

The Existence of Women in Harian Neraca Press 1989-1994

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Abstract: The purpose of this study was to find out how the existence of women in the social, economic, political fields in the Harian Neraca newspaper in 1989-1994. The method used in this research is historical. This research was conducted using the archives of the Harian Neraca newspaper in 1989-1994, and literature, both in the form of books and reports of previous research results. The data collection techniques using document study techniques and literature studies. The approach used is a multidimensional approach covering sociology, economics and political science. Based on the results of the study, it can be said that during the New Order era, precisely in 1989-1994, women were able to carry out activities outside the domestic sphere. Women carry out activities in the public sphere, namely in the social, economic and political fields and make great contributions to the nation during the national development period. The presence of women in the Harian Neraca newspaper is interesting because it talks about the public sphere under the New Order, the role of women was constructed by the state. The press rarely appears to be significantly involved in the world of work or the public sphere. The topics of "women's things" limit them to domestic matters. However, Harian Neraca can be said to be able to build a positive image of women who appear as independent figures in the midst of a repressive climate, a strong patriarchal culture and all policies of domestication efforts.

Abstrak: Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk mengetahui bagaimana eksistensi wanita pada bidang sosial, ekonomi, politik dalam surat kabar Harian Neraca tahun 1989-1994. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah historis. Penelitian ini dilakukan dengan menggunakan arsip surat kabar Harian Neraca tahun 1989-1994, dan literatur kepustakaan, baik berupa buku maupun laporan hasil penelitian terdahulu. Teknik pengumpulan data menggunakan teknik studi dokumen dan studi kepustakaan. Pendekatan yang digunakan ialah pendekatan multidimensional meliputi ilmu sosiologi, ilmu ekonomi dan ilmu politik. Berdasarkan hasil penelitian, maka dapat disimpulkan bahwa pada masa Orde Baru tepatnya pada tahun 1989-1994 wanita mampu beraktivitas di luar ranah domestik. Wanita melakukan kegiatan di ranah publik yaitu pada bidang sosial, ekonomi maupun politik dan menyumbang kontribusi yang besar bagi bangsa pada masa pembangunan nasional. Keberadaan wanita dalam surat kabar Harian Neraca menjadi hal menarik sebab berbicara mengenai ruang publik di bawah Orde Baru peran wanita dikonstruksi oleh negara. Pers jarang sekali menampilkan wanita terlibat secara signifikan dalam dunia pekerjaan atau ranah publik. Topik-topik "urusan wanita" cenderung membatasi urusan tersebut sebatas permasalahan domestic



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INTRODUCTION

During the colonial period the press was used by the Indonesian people as a medium of struggle to achieve the ideals of independence by spreading ideas, goal, aspirations and criticisms of the colonial government to raise collective awareness of the oppression of the

colonialists. The struggle movement through the press is not only carried out by men, but also by women. Women also use the press as a tool of struggle, because they realize that through the press they can voice ideas and move together with the aim of lifting women from backwardness so that women can achieve progress (Urifatulailiyah, 2016).

The press about the world of women is not only found in women's magazines or tabloids, but also newspapers or general media that provide a special rubric "women's world", of course with themes around women (Kusumastuti, 1994). The ideology of the modern Indonesian women's press has again divided the world of women. When women had moved into the public sphere and succeeded in breaking through the cultural walls that bound them, the New Order press actually pushed women back into the household cage to carry out their natural functions as wives and as true mothers. The decline in the press occurred due to the impact of the strong patriarchal culture during the New Order era (Ibrahim & Suranto, 1998).

The repressive political conditions and patriarchal culture that was deeply rooted in the New Order era influenced the way journalists interpreted women's problems (Utami, 2010). The self-image of women in the mass media in newspaper or magazine literature and other mass media still shows harmful stereotypes: women are passive, dependent on men, dominated, accept decisions made by men and see women as sex symbols. The news about women has not moved from the traditional role of women as wives, mothers and companions to their husbands (Ibrahim & Suranto, 1998). The role and image of women is constructed and can even be said to be largely determined by the state which was fostered and disseminated through the public sphere or the New Order press as stated by Awuy (Siregar et al., 2000).

During the New Order era, the press functioned as a mouthpiece of government power. The role of the press is only as a distributor of government ideas and goals, especially state, political, economic and military news. News about women only appears occasionally, especially on Kartini Day. The news that appears is not far from how the government sees women as husband's

companions and even though women have achievements or have high social positions, they must remember their nature as women. The word "kodrat" was used by the New Order government to restrain the advancement of women in the public sphere (Siregar et al., 2000).

Women in the New Order period were defined in five forms that are close to the "Panca Dharma Wanita" namely: (1) women as husband's companions; (2) women as wives who give birth to a new generation; (3) women as child educators; (4) women as housekeepers (5) women as community members (Kumoro & Probokusumo, 2020). The press, in this case, acts as a disseminator of ideology about women as recommended by the government, namely "a culture of following your husband" or everything to perfect the role of women as supporting men, not women as an independent unit as stated by Ibrahim (Ibrahim & Suranto, 1998). Serious issues concerning women's interests are barely highlighted in a meaningful way, the topics presented are not far from "women's things" which tend to limit these matters to domestic issue (Lan, 2002). Such news, for example concerning household, fashion, family and child care, as well as profiles of role models where most of these role models are in the spotlight because they carry out activities that are not far from "women's things" as written by Debra H. Yatim in book *Wanita dan Media* (Ibrahim & Suranto, 1998).

