

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Public relations is often regarded as a female field. The public is allured by the young celebrity publicists who have become celebrities themselves, and listen to the explanations of the spokeswomen assigned to manage crises after the latest industrial “mishaps.”

Across the public relations industry, women are no longer limited to the lower level technical jobs. In Indonesia, over the past decade, women have entered public relations in the conventionally male dominated fields of finance, politics, and government, and even heavy industry. Young women are racing into higher education courses in public relations, and women predominate in its teaching. Many women are setting up their own agencies and are even winning the top jobs in major public relations companies. In Indonesia, public relations is a developing field where it seems that gender equity has become a reality. But has it really?

This research aims to analyze the impact of the feminization of public relations, and whether this is benefiting women practitioners and the overall industry in Indonesia. This research draws upon gender in public relations and feminist labor market literature, as well as personal experiences of female public relations practitioners.

Findings of a major United States study on women in public relations show that the glass ceiling and inequity in remuneration seem to be a custom in public relations, as they are in other professions. The study, partially sponsored by the Public Relations Society of America (PRSA), and conducted by American public relations scholars Larissa Grunig, Elizabeth Toth, and Linda Hon (2001), investigated and analyzed gender

based discrimination and explored strategies to overcome it. They began by noting that even though it is clear that discrimination exists, men and women continuously ignore it.

The number of female practitioners in the public relations industry has led to the notion that women are not experiencing gender discrimination in Indonesia.

Nevertheless, the feminization of this industry has to be understood and monitored because it seems to be camouflaging the continuous reality of gender inequity.

Moreover, research findings from other professions and industries have shown that over time, feminization leads to a decline in status and remuneration.

Furthermore, if feminization were perceived to have a negative impact on the profession, especially in running down status and remuneration, men would not enter or stay in the job. For instance, men vacated secretarial work early in the twentieth century and status and remuneration remains low until today. On the other hand, as status, remuneration, and promotion paths have improved, men have entered nursing. As noted above, the appearance of more women in senior management in public relations has attracted negative attention. According to the United States 1996 census, more than a third of managers in marketing, advertising, and public relations are women, even though men are still the majority in the senior positions (Grunig et al., 2001). There is a notion that women are dragging down the profession, and this indicates gender ideologies both within and outside the industry.

Although certainly not the only one, the Grunig et al., study, *Women in Public Relations: How Gender Influences Practice* (2001), is considered by many, one of the most significant and comprehensive research projects on gender in public relations. Their findings provide a comparative starting point for Indonesian investigations, while

still recognizing that the U.S. industry is of a much greater magnitude and has a much longer history. Some of the conditions that apply to professional public relations in United States organizations may not apply to organizations in other countries, including Indonesia. Public relations professionals may practice different models of public relations elsewhere in the world (Grunig, Grunig, Sriramesh, Huang, & Lyra, 1995). Van Leuven and Pratt (1996) also agreed that the way public relations is practiced in developed countries such as the United States or in Europe is very different from the way public relations is practiced in the developing countries such as Indonesia, “For one thing, public relations in economically advanced nations is largely the study and practice of how organizations in the private sector relate to strategic publics in their environments. In contrast, public relations in developing countries equates to government nation-building programs or countrywide public communication campaigns” (van Leuven & Pratt, 1996, p. 93).

In transitional economies, there is a greater need for what public relations does best: build relationships. And public relations also has a role to play in the actual economic and political transition. Lawniczak notes that “for the first time in the history of public relations, its strategies and instruments can be applied to assist in the peaceful transition from one political-economic system to another” (2003, p. 225). Nation building is a lofty goal for the profession. Yet, in many transitional economies, public relations is merely one of many organizational functions struggling for organizational resources. Indeed, public relations is often considered to be the same as marketing. Thus, public relations is often under the marketing department, and therefore the budget allocated for its programs is also a fraction of the marketing budget.

Organizations that operate in global contexts have to balance the diverse goals of public relations and marketing. And, in many nations, especially those where public relations is undeveloped as a professional communication function, the public relations function may suffer from “encroachment” (Lauzen, 1991). Encroachment describes how organizations with strong marketing departments sometimes allow individuals not skilled in public relations, such as people from marketing departments, to “manage the less powerful department” (p. 247) of public relations. Lauzen (1993) found that when the public relations and marketing teams share the same goals, then the marketing staff becomes more involved in public relations activities.

Through interviews with young practitioners, Grunig, Toth, and Hon (2001) concluded that women are attracted to public relations because the obstacles are not too difficult and they can achieve professional status. Remuneration is better than in many other careers chosen by women, especially at entry-level positions. Women appreciate flexibility in work arrangements and feel that promotion prospects look promising, especially with the increasing number of high profile women leaders in the public relations industry. Public relations is also attractive because traditionally feminine skills in communications—empathy, networking, and multi-tasking—are encouraged and appreciated. However, women’s competence in these areas is also taken for granted and exploited. Women are expected to perform the “emotional labor” of listening, counseling, serving, dealing with difficult people, and even cleaning up literal and figurative messes (Probert, 1997).

Public relations work at the higher level is, however, often still a male domain. Grunig et al. (2001), point out that one of the concerns with feminization is that the status

of senior public relations roles is diminishing as more women enter these positions, and this may be a reason why in times of economic downturn and crisis, companies are cutting back the public relations people. There is an assumption that public relations is too “soft,” and the regarded as more “hard hitting” professions of accountants and lawyers are leading the communications briefings (Grunig et al., 2001).

Grunig, Toth, and Hon (2001) confirmed the assumption that young women are considered attractive by employers because they are often a cheaper, more flexible, and less ambitious option, compared to confident and ambitious young men. Many young women are employed in technical positions rather than those with recognized paths to management. German professor Romy Fröhlich has also conducted extensive research and produced writings on women in the journalism and public relations industries. Fröhlich (2004, p. 67) calls the socialization of women into feminine role expectations a "friendliness trap," in which the women's demonstration of caring and intuitive communication skills opens doors to entry-level jobs (and may get them more substantive interviews with sources), but these attributes become disadvantageous when these women seek promotion because these same skills are associated with lack of assertiveness and weak leadership.

Female journalists, for instance, are expected to meet both the social definition of femininity and at the same time, meet the criteria for professionalism, which are often at odds (van Zoonen, 1994, 1998; Fröhlich, 2004). On one hand, they learn that "feminine" values such as compassion and kindness "are at odds with qualities expected of journalists such as a certain amount of directness, distrust, and toughness" (van Zoonen, 1994, p. 54). Everbach (2005), for instance, interviewed a woman photographer who said

colleagues and management frowned on crying but accepted angry outbursts by male colleagues.

Thus, women in journalism management positions often adopt a "thick skin" in order to climb through the ranks (Chambers et al., 2004). Chambers et al. (2004) argue that one strategy of women in newsrooms is that of incorporation—working to be perceived as "one of the boys" and adopting masculine values and practices. Nevertheless, men interviewed in public relations research studies have denied that the problem is real, even after being presented with detailed and well-researched information regarding salary disparity and other inequities (Wright, L.A. Grunig, Springston, & Toth, 1991). Reluctance to confront a glass ceiling increases the problem of studying this phenomenon (Wrigley, 2002, p. 30).

Toth et al. (1998) cautioned against those who would believe that women should be more like men when women's experiences need to be given equal voice to those of men. Hon (1995, p. 28) argued that for there to be a feminist theory of public relations, women must be treated as individuals whose perceptions, meanings, and experiences are appropriate and important data for analysis, rather than assuming that women are deficient as communicators and managers in some way. Dozier and Broom (1995, p. 20) argued as follows regarding gender and roles: "Our presumption is that healthy humans and competent managers are highly androgynous, possessing attributes stereotypically associated with both men and women. We view with skepticism any scholarship that traffics in gender stereotypes."

The perception of women as possessing superior communication skills may, however, be an advantage for them, especially as communication fields become more

"feminized" (van Zoonen, 1998; Wrigley, 2002). Fröhlich (2004, p. 67) writes that in the communication field: "[F]emale' characteristics such as empathy, thoughtfulness, the need to reach consensus, a talent for dealing with people, and the ability to work in a team oriented atmosphere, are all considered to be qualifications that could be used as career advantages in contrast to supposedly typical male characteristics as cool rationality, competitiveness, aggression, and individualism."

On the basis of available information, the feminization of public relations indeed seems to have more advantages than disadvantages for women. It is a growing industry with many opportunities. Therefore, whether feminization is having an unfavorable impact on the industry is debatable and needs to be challenged with evidence—and that is exactly what this research seeks to do. The modern public relations industry should be reflective of the massive changes in gender relations and roles throughout society, and hence, the industry would be best placed to understand and represent the interests of clients and of society.

The theoretical perspective prominently used in relation to women and their professions is that of radical feminism (Birrell, 2000). Radical feminism is a "pure" category of feminist theory in that it focuses exclusively on sex/gender as the root cause of women's oppression, as opposed to other theories that attempt to account for class, race, and other factors in women's experiences (Cirksena & Cuklanz, 1992; Tong, 1998; Wrigley, 2002). Radical feminism argues that women and men are essentially different; patriarchy (the male system) oppresses women and has failed both sexes miserably (Birrell, 2000; Hargreaves, 1994; Tong, 1998). Thus, the entire social structure must be

confronted; anything less denies the deep-rooted nature of women's oppression (Wrigley, 2002).

