Abstract
The public’s views about the position of women that have not contributed a lot to and have not been much engaged in politics, among others, pose a challenge to women to interact in the social environment as well as to communicate their ideas in politics. While men make up a majority of politicians in Indonesia, only a few women are politicians. The social interaction and political communication of female politicians become a topic that is worth studying. This research focuses on a female politician, Indah Kurnia, who sits in the House Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia (DPR RI). The conceptual and theoretical method used in this study is a theory in the communication science, particularly social interaction and political communication. This research uses qualitative method, particularly in conducting interviews with one primary informant and two additional informants. The result and discussion of this research show that the woman raised in this research is an individual that has a variety of social interactions in the diverse social environment. In addition, she also has typical characteristics of strategy for political communication media covering personal campaign, moderate, comprehensive and more-than-expected appearance, exemplary leadership and concrete work, and music.

Keywords: social interaction; communication; political communication; politics; female politicians

Introduction
In 2019, Indonesian women’s representation in the parliament rose to 20.5% from 17.3% in 2015 (Jayani, 2020). Institutionaly, the effort to increase women’s representation has been made by requiring political organization engaged in general elections to prioritize women by at least 30% in the list of candidates for members of the House of Representatives, Regional Representative Council and Regional Legislative Council (Mulyono, 2010). Basically, the urgency of women’s presence and role at the parliament is to allow them to speak up what they want and need (Safitri, 2014).

The target of gender quota at legislative instituton is 30% so that women can express their aspirations related to basic needs such as reproduction health, education, freedom of expression and equal chance in terms of political and economic affairs. (Sundari, 2016). Among the issues that hinder women at the parliament are mostly related to the perception of women who consider politics “dirty”, identical to power manipulation so that state political affairs would be better left to men (Sundari, 2016). The obstacle to women’s
participation in politics is caused by the political world which is still considered masculine or the place of men, while women are considered “merely” to handle domestic affairs, ranging from taking care of children or household affairs so that they unlikely take care of public affairs such as politics (Selinaswati, 2014). While men make up a majority of politicians in Indonesia, only a few women are politicians. This research will focus on case study of female politician, Indah Kurnia. Indah Kurnia is a female politician of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) who currently sits at the House of Representatives (DPR-RI). Before being engaged in the political world, Indah Kurnia used to be a manager of Persebaya soccer club in Surabaya City who successfully brought it to a champion in 2006. Indah Kurnia also twice won MURI (Museum Record of Indonesia) awards. First, she won the award as a female soccer club manager who successfully brought the soccer club to Indonesian League champion in 2006. Second, she held record to sing 714 songs without text in 2007.

Indah Kurnia was elected as a DPR-RI member for the third time in a row from 2009 until now (2019-2024 term). She represents East Java Electoral District I covering Surabaya and Sidoarjo with a majority vote election system. Several of Indah Kurnia’s work programs included activities designed to develop seaweed foreign exchange villages, support for micro small and medium enterprises (MSMEs), routine and seasonal community services involving various groups, support for the promotion of entrepreneurship, support for the advancement and welfare of women and so on.

![Image](image_url)

**Picture 1.** Indah Kurnia during the inauguration of Seaweed Foreign Exchange Village in Sidoarjo

Various challenges faced by women in politics include the public questioning their credibility, stereotype presented by the media that women are identical to household or domestic affairs, sexism among colleagues or public domain, sexual objectification that sees women merely from physical appearance (Sanghvi, 2018). It is this public’s view of women and female position in the public that has made women face certain challenges to interact in the social environment and have certain challenges to communicate their ideas particularly in the political world.
Previous researches on female politicians in the Indonesian context have been conducted by several researchers. There has been a research on the personal branding of female politicians by focusing on ceremonial and official activities (Junaidi & Azeharie, 2020). There has also been a research on the branding of female politicians by focusing on the distinction of the politicians’ characters and the use of public rhetoric on the social media (Arindita & Hartanto, 2018; Haristono, 2021; Mudrikah, 2020). There is also a research discussing the attempt of strengthening women’s position in the parliament that needs competency of women’s communication and in this case, the media is not merely political information network but also serves as an instrument to shape the image of a politician and public opinion (Maela et al., 2018). There is research focusing on the phases of political communication, transformational leadership of female politicians (Saepudin & Kawuryan, 2022). There is a network research concerning the difference of communication strategy between female politicians and male politicians (Susilo & Nisa, 2019).