One thing that is quite interesting is that the newspaper *Harian Neraca* which incidentally is an economic newspaper that discusses national economic problems actually pays special attention to women with the column "*Wanita*" whereas in the New Order period news about women was difficult to find. The depiction of women in mass media reporting still shows harmful stereotypes for women, where women are described as objectified in advertising, passive figures, victims of crime and dominated, but *Harian Neraca* sees women from the other side, namely women's activities outside the domestic sphere. *Harian Neraca* which raises the issue of women in the midst of a repressive political conditions, deep-rooted patriarchal culture, and all government policies as an effort

to domesticate becomes an interesting object to study.

Harian Neraca is not part of a women's newspaper, but is an economic newspaper but is able to present women as independent figures, not just "unpaid housework" creature but also part of society. In fact, the same thing does not happen to the print media, be it women's newspapers or magazines. As stated by Lan (Lan, 2002). The picture of women's alienation and downfall can even be seen clearly through women's tabloids, magazines and newspapers. The appearance of women in print media is just an object. The results of research conducted by Joko Sutarmo (1998) (*Kompas*/21/4/1998) based on 10 print media, namely *Dewi*, *Rias*, *Mahkota*, *Kartini*, *Femina*, *Family*, *Sarina*, *Pertiwi*, *Nova*, and *Wanita Indonesia*, it was shown that in the 1992 period, reporting on women in the household was more prominent than the role of women outside the family. This research was focused between 1989 and 1994 because the *Harian Neraca* newspaper began to pay attention to women's problems in 1989 as indicated by the presence of the Women's column in 1989 and ended in 1994. The purpose of this study is to analyze the existence of women in the social, economic, and politics in 1989-1994 reviewed from the *Harian Neraca* newspaper in 1989-1994.

Existence comes from the word *Existere* which means "out of" or "overcoming" oneself. Existence is dynamic, does not stop, but experiences development or vice versa. This depends on the individual's ability to actualize his potential (Yasid & Syakur, 2020). As for thermologically, existence is what exists, what has actuality, everything that is experienced. Existence emphasizes existence but in existentialism philosophy, existence has a more specific meaning. Existence is the human way of being in the world. The way humans exist is certainly different from the way things are in the world. Humans are aware of their existence and because of humans things become meaningful. Therefore, existentialist philosophy asserts that things are called "being" while humans "exist" (Purnamasari, 2017). Humans always place themselves in the midst of the world around them, so that they are involved with the surrounding nature and become one with it.

Existence like that is called *dasein* which means "being there", namely in a place. Existentialism places humans as both subject and object (Rohmah, 2019). Every human being is responsible for interpreting his existence and creating self-existence (Wahid, 2022).

Satre, a French philosopher, explained that because humans are aware that they exist, it means that humans are aware that they are facing the future and are aware of the impact of their actions. This explains that humans are not only responsible for themselves but are responsible for all humans. Satre's opinion about existence does not only want to convey about the existence of humans in the midst of humans or objects, but more than that it wants to explain the responsibilities that should be borne by all humans as human being (Purnamasari, 2017). Satre's philosophical ideas are based on two characteristics of human existence, namely being in oneself (*letre en soi*) and self-awareness (*letre pour soi*). To be in oneself is to be as one is and consciousness to be active in its existence. Awareness causes humans to have the freedom to actively create their future (Jemarut, 2021). Satre reveals that freedom always involves responsibility. Existentialists see freedom as always closely related to human responsibility for decisions or actions in order to live or exist (Yasid & Syakur, 2020).

The theory of existence in this study is useful to provide a general understanding of humans in existence. In general, existence means exist. The way humans are is certainly different from the way things are. Humans, in this case, are women, not only being but also "existing" because humans are aware of their existence in the world and understand what they are facing. This means that humans as subjects who are aware of their existence so that they exist by having actualization, not only exist.

Etymologically the word *Pers* (Dutch), *Press* (England), *Presse* (France) means to press or print (Iramdhan, 2019). While the definition of the term *press* is print mass media, abbreviated as print media. The *press* is commonly defined as a newspaper (news paper) or magazine (magazine) and is also often included in the notion of journalists or journalists (Br.Ginting, 2020). Efendi (2019) explains that basically the function of the *press*

can be formulated into five parts, namely: First, the press as a medium of information (to inform). The press has a function to provide information or news to the wider community. Second, the press functions as an educator (to educate). The function of the press in educating is that the information disseminated should be in the context of educating. Third, the press functions to influence (to influence). The influencing function of newspapers is implicit in editorials and articles. Fourth, the press as a means of entertainment (to entertain). The press can provide entertainment to the public. The press must be able to play itself as a recreational vehicle that is both fun and healthy for all levels of society. Fifth, the press as mediation or liaison (to mediate). The press as mediation means as a liaison or as a facilitator or mediator.

Press freedom brings benefits to various parties. Various positive impacts of press freedom include: 1) Openness in conveying information. 2) Freedom to exercise social control. 3) Encouraging changes in community cultural material 4) Encouraging changes in people's mindsets (Rahmad, 2020). The negative impacts of press freedom include: 1) The values of honesty are no longer heeded. Freedom of the press makes it easy for fake news, slander and sensation seeking to occur in the community. 2) Reports that are less objective are in favor of certain groups. 3) A moral crisis where many people support gossip, slander and unclear issues. 4) The high level of business competition makes the press sometimes have to contain information that violates the journalistic code of ethics to beat its rivals (Daulany, 2016).

The theory of the press has an important role in this research. The theory of press communication in this study is useful to see how newspapers present women through their reporting. In media communication theory, the press explains the social responsibility of the press. In relation to its social responsibility, the press functions to provide a true, comprehensive and intelligent description of every event that occurs in society, acts as a forum for exchanging opinions and launching criticism, helping to show the values that exist in society, so that it can be a reference for see how in this case the press plays a role in spreading the positive

image of women by presenting women as more empowered in public roles. Through the news, it can show how women can exist in public roles both in the social, economic and political fields.

