor women. In the classical manuscripts of Sasak tribe, for example is found the appreciation for women. This can be traced to the old manuscript of Kotaragama, Dewi Rengganis, and Megantaka (Wirata, 2017). In Kotaragama manuscript, it is stated that women have to be respected and protected from any tasks they carry out. Similarly, Dewi Rengganis manuscript contains a number of female figures who play significant roles in the development of Sasak civilization. The manuscript of Megantaka also describes the endeavor of a mother who could protect people from certain diseases. The information from the aforementioned manuscripts show that the Sasak tribe have the tradition that appreciates the existence of women.

Table 2:
The Number of Regional Representatives of NTB Based on Gender

No	Period	Number		Total
		Female	Male	
1	2009 - 2014	5	50	55
2	2014 – 2019	6	59	65

Source: KPU NTB (General Election Commission of NTB)

In the context of the contemporary politics, the presence of women politician has relatively positive perception on the eyes of the people of NTB. One of the indicators is the level of electoral opportunity of women politicians in the legislative and executive and other bureaucratic positions in the governance. Drawing on the data from KPU NTB, there were six female politicians elected as the members of the regional house representative of NTB in 2014 election. The number is relatively better than the previous election, which only counted five people (See table- 2).

Despite having fewer seats in the regional parliament, the head of the people representative is a female politician (Hj. Baiq Isvie Rupaeda). The success of Mrs. Rupaeda is also followed by Mrs. Murni Suciyanti who becomes the leader of the regional council of Bima District. In the national level, two out of four of female senators are from the Province of. The local government of the province also appreciates the participation of woman politicians. For the regional executives, two women have also been elected, namely Dr. Hj. Sitti Rohmi Djalilah, M.Pd elected as the vice Governor of NTB, and Hj. Sumiatun elected as the vice of Regent of West Lombok in the 2018 general election, including Hj. Indah Dhamayanti Putri headed the regent of Bimanese regent in 2015. In 2018, it was reported that seven out of forty eight bureaucrats in the provincial governance were women. Women are also recorded to be leaders of NGOs, such as Hj. Sitti Raihanun Zainuddin Abdul Madjid, the chief in committee of Nahdlatul Wathan (NW) Anjani, East Lombok. The political facts indicate positive appreciation of the people toward the figures and women politicians in NTB.

Although the people in the province possess a good gender awareness, particularly in rewarding female politicians, their political practices remains less democratice. One of the indicators of this is the rampant practices of political identitities in eacg of the political contest in the province, as evidenced during the provincial election. Since the reformation era in 1998, ethic sentiment has gained its momentum in the regional election in NTB. This can be seen from the composition of the regional candidacy. It can be asserted that almost all the candidates are from three different ethnics in the region, such as Sasak, Samawa, Mbojo. This political tradition remains an important account which sidelines the value of democracy, such as electing based on one's competence and capacity.

This racial sentiment does not end in the upper level of the political elites but also becomes the public consumption promoted by ordinary figures across the social levels. This was evidenced in the 2013 and 2018 regional elections. The political discourses centered on the racial issues

produced and spread by publicly and privately. Local jargons are always presented to voters. In the Sasak ethnic, for example, the jargons ""bela rawang" (supporting people from the same ethnic background) and "semeton Sasak" (brothers of Sasak) are produced by politicians or campaign team from respective candidates. The racial jargons are also produced and disseminated by the candidates from Sumbawa, such as "Pilih Tau Samawa" (vote for the people from Sumbawa), and from the ethnic of Mbojo using the term "Ka'dale Dou Ndai" (Elect our own people). The racial jargons attached on the banners and flyers during the regional campaign of NTB remained public consumption which may undermine the political education and democracy in the regions.

The involvement of the political figures in the regional political contest is one of the factors that trigger the immergence of the political identities, particularly one related to ethnicity. They often make use the organization based ethnic as homes to political identity. This can be seen from the capitalization on the organization and the figures indicated as the campaign teams. Such a phenomenon should actually not have a room as the figures, who ought to be the agent of democracy, are instead involved in the political practice of racial issues.