Radical feminism does not accept "androgyny" (that men and women both exhibit "masculine" and "feminine" traits), but instead promotes the idea that women must embrace their "femaleness" (Tong, 1998). As Tong states, women should "keep their feminine characters free of poisonous masculine additives" (Tong, 1998, p. 48). In relation to sports, for instance, radical feminism advocates a revolutionary change in the way sports are viewed, valued, and played; sports should not be built on a system of competition, individualism, and dominance, but should instead rest on "feminine values" of participation and cooperation (Lenskyj, 1994).

Radical feminism also recognizes a sex/gender system in which biological sexuality has been transferred to cultural activity (Tong, 1998). In other words, culturally constructed differences between men and women are naturalized and viewed as being just as real as biological differences. For instance, the idea that women are more family and home-oriented than men is recognized as a social construction as gender, not necessarily a natural feature of the female sex (Coventry, 2004; Tong, 1998).

A number of feminist approaches reject facets of radical feminism; perhaps the most notable among them being postmodern feminism, a "new conceptual order" (Tong, 1998, p. 210). Postmodern feminism is a critical response to the "moral absolutism" found in radical feminism (Fenton, 2000, p. 733). Instead, "there is no single formula for being a 'good feminist'" (Tong, 1998, p. 193).

Postmodernism rejects grand theories that postulate a singular truth about gender; postmodernism itself is not a theory as much as it is an approach to the

"conditions of contemporary life," according to Birrell (2000, p. 68). Thus, singular definitions of woman or female cannot be singularly defined because to do so would restrict and exclude women; further, assigning "essential characteristics" to women limits their potential and perpetuates inequities (Fenton, 2000; Tong, 1998).

Instead, postmodern feminism is seen as an opportunity for women to forgo fixed gender identities (Fenton, 2000). Further, it allows women's status as "other" to privilege them – they are provided a position to criticize and reject the norms and values imposed by the culture (Tong, 1998). Postmodernism has been criticized, however, for being too relativistic and failing to provide any moral compass or political grounding; in other words, it fails to provide feminists with the ability to generalize about much, if anything (Fenton, 2000).

Different schools of thoughts in feminist theory will be further explained in this dissertation. In Indonesia, however, the term feminism is considered tainted because it is often linked to westernization. Moreover, the history of the women's movement in Indonesia is also heavily related to communism in the 1960s, and the feminist ideologies are often in contrast with the Islamic ideologies because these ideologies oppose polygamy, as will be further explained in chapter 4. Therefore, the term feminism is often frowned upon, while gender inequality in households, workplaces, as well as the society in general, remains common in Indonesia.

Nevertheless, amidst this gender inequality in the workplace, the public relations field seems to be quite friendly to females, as the vast majority of practitioners and university students are female. Still, as mentioned above, several scholars argue that the feminization of the public relations industry has negative impacts toward the industry

and the female practitioners. Could a phenomenon that brings hope for gender equality in the workplace actually have such negative impacts? This is the very reason why the researcher intends to observe and analyze the impacts of the feminization of the public relations industry in Indonesia.

A. Objectives

Based on the previous discussion, this study aims to answer the following research questions:

1. Is there a correlation between the Indonesian public relations practitioners' gender and public relations' dominant role?

It would be naïve to limit the public relations practitioners' roles into technical roles and managerial roles, per se. The researcher realizes that the roles of a public relations practitioner are much more complex. However, the researcher is especially interested in the glass ceiling theory in public relations, which claims that top-level management in businesses consist predominantly, if not exclusively, of a certain demographic. Hence, this question is important because it will compare the experiences of this study's respondents with the feminist literatures that say that discrimination keeps women from having a managerial role; thus, a technical role may be relatively transitory for male practitioners, but for many females it seems to be relatively permanent.

The researcher is also interested in assessing whether there are differences between what people expect from the roles of female practitioners and male practitioners and the prejudices that result from these expectations. Therefore the role congruity theory will also frame this research study.

2. What are the impacts of the feminization of public relations in Indonesia?

This question is to compare and contrast the experience of this study's respondents with the feminist literatures that say that feminization of the public relations industry is perceived to be having a negative impact on the profession; while early female entrants benefit from the higher status and remuneration available in male-dominated areas, status declines over time.

The researcher recognizes that the public relations industries in the United States and Europe (of which literature is reviewed for this study) are of much greater magnitudes and have a much longer history. However, the U.S. and European industries have influenced the development and practices of the Indonesian public relations industry. "Asian economies are still very dependent on the U.S.," said Pam Miracle, senior vice president and former regional director of Fleishman-Hillard. Miracle added, "a downturn in the U.S. economy will likely affect agencies with a strong overseas client base" ("PR Wrap Up in Asia," 2001, para. 6). Moreover, the objective of this study is to identify areas for the much needed further investigation and analysis of feminization of the public relations industry in Indonesia. This research provides a foundation upon which future studies could build.

In answering these two research questions, this study will be framed by the glass ceiling theory and role congruity theory. Findings will then be examined from a radical feminist perspective and a liberal feminist perspective.

B. Limitations of the Research

Having explained the objectives of this research study, there are also limitations to this research. The methods used are qualitative. Thus, the results may be representative of the opinions of the 53 public relations practitioners and educators participating in this study, but they are not generalizable to the larger population of PR practitioners in Indonesia. Similarly, use of snowball sampling has its inherent limitations. The method allows for easier recruitment, but also often leads to finding participants who know one another and who may hold similar views about certain issues. Other participants not known to the researcher or other participants who hold opinions that are different and significant may be missed because of this sampling technique.

The fact that all findings were based on self-report measures also has its limitation. Even though the guaranteed anonymity encouraged participants to give honest responses, it is difficult to overcome the influence of social-desirability bias, especially when answering questions regarding organizational influence. Future research may seek to analyze public relations practitioners' level of influence through secondary sources, such as CEOs and presidents.

Although the researcher worked very hard to find participants representative of various positions, years of experience, and levels of education, it is hard to determine every respondent's specific field since some are both practitioners and educators, while others work in two different fields simultaneously. Also, even though this study is not a comparative study, and the researcher had on purpose aimed to recruit females as the majority of respondents, the researcher did, however, want to obtain opinions from the

male practitioners in order to get a comparison. This comparison was far from being balanced since there were 35 female respondents and only 18 male respondents.

Moreover, the interviews did not question the amount of effort that women put into climbing the managerial ladder relative to men. It is possible that female public relations practitioners compensate for their lower amount of formal structural power by working harder at building and maintaining relationships with mentors and with members of the dominant coalition. This interpretation would fit in with the popular stereotype that women are more proficient at relationship building than are men. Similar reasoning applies to network participation and perceptions of value and support. Some employees may work diligently to integrate into and participate in important networks, whereas others may be handpicked for inclusion by influential employees. Some public relations practitioners may successfully establish value and support from their relationships with members of the dominant coalition, whereas others receive a tremendous amount of value and support with little or no effort. More research is needed to test female public relations practitioners' level of involvement in these measures of relationship power. Aldoory's (1998) study on the leadership of female public relations practitioners is representative of the type of work that needs to be conducted to better understand women's degree of involvement in shaping their power and thus climb the managerial ladder.

This study offered several contributions to both the scholarly body of knowledge as well as the professional practice of public relations. However, the researcher would have given greater extent as well as depth to the validity of existing gender discrepancies in public relations had she used both qualitative and quantitative methods.

C. Significance

The theoretical and professional literatures in Indonesia have only begun to focus on communication management as a specialized field recently. Understandably, there are few practitioners functioning on a strategic level, and little strategic advice is available. Previously, it was believed that the necessary prerequisites for this field were non-specified higher education and tactical skills. Few empirical studies have focused on Indonesian public relations, let alone gender issues in Indonesian public relations. Even though the findings of this research are not statistically generalizable, this research provides baselines upon which future studies could build. Such future studies may answer research questions such as: Why do women dominate the communications field but yet lack organizational power? How do different fields, e.g. government institutions, manufacturing industries, and service industries, in which Indonesian female public relations practitioners are involved, affect their adherence to certain public relations roles? Findings from this research provides basis for such research.

The findings from this research study appear to mainly support organizational and social models that address structural demands of organizations. For instance, there are still many travel demands in the public relations profession that female practitioners with children are less likely to be able to meet. Also, there is the prevailing assumption that if a woman takes a maternity leave, she will not return to work. In addition, women continue to be primary care providers and housekeepers, in essence balancing two jobs.

This research's finding that female public relations practitioners possess a smaller amount of formal structural power supports the arguments of feminist public relations scholars (L.A. Grunig et al., 2001; Hon, 1995; Hon at al., 1992; Serini et al., 1998) that

issues of organizational power prevent some female public relations practitioners from advancing in their organizations. Moreover, the finding that a smaller number of female public relations practitioners report to either the CEO, president, or chairman, weakens the organizational power of women. This study contributes to a feminist theory of public relations by demonstrating that small, but significant, formal structural power disproportions exist for corporate female public relations practitioners.

This research also helps build a feminist theory of public relations by demonstrating the importance of the organizational environment to the influence of public relations practitioners, both male and female. There are several studies on socialization or a structuralist perspectives for understanding the obstacles that some women face in advancing in their careers (Cline et al., 1986; Dozier, 1988; Dozier & Broom, 1995; Hon, 1995). However, these studies often attribute women's segregation to the technician role to socialization, thus blaming women for their difficulties (Creedon, 1991). Organizations and others working in organizations are thus released of responsibility. This study suggests that future research should direct its attention to the way in which organizational dynamics shape the behavior of women working in public relations.