RESEARCH METHOD

The method used in this research is using the historical method, because what is being studied is about past events in a period. Historical methodology as a science of methods means as a science that talks about ways, namely ways to find out past (historical) events (Hatmono, 2021). Historical research has four stages, namely: (1) Heuristics (2) Source criticism (3) Interpretation (4) Historiography (Sumargono, 2021). This research was also conducted by applying a multidimensional approach. According to Kartodirjo a multidimensional approach is an approach with various perspectives on social science theories in narrating the study of complex historical phenomena. The multidimensional approach makes historical writing with truth, because history contains social complexity so that social science theories are used to help study the diagram. In this study, the author uses theories and perspectives of political science, sociology and economics as auxiliary sciences in reconstructing the existence of women in the press of the *Harian Neraca* in 1989-1994. The sources used in this research are primary sources and secondary sources in written form. This study uses newspapers as the primary source because the primary source in the form of newspapers is able to describe the actual events that occurred in that period. In this study using the technique of Documentation study and literature study.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Overview of the Establishment of the *Harian Neraca* Newspaper.

The *Harian Neraca* newspaper was the first and only economic newspaper in Indonesia during the New Order era. Its founder was Mr. Zulharman Said as editor-in-

chief and chairman of the central Indonesian Journalists Association (PWI). Mr. Zulharman Said who is familiarly known as Zulharmans was born in Bukittinggi, West Sumatra on December 14, 1933. He is an organizer who often sits in various organizations such as journalism, film and politics.

The bitter experience that Zulharmans had when he was the editor-in-chief of a newspaper was when he had to deal with the authorities who wanted to ban his newspaper. First, when the *Hari Minggu* newspaper he led had to be banned by the military authorities, after the previous day Zulharmans was arrested on July 2, 1960 for questioning about the contents of his newspaper. At that time he was brought before the court and was acquitted by the judge. Second, namely when the *KAMI* which he led was also banned by the Pangkopkamtib because he was accused of contributing to the heating up of the political situation following the "Malari" incident (15 January 1974). The closing of newspapers for Zulharmans was not the end of his struggles in the world of journalism. In the days following the banning of his newspaper, Zulharmans was still trying to publish new newspapers such as *Empat Lima*, until *Harian Neraca* was born (PWI, 2008: 6).

Harian Neraca is the last newspaper founded by Zulharmans. He founded and at the same time led the *Harian Neraca*, which was the only and the first print media about the economy in Indonesia at that time. This newspaper was first published on August 18, 1985 (neraca.co.id, 2017: 1). *Harian Neraca* presents news headlines in the form of columns containing similar information about the Indonesian economy. The main news items in the daily balance sheet include industry, mining, transportation, tourism, employment, agriculture, transmigration, finance, banking, stock exchange, education, and women.

The interesting thing about this newspaper is that this newspaper is an economic newspaper, but it has one special column that is interesting, namely the women's column, which includes, among other things, discussing the existence of women during the New Order era in 1989-1994, ideas or ideas for increasing the role of women. Indonesian women during the New Order and information about other women such as the achievements

of women, women in the social, economic, beauty and fashion fields.

Harian Neraca is a media that is able to show the involvement of women in the economic, social, and political spheres through its women's rubric. This becomes very interesting because according to Siregar et al (2000) at that time the press rarely featured women who were significantly involved in both the world of work and the public world. In general, the press has never paid attention to women's issues, such as issues of the women's movement or others. Serious issues that concern women's interests are not highlighted in a meaningful way. Furthermore, women, both as objects and as subjects, appear as figures who are completely out of touch with big and meaningful social, economic, political issues.

Harian Neraca newspaper contains 12 pages. The first its *Wanita Pendidikan* (female education) appeared on August 18, 1989, which contained educational information such as the achievements of the nation's sons in education, student exchanges, and news about women such as displaying profiles of Indonesian women in the social, political world, as well as news related to women. such as fashion or beauty. The female column is present every day on page 11. Starting from June 1992 to be precise on June 2, 1992 the female column moved to page 7 and is often juxtaposed with the fashion column (*Wanita-Mode*) and is present every two days, namely on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. In 1994, in June, the *Harian Neraca* sheet had no more columns. All news is presented without special columns, and provides more general information such as the regional economy and the international economy.

The Existence of Women in social sector in the *Harian Neraca* 1989-1994.

The existence of women in the social field in the *Harian Neraca* newspaper revolves around the problem of women's activities in contributing to social activities or programs aimed at the welfare of the community. In general, the existence of women in the *Wanita* rubric of the *Harian Neraca* newspaper in the social dimension is not far from the problem of

the existence of women in participating in development. The participation of women in the social sector in the *Harian Neraca* newspaper shows that in general women participate in the development of their nation. Women are able to carry out social work that is beneficial to the community and the surrounding environment, through the social activities they undertake.

The presence of women in the reporting of the *Harian Neraca* newspaper with all its activities in the social sector cannot be separated from the empowerment efforts carried out by the government as an effort to increase the role of women in national development. Women State Minister who has played a role in the birth of the "Women's Study Center" (*Pusat Studi Wanita*). Until 1990 PSW had been formed in 10 universities in Indonesia. The results of the study from the PSW are used as the basis for the formulation of national, regional and sectoral policies and programs regarding the enhancement of the role of women (*Harian Neraca*/30/6/1990).