Discussion

1. Empowering Female Politicians' Media and Journalists' Gender Awareness

Female politicians who are aware of media are those who understand the existence of the political strategies that media can accommodate for themselves. On this behalf, they are expected to establish a good relation with media (*media relation*). The ability of the woman politicians to establish a good relation with journalists in particular and media in general contribute to the positive framing of themselves constructed by the media. The role of journalists in the process of mass media production is significant enough to sustain a positive bond between the journalists themselves and resources speakers (such as female politicians), which becomes one of the determining factors for the direction of the news reports. This study unveiled three factors that affect the cognition of the journalist in constructing the political news, namely the intense of communication, ethics, and gender. The three aspects in this study can be called a layer model that influences the cognition of the journalist (see figure 1).
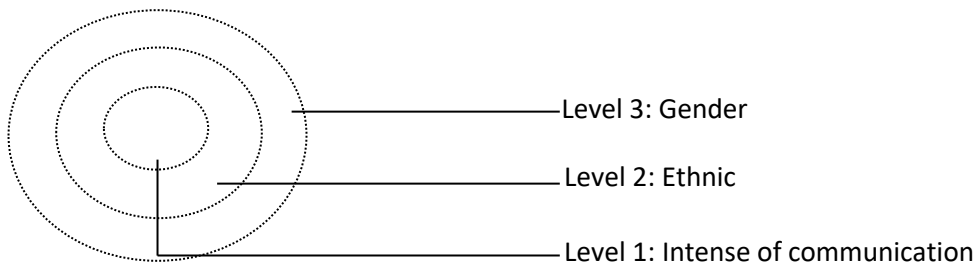

Figure 1: Layer model that influences journalist's cognition

The model in the figure 1 shows that the intense of communication between the journalist and the respondent, female politician in this case, remains the deepest factor (level 1) that

influences the journalist's cognition, followed by the ethnicity in the mid-level (level 2). This research instead figured out that the gender is the least factor (level 3) that is taken into account by the journalist when writing a news report. From this finding, it can be concluded that gender does not significantly contribute to the production of gender-bias news. Instead, the relationship between the journalist and the female politician does play the most crucial role in the contents of the news written by the former.

Drawing on this empirical evidence, the author assumes that the negative image of woman politicians in mass media has recently been affected by the ineffectiveness of communication between them and the journalists personally and formally with the mass media. For this reason, to present the positive framing of female politicians in the mass media cannot be done through enforcement of the journalists or mass media to be aware of gender, but through the establishment of positive relationship with the journalists and mass media, while simultaneously showing up similar identities with between the female politicians and the journalists.

The access and good relationship does not only maintain network and emotional bond between the two parties but also yields the opportunity for the politicians to sustain their existence in order to be portrayed as a whole by the journalists so that this minimizes the reporting bias. The quality and power of female politicians are basically directed actively to the journalists and editorial boards of mass media to equalize the movements of extra mass media carried out by women community, such as campaign hastags in social media against the violence on women (Kangere, Kemitare, & Michau, 2017).

Good relationship between the journalists and woman politicians can be nurtured by maintaining the effectiveness of the communication between them. This study found that the capability of female politicians of optimizing the effective communication with the journalist is through ethnic similarity. At the same time, the female politician tries to sideline the aspect, such as gender when meeting the journalist. The endeavor made is the similarity while ignoring the difference as mentioned by Mulyana (2017) as the principle and strategy for establishing effective communication.

Effective communication is indicated by the presence of equal relationship between the female politician and journalist. This study discovered the availability of equality in terms of cooperation that mutually benefits both sides. The journalists gain the advantages in terms of food relationship and necessary information, while the female politician benefited in terms of positive framing about herself amid the political conflict involving her. The relational pattern that benefits each other like this accords with one of the three patterns coined by Carlson (2009) in his study about the dynamic of relationship between journalists and their resource of information.

The ethnic bond is one of the factors that bind the journalist and female politician. This is not only depicted in the form of good relationship but also influences the the cognition of the journalist in constructing the news, as in the model "the circle of journalist cognition" (figure 1) places the intense of communication in the second place. The ethnic identity becomes the basic emotional bond for everyone, or which is termed by Capozza & Brown (2000) as the main instrument in social interaction. In the context of media news report, having similar ethnic background also determines the direction of the discourse constructed by journalists. This study

showed that there is a strong relation between the journalist's and female politician's ethnic identity with the positive framing of the latter in the political news report. This findings accords with that of van Dijk (1997) that proves that ethnic identity significantly corresponds to the discourse constructed by the mass media.