Most important are the factors that were highlighted and refined in this research, and serving as a foundation for future research that can empirically test the theory's propositions. On a practical level, this research went beyond the simple claim that gender discrepancies exist, and instead gave explanations and potential solutions to problems. It offers tools to both male and female practitioners in the profession to overcome the barriers that prevent effective dialog as well as productive public relations work.

This dissertation contains numerous segments. First, an overview of the current public relations landscape is presented, accompanied by discussion on the feminization of the industry and situational challenges accompanying modern day practitioners, especially women. This chapter continues on to state the objectives and significance of this study. In order to answer the research questions, Chapter 2 gives a thorough explanation about the public relations industry in Indonesia, focusing on its socioeconomic and political background as well as the history and culture of it. But first, this chapter begins by discussing public relations from a systems theory perspective, and then as an organizational function, and then continues to discuss public relations at an international setting, especially the Asian Pacific industry, before finally focusing on Indonesia. The analysis of public relations in Indonesia covers the history and culture of Indonesia, the Indonesian media and journalism, as well as the chronology and the current status of the public relations industry, including its higher education system.

Because this study is not only about public relations but also heavily explores the feminization of its industry, Chapter 3 also examines the feminist communication theory, including the glass ceiling theory and the role congruity theory. However, it first begins with an analysis of the differences between male managers and female managers.

After thoroughly analyzing the public relations industry in Indonesia and the concept of gender communications, in order to answer the research question, one still needs to fully understand the life of women in Indonesia. Therefore, Chapter 4 discusses the status, role, labor force participation, and living patterns of women in Indonesia, starting from a discussion of how controversial it was for Indonesia to have a female

president. This chapter will be concluded with a thorough explanation of feminism in Indonesia, which includes the much controversial history of its women's movement.

Chapter 5 presents the methodology and procedure powering this research. Results are offered in Chapter 6. Key themes are identified from the qualitative interviews, with relevant quotes extrapolated. This chapter discusses the results from this research in relation to the glass ceiling theory and role congruity theory, and then examines them through the radical feminist perspective and the liberal feminist perspective. Key findings from the interviews are presented based on the research questions this dissertation seeks to answer.

Finally, discussion of results and overall study conclusions comprise the dissertation's Chapter 7, which also provides recommendations for future practice drawn from this study of the impacts of the feminization of the public relations industry in Indonesia.

CHAPTER II

THE PUBLIC RELATIONS INDUSTRY IN INDONESIA

In order to answer the two research questions, a thorough explanation about the public relations industry in Indonesia seems crucial; therefore, this chapter does so with a discussion on the socioeconomic and political background as well as the history and culture of Indonesia. However, this chapter first discusses public relations from a systems theory approach, and then as an organizational function. It then continues to discuss public relations at an international setting, especially the Asian Pacific industry, and finally focuses on Indonesia. The analysis of public relations in Indonesia covers the history and culture of Indonesia, the Indonesian media and journalism, as well as the chronology and the current status of the public relations industry, including its higher education system.

A. Public Relations

Prior to going into depth with the public relations industry in Indonesia and the impacts of its feminization, one must first understand what public relations is. This section first briefly explains public relations from a systems theory approach, and afterwards describes public relations in organizational settings and how it is practiced in different parts of the world.

A.1. Public Relations from a Systems Theory Perspective

Originally, system meant something composed of elements. Basically, the concept basically refers to a whole, which is more than the sum of its parts. This is how the concept has been understood for centuries. Modern systems thinking originated in the 1930s with the biologist Ludwig von Bertalanffy's *The General Systems Theory* (1976). He replaces the traditional difference between whole and parts with the concepts of system and environment, and focuses as much on relations as on the elements in a system. Instead of emphasizing innate qualities in an ontological tradition, systems thinking suggests that these qualities are only important in interaction. This is a constructivist perspective (Bertalanffy, 1976). We owe to von Bertalanffy the recognition of the concept of organized complexity (as opposed to previously unorganized), and also the distinction between open and closed systems.

Systems theory has spread to most other fields of science, from psychology to astronomy—and to social sciences where the theory is applied primarily to social systems. The systems-theoretic perspective regards social phenomena as the results of interactions between social structures and the functions these structures serve. Hence, systems theory does not put emphasis on the individual; instead it views society from without, from an observer's perspective. The individual, and the values and aims of the individual, play a secondary role in regard to the purpose the individual serves in the larger structure in which the individual is situated. Systems theory claims that the actors' social interactions are determined by the larger social order and that such interactions serve to maintain this order.

In recent decades, the systems theory has developed from its origin as a linear, mono-causative, end-means model into a poly-causative, circular system/environment paradigm. The pioneer of this development in social science is the German sociologist Niklas Luhmann (1976), who went much further than earlier systems theoreticians and replaced traditional theoretical concepts with a new and comprehensive set of concepts. In his magnum opus, *Social Systems*, Luhmann translates the biologists' thesis of autopoiesis to sociology, stating that social systems create and recreate themselves through a process of closed communication, which is normatively anchored in the system's own meaning. Although the system is open to information from the environment, still it creates an image of the environment from the perspective of its own worldview. A social systemic interaction with the environment has a cognitive, not a normative, nature. There is no possibility for a shared intersystemic perspective or shared reason. In fact, according to this theory, every social system by nature resists outside regulation that would weaken its meaning boundaries, impair its inner dynamics, and threaten the existence of the system. Thus for the sake of its own survival, a system engages in self-regulatory behavior (Luhmann, 1985).

The theory of autopoiesis claims that a certain amount of openness is a prerequisite for closure, which in turn is a prerequisite for a certain amount of openness to be possible without risking the system's existence. The objective is to strengthen the normative boundaries, but also to secure cognitive in interaction with other social systems. The ultimate objective of reflection is, therefore, to generate the social trust, which to an increasing extent is required as a prerequisite for interaction between social

systems as society becomes more complex and differentiated. Otherwise, uncertainty about the behavior of the environment would block interaction (Luhmann, 1985).

In this social-systemic paradigm one can identify a role for public relations. Through the public communications system—a function system coordinated by the medium of social responsibility—public relations practice encodes and decodes images to be utilized in the shared reflection in social systems. The objective is to strengthen public trust between systems. All interactions between social systems are cognitive and anchored in the logic of the specific social system. This applies to public relations practice. And because, according to Luhmann (1984), communication is not a result of human action but a product of social systems, in this perspective the public relations practitioner has no actual influence on the coordination of social actions.

The idea of segmenting a population into relevant categories or groups can be found in such fields as mass communication, public opinion, political science, sociology, and anthropology. Grunig (1989), describing principles of segmentation, suggests that “segments must be definable, mutually exclusive, measurable, accessible, pertinent to an organization’s mission, reachable with communications in an affordable way, and large enough to be substantial and to service economically” (p. 203). He also points out that marketing researchers have shown that the perfect segmentation concept would make it possible for a communication planner to study each member of a market or public and to develop a personalized marketing or communication strategy for that person. However, such microsegmentation is seldom possible, Grunig notes, even when interpersonal communication is a primary vehicle for the campaign. (p. 205)

Segmentation of the general public is often explained with the help of systems theory. In public relations, the set of interacting units is the organization and the publics with which it interacts, or has relations: both are mutually affected and involved. Nonetheless, when applied to public relations, the general systems theory approach defines the environment in rather vague terms. Defining key publics through the process of segmenting the organization's social environment puts meaning into the term environment by identifying its elements whose opposition or support can affect the organization's ability to achieve its goals (Grunig, 2006).

In conclusion, the systems theory is an approach from a macroscopic viewpoint—a collective social level—and comprehends public relations as a social system. A system is characterized by communication (Luhmann, 1985), which means that individual actors do not represent the elements because people do not only belong to one system since every issue of life can be identified as a system. Thus, public relations practitioners do not only live in the public relations social system, they also live in other systems such as families. Therefore, a clear definition would be nearly impossible as it would be too indefinite to classify a system as attributable to its actors. The borders of each system are thus defined as context borders determined by corresponding communication, which is directly and empirically observable.

A.2. Organizational Public Relations

Having explained public relations from a systems theory perspective, a different way of explaining public relations is as an organizational function. Public relations is the management of communication between an organization and its relevant publics (Grunig,

1992). Its main function is to help an organization adjust and adapt to its environment by monitoring public opinion, social, and cultural changes (Cutlip, Center & Broom, 1994). Grunig (1989, p. 29) explains public relations using four models: press agency/publicity; public information; two-way asymmetrical; and two-way symmetrical.

The press agency/publicity model describes public relations as propaganda, seeking media attention in any way possible. Those who practice the press agency model fully intent do persuade or manipulate publics. The public information model is similar to the press agency / publicity model, but practitioners of this model provide generally accurate information. Both the press agency / publicity and public information models give information about the organization to the public but do not actively seek information from the public through research or informal means. Thus, these models are considered one-way public relations models (Grunig, 1989, p. 29).

The two-way asymmetrical model uses research to identify messages that most likely produce support of the public without having to change the organization's behavior. On the other hand, the two-way symmetrical model uses research to identify messages that most likely produce support of the public without having to change the organization's behavior. The two-way symmetrical model assumes that communication leads to understanding among people and organizations. Public relations practitioners who use this model use bargaining, negotiating, and strategies of conflict resolution to bring changes in both the organization and the public (Grunig, 1989, p. 29).