The formation of the Woman State Minister 1978, became the forerunner of the women's empowerment, one of which was through the program to improve women's roles towards healthy and prosperous families (*Harian Neraca*/13/11/1991). Policies and measures to increase the role of women in Repelita V consist of specific activities and various activities. In the education sector, education and skills activities will be increased to eradicate the "three blinds" (illiterate, Indonesian language blindness, basic education blindness) in women (Bappenas.go.id). Eradication of illiteracy in women is carried out through the development of the Women's Study Center (PSW) which aims to scientifically examine women's problems, including the problem of women's illiteracy. (*Harian Neraca*/16/9/1989) In the health sector, the government has carried out the *Bina Kelurga* and *Balita program* (BKB), the government intends to increase the knowledge, awareness, skills, and attitudes of mothers and other family members to foster optimal growth and development of children and toddlers especially through emotional, moral and social mental stimulation activities (*Harian Neraca*/16/12/1989).

The success of these women's empowerm-

ent efforts can be demonstrated by the progress of women in contributing to community social activities, especially in an effort to achieve community welfare carried out by women. Based on what was voiced by the *Harian Neraca* newspaper, women's contributions to social issues include issues of community welfare, environmental issues, education, health and culture.

First, news about women's activities in the social sector is related to the role of women in public health issues. Women's activities on health issues are reflected in the sensitivity of the organizations of mothers of Lions Club Indonesia members to public eye health issues. This organization has implemented a program of providing assistance to the poor to perform cataract surgery. (*Harian Neraca*/ 24/2/1992: 11). Lions Club Indonesia has carried out many health service actions, such as conducting health education to the community and distributing vitamin A and various other health activities to underprivileged communities. Social actions in the form of providing toilets and health education were also carried out by this organization during visits to orphanages, and built many social service places (*Harian Neraca*/24/2/1992: 11). Women's activities in other health service activities are, provides free medical services for the wider community, especially in the Kamal village environment, also donated additional food for 25 *Posyandu* (Health Service Centre) (*Harian Neraca*/27/7/ 1990: 11).

Second, news about women in the social sector is related to the role of women in social welfare issues. Shown by several activities carried out by the Jakarta WIC (Women International Club) organization. WIC was established on 11 Media 1950 in Jakarta on the initiative of Mrs. Soewarni Pringgogidgo and Mrs. Martha Galbraith. The purpose of the establishment of WIC is to foster friendship between various nations, to foster the cultural development of women in general, to improve the education and social welfare of women and children. (Wulandari & Candria, 2012). WIC is an association of women from various nationalities, anyone can join as a member as long as they can speak English and are at least 16 years old. This organization is not an elite organization, because all Indonesian women can join as long as they meet the requirements.

The purpose of this organization is to provide assistance to social institutions and individuals who are deemed necessary to obtain assistance. Fundraising activities are carried out by procuring charity bazaars and membership dues (*Harian Neraca*/12/11/1991: 11).

One of the activities carried out by WIC to assist the welfare of the community was the holding of a charity bazaar on 27-28 November 1991 at the Jakarta Design Center. This activity is an annual routine activity to raise funds to help social institutions and individuals in need. The proceeds from the bazaar held by WIC will be used to help seven orphanages, three Special High Schools, three heritage homes and one home for the homeless as well as scholarships for 600 school students (*Harian Neraca*/12/11/1991: 11). In 1992 WIC redistributed WIC bazaar profits amounting to 320.8 million to 31 institutions in Jakarta (*Harian Neraca*/4/5/1992: 11).

For the 25th time, in 1992 WIC opened a bazaar which took place in Jakarta. The proceeds of the charity bazaar are used to help underprivileged people. Through this bazaar, various needs are sold at low prices for the upper class. However, from the results of the bazaar whose visitors are from the upper classes, it will be used for social purposes. Most of the items sold in the bazaar are the work of WIC members (*Harian Neraca*/5/12/1992: 7).

Another women's organization that participates in community welfare efforts is Kowani. Kowani made a harmonious family module as well as a book on family planning education as a guide for creating a harmonious family, and a guide for parenting elderly people. The book was distributed free of charge to female cadres of members of Kowani, Dharma Wanita, Dharma Pertiwi and the PKK Mobilization Team throughout Indonesia (*Harian Neraca*/9/9/1991: 11). Although the family planning program had been planned since 1957, its implementation and wider socialization only started in the 1970s. During the New Order, the family planning program had become a successful program in controlling the population of Indonesia (Pohlman, 2018).

Kowani's concern for the problem of crime prevention in society is also high. Through the

Narcotics Prevention Counseling Parents Movement Project (GOTAPPN), Kowani seeks to tackle drug abuse in the community. The evaluation results show that the Gota PPN project has succeeded in reducing the use of narcotics (*Harian Neraca*/28/3/1991: 11). The team (GOTA PPN) was formed in 1988 in Cikini Village, Menteng District, Central Jakarta. GOTA Kowani activities include carrying out house-to-house visits (*dasa griya*), lectures to youth and students, promoting sports activities, and conducting meetings and evaluating GOTA Kowani activities with sub-district and village officials (Panitia Pembuat Buku, 2009).

Kowani also handles other problems of the younger generation, namely efforts to improve the quality of youth in facing the future through a talk show entitled "Teenagers are the Successors of the Ideals of the Nation's Struggle Are Human Resources for National Development". This talkshow aims to increase mutual communication between parents and adolescents, as well as the care, understanding and willingness of parents as educators to create harmonious family relationships (*Harian Neraca*/30/9/1991:11).

The activities carried out by Kowani so far are considered to have never been left behind in launching the Family Planning program, improving nutrition, immunization and providing guidance to members in the education of their children. Wisma bakti Kowani functions as the office of the Child and Adolescent Welfare Foundation which is one of Kowani's service units, equipped with a Cempaka Kindergarten, women's skills training and a seminar venue (*Harian Neraca*/17/1/1992:11).