The emotional relation, such as the similar ethnic background between the journalist and female politician, influences the direction of the discourse constructed by the journalist. The findings of this study show that the positive framing of woman politician in the mass media cannot be separated from the factor of similar ethnic background between both the journalist and the politician. This finding is in accordance with that of previous studies regarding the correlation between the ethnic identity of the journalist and the news reports being constructed and the policy of selecting their resourceful informants. Chuang (2012), for example, found that there was discrimination in the news report of media in New York that showed up the identity of Vietnamese who committed crimes, and who in fact had been the American citizen two decades earlier. Similarly, a study by Owens (2008) uncovered that the domination of white-skin journalists corresponds to the number of resource speakers from the same ethnic cited in the media. They are also cited in positive news pertinent to science and technology, international affair and general election. On the other hand, the respondents from black skin community are often cited when reporting news related to disaster and accident.

The choice of the female politician over the relationship building with the journalist is a precise decision in that the latter has strategic position in the production of news reports. A study by Mellado (2015), for example, uncovered that there is a strategic role of journalists in determining the direction of the news by means of certain professional standard. Similarly, Strömbäck dan Nord (2006) also showed that journalists hold more crucial role than do the politicians as the resource of the information. The findings of the current study accord with the two aforementioned studies that place the journalist as the most important person in directing the news regarding woman politicians in his mass media.

The subjectivity of the journalist in directing the news reports cannot be denied. The female politician in this study is deemed successfully penetrating the space of the subjectivity of the journalist by establishing a positive relation and communication, which at the same time nurturing the similarities between them, like similarity in terms of ethnic background. The subjective element of the journalist in the layer that influences the contents of the news in the media is what Reese (2001) terms as individual layer. This is what determines the direction of the news pertinent to the female politician with positive framing and lexical choices because the discourse in the media is indeed not real representation of the factual information but the results of certain ideology or perspective produced selectively according to the will of the producers (Hall, 2005), or it could be a result of construction to portray certain realities that need to be established in the public (Sobur, 2001).

2. Textual Relation, Journalists' Cognition, and Social Context in Reporting Female Politicians

Texts in the newspaper do not derive from social vacuum in that the news is constructed by journalists who belong to the social element. They are social creatures who are professionally performing journalistic tasks that are inseparable from the influence of their social context. Therefore, texts of the news report are the representation of the journalists who have chemistry with the people. The assumption is evidenced by this study which found the correlation between the good or positive texts of the news reports and the cognition of the journalist and the ethnocentric attitude and gender awareness of the people. The correlation between the three components is diagrammatically presented in the model called "Textual Relation, Journalists' Cognition, and Social Context in Reporting Female Politicians" (See figure 2).

The model shows that the good or positive image of female politicians in the text of mass media is strongly correlated to the cognition of the journalist that appreciates the politicians due to the intensity of the communication between them and their ethnic bond. The appreciation of the journalist on the woman politicians accords with that of the people who also appreciate them by affording them the opportunity to be executives and legislatives in the regional level. The journalists and people have similar ethnocentric attitudes, which benefit the female politicians as they share similar ethnic background with the journalist writing the news. This finding also reasserts the theoretical assumption of the discourse analysis model "sociocognitive approach", especially "The Discourse-Cognitive-Society triangle" proposed by Van Dijk (2015) who argues that the content and direction the news reports are correlated to the perspective or sociocognition of the journalists writing the news and their surrounding social context.

The findings in this study remark how crucial the social context of certain region is on influencing the cognition of the journalist and determining the direction of the news report. The presence of the media based gender is supported by the existence of the journalists who are aware of the gender. This sort of journalists is influenced by the social context where female politicians and figures are appreciated. The provision of several strategic positions and roles of women in both the executive and legislative indicates the appreciation of the people on the female politicians in the region. This is relevant to the appreciation of the journalist as depicted in his positive news reports about the female politicians.
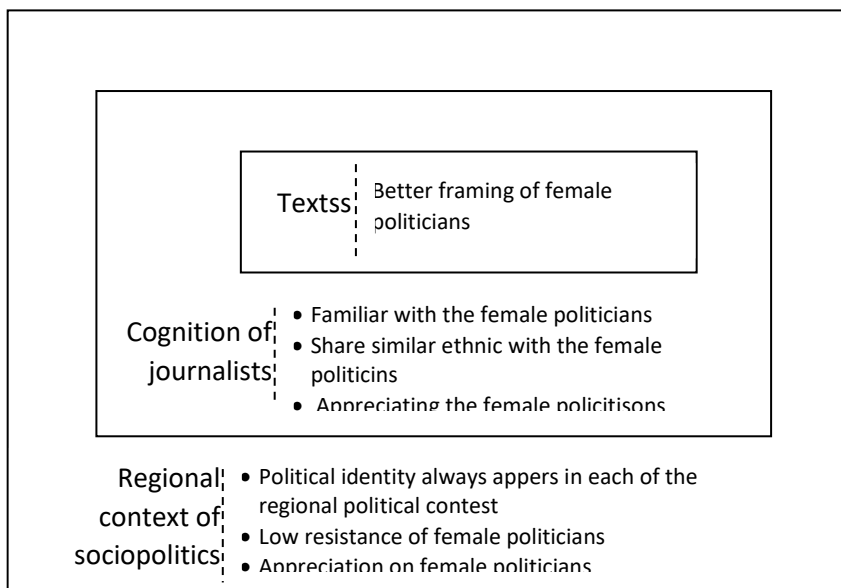
Figure 2: Model of Textual relation, journalists' cognition, and social context in reporting female politicians