Frequently, public relations is called to action when an organization's routine activities fail to produce the desired results. While society and organizations need shared meaning to operate, large organizations (governmental, for-profit, and non-profit) play an

essential role in the shaping of opinion in society, and individual as well as collective voices respond to those of organizations. Thus, there is a need for the co-creation of ideas through public contest. This dialogue shapes the rationale for public relations discourse along with the ethical problems related to the likely dominance of corporate voices (Heath, 2001, p. 33). Market and public policy forces offer individuals and corporations an incentive to communicate. Often times, however, these forces clash; and sometimes they cooperate in complex manners in order to resolve individual and societal problems. “Public relations helps organizations to obtain and prudently manage financial and human resources. It helps them to strategically adapt to market and public policy positions by solving problems that frustrate the development of mutually beneficial relationships” (Heath, 2001, p. 33).

However, a strategic response required by these needs would not be satisfied if the definition of public relations to the management of communication is limited. According to Motion (1997, p. 2), the information management orientation might ignore the centrality of discourse. She preferred to feature public relations “as primarily concerned with the creation and maintenance of relationships and the production, exchange, and negotiation of meanings.”

Establishing and maintaining organizational legitimacy is at the heart of most, if not all, public relations activities. Publics assess an organization’s legitimacy based on its activities’ relationship to social norms and values. Therefore, legitimacy is based on the actions of an organization and responsible communication about them, instead of mere perception created and manipulated to endure crises (Metzler, 2001).

Gary Grates, CEO of communication specialists Boxembaum & Grates, called it the “maturation” of public relations (Grates, 1997, p.3). During the 1960s and 1970s, Grates stated that management called on public relations after a problem surfaced and asked “What do I say?” The emphasis was on words. During the 1980s, management progressed to asking public relations “How do I say it?” The emphasis was then on spin. Today, Grates argued that public relations is being challenged with the question “What do I do?” The emphasis has shifted to action (Grates, 1997, p.3). Now, public relations has finally become “a management function concerned with the relationship between the organization and its external environment” (Nagelschmidt, 1982, p.290).

A.3. International Public Relations

Although public relations can be, and in the researcher’s mind should be, viewed as a managerial function at an organizational setting, still this function is carried out differently throughout the world. This section is important because as mentioned before, the majority of texts about public relations studied in universities come from the United States, and to a lesser degree, from Europe. However, one must understand that public relations practice is heavily influenced by a nation’s culture, politics, and socioeconomic background. Therefore, this section will discuss how different parts of the world, with an emphasis on Asia, may practice public relations differently.

Some of the conditions that apply to professional public relations in American organizations, however, may not apply to organizations in other countries. Public relations professionals may practice different models of public relations elsewhere in the world. For example, practitioners in certain countries may not agree that the two-way

symmetrical model is the most effective approach, while practitioners in other countries do (Grunig, Grunig, Sriramesh, Huang, & Lyra, 1995).

Public relations practitioners and scholars have debated whether public relations can be practiced similarly in different countries or whether localized approaches are necessary (Grunig et al., 1995; Josephs, 1990; McElreath et al., 2001; Van Leuven & Pratt, 1996; Vercic, Grunig, & Grunig, 1996). Grunig, Grunig, Sriramesh, Huang, and Lyra (1995) investigated whether the four models of public relations, especially the two-way models are practiced and are indeed effective in India, Greece, and Taiwan (Grunig et al., 1995, pp. 163-186). The findings showed that an approach to public relations that contains elements of the two-way symmetrical model may be the most effective in all cultures (Grunig et al., 1995).

However, Grunig et al. (1995) also identified two additional models in the three countries: the personal influence model, which describes practitioners fostering good relationships with external publics to restrict government regulation, secure government approval, and ensure positive press coverage; and the cultural interpreter model, which guides the organization through the cultural variations of different nations (Grunig et al., 1995). These two models may very well apply to Indonesia. Therefore, while a public relations approach such as the two-way symmetrical model is effective in most cultures, the approach should also be adapted to meet local conditions (Grunig et al., 1995).

Chairman and Chief Executive of Chelgate Ltd., Terence Fane-Saunders, agreed with Grunig et al.: “Communications too, need to be framed within the context of an informed understanding of the cultural, religious, social, and ethnic context of each community and public” (Fane-Saunders, 1999, para. 6). He added: “The fact that a

message may be coherent, well expressed, and convincing, and that it has worked in Asian market A does not for one minute guarantee that it will work equally well in Asian market B.”

Van Leuven and Pratt (1996) also agreed that the way public relations is practiced in developed countries such as the United States or in Europe is very different from the way public relations is practiced in the developing countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia (van Leuven & Pratt, 1996, pp. 93-105).

For one thing, public relations in economically advanced nations is largely the study and practice of how organizations in the private sector relate to strategic publics in their environments. In contrast, public relations in developing countries equates to government nation building programs or countrywide public communication campaigns (van Leuven & Pratt, 1996, p. 93).

Kruckeberg and Starck (1988) argue that public relations is actually an attempt to restore and maintain a sense of community that had been lost due to modernization.

Our suggestions are radical only in the sense that they advocate a refocusing of efforts, that is, more conscientious and sustained attempts on the part of public relations practitioners to help their organizations and their communities restore and maintain desirable elements from an earlier social life (Kruckeberg & Starck, 1998, pp. 118-119).

Kruckeberg and Starck (2001, pp. 51-59) assure the readers that they believe that corporations are neither inherently good nor inherently evil, and that they do not advocate abolition of corporations. However, they are skeptical of the increasing power of corporations, especially the transnational corporations that can avoid accountability

because they answer to no single government or people (Kruckeberg & Starck, 2001). Therefore, such corporations ultimately function by consent of the society, which is actually the ultimate stakeholder, and that society has the right and even the obligation to watch over these corporations in respect to their power and influence on society (Kruckeberg & Starck, 2001).

Broom and Smith (1979) defined four major public relations roles. These roles are: Expert prescriber, communication facilitator, problem-solving process facilitator, and communication technician. Each role represents a different behavior pattern, but practitioners often perform more than one role or develop a certain pattern as the dominant role behavior (Broom & Smith, 1979, pp. 47-59). The technician role focuses on producing and distributing information while practitioners who play the management role primarily participate in management decision-making more frequently than technicians (Broom & Dozier, 1995; Broom & Dozier, 1986).

Many countries are adapting American or European public relations principles but still develop the public relations profession according to their own cultures (Josephs, 1990). However, business leaders in nations like Japan often downgrade public relations to mere technical tasks, which becomes problematic when the culture values understatement and self-effacement because it further hinders the shift from the technician level to management level (Josephs, 1990). Nevertheless, restrictive government legislation and pressure from special interest groups have increased the demand for crisis communication as well as quality public affairs programs in most countries (Josephs, 1990).

McElreath, Chen, Azarova, and Shadrova (2001, pp. 665-673) argued that although the economics of China, Russia, and the United States are quite different, they are similar in that each country has been influenced by activist rhetorical challenges to the establishment. Even though the market and public policies of these countries are different, the best practices that have been cultivated in the United States are often exported to China and Russia (McElreath et al., 2001). McElreath et al., (2001) observed the parallel developments in these three countries using the J. Grunig-Hunt model as a structure and analytic point of view. The model provides for: 1. Initial introduction and development; 2. An increase or “take-off” in the practice of public relations; 3. A period of rethinking by members of the dominant coalition about the role and function of public relations; and 4. Continuous growth and increasing emphasis on two-way communication. McElreath et al. (2001, pp. 665-673), said that the four stages are likely to apply to the development of other countries as well.

Vercic, Grunig, and Grunig (1996) conducted a study of the introduction of normative, generic principles of public relations in Slovenia that concluded that public relations can indeed be global rather than international (pp. 31-65). Vercic et al., (1996) suggested that the principles of excellent public relations provide the basis for a global set of public relations principles that can be applied in most cultures and political systems (Vercic et al., 1996). Nevertheless, the Vercic et al., (1996) study also found that generic principles cannot be applied without strategic research to adjust them to different cultures and political systems. But when applied carefully, these generic principles can change the political and societal cultures that make the application of the principles difficult (Vercic et al., 1996).

The public relations industry is well established in Asia, with a number of brilliant and sophisticated practitioners (Fane-Saunders, 1999). However, in Asia, quality differs from agency to agency and country to country to a much greater extent than in other mature public relations markets such as Europe or the United States. It is therefore best to blend international skills and local experience (Fane-Saunders, 1999).

According to online magazine PR Week (2001), outside Japan, the Asian public industry is dominated by United States brands. Consequently, the economic boom of 2000 led by growing U.S. high-tech corporations also fueled Asia's own new-economy upturn (PR Week, 2001). However, when Fleishman-Hillard announced layoffs in Singapore in May 2000, it was clear that the U.S. economic decline would directly affect the Asian public relations industry ("PR Wrap Up in Asia," 2001). "Asian economies are still very dependent on the U.S." said Pam Miracle, senior vice president and former regional director of Fleishman-Hillard. Miracle added, "A downturn in the U.S. economy will likely affect agencies with a strong overseas client base" ("PR Wrap Up in Asia," 2001, para. 6). "The firms that were hurt most were those [that were] disproportionately reliant on U.S. technology companies for their profitability," explained Matthew Anderson, president of Ogilvy Public Relations, Asia Pacific ("PR Wrap Up in Asia," 2001, para. 7).

In Singapore and Malaysia, as the economic and educational systems improve, public relations in the public and private sectors are changing rapidly (Van Leuven, 1996). In both countries, public relations practice has shifted from governmental settings during the nation-building phase to a combination of government and consultancy public relations during the market-development phase (Van Leuven, 1996).

In Thailand, public relations practice is moving progressively toward two-way communication as scientific methods are being used to measure public opinion and to gain feedback (Ekachai & Komolsevin, 1996). There is also an increase in university-trained Thai practitioners and a growing emphasis on management functions within public relations (Ekachai & Komolsevin, 1996).