Other social actions were also carried out by other women's organizations such as *Dharma Wanita* and *PKK*. Dharma Wanita Sub Unit Pertamina in March 1991 carried out a blood donation event to help help people in need, because it was feared that the blood supply in the month of Ramadan would decrease (*Harian Neraca*/15/3/1991: 11). Also won awards for their efforts to help develop regional crafts. Together with the wives of PT Timah employees in Mentok, Bangka in January 1992, worked together to develop hand-processed regional handicrafts

such as lace, weaving, plaiting and tin mixed silver crafts (Harian Neraca/31/1/1992: 11).

Third, the environmental dimension. As an effort to preserve the environment, *Dharma Wanita* has renovated 20 toilets, which are prioritized in elementary schools in Jakarta, which need to be addressed because they are not in accordance with health requirements (Harian Neraca/23/7/1991: 11). Furthermore, showed its attention to the Ciliwung river, tries to deal with the pollution of water sources. Another activity that has been carried out since July 1, 1991 is the planting of trees according to local conditions as environmental protection, also active in organizing seminars related to environmental conservation. Like a seminar on the theme of Women's Roles in Environmental Management. (Harian Neraca/24/7/1991: 11).

The Kowani organization is also serious in dealing with environmental problems. Through training in the field of environmental education related to waste management and household sanitation (Harian Neraca/13/8/1991: 11). Also invites its members to tackle the problem of damage. Collaborated with the Asia Foundation in November 1991, holding a Dialogue to discuss the issue of cement dust in Cibinong, sulfur in Cakung and the punishment for Singaporeans who were found to be disposing of waste in Indonesia (Harian Neraca/5/11/1991: 11)

Fourth, in the dimension of education, women can be said to participate a lot in overcoming educational problems, also pays attention to the nation's education issues. Some of the profits from *Dharma Wanita* management within the Ministry of Education and Culture were distributed to the community, and were given as scholarships to 80 students from 8 elementary schools in Rawa Badak sub-district in September 1992. (Harian Neraca/1/9/1992: 7). In 1993 donated educational aid. In order to meet the 9-year compulsory education, *Dharma Wanita* Unit of the Ministry of Education and Culture donated educational facilities to SDN Pegadungan 06, 07, and 10 in Kalideres. (Harian Neraca/20/2/1993: 7).

Educational aid distribution activities are also carried out by the women's organization WIC (Women's International Club). WIC

actively supports 7 orphanages, 2 schools, 3 nursing homes and 1 disabled home. In connection with the improvement of education, in 1990 WIC provided scholarships to 41 final year students at universities including IKIP and the distribution of such assistance continued the following year (Harian Neraca/29/9/1990: 11). until 1991 WIC routinely provided assistance to 7 orphanages, 3 special schools, 3 nursing homes, 1 nursing home and various other educational efforts. In the Condet area, WIC has 41 foster children in primary schools. WIC covers school fees, uniforms and books and provides additional nutritious food for foster children every week. Some children who have finished elementary school are given assistance to continue their education to junior high school. In addition to these activities, WIC also has an ESEP program (Elementary School Education Program), where 600 elementary school children from poor families receive school fees (Harian Neraca/26/9/1991:11).

Fifth, in the cultural dimension, women play a significant role in several cultural preservation activities. One of them through Kowani, women in order to participate in preserving the nation's culture intends to hold a panel discussion with the theme "Cultivation of National Clothing". The activity took place on November 7, 1989 in Jakarta. The discussion aims to increase public participation in exploring, engineering national clothing and its accessories to suit the modern world, without leaving its trademark (Harian Neraca/28/10/1989: 11).

The Existence of Women in economics sector in the Harian Neraca 1989-1994

The existence of women in the economic sector in the *Harian Neraca* newspaper revolves around the participation of women in economic activities. Women participate in economic activities, especially in a productive economy that is useful for supporting the family economy. National development has had an impact on people's lives, one of which is the increased participation of the female workforce. The contribution of women to economic development can be seen in their increased participation in the workforce.

The involvement of women in economic activities in the reporting of the *Harian Neraca*

contains many activities of urban women, especially Jakarta. The news about women in the *Harian Neraca* newspaper has relevance to the role of women in economic activities on a national scale. The relevance is related to business entities or women on a national scale. The activities of women in the world of industry and women's economic-based organizations (IWAPI) also have a fairly large percentage. Even so, news about the gloomy fate of women in the economic sector also often adorns the *Harian Neraca* newspaper.

The existence of women in the reporting of the *Harian Neraca* newspaper with all their activities in the economic sector, cannot be separated from the empowerment efforts carried out by the government as an effort to increase the role of women in national development. Several empowerment efforts have been carried out by the government as an effort to increase the role of women in the economic sector, including the opening of a seminar on "Women and Development in Resource Management", at the Serba Guna Building, University of Lampung, Bandar Lampung on January 8, 1990. In the seminar the State Minister of UPW emphasized In the management of development resources, women have a central role as the (economic) workforce. For this reason, starting with Repelita V, efforts to develop a Women's Study Center (PSW) were included (*Harian Neraca* /10/1/1990).

Several government efforts in fostering and developing the role of women in the economy in order to improve women's welfare have been carried out, including through the PKK. In 1990 the PKK carried out education and skills for South Sulawesi women in the production of ikat cloth. With PKK activities, women from the South Sulawesi region are fostered to improve the quality and quantity in the production of ikat fabrics. (*Harian Neraca*/2/6/1990). The existence of PKK in the midst of the community also helps develop the improvement of the status of a healthy and prosperous family, including fostering the younger generation as National Development cadres in Southeast Sulawesi. Through the Gersamata strategy (*Harian Neraca*/23/02/1991).