The external factors surrounding the media, such as the socioculture and politics of the people become essential in the context of mass media news production inasmuch as the sociopolitical lives of the people are their external entity. McQuail (1994) regards this as a group who has business in influencing the policy of news report of mass media. Consequently, to encourage the media to be aware of gender should be in line with the establishment of the people's awareness of issue because as Risman (2009) advocates that gender should not be seen solely on the individual level but across the social milieu, socially constructed and becoming parts of the communal awareness and understanding.

Drawing on the model of textual relation, journalists' cognition and social context established in this study, it indicates that the process of news production in mass media seem to be more intricate. The model shows the dialectics between the three components in the process of news reporting. To figure out the representation of good or positive framing of female politicians, the related problems should be fixed across the social boundaries. The condition of the people that is responsive to gender is the primary task that should be maintained and solved by all parties involved in it. At the same time, female politicians should be more actively establishing a good network with the journalists and mass media to ensure their existence in the mass media for the sake of positive framing from the top to the bottom levels. This study has unveiled the linear correlation between texts of the news reports and the appreciation of the people and the cognition of the journalists about the female politicians.

Good relationship between female politicians and the journalist enables the reduction of gender bias in the cognition of the journalist and editorial board of the mass media. The finding of this study indicates that the mass media, despite being managed mostly by men, do not discriminate against the woman politicians. In fact, they are framed more positively than are their opposite gender politicians. Within this context, this study differs from the one carried out by Vočič (2008) who found the provision of discrimination against women in the news report in the production of whose management lacked the number female journalists. Also, this study contradicts to the one conducted by Ross (2007) who unveiled the presence of patriarchal nuance inside the editorial board dominated by male resources cited in the news report of the media.

Escalating the number of female journalists in the mass media institutions is not the only panacea for the generation of media feminism. Instead, this study found the endeavor of feminism

made by male journalists through the establishment of relation with female politicians, which can be effective in generating media with gender perspective. This is what Subono (2003) regards as journalistic practice that always nurtures the equal bond between men and women in the production of their news report. The journalists already embracing the concept of feminism influenced by their relation with female politicians will never draw on their patriarchal ideology when performing their journalistic tasks. On the other hand, the media depleted of the majority of women in their editorial board are said to embrace gender bias, as exemplified by the Femina magazine (Utami, 2009), or *Kartini* magazine, which constructs women in the domestic scope (Wiratmo & Gifari, 2008).

CONCLUSION
Female politicians in Lombok Post were portrayed as strong figures with more positive framing than their opposite gender politicians involved as the opposition in the internal conflict of PPP party in NTB. The possession of close connection and similar ethnic background with the journalist contributed to more positive news texts for woman politicians. This tendency is relevant to the socio-political culture in the province where ethnic sentiments have rooms during the political contest and given less resistance against female politicians and executives. This finding advocates the provision of correlation between texts, journalists' cognition and the regional socio-political context.

The media of gender bias are not always caused by the dominance of men in the editorial board because gender is not always the determining factor for the direction of the news reports, instead the access (close relationship) and ethnic similarity between the journalists and female politicians. Female politicians should be encouraged to effectively establish a good relationship with the media, while proposing similar identities between them. At the same time, the community having gender awareness ought to be encouraged to thrive to build social lives that are less resistant and friendlier toward women. The internal and external endeavors like this can be social capitals for minimizing gender bias in mass media reports.

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