Fane-Saunders (1999) emphasized the importance of relationship building in Asian public relations, “Effective public relations in Asia, just as anywhere else, is not simply about editorial publicity; nor is it even the business of communications. It is about creating and managing relationships between the organizations and each of its key publics (Fane-Saunders, 1999, para. 5). According to Fane-Saunders (1999), even though verbal and non-verbal effective communications are crucial, so are public relations strategies that understand the implications of corporate behavior and recognize that the greatest and longest lasting impact on relationships come from corporate and personal actions (para. 5).

Getting locally based clients is usually difficult in markets where public relations is still an emerging industry. “Public relations is all too often seen as discretionary spending in Asia and has been hit hard,” said Nicholas Walters, chairman of GCI Group Asia Pacific (“PR Wrap Up in Asia,” 2001, para. 8). One of the continuing challenges facing Asian agencies is the small domestic market. Alison Clarke, CEO Asia Pacific of Weber-Shandwick Worldwide, agreed, “Asia is still cheap and cheerful,” she said. “Client prospects talk about wanting best practice but are never prepared to put best-practiced dollars behind it. That continues to be the greatest hurdle in Asia” (“PR Wrap Up in Asia,” 2001, para. 9).

Nevertheless, despite the recent economic problems, Asia Pacific remains a region with great business opportunities. With half the world's population, Asia Pacific is expected to be responsible for 40 percent of world trade in 2050, according to World Bank predictions (Fane-Saunders, 1999). Fane-Saunders (1999, para. 27) added, "Without question, this is a market where the astute businessman deploying sensitive and professional public relations techniques can achieve real and important business benefits."

At this point the researcher has explained public relations from a systems theory approach and also as an organizational function. Explaining public relations as an organizational function is important because this study analyzes the roles and functions of public relations in organizations in Indonesia. As will be further explained in the following chapters, the fact that public relations is considered a feminine profession influences its role, function, and how others perceive this profession. Moreover, qualitative U.S. studies (Hon, 1995; Wrigley, 2002) have shown that the organizational context definitely matters in terms of circumstances concerning the work-home conflict or male dominance. Meanwhile, in Germany the number of women varies between different types of public relations organizations (Fröhlich et al., 2005). So, why are there such large differences between different types of organizations? Are the numbers of barriers different for women in public relations agencies compared to other types of organizations? Such questions will be further tackled in the interviews, and thus this section gives a background for answering the research questions. On the other hand, an explanation from a systems theory approach is also important because, as explained, according to this theory, public relations practitioners do not only live in the public

relations social system, they also live in other systems. These other social systems have an influence on the practitioners, as will be discussed later.

Now that the researcher has given a general overview about public relations, the next step is to get more specific into the subject of this study. Because this study focuses on the public relations industry in Indonesia, the researcher finds it necessary at this point to give a general background about Indonesia, focusing on the aspects that she feels play an important role in the public relations field.

B. Introduction to Indonesia

This section is important because it gives a thorough description of the historical and cultural background that shape the way public relations is practiced in Indonesia. This background emphasizes on media and journalism in Indonesia because they have the most influence—along with the government—on public relations, and as will be explained, the long history of Soeharto’s dictatorship, and thus, censorship and government’s scrutiny, has strongly influenced the media, journalism, and public relations in Indonesia.

B.1. History and Culture

The Republic of Indonesia is the world’s largest archipelago. Indonesia is also the fourth-most-populated nation in the world, with more than 237 million people (CIA-The World Fact Book, 2008). It is the world’s largest Islamic country with approximately 90 percent of the population being Muslim. Other official religions include Catholicism, Protestantism, Hinduism, and Buddhism (CIA-The World Fact

Book, 2003). With such a large population, Indonesia has more than 300 ethnic groups, 14 distinct languages, and approximately 400 local dialects. Consequently, maintaining national unity has always been a challenging task for all Indonesian leaders throughout the nation's history (Ananto, 2003, p. 261).

The Indonesian national system has been influenced by Portuguese, Dutch, and Japanese colonization. On August 17, 1945, Soekarno and Mohammad Hatta proclaimed Indonesia's independence and became the first president and vice president, respectively, of the Republic of Indonesia (Aditjondro, 1995).

In 1966, General Soeharto became the second president after an alleged coup on 30 September 1965 was countered by Soeharto-led troops. The Soeharto-led army blamed the attempt on the Indonesian Communist Party, which was subsequently outlawed, and led a violent anti-communist purge, which is thought to have killed over half a million people. Soeharto wrested power from the weakened incumbent and founding president, Soekarno. The legacy of his 32-year presidency is debated both in Indonesia and abroad. Under his "New Order" administration, Soeharto constructed a strong centralized and military-dominated government. An ability to maintain stability over a sprawling and diverse Indonesia, and an avowedly anti-Communist stance, won him the economic and diplomatic support of the West during the Cold War. For most of his presidency, Indonesia experienced significant economic growth and industrialization, dramatically improving health, education and living standards. Before Soeharto's presidency, the Indonesian economy had almost no industry and the total production per capita was little more than when Indonesia was under Dutch colonialist control. However, so complete was the economic transformation under Soeharto that, by the mid-

1980s, the production of steel, aluminum, and cement was far more valuable than the produce of many thousands of hectares of plantations (Ananto, 2003). From 1975 to 1990, a satellite system, Palapa, was successfully established to provide a communication link between Jakarta and all Indonesian provinces, and a primary level of education was provided to nearly all Indonesians. Nevertheless, even though Indonesia's economy prospered, there were numerous conflicts among ethnic groups and also friction between the military and segments of the population in Aceh, Ambon, Poso, and Irian Jaya (now Papua) (Ananto, 2003).

Indonesia is currently experiencing a major political change from a closed authoritarian rule to a more democratic society as a result of the reforms that began in 1998 (Ananto, 2003). Even though Indonesia declares itself a democracy, the military has always been guaranteed representation in the parliament and played a major role in politics (Ananto, 2003). Abuses mostly went unchallenged and the government also prevented the media from publicizing these abuses. The few who dared to criticize the government were intimidated and highly scrutinized (Ananto, 2003).

In the mid-1990s, confidential internal documents of deals given by state banks to Soeharto's family members and their associates to finance projects were publicly exposed through Web sites and on university campuses, causing an obvious change in public attitude toward Soeharto's leadership (Ananto, 2003). The press continuously reported protests by militant student groups who demanded Soeharto's resignation. These protests reached their peak when four Trisakti University student protesters were shot dead on May 12, 1998 (Ressa, 1998). On the day of the funeral, politicians, economists, and students demanded Soeharto's resignation. Nine days later, Soeharto ended his 32 years

of autocratic rule when his associates deserted him and even his loyal military decided to remain neutral under international pressure (Ressa, 1998).

In May 1998, Soeharto chose Habibie as his successor, but Habibie never gained popular appeal. He agreed to call for elections in 1999, but with the violent protests leading up to elections, it was obvious that Habibie would not win and instead, he withdrew from the race a week prior to elections (Richburg, 1999). Abdurrachman Wahid replaced Habibie on October 1999 and for the first time in the history of Indonesia, the public could follow the presidential election process through mass media. However, Wahid was also removed due to corruption and incompetence. Through two censure motions, the 500-member parliament accused Wahid of embezzling \$4.1 million in state funds and illegally accepting \$2 million from the Sultan of Brunei. Wahid steadfastly denied wrongdoing in either case, insisting the \$4.1 million was stolen by his personal masseur and the \$2 million paid for humanitarian relief in the country's war-torn province of Aceh (Richburg, 1999). Megawati Soekarnoputri replaced Wahid on July 23, 2001, as Indonesia's fifth president.

Even after Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (Megawati Soekarnoputri's successor) was elected as president, many political and social observers still feel that Indonesia's reformation is just rhetorical and has not changed the mentality of those in power. Many leaders remain resistant to change and there is no sense of urgency to reform the political system among most government officials (Ananto, 2003, p. 273).

The way public relations is practiced in Indonesia is also heavily influenced by its culture. Geert Hofstede conducted an extensive survey of IBM employees from 1967 to 1973, using 116,000 questionnaires in 72 countries and 20 languages. Hofstede

identified five dimensions of national culture: power distance (PDI), individualism/collectivism (IDV), masculinity/femininity (MAS/FEM), uncertainty avoidance (UAI), and long-term orientation (LTO) (De Mooij, 2000). To ensure validity, Hofstede then compared these results to the results from 40 cross-cultural studies from a variety of disciplines. The combined scores for each country indicate different behaviors of people and organizations. The scores explain the relative differences between cultures (De Mooij, 2000).

Using Hofstede's dimensions of culture, the United States fits into the individualistic culture in which people only look after themselves and their immediate families (De Mooij, 2000). On the other hand, Indonesia fits into the collectivistic culture. There is a strong in-group loyalty among Indonesians within family, friends, and members of the same ethnic group. Traditionally, Indonesians have valued large joint families (Ananto, 2003). The cultural norm called *gotong royong*, in which everyone is responsible for finishing what he/she has agreed to do and each person belongs to a work team, has greatly influenced the political, social, and economic development of Indonesia. Because of this norm however, decision-making is relatively slow in Indonesia, which has somewhat negative consequences on public relations practice, in which timing is essential (Ananto, 2003).