As comparison of several researches with Indonesian context in the previous paragraphs, there are also researches with interenational context on the political communication of female politicians. There is also research focusing on the issue of gender bias in the political media coverage (Van der Pas & Aaldering, 2020). In addition, there is also research on the issue of female politicians that are systematically less represented in the mass media news (Ross et al., 2020).

Based on the background described above and the tendency of previous researches, surely, it is very relevant to study the political communication of female politicians which in this case focuses on Indah Kurnia, particularly her linkage with the issue of social interaction of a female politician. The question that arises from this study is how is the social interaction and political communication of Indah Kurnia? This research aims to study and understand the social interaction and political communication of female politicians. Hence, the conceptual and theoretical method used in this study is a theory in communication sciences, particularly social interaction and political communication. The conceptual and theoretically will be further explained the next parts.

**Theoretical Framework**

Humans are social self which is realized in relations with other people, formed by or within social process, and constitutes an individual reflection of the social process (Mead, 2015). Despite being part of social process and part of certain group or certain community, the self of each individual remains unique and is different from one another (Mead, 2015). Individuals must do certain things so that they will continue to become community members. However, individuals continue to counter react to the community themselves (Mead, 2015). Any adjustment creates a change, which is gradual, in a community as a
whole; for instance, historical figures brought a change in this world (Mead, 2015).

Since human self is a self realized in relations with other people, human self is realized with/through: acknowledgement by other people of certain values within the self, and self awareness of several things through their excellence and shortcomings when compared to those of other people (Mead, 2015).

Human self as “subject” and “object” melts one another in social activities related to religion, patriotism, and group work (Mead, 2015). For instance, in the neighborhood concept, there is a group of hospitable and altruistic attitudes in which the response of an attitude to other attitude is the same, namely mutually hospitable and altruistic (Mead, 2015). Thus, the fusion of I as “subject” and I as “object” is about intense emotional experience (Mead, 2015).

An individual can have satisfaction from cooperation with other people in certain situation (Mead, 2015). However, the individual still has a sense of control to oneself although he is part of a group (Mead, 2015). This happens to the context where the behavior of an individual is determined by what other people do in the group, he must be aware of other people’s position, he knows what to do to other people, and he must continuously be aware of the other people’s way to respond to him and do each other’s part in group work (Mead, 2015).

Certain parts of an action become a stimulus to adjust oneself to response; and the adjustment then becomes a stimulus to change an action and start different action (Mead, 2015). The term ‘gesture’ can be identical to the start of the social action, which becomes a stimulus for response in other form (Mead, 2015). The gesture of an individual arouses other individual’s response (Mead, 2015).

In all conversations involving gesture in social process, either external (between different individuals) or internal (between certain individual and oneself), the individual’s awareness of meaning is dependent on his own gesture, so that the individual sees/accepts the other people’s attitude to him through his own gesture (Mead, 2015). Gesture becomes a significant symbol when it arouses an individual and makes it a similar response that should be obtained from other individual that becomes a target of the gesture, (Mead, 2015).

Communication can only happen when we have the significant symbol (Mead, 2015).

Political communication is the field of inter-disciplinary study, which takes concept from communication, political science, journalism, sociology, psychology, history, rhetoric, and so on (Kaid, 2004). Hence, there is a variety of political communication definitions explained by various figures but none of them is accepted universally (Kaid, 2004). But maybe the best definition is the simplest as expressed by Chaffee in 1975 that political communication is “the role of communication in political process” (Kaid, 2004). Based on the complexity and diversity, this study only involves political communication theories that come from the limited number of previous researches and are the most relevant to the focus of this research.

Through the scientific article titled Theoretical Diversity in Political Communication, Rogers (2004) spoke of the chronological development of political communication theory beginning from studies conducted by such experts as Walter Lippmann, Harold Lasswell, and Paul F. Lazarsfeld; as well as their strong influences in this field. The majority of political communication experts focus on mass media communication by focusing a little bit on the linkage between the media and interpersonal communication (Rogers, 2004). The development of study on political communication later shifted its focus to independent variables of individual level such as sound choice (Rogers, 2004). On the contrary, there is also attention to the awkward phenomenon of political communication, such as the public that are not active and lack information, in the community (Rogers, 2004). Basically, a study of relations between human individual level and social problem at community level continues to draw attention from political communication scholars up till now (Rogers, 2004).