The contribution of women to economic development, one of which is mostly done by women's organizations. These women's organizations include IWAPI, Kowani, Dharma Wanita and SOKSI. The contribution of women in economic development can be seen from the activities carried out by the women's organization IWAPI. Before changing its name to IWAPI, this employers' organization was named IPWI. The Indonesian Women Entrepreneurs Association was founded in 1975. Prof. Kemala Motik and Dr. Dewi Motik. On 24 April 1976 IPWI officially became a member of Kadin Jaya and was appointed by Ali Sadikin as Governor of Jakarta. IPWI was confirmed as the only women entrepreneur organization in Indonesia. On February 23, 1977, IPWI Dati I East Java was established. In 1987 the first IPWI congress was held and as a result of the congress IPWI officially changed its name to IWAPI (Sukarno & Widuatie, 2019).

The presence of IWAPI (Indonesian Women Entrepreneurs Association) efforts with Garment and Catering courses opens up bright prospects for women who want to do business in both fields. The Garment and Catering course has produced 59 graduates (*Harian Neraca*/10/7/1990: 11). IWAPI's participation has indirectly encouraged the entrepreneurial spirit of Indonesian women through the various courses it organizes (Sukarno & Widuatie, 2019). IWAPI does not leave its graduates unemployed after the course, they are continuously monitored, invited to join IWAPI members and assisted with recommendations to obtain business capital from banks (*Harian Neraca*/11/7/1990 : 11). The 20th batch of graduates in July 1990 consisted of 25 graduates of the Garment Course and 34 graduates of the Catering Course (*Harian Neraca*/12/7/1990: 11).

At least 40 women dare to spend Rp. 525,000 to study for 4 months at the IWAPI Education Center in January 1992. Thus, it can be said that women tend to prefer garment and catering businesses over other businesses. This is proven by the number of women who want to start their business by taking courses in this field (*Harian Neraca*/9/1/1992: 11). The courses held by IWAPI are not only followed by the general public. Even the ABRI Women's Corps also participated in the course. For students who have graduated, they

continue to build relationships with IWAPI and fellow participants. They can even be accepted as members of the IWAPI cooperative and those who need business capital can be assisted by IWAPI (Harian Neraca/30/7/1992: 7).

IWAPI has made a major contribution to development, especially in the development of the national business world. According to the Coordinating Minister for Political and Security Affairs, IWAPI is increasingly able to play a role in encouraging economic growth, expanding development and its results, including expanding business opportunities and creating jobs (Harian Neraca/14/11/1991: 11). Every year IWAPI holds a trading arena, where members can display their products, ranging from handicrafts, snacks, clothing to export products. Exhibitions are very useful for regions in promoting their production, because in the trading arena producers and consumers gather (Harian Neraca/16/2/1993: 7).

Until 1992, on its XVII anniversary, it was stated that IWAPI had succeeded in gathering strength through cooperatives starting from 0 to getting an A qualification from the Cooperatives Service. This organization has brought together about 15,000 women entrepreneurs in the country. Through various training programs provided, women entrepreneurs have been able to meet the needs of foreign countries because most of their members are engaged in the export-import sector of small and medium enterprises (Harian Neraca/11/2/1992:11). On 23 May 1993, IWAPI actively participated in sending its members in export marketing education organized by the Regional Government and the Ministry of Trade (Harian Neraca/1/5/1993: 7).

Gait IWAPI members not only in the country but also to foreign countries. IWAPI often holds trade exhibitions abroad such as the Indonesia Trade And Distribution Center (ITDC) Rotterdam, The Netherlands. Domestically, IWAPI holds a trading arena every year, where members can showcase their products, ranging from handicrafts, snacks, clothing to export products. Exhibitions are very useful for regions in promoting their products, because in the trade arena, producers and consumers gather. As a forum for women entrepreneurs, IWAPI is able to

generate foreign exchange for the country. In line with the development of the era IWAPI is increasingly recognized and able to appear in national and international forums (Harian Neraca/16/2/1993:7).

Through the IWAPI Trade Center, the public can demonstrate the capabilities of Indonesian women, and the skills of Indonesian women in encouraging the nation's economic activities. In February 1990 together with Mrs. Tien Suharto, IWAPI opened a Trade Center in order to develop and grow the domestic industry. For this reason, people's love for domestically produced goods must be grown. Thus, through the Community Trade Center, it is shown that goods made by domestic industries are not inferior in type and quality to foreign goods (Harian Neraca/12/2 /1990:11).

In 1992, IWAPI again held the Trade Center in one exhibition. Women have led so many workers to make and sell goods. They have stepped in the direction of globalization. IWAPI held a Trade Center at the Jakarta Convention Center as a vehicle for negotiation and competition for Indonesian women entrepreneurs (Harian Neraca/4/11/1992: 7). Even so, considering that most of its members are small entrepreneurs, IWAPI needs assistance for the smooth running of the organization. So IWAPI asked for help from its members to the government, especially SOEs for the smooth running of its activities (Harian Neraca/27/11/1993:7).

In order to increase the role of women in economic development, especially cooperatives, Kowani strives for the household economy. For this reason, Kopwani (Indonesian Women's Cooperative), the Kowani institution, carries out activities that include savings and loans, shops, trade exchanges (Harian Neraca/23/9/1989: 11).

Kowani also has a low-cost market procurement program to meet the needs of the community. This activity is always held every year before every year before Eid al-Fitr. The cheap market was Kowani's 1991-1992 work program. The cheap pasa was attended by 54 participants consisting of member organizations of Kowani, and business groups by

presenting various basic necessities for Eid, such as clothing and food (Harian Neraca/6/4/1991: 11).