Most Indonesian ethnic groups have varying degrees of social stratification, but this is most evident in Java and Bali. Conflicts are avoided and efforts are made to maintain smooth relations with others. Indonesian society is characterized as *consultation, agreement, and solidarity* (Mann, 1998). Most Indonesians feel obligated to honor older people and those of higher status who take on the role of fathers in an

organization (Ananto, 2003). This value has dominated the organizational climate in Indonesia for more than 30 years. In most organizations, loyalty to the boss is more important than work efficiency. The manager's authority in Indonesia is often not based on professional considerations but on the whims of the boss (Ananto, 2003). Indonesia's closed system of social environment and high context culture make it difficult to have the best public relations practices that emphasize two-way communication channels. The Indonesian culture has been dominated by authoritarianism, causing Indonesian public relations to remain as a publicity function or propaganda (Ananto, 2003).

There is no doubt that the history and culture of Indonesia have major influence on its public relations industry and how public relations is practiced. Indeed, these are what make public relations in Indonesia different from that in other countries. Such influences can also be seen from the interview responses.

B.2. Media and Journalism

Besides history and culture, media and journalism have also played an important role in the development of the public relations industry in Indonesia. On the other hand, as this section will further explain, media and journalism have also been heavily controlled by the Indonesian government.

In Indonesia, the downfall of the Soeharto regime and subsequent democratic reforms have triggered a transformation of the media system that is unmatched in the multi-ethnic nation's history. The Association of Indonesian Journalists (Persatuan Wartawan Indonesia, or PWI) was founded on February 9, 1946, in Solo, amid a spirit of independence and nationalism. During the era of liberalism of the 1950s, the PWI

enjoyed considerable freedom. It even tried to attain political power in 1960. Between 1966 and 1969, Indonesian journalists enjoyed editorial freedom, but from the 1970s the PWI came under government watch until 1996. The rise of idealists such as Gunawan Mohammad and Surya Paloh (journalists) and poet W.S. Rendra helped as catalysts for more editorial freedom in Indonesia. During the Soeharto era, there was no respect for public opinion, which had a great impact on the public relations profession. For over 50 years, public relations had been limited to one-way information flow, particularly by the government since the day of its conception. It was in 1998, when the era of reform began, that the PWI became an independent institution, and it began to develop its professionalism beginning in 1999 when freedom of speech and expression came to be legally protected (Ananto, 2004).

There are approximately 20,000 Indonesian journalists, about 2,000 of whom are members of the PWI. Typically, non-PWI members lack an understanding of national unity and are deficient in legal and ethical knowledge and conduct. Tough competition with the foreign press has resulted in some undesirable behavior among journalists. Because of their limited knowledge of the culture and social background of Indonesians, members of the foreign press tend to expose what is happening at a certain moment without contextualizing it and explaining why it happened (Ananto, 2004).

Normatively, the main function of the Indonesian press is to disseminate information, educate, entertain, and help maintain social control, according to the Code of Ethics of Indonesian Journalists (Persatuan Wartawan Indonesia, 2003). Particularly, in the last decade, the Indonesian media have been in a period of transition because of an open sky policy, infusion of foreign capital, increased demand for transparency, and

demand to help protect human rights. Today, Indonesia has some 2,000 print media and 11 TV stations, as well as some 12,000 radio stations that are predominantly owned by the private sector (Ananto, 2004).

Supposedly, the media are instrumental in encouraging public discussions of social issues. The media must also offer a neutral arena for expressing balanced public opinion on various controversial social issues. The media become an objective means of disseminating information (Ishadi, 2000). Indeed, based on face-to-face interviews with 385 professional journalists, Hanitzsch (2005) concluded that the “typical” Indonesian journalist is young, male, well educated, and earns an above-average salary. In terms of education and training, they are becoming increasingly professional. These journalists see themselves as neutral and objective disseminators of news, not as political actors and agents of development, and they disapprove of unscrupulous practices of reporting. Ironically, however, many of them justify the practice of corruption during their everyday work.

Yet, to some journalists and observers, public relations is no more than a capitalist way of doing business, often sacrificing social responsibilities. Public relations is often perceived as a tool to promote organizational products or services rather than to create harmonious relationships between organizations and their publics. Public relations is a synonym for image building, regardless of whether a corporation is doing business the right way.

Having explained briefly some of the main factors that influence public relations, the researcher focuses next on the main subject of this research, the public relations industry in Indonesia.

C. Public Relations in Indonesia

Due to the lack of literature on public relations industry and education in Indonesia, in this section the researcher uses several literary sources which had already served her in her 2003 master's thesis. However, based on her observation as an Indonesian public relations scholar and university lecturer, the researcher believes that these sources still provide an accurate portrayal of the current condition at the time this dissertation was written.

The Indonesian press was controlled and often threatened by the government from 1968 until May 1998. Yet, when press liberalization came about, press idealism triumphed, leading to what has been called a "press revolution." However, press liberalization seems to have done little to help the progress of the public relations profession, as will be further discussed in this section. After discussing public relations at organizational and international settings, as well as a brief explanation of the history and culture of Indonesia, this section seeks to focus on the public relations industry in Indonesia because that is the main focus of this dissertation.

As mentioned earlier, many countries are adapting American or European public relations principles but still develop the public relations profession according to their own cultures (Josephs, 1990). Thus, a mere explanation of international public relations, or even public relations in Asia, would not be sufficient to understand about public relations in Indonesia, as it is heavily influenced by Indonesian culture, politics, and socioeconomic background. The following sections will further dissect the public relation industry in Indonesia by discussing the chronology and current status of public

relations practice as well as the public relations higher education in Indonesia, supported by findings from surveys and interviews previously conducted on Indonesian public relations practitioners.

Few empirical studies have focused on Indonesian public relations. Some argue that public relations began in Indonesia shortly after the country's declaration of independence in 1945, when Indonesia felt the need to publicize its independence to the world. Others argue that modern public relations was introduced to Indonesia in the early 1950s when multinational companies entered the country (Ananto, 2003).

The Indonesian term for public relations is *hubungan masyarakat*, often shortened to *humas* (Gunawan, 1998). The definition of *humas* is similar to the definition of public relations in the United States,

Humas, or public relations, is an effort to create a harmonious and understanding relationship between an organization and its public. *Humas* is an art and also a social science that analyzes behavioral patterns and predicts their consequences, thus giving guidance for an organization's management in executing programs for the good of the organization and its public (Gunawan, 1998, para. 1).

However, Indonesians have different perceptions toward the meaning of public relations. Even though public relations is still a developing industry in Indonesia, multinational corporations are no longer the only ones using public relations (The Jakarta Post, 2000). Indonesian-based enterprises and even small businesses now start to view public relations as a strategic component in most marketing and communication efforts (The Jakarta Post, 2000). In the early 1980s, Indonesian public relations firms focused more on marketing

and product image. Today, the trend is shifting toward corporate and community development strategies (The Jakarta Post, 2000).

The development of the public relations industry in Indonesia has lagged behind the development of public relations in many Asian countries due to the Indonesian people's lack of understanding about public relations and how it helps support a company's communications objectives and corporate brand in a competitive business environment (The Jakarta Post, 2000). Prayitno (2001, para. 3) agrees that the biggest challenge facing the development of public relations in Indonesia is the organizational decision makers' misconceptions regarding public relations activities. Many decision makers still think that public relations merely involves hiring an attractive woman to represent the organization by saying pleasant things about that organization. Prayitno (2001, para. 3) added, "public relations is far more than 'image selling.'"

Despite the slow growth, Indonesian public relations as an educational and as a professional field has evolved significantly (Ardianto, 2002). This growth is indicated by the number of institutions that offer public relations studies. Currently, at least 60 public and private institutions offer public relations studies at the undergraduate level in Indonesia (Ardianto, 2002). Numerous organizations have also come to realize the need for public relations and have structured separate departments or public relations units within their organizations (Ardianto, 2002). Senior managers of Indonesian companies today are demanding increasingly more specific requirements from their public relations agencies, which indicates a change of thinking: Public relations today in Indonesia is more than mere publicity (The Jakarta Post, 2000). As a result, communications skills and strategic public affairs are now considered key value drivers for public relations

practitioners. Corporate brand positioning is no longer the domain of advertising (The Jakarta Post, 2000).

Despite this change in thinking, getting the right people to staff public relations positions is difficult. While an increasing number of local institutions in Indonesia are offering degrees in communications, this is often not enough to ensure that the right quality of individuals are hired and retained (The Jakarta Post, 2000). Despite the growth of the number of communication scholars (exceeding 30,000) and public relations practitioners in both private and public sectors, the profession has not grown as much as advertising, which has increased in significance in Indonesia in the last five years. There is no single public relations-oriented periodical or journal among the more than 2,000 newspapers and magazines. It is time for public relations to rise to its potential at both the scholarly and professional levels, including adopting multi-disciplinary and international approaches (Ananto, 2004).

C.1. Chronology of the Public Relations Industry in Indonesia

As mentioned previously, the public relations industry in Indonesia may not be as sophisticated as that in the Western countries. And since most public relations literatures available today come from the United States and to a lesser extent from Western Europe, the researcher finds it necessary to describe the chronology of the public relations industry in Indonesia.

Modern public relations was introduced to Indonesia in the early 1950s when multinational companies entered the country. The state oil company, Pertamina, was among the first to use public relations as a communication channel between the

organization and clients, suppliers, distributors, and consumers (Ananto, 2003). In 1954, the Indonesian Police Department (POLRI) also started using public relations. Finally, in 1962, Minister Djuanda decided that all government offices must have a public relations department to provide two-way communication channels between the government and the citizens, and to help the ministers in the decision-making process (Ananto, 2003).