In the scientific article titled Women as Political Communication Sources and Audiences, Bystrom (2004) discussed women as political communication sources by summarizing researches on public speech, television ads and their websites. The media coverage of female candidates, president-elect and first lady as well as public reaction also become a much-presented topic in the study of women’s political communication (Bystrom, 2004). There is also a research on women as
Material and Methodology

The perspective that is used methodologically in this study is interpretive perspective. Interpretive paradigm sees social reality as something that is related to one another, complex, dynamic, fully meaningful and mutually interacting and mutually related phenomena (Sugiyono, 2013). Referring to the paradigm, this research uses a qualitative method, a method which tries to understand the social life of individual or a group of individuals during a certain event (Samsu, 2017).

Specifically, the qualitative study approach conducted in this research is case study approach (Creswell, 2015). Case study research is a comprehensive research covering physical and psychological aspects of individual/person, with the aim of obtaining deep understanding of cases researched (Samsu, 2017). Case study research allows for deep focus on a case to achieve a holistic and perspective view based on real life such as life cycle of an individual, daily attitude of small group, organizational and managerial process and social change around residence (Yin, 2018).

Basically, sources of data for qualitative study are determined purposively, namely people who know and understand social situation being studied (Sugiyono, 2013). The subject of research who is also main informant in this study is Mrs. Imdah Kurnia. In addition, additional informant in this research is a professional and member of Indah Kurnia’s campaign team, Paring Waluyo Utomo. The other additional informant is Indah Kurnia’s colleague and fellow politician, Anis Byarwati.

The location of this research will be focused in DKI Jakarta, where Mrs. Indah Kurnia works as DPR-RI member. Data collection in this research is conducted through interviews to see how is the perception of the people researched or to study how the people understand the meaning of phenomenon or certain event (Lune & Berg, 2017). Like interviews in qualitative research which should not ideally be conducted structurally, interviews in this research did not last rigidly or was based on interview guide (Lune & Berg, 2017).

Data analysis in this research follows Stake’s view in Creswell (2015) that in case study research, data analysis covers several activities, including direct interpretation, while seeing one single example, the researcher gave a meaning to the case; while seeing the pattern, the researcher tried to find linkage between two or more categories; make generalisation. The validity of data in this research refers to Sugiyono’s views (2013) that the validity of data in qualitative research comprises several points, namely credibility; transferability; dependability; and test through confirmation.

Result and Discussion

The result and discussion section in this study begins with the result and discussion on the social interaction of the individual figure that becomes the focus of this research within her social environment. The result of interview conducted on May 4, 2022 revealed that Indah Kurnia was born and spent much of her adolescence in a densely-populated area. She saw the reality as positive thing. In a kampong, the smallest social environment that grew younger generation is not only limited to core family but also neighborhood. In addition, the densely populated kampong has a myriad of complex social problems. She saw the situation as a manifestation of social value, which is not only unique and typical but also helped build her personality as an individual with social spirit since her childhood and has trained her to face social problems. Indah Kurnia, who began to become a stage singer at the age of eight years directly positioned herself in social interaction with fellow artists and amusement business agents at that time as well as with spectators or song lovers. This is inseparable from the context of her residence which is close to People’s Amusement Park and Surabaya Youth Park. Indah Kurnia recalled the experience during her childhood as situation where she was trained to socialize with the people at large.
This social environment where she became a stage singer can be said as her first professional career world. The hectic activity of performing her career as a professional stage singer did not reduce her academic achievement as a student and her socialization at school. She recalled her adolescence at school as a student capable of being a champion, eager to socialize, often asked by schoolmates for her opinion and loved by her teachers.

After completing her study, Indah Kurnia worked not only as a professional stage singer but also as an employee of one of the leading banks in Indonesia. When she was a bank employee she still spent part of her time working as a professional singer as she did during her schoolage. Her job as a career professional increased and her social environment expanded after she was elected a finance manager of Persebaya football club and a political party cader.