Not only Kowani, the organization that also organizes cheap market activities ahead of Eid is Dharma Wanita. In order to welcome Eid Al-Fitr 1412 H Dharma Wanita, the Ministry of Education and Culture Unit held a cheap market to fulfill the daily needs of the community. The rice and sugar were donated by employees and members of Dharma Wanita. Meanwhile, clothing items come from entrepreneurs, craftsmen and street vendors (Harian Neraca/3/3/1992: 11).

Women's organizations that also pay attention to community economic activities, especially small traders, are Wanita Swadiri. The Central Board of Krida Wanita Swadiri Indonesia (SOKSI) handed over credit assistance to 250 small entrepreneurs for Rp. 100,000 each. The aid was symbolically handed over in Jakarta in April 1991. The credit program was intended to relieve street vendors in need of funds (Harian Neraca/23/4/1991: 11).

News about women in the Harian Neraca newspaper also has relevance to the role of women in national economic activities. The news is related to business entities (PT) and women on a national scale. An example is the figure of Mooryati Soedibyo. He is one of the most frequently featured figures in the Harian Neraca newspaper. Mooryati Soedibyo is the founder of PT Mustika Ratu. She also succeeded in establishing the Puteri Indonesia Foundation at the end of June 1992. The foundation was established with the aim of helping the government increase the country's foreign exchange in various sectors including tourism, hospitality and culture (Harian Neraca/25/8/1992: 7).

Not only Mooryati Soedibyo, the figure who appeared in the news of the Harian Neraca was Dewi Motik. She became a woman featured twice during 1992 in the Harian Neraca. Dewi Motik is a successful entrepreneur part of IWAPI. He was appointed as one of 10 "Heroes of Entrepreneurs" through a selection conducted by PT Nias (Harian Neraca/7/4/1992: 11). In 1988 she became the only woman elected to the General Chair of the Central Indonesian Chamber of Commerce. Dewi is the

President Director of the Garment Company, PT FPM Industri, and the President Director of PT Marari as well as the General Manager of Entrepreneurial Institutions and oversees more than 2000 employees (Harian Neraca/21/9/1992: 7). Another female head of a large company is Suryani Sidik Motik, Secretary General of IWAPI. In June 1990 he succeeded in establishing Indoprima which is a company engaged in management consulting services and human resources (HR) (Harian Neraca/28/8/1992: 7).

Women's participation in various economic activities has brought women to various awards at both national and regional levels. For example, in 1993 PT Mustika Ratu, led by Moeryati Soedibyo, won a national award for DKI Jakarta with the title "Best Coaching Entrepreneur for Women's Workforce 1993". PT Mustika Ratu has carried out the development of female workers through improving welfare and occupational health and safety and succeeded in having a positive impact on efforts to increase the work productivity of female workers. This award is the 5th award received by Mustika Ratu for 1993 (Harian Neraca/8/1/1994: 7).

The award for women's achievements in economic activities was also initiated by the What's On Jakarta Program Foundation, which initiated the selection of various female community figures, namely the Lady Achievement Award. The award is given to women who have provided opportunities for human resources, which means that they have prospered the community through their independence and services. The award was given on the commemoration of Kartini Day in 1993. The woman who received the award had met the criteria of being independent, able to create jobs, dynamic, active in business in the social sector and carried out various reforms in thinking. They can be called as career women. The 14 women are Sri Hardijanti, Rukmana, Damiyanti Amadin Rooseno, Dewi Motik Pramono, Endang Utari Mokodompit, Fatma, Mutiara Djokosoetono, Kartini Mulyadi, Martha Tilaar, Marwah Daud Ibrahim, Pia Alisyahbana, Rina Ciputra, Rukmini Zaenal Abidin, Shanti Puspitotjipto, Zumrotin (Harian Neraca/21/4/1993: 7).

Another career woman who received an award for the success of her work is Mellie Eka Tjipta. He received the 1993 Citra Karya Award in Jakarta. Mellie Eka Tjipta has become a career woman who has been able to support 240,000 people through her business spread throughout the country and is engaged in various fields of contracting, real estate, timber, banking and mining (Harian Neraca/4/9/1993: 7).

The Existence of Women in politics sector in the Harian Neraca 1989-1994

Reporting about the existence of women in the political sector has the smallest percentage compared to the social and economic sector. The integrity of women as human beings in the political dimension can be shown through their political participation. Women's political participation according to Mulyana W. Kusuma (Lan, 2002) is defined as women's access to control of political resources.

In the context of reporting in the *Harian Neraca* newspaper, the existence of women in the political sector can be seen from the participation of women in the Kowani organization to fight for women's rights. Employment issues are Kowani's concern. The bad luck that befell Marsinah's female workers has not been resolved, so Kowani urges the government to thoroughly investigate Marsinah's case and impose a punishment in accordance with the applicable law. In particular the Decree of the Minister of Manpower No.01,195,196,197 of 1991 concerning the protection of workers (Harian Neraca/15/11/1993: 7). Kowani also voiced the problem of utilizing the potential of female workers. Kowani appealed to the government to take wise action in regulating the supply and deployment of manpower. Kowani asked the government not to restrict or prohibit someone from working abroad. (Harian Neraca/30/1990: 11).

The Minister of State for the Role of Women is also engaged in solving the problems of female workers. The death of 11 TKW in Saudi Arabia is the concern of the Men-UPW. Men-UPW guarantees that every problem of female labor, both small and large scale, will definitely be protected. For this reason, to deal with this problem, a working group was

formed to assist the Minister of Manpower. The working group was formed to gather facts that led to the deaths of the 11 Indonesian female workers and to develop countermeasures to overcome them (Harian Neraca/2/1/1990: 11).