The Indonesian government established Badan Kordinasi (BAKOR), an organization that coordinated the public relations functions of the government. However, BAKOR was dissolved in 1970 due to poor operation (Ananto, 2003). In 1971, a new organization, Coordinating Body of Government Public Relations (BAKOHUMAS) was established with two responsibilities: 1) To coordinate, integrate, and synchronize the operations of public relations departments of different government bodies; and 2) to plan and execute public relations activities in line with the government policy. In 1976, the government established public relations offices in every Indonesian province (Ananto, 2003).

The public relations profession in Indonesia, on the other hand, began in 1972, and in the same year, the first association of public relations professionals, known as Perhimpunan Hubungan Masyarakat Indonesia (PERHUMAS), was founded. Its objectives were to increase the professional levels of members and help them network nationally and internationally. By the end of 2000, PERHUMAS had 3,000 members (PERHUMAS, 2002, pp. 266-7).

At the end of 1993, a Code of Ethics in Public Relations in Indonesia was established. However, the practice of ethical public relations merely remains rhetorical. The professional associations have not established a mechanism to encourage members to

practice ethical public relations. Surely, this lack of ethics provokes criticism from the media and external observers (Ananto, 2003).

The development of public relations reached its peak with the government's policy of privatization when all public companies listed on the Jakarta Stock Exchange started to include public relations as an organizational activity (Ananto, 2003). In 2000, under Habibie's presidency, the controversial Department of Information was dissolved. This department was notorious for its efforts to control the press, boost propaganda, and practice asymmetrical public relations (Ananto, 2003).

C.2. The Current Status of the Public Relations Profession in Indonesia

Today, many Indonesians still look down upon public relations professionals as people who only organize events and perform media relations. Even the media often view public relations professionals as self-serving publicists (Ananto, 2003). However, some government leaders are more appreciative of the impact public relations has on their activities. During Wahid's presidency, public relations consultants were hired to manage political campaigns, marking public relations' peak at the government levels (Ananto, 2003).

According to former Head of Communications and Public Relations of PERHUMAS, Magdalena Wenas, public relations in Indonesia has not yet developed into a specialization although there has been a significant movement in this direction in the past few years. To a large extent, top managers often do not realize the need for public relations until they are faced with a crisis (Wenas, 2002). After the financial crisis that hit Indonesia in 1997, organizations have been striving more than ever to survive by

making budget cuts, and the public relations department is usually the first one to suffer from these cuts (Wenas, 2002). This situation is not far different from the situation in the United States where small budgets for public relations and even downsizing of public relations is still typical in organizations (Grunig, Grunig, & Dozier, 2002). Business managers in the United States often express a favorable attitude toward public relations in principle, but until they have experienced firsthand what public relations can do for the organization, these managers still hesitate to spend money on public relations programs without a guaranteed return on investment (Grunig et al., 2002).

Public relations practitioners in Indonesia often only engage in practices at a technical level. The organizations will then seek strategic participation of public relations when faced with crises and technical practices are no longer effective. Fortunately, in the last decade, Indonesia has made progress toward improving the image of public relations particularly in the public sector (Wenas, 2002).

In order to investigate how a practitioner's public relations role is affected by gender, level of education, and years of experience, Simorangkir (2003) conducted a quantitative descriptive survey on public relations practitioners from a variety of public and private organizations in Indonesia. The survey was composed of the role items developed by Broom to measure emphasis placed on various public relations roles (Broom & Smith, 1979). Results showed that there is not a significant difference between the roles held by male and female practitioners. Also, there was very little correlation between a practitioner's role and gender. There was no significant difference in the role, gender, and education cross tabulation between male and female practitioners. Nor was there a significant difference in the role, gender, experience cross tabulation.

There was also no significant difference in the role, experience, and gender correlation and role, education, gender correlation between male and female practitioners (Simorangkir, 2003).

Indonesia's policy of privatization that began in the 1990s greatly increased the demand for public relations consultants. The recent trend toward mergers and acquisitions in Indonesia has boosted the need for strategic public relations (Ananto, 2003). At least 50 domestic public relations consultant agencies and no fewer than 10 international agencies are currently operating in Indonesia. Some of the notable consulting firms include: Soedarto and Noeradi Public Relations Counselor, IPM, Indo-PR, Fortune PR, MPR, Awal Fadjar Adicita, Indo Pacific Reputation Management Consultant, and Asia Pacific Ogilvy PR Worldwide (Ananto, 2003).

According to Director of Interstudi Public Relations School, Toto Riyanto, business people and the general public in Indonesia still have a misunderstanding of the work of public relations practitioners. "Many people and employers as well are of the opinion that [public relations] jobs are easy and quite glamorous. That is not true," Riyanto said (The Jakarta Post, 2002, para. 17). He said that Indonesian companies often choose public figures like movie stars as their public relations officers, and that it will take time to change the image of public relations in Indonesia (The Jakarta Post, 2000).

To some Indonesian journalists and observers, public relations is merely a promotional tool for organizational products or services rather than a method of creating harmonious relationships between organizations and their publics. Thus, to Indonesian journalists, public relations is often a synonym for image building regardless of ethical standards (Adji, 2002).

On the other hand, some public relations professionals feel that even though freedom of press was finally achieved after three decades of government control, this freedom has done little to the development of the public relations profession (Ishadi, 2002).

"Cash for editorial," often called *zakazukha*—a Russian word that means the acceptance of bribes by journalists in exchange for editorial or other unethical media practices—is common in many countries around the world, according to a study published by the International Public Relations Association (IPRA), which recently launched Campaign for Media Transparency (ICMT) (Council of Public Relations Firms, 2002). In Indonesia, the practice of *zakazukha* remains a problem that public relations practitioners deal with regularly (Macnamara, 2002). Most professional journalists would not ask for money. However, some still expect “transportation money,” and some individuals even use fake IDs to attend press conferences in hopes of receiving money from public relations practitioners (Macnamara, 2002). At the same time, public relations practitioners are often worried that if they do not give a ‘tip,’ these reporters will publish false information that will harm the organizations they represent (Macnamara, 2002). According to ICMT co-chairman Frank Ovaitt, "the credibility of any publication can only be based on its independent objectivity. As long as the practice of illicit paid-for editorial continues in any marketplace, the local public can never have confidence in what they read" (Council of Public Relations Firms, 2002, p. 3).

In conclusion, there is still a discrepancy between the advancement of the public relations industry from its early beginnings to its current state and the misperceptions of the people toward public relations and its practitioners still exist today. It seems that the

old negative perceptions still linger to this day, and this is indeed notable in the interview findings, which will be discussed later.

C.3. Public Relations Higher Education in Indonesia

The advancement of the public relations industry is mainly at the hands of its practitioners. And in order to produce highly competent public relations practitioners, good quality higher education is crucial. This section thus discusses the public relations higher education offered in Indonesia.

The movement toward quality improvement of public relations education began in 1960 with the establishment of Fakultas Publisistik Universitas Padjadjaran in Bandung, which in 1982 changed its name to the Faculty of Communication (Ananto, 2003). In the last decade, in addition to state universities, such as the University of Indonesia in Jakarta, Diponegoro University in Semarang, and Gajah Mada University in Yogyakarta, many private universities have offered public relations education at both undergraduate and graduate levels. Some of the private universities that offer public relations education are: Universitas Moestopo Beragama, the London School of Public Relations (LSPR), and Interstudi Public Relations School, all located in Jakarta (Ananto, 2003). According to Ananto (2003), recently, a number of research and case studies in public relations have been conducted by public relations scholars from Atmajaya University. Also, the Trisakti International Business School (TIBS) recently began to offer professional programs for communications and public relations managers (Ananto, 2003).

One leading private university that offers a public relations program is Pelita Harapan University. Equipped with its own public relations laboratory, Pelita Harapan offers internationally standardized courses, including the Public Relations Practicum,

which is designed to give students a hands-on experience in the preparation, implementation, and presentation of a public relations campaign proposal in a simulated public relations agency.

However, according to an article in The Jakarta Post in 2000, many public relations students are not satisfied with their school's curricula. One student said, "I still have to study Pancasila, the state ideology, and other irrelevant subjects. It's just a waste of time" (para. 3). Another student said, "It is ridiculous, we have to memorize poems, study concise literary novels, and review films as if we [were] students of an English department" (The Jakarta Post, 2000, para. 4).

The director of Interstudi Public Relations School in Jakarta, Toto Riyanto, agreed that the curricula of communications and public relations schools needs major revision to adjust to the real world (The Jakarta Post, 2002). And even though the director of the London School of Public Relations, Prita Kemal Gani, said that "by maintaining strong links with [the public relations] industry, the [London School of Public Relations] caters to the changing needs and demands of a wide range of business" (The Jakarta Post, 2002, para.13), she agreed that public relations firms in Indonesia often prefer to hire people with backgrounds in the media, computer graphics, marketing, or other related professions instead of graduates of public relations schools (The Jakarta Post, 2000). According to Gani, this is partly because most Indonesian companies still only hire limited public relations services such as organizing news conferences and producing printed materials, which do not require in-depth knowledge of public relations (The Jakarta Post, 2000).

In 2002, Indonesia had more than 30,000 alumni of undergraduate and graduate university communication programs; 6,000 current communications students; 3,000 public relations practitioners, 2,000 of whom are members of professional associations, and about 150 members of international communications and public relations organizations such as the ICA (International Communication Association), IPRA (International Public Relations Association), IABC (International Association of Business Communicators), IABD (International Academy of Business Discipline), and PRSA (Public Relations Society of America) (Ardianto, 2002). According to Ardianto (2002), there is still a need for advancing the public relations field through education or professional certification: “Those who want to become a public relations practitioner should at least have completed public relations education, or received a certification from a professional association” (Ardianto, 2002, para. 17). He said that this certification is important to show the public that a public relations practitioner’s work is not as simple as collecting newspaper clips (Ardianto, 2002).