The results of an interview with Indah Kurnia on May 4, 2022 show she always tries not only to maximize her role, contribution and achievement in each social environment of which she is part but also to keep a balance between the portion of role, contribution and achievement from one social environment to another. She does not limit the social environments. Instead, she uses them as a bridge to connect the various social environments, namely singer community, professional bank employee society, Persebaya football club executive board and community and political party.

The results of an interview with Indah Kurnia’s expert staff and campaign team, Paring Waluyo Utomo, on May 6, 2022 show several important points that made it easy for Indah Kurnia to engage in the political domain, including her ability to build massive relations when she was a bank employee as well as her flexible communication style to foster interfaith community and build relations with small and medium scale entrepreneurs, corporate managers and Persebaya supporters “bonek mania”. Paring Waluyo Utomo added that the other uniqueness of Indah Kurnia’s engagement in the political sphere is the high acceptability of large campuses in Surabaya to Indah Kurnia. As a matter of fact, campuses tend to keep distance with practical politics. This informant concluded that Indah Kurnia is a politician that has a broad network as well as elements of the network where members of the network see her as a bridge and advocate of their different aspirations.

Indah Kurnia explained that a variety of ideas or thoughts as well as affairs or businesses in one of her social environments can be and/or are intentionally connected by her. She sees a certain idea she has learned from one of her social environments has the potential and is actually suitable to solve problems within her other social environment. This aligns with Mead (2015)’s social interaction theory explained in the theoretical framework about the fusion of “I” as “subject” and “I” as “object” in social activities as well as the presence of intense emotional experience and satisfaction resulting from cooperation with other people in certain situation. In this case study of Indah Kurnia, she positions herself as “subject” and “object” that mutually fused in social activities in the form of group work in her various social environments with pleasure and desire to bring about positive changes from and to the groups.

Indah Kurnia also revealed several details that her social interaction with members of each social environment does not stop in certain stage only but it continues all the time in her life until now. She said she still fosters communication with figures with whom she once cooperated when she was a child singer. The excerpt of the story shows that she has fostered the social interaction and communication for decades.

It can be concluded from several paragraphs above that Indah Kurnia is an individual who is a member of various massive, complex and interrelated social environments and always maintains her involvement all the time. Basically, the results of the interview above indicate that Indah Kurnia is a human that reflects social self as described by Mead (2015) and mentioned in the theoretical framework that a human self is realized in her relations with other people, formed by or in social process, and reflecting individual from the social process (Mead, 2015).

The first paragraph of the result and discussion section mentions that Indah Kurnia was born and grown in diverse, complex, massive and interrelated social environment. Her life experience has brought her to a figure who is always looking forward to contributing her new ideas and thoughts to the advancement of her organizations, both in narrow and broad.
terms. The life journey forced her to interact with many people of different natures, characters, ages, educational levels, ethnicities, religions, interests and problems. The results of an interview conducted on May 4, 2022 show that this has made her trained since early to communicate flexibly when facing audiences and interlocutors of different backgrounds.

She saw it as a power to communicate easily since she is used to facing the challenge. This can clearly be seen from how her social environment has shaped her characters while communicating. Several challenges, strategies and other media related to her in communication, especially political communication will be described in a series of paragraphs below.

Amidst the audience’s perception of women’s position and ideas being lower than men’s, as a woman and female politician in particular, Indah Kurnia sees the difference. However, she opined the power of women, if compared to that of men in terms of communication to convey ideas, is more respected by male or female interlocutors since women present the profile of mother. This is because every person, either male or female, always remembers and respects their mother, so that anyone should ideally wish to highly uphold the remarks and directives echoed by mothers. Thus, she added that women should ideally bring and show themselves as figures who deserve respect and have their ideas heard.

The results of an interview with additional informant who is Indah Kurnia’s colleague, Anis Byarwati, on May 8, 2022 show the typical characteristics of Indah Kurnia related to the point in the above paragraph in conducting communication with workmates in professional environment. This informant explained that Indah Kurnia always prioritizes friendship and familiarity as if she was a protecting mother while interacting and communicating with colleagues. After all, the additional informant continued, Indah Kurnia remains firm to straighten out the root of problems when unsuitable or inappropriate thing happens.