The problem of female labor is also a concern of the Working Women's Association (Himpunan Wanita Karya/HWK). The arbitrary treatment that often occurs in female workers has made HWK launch an effort to improve the quality of TKW. This effort was the main program of the HWK organization during the period of service from 1991 to 1996. The concrete form of the five-year general program of the HWK organization is the establishment of a consulting bureau for the protection of female workers. The mission of the consulting bureau is to improve the quality of the female workforce through the dissemination of information regarding employment opportunities, providing skills training and distributing female workers (Harian Neraca/22/11/1991: 11).

The weakness of the UUP in guaranteeing the protection of women can be seen in the implementation of sanctions for violations of the UUP. Kowani sees that the sanctions given to violators of the UUP are not clear, for that Kowani urges the government to tighten supervision and sanctions for implementing the Marriage Law. Not only on the UUP issue, Kowani also conveyed a number of other recommendations addressed to the government, including in the field of education, Kowani will collaborate with the Center for Women's Studies in universities and work with the Minister of Manpower to improve skills and mechanisms for sending female workers abroad. Kowani also suggested that the Ministry of Information should be given the opportunity to increase the role of women in the Film and Advertising Censorship Board, both TVRI and private television. All of Kowani's recommendations were presented at the XX Kowani Congress in September 1993 (Harian Neraca/4/9/1993: 7).

The most important recommendation at the XX Kowani congress is to expect the government to increase opportunities for women to occupy important positions as decision makers. The government is also expected to impose severe sanctions on

perpetrators of abuse and violence against women and urge the immediate enactment of the Child Protection Law. In relation to the labor issue, Kowani urges the Ministry of Manpower to increase its tripartite function in carrying out the supervision and protection of workers. According to Kowani, the selection for sending TKW must be tightened and there is a need to increase legal counseling as a provision for prospective TKW and to companies recruiting workers. In the field of tourism, Kowani urges the Minister of Tourism, Post, and Health to prevent the emergence of excesses of both culture and health brought by foreign tourists through outreach to the public (Harian Neraca/4/9/1993: 7).

The role of women in politics gradually began to emerge, their existence began to be recognized and the representation of women in political parties began to show progress. The name Megawati Soekarnoputri was present to decorate the news about women's activities in political parties. Megawati's name appeared three times throughout 1993. The phenomenon of Megawati's rise to general chairmanship of the PDI caused her to appear frequently in the daily Neraca in 1993. Megawati was appointed on December 22, 1993 as Chair of the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI), as well as a formator to form DPP personnel. PDI Party (Harian Neraca/23/12/1993: 7). Megawati legitimately served as Chair of the PDI DPP for the 1993-1998 period. With the election of Megawati as the General Chair of the PDI, the government hopes that unity within the PDI can soon be realized, so that the PDI as a socio-political force can grow well (Harian Neraca/24/12/1993). Megawati is considered as one of the two women who became popular in 1993. In 1993, Megawati made a name for herself at the Extraordinary Congress of the Indonesian Democratic Party, and was able to stand up for herself in the face of issues holding her back. in the candidacy for the chairman of the PDI. Megawati has proven that Indonesian women are getting more advanced (Harian Neraca 30/12/1993: 7).

CONCLUSION

Harian Neraca newspaper is able to raise women's problems in the midst of a repressive politics condition, a deeply rooted patriarchal culture, and all government policies as an effort to domesticate. This

newspaper has represent-ed women as a figure out of traditional roles and stereotypes that harm women. The existence of women in the social sector in the *Harian Neraca* newspaper in 1989-1994, among others, highlighted the participation of women in various social activities around the world of public health, community welfare, environmental conservation, education, and cultural preservation. In the public health dimension, for example, Lions Club, Dharma Wanita provides free health services to the community. In handling the dimensions of community welfare, such as collecting funds to help underprivileged communities by WIC, and making health education and family planning modules by Kowani. In the environmental dimension, Dharma Wanita and Kowani carry out activities such as holding environmental conservation seminars, counseling about clean and healthy living. In the education dimension, Kowani and WIC each provide scholarship assistance. In the dimension of cultural preservation, Kowani held a discussion about civilizing the national dress.

In the sector of economics, among others, discusses the news about the activities of women in industry and women's economic-based organizations (IWAPI) and the role of women in economic activities on a national scale. IWAPI has made a major contribution to development, especially in the development of the national business world. IWAPI has played a role in encouraging economic growth, expanding development and its results including expanding business opportunities and creating jobs, one of which is through the implementation of Garment and Catering course programs. This organization has brought together about 15,000 women entrepreneurs in the country.

The existence of women in the *Harian Neraca* newspaper in 1989-1994 in the political sector, among others, highlighted the problems dominated by Kowani's involvement in fighting for women's rights, Megawati being the only figure who appeared in the news about women's activities in political parties. Kowani urges the government to tighten supervision and impose sanctions for violators of the Marriage Law, seek the involvement of women in the Film and Advertising Censorship Board, fight for the involvement of women as

decision makers in the XX Congress, in the field of tourism. Kowani urges the Minister of Tourism, Post and Health to prevent the emergence of excesses of good Culture and health brought by foreign tourists, Kowani urged the government to thoroughly investigate the case of the death of the worker Marsinah and impose sanctions according to law.

News that raises the female figure as an independent and creative figure will provide motivation like other women to become empowered and independent. It is hoped that newspapers will be able to consistently present a positive image of women. Newspapers should be able to contain representations of women who have been released from confinement, become independent, have principles and have the freedom to determine their lives. It is hoped that newspaper coverage can encourage women to be more empowered in public roles and not just accept the stereotypes that are attached to them.

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