The description in the two paragraphs above accords with Mead (2015)’s view that on one hand, an individual must do certain thing to remain part of the community, while on the other hand he/she must always give reversible reaction to the community of which he/she is a member.

In addition, the results of this research can also specifically contribute to the previous research on women’s political communication conducted by Bystrom (2004), who stated that the analytical point that is frequently raised is media coverage of female candidate or official, or first lady as well as public reaction to women’s political communication. The study of political communicaton conducted by Indah Kurnia as a female politician can be seen as a research which is in conformity with the trend of the topic. However, the study conducted by Bystrom (2004) did not cover women’s political communication in countries outside the United States. Thus, the study of Indah Kurnia’s profile, in the context of the Indonesian community, can add to studies of women’s political communication globally.
which are not limited to the context of the United States only.

Among the various models of communication media, Indah Kurnia opined in the results of interview on May 4, 2022 that face-to-face interaction is more effective communication than print media, television and new media such as website and social media. In addition, there is also other model of communication media considered by Indah Kurnia to be a typical characteristic that distinguishes her with most people engaged in politics. This is about how she communicates her ideas through the songs she sings as described in the following paragraphs. But before entering the section, the next paragraph is about gesture, an issue of communication highlighted by her in the context of face-to-face interaction.

The results of an interview conducted on May 4, 2022 show that when she was conveying ideas face-to-face, she observed the gesture of her interlocutor. She said she could easily grasp the gesture as something that helps her guess the interlocutor’s response and takes a step to face it. The response is likely not about whether the interlocutor agrees or disagrees with what she was conveying, but rather about whether the interlocutor is interested or not interested in the ideas she was conveying.

Indah Kurnia cited an example of communication with and gesture of interlocutor that she very often experiences. She recalled that she very often grasps the gesture of interlocutor that tends to be cynical. She said this happens since; first, the interlocutor feels threatened and tends to discredit her because the interlocutor sees her as a rival and/or an opposite party; and second, the interlocutor underestimates or considers her inferior so that the interlocutor sees her ideas as something that is not worth attending to.

In the interview conducted on May 4, 2022, she treated the two issues above --being considered a rival or inferior—as a small part of various communication challenges in the context of organization. She said she has to face the two things with ideals and the final result is that she—as part of an organization or body—must be able to embrace all individuals that are also part of the organization or body, regardless of various differences and individual interests, to achieve common goals. She added the common goals are unlikely to be achieved without collaboration, synergy and integration among the individuals.

On one hand, her argument shown in the previous paragraph is in harmony with the analysis conducted by Mead (2015) that human still can control oneself although he/she is part of a group; which happens in the context where human behavior is determined by what other people do in the group, an individual must be aware of other people’s position, an individual knows what to do to other people; an individual must continuously be aware of the way other people respond to him/her and do their respective part in group work. On the other hand, Indah Kurnia’s description is in harmony with the argument of Mead (2015) about gesture, which is part of action serving as a stimulus to adjust to the response. The point of this gesture will increasingly become apparent in the following description and can be concluded as her communication strategy.

In an interview conducted on May 4, 2022 while explaining other people’s responses in the context of broader audience, she touched several points of how she brought herself, thereby enabling her to drew attention from an individual or a group of individuals, enabling to help her communicate messages effectively, and enabling her to receive supports. She highlighted the significance of several points: (1) being humble; (2) not underestimating other people or considering other people stupid; (3) setting a good example and not merely ordering other people or speaking of something without action; (4) finding a solution or answer, not only comprehensive but also beyond expectation.

As mentioned earlier in the first paragraph of this section, she always wants and often faces challenges to convey new ideas and thoughts. The new and unpopular thing sometimes has the potential to be considered controversial by message recipients. Thus, a strategy and certain ways are needed to convey the ideas as clearly as possible so that the ideas will not cause confusion and can be accepted with consent. In an interview conducted on May 4, 2022, she conveyed several ways to face the communication challenges.

The first way is listening to other people and trying to really understand the problems faced by other people and how the new ideas will become a solution to the problem before eventually speaking up, expressing opinion and offering the new ideas. The second way is
prioritizing advantage, benefit, profit and facility that will arise along with the realization of the new ideas for those realizing them. The third way is using simple vocabulary and sentences easily understood by the people in general and using examples to illustrate and describe the ideas so that they can easily be imagined by message recipients.

The fourth way is conveying new ideas to a limited number of individuals to test the extent to which the ideas are rejected or accepted before conveying further the ideas to the greater number of people. The fifth way is maintaining patience and perseverance to explain the ideas repeatedly and continuously particularly when facing message recipients with low education.

One of certain ways to communicate ideas in the political domain is done through campaigns. In an interview conducted on May 4, 2022, Indah Kurnia stated in brief that politics is a daily issue, and so is political campaign. Additional informant who is expert staff and Indah Kurnia’s campaign team, Paring Waluyo Utomo, explained in an interview conducted on May 6, 2022 that Indah Kurnia is a politician who chooses a non-money politics path. Instead, she relies on personal campaigns as a main path so that people will not choose her like buying a pig in a poke. They choose her because they know her integrity and capability as a politician. The informant added such a path is called “long life campaign” and is identical to caring for and developing social capital through a variety of concrete works directly felt by the people. The informant said the concrete works lured the people to choose her as a DPR member for the third time in a row.

The first and second paragraphs of this section tell about singing which has adhered to Indah Kurnia’s life since her childhood. The 15th paragraph in the result and discussion section also tells a little bit about Indah Kurnia’s perception of song and singing which she described as a model of the most effective communication media besides face-to-face interaction, in various aspects of her daily life. She explained that establishing relations and communicating ideas through singing is her typical characteristics which distinguish her with other politicians in general. She said singing which is the beginning of her career will stop at a certain time but must continue to bring her to changes or developments in her career all the time.

She recalled one of the events that gives an example of how singing can become media to convey ideas and receive supports. She also told about her presence in an event related to her political career. She sang a song at the request of audience in the event. The audience asked her to sing a song themed polygamy. Indah Indah Kurnia, who disagreed with the song theme politely and smartly refused the request. However, she sang the song by breaking down the song lyrics into points showing the disadvantages of the polygame idea. She underlined the strength of song as something capable of instilling and forming somebody’s opinion about certain issues.

The additional informant who is also expert staff and a member of Indah Kurnia’s campaign team, shared the view in an interview conducted on May 6, 2022 about Indah Kurnia’s singing activity. The informant said Indah Kurnia could gather many parties through songs long before she started her political career. When she becomes a politician, music stage continues to become an effective media for her to convey various messages to the public. Paring Waluyo Utomo said to invite the public to understand the important meaning of sea, she has Tanjung Perak Jazz and to encourage the promotion of literacy culture, she has formed Jazz to Campus. This informant argued that such methods are only owned by Indah Kurnia and not by most politicians. The activities and music shows carried out by Indah Kurnia can also be seen as one of the models of interaction with her friends, colleagues, and constituents.
In the introduction section, several activities of Indah Kurnia related to her work programs are described at glance, including routine and seasonal social services and activities related to support for Micro Small and Medium Entrepreneurs (MSMEs). The daily activities of Indah Kurnia to realize and attend the various activities can also be seen as a model of social interaction and political communication with her constituents. Only through the occasions and events could she meet, greet, hear, get heard and exchange social and political messages with her constituents.
Overall, the results of a research on the social interaction and political communication of Indah Kurnia accord with the argument of Rogers (2004) that political communication is not only about political communication in the context of mass media but also about interpersonal communication. Rogers (2004) explained that attention to linkage between human individual level and social problems at public level will always become a topic considered by researchers in the field of political communication science. Thus, this research on the social interaction and political communication of Indah Kurnia can contribute to the topic of the study in the field of political communication.

Conclusion

This research concerns a female politician who has demonstrated close linkage between (1) interaction in the social environment where she lives and becomes part of it and (2) her strategy and media she uses for political communication. The first point is interaction in the social environment, covering aspects that the figure raised in this research is an individual who has—build and sustainably preserve—a variety of social interactions in the diverse social environments where she is part of them.

The other point is about strategy and media used for political communication, covering aspects that the figure raised in this research has several typical characteristics of strategy and media in conducting political communication, namely (1) personal campaign; (2) bringing oneself in a modest but comprehensive way and even beyond expectation; (3) setting an example and doing concrete jobs; (4) activities related to music.
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