Nevertheless, as discussed earlier, as in many nations where public relations is undeveloped as a professional communication function, the public relations function may suffer from encroachment (Lauzen, 1991), and often individuals with no public relations background or skills are hired for public relations positions because it is considered a “less powerful department” (p. 247). Indeed, findings from the interviews show that many view public relations education as unnecessary, and in fact many of the practitioners who participated in this research—many of whom hold top public relations positions—have no education background in public relations or communication, and feel

that just about anybody could conduct public relations functions. This will also be discussed in the next chapters.

D. Conclusion and Discussion

There is no doubt that globalization has become a fact of life in the 21st century. Consequently, all kinds of organizations worldwide are having a multinational outreach that forces them to interact with diverse publics. As a result, public relations professionals have been pushed to the forefront of managing relationships among peoples of different nations and cultures.

Given the need for the public relations industry to operate in a global environment, one may argue that every public relations professional must have a multicultural and global perspective in order to be effective. It is vital, then, that the current and future professionals receive appropriate preparation for the challenge of communicating effectively with a diverse and broad audience.

A main ingredient in the preparation for the public relations professionals, and students who will soon join their ranks, is a comprehensive body of knowledge of public relations. Nevertheless, literature of public relations is imbalanced because most of what is published about public relations comes from the United States and, to a lesser extent, Western Europe. There is comparatively little information on public relations practice from other regions of the world, such as Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean.

As mentioned, public relations in Indonesia is often limited to a technical level and in most companies, it is not part of the dominant coalition. However, the degree to which public relations in Indonesia can evolve from a technical to managerial function

depends on whether the practitioners can meet the standard requirements of professional management. Indonesian public relations practitioners have to know that the outcomes that management usually seeks in public relations are among others: increased awareness; change in attitude; or ultimately, behavioral change. Thus, a public relations practitioner who thinks his/her job is done after producing a newsletter, brochure, or press release is destined to remain a communication technician.

One may suggest Indonesian public relations practitioners look beyond the short-term goals of the organization and start aiming to reach for long-term goals and objectives. As the literature shows, the biggest obstacle that the public relations industry in Asia faces today is that many Asian companies still hesitate to spend money on public relations. Many companies only seek strategic public relations when faced with a crisis. If Indonesian public relations practitioners can prove to their managers that public relations can help achieve outcomes such as increased awareness, change in attitude, or even behavioral change, managers may realize the importance of including public relations in decision-making and therefore accept it as part of the dominant coalition.

Public relations practitioners need to at least have basic knowledge of communication theories. From this study, the researcher has learned that one of the main factors that had been hindering the development of the public relations profession in Indonesia is the lack of quality education in public relations. Today, many institutions have started to improve the quality of public relations education, and many Indonesians realize the importance of strategic public relations, especially when competing with other businesses. This shows that Indonesian public relations is indeed evolving and one day

may be on the same level with, if not higher than, other countries' public relations industries.

In this study, the researcher learned that public relations in Indonesia differs from public relations in other countries because the social, political, and economic systems—as well as the cultural traditions and values—in each country are different. There seems to be a need for public relations scholars in Indonesia to conduct more research that focuses on Indonesian public relations. Even though public relations studies conducted in other countries are also beneficial to Indonesian practitioners because they enrich the general knowledge about public relations, a public relations study focusing on Indonesia may pinpoint unique characteristics of Indonesian public relations. Findings from such studies will contribute to the progress of the public relations industry in Indonesia and offer hope to Indonesian practitioners in their pursuit of professionalism and acceptance as part of the dominant coalition.

Another main factor that has been hindering the development of the public relations profession in Indonesia is the public's perception of public relations. Many Indonesian professionals from industries other than public relations have criticized public relations for often not being ethical. On the other hand, many Indonesian public relations professionals complain professionals in other industries often look down upon them.

It would be fair to suggest, then, that Indonesian public relations organizations should start demonstrating dedication to the code of ethics. Because enforcement of codes of ethics cannot legally be enforced, the best way to foster dedication to the code of ethics may be through education. Indonesian public relations associations may provide workshops that teach the value of following the codes of ethics in order for public

relations to become a stronger institution. Another way to foster dedication to the code of ethics may be through accreditation for Indonesian public relations practitioners who have demonstrated dedication to the code for a period of time. Once Indonesian public relations practitioners obey the code of ethics, many Indonesians may change their opinion toward public relations practitioners as ‘self-serving publicists.’ Enforcing the code of ethics may also reduce the practice of *zakazukha*, causing Indonesian public relations practitioners to uniformly refuse to ‘tip’ reporters.

This chapter has given a general background of public relations and an introduction to Indonesia along with the description of public relations in Indonesia. In order to answer the research questions, more thorough explanations of both public relations and Indonesia are found in the following chapters. Because feminist communication theory shapes this research study, the next chapter explains the most prominent gender communication theories.

CHAPTER III

GENDER COMMUNICATION AND PUBLIC RELATIONS

Because this study is not only about public relations but also heavily explores the feminization of its industry, the researcher finds it vital to go in depth into different gender theories and continue on to discuss the concept of feminism, including the various criticisms against it. This chapter also examines the feminist communication theory. The analyses of these topics serve as a solid foundation to answer the research questions. However, the most important discussions are about the glass ceiling theory and the role congruity theory because they go right to the core of the problem: The feminization of the public relations industry and the effects it gives. Thus, this chapter begins with an analysis of the differences between male managers and female managers.

A. Gender and Leadership

In the past few decades, more women have entered the workplace. Thus, gender issues in organizations has become a topic for scholarly investigation. Well-discussed gender-related issues in public relations and management literature include pay equality (e.g., Blau & Kahn, 2000; L. Grunig, Toth, & Hon, 2001), glass ceiling (e.g., Liff & Ward, 2001; Wrigley, 2002), perceptions about gender issues (Toth & Cline, 1991; Sha & Toth, 2005), sexual harassment (Serini, Toth, Wright, & Emig, 1998), gender stereotypes (Eagly & Karan, 2002), and gender impacts on leadership (e.g., Aldoory, 1998; Aldoory & Toth, 2004; Antonnakis, Avolio, & Sivasubramaniam, 2003). Among these research issues, gender stereotypes and gender impacts on leadership expectations/

leadership styles have been the most controversial research issues because there are contradicting results about whether there are gender impacts on leadership styles. If there are gender differences, whether these differences are affected by gendered stereotypical roles is also a current research issue in the fields of management and communication.

Some researchers believe there are gender differences in leadership effectiveness and leadership styles as perceived by subordinates. For example, Eagly, Makhijani, and Klonsky's (1992) analysis of experimental study results demonstrated that female leaders were evaluated slightly more negatively than male leaders. In particular, male participants tended to devalue female leaders. Some other research findings also demonstrated that there were gender impacts on transformational and transactional leadership styles. For example, the results of Bass and Avolio's (1994) study demonstrated that female leaders tended to display more transformational leadership styles than male managers. In addition, female leaders who used a transformational leadership style were evaluated more positively than male leaders who displayed this leadership style. Other researchers, however, believe there was no gender difference in leadership styles. For example, Komives' (1991) study demonstrated that there was no gender difference in terms of transformational or transactional leadership ratings as perceived by resident hall staffs. The results of Careless' (1998) study also demonstrated that there was no difference in subordinates' evaluations of transformational leadership style for male and female managers.

According to Astin and Leland (1991), leadership is “activity aimed at bringing about change in an organization or social system to improve people’s lives” (p. 7). Nevertheless, most researchers still disagree on whether leadership was a personality trait

inherent in an individual, a set of skills that could be taught, or patterns that emerged based on each situation (Brown, 1995; Smith & Peterson, 1988). For instance, personality traits of leaders have been said to include charisma, a vision (J.E. Grunig, 1992), competence, influence (Rojahn & Willemsen, 1994), compassion, and self-awareness (Bennis, 1989). Skills have been said to include the ability to create change, influence others, motivate employees, negotiate, and manage conflict (Pincus & DeBonis, 1994; Sims & Lorenzi, 1992; Smith & Peterson, 1988).

A persistent theme throughout a big part of studies on gender and public relations is that the organizational environment may be preventing some female public relations practitioners from having influence in their organizations (L.A. Grunig, Toth, & Hon, 2001; Hon, 1995; Serini, Toth, Wright, & Emig, 1998). According to the *structuralist perspective*, the differences between the behaviors of men and women are caused by the conditions inside the organization. Structuralists, such as management theorist Kanter (1976, 1977), argue that power is rooted in the organization and hinders the influence of women in numerous occupations (O'Neil, 2003, p. 151).

Aldoory (1998) conducted a qualitative feminist study to examine the communicative attributes of leadership for women in public relations by giving 10 women the opportunity to voice their own experiences and design their own responses to conversation and conflict. In conclusion, their leadership language pointed to an interactive style that is similar to Dozier's (1995) two-way model of communication. The women also emphasized a humanist approach to staff (Aldoory, 1998, p. 98). A transactional style of leadership involving rewards and punishment, often associated with men, was not evident here. Most of the respondents illustrated transformational or

interactive leadership (Pincus & DeBonis, 1994; Rosener, 1994), which displays the use of negotiation and compromise, which also seem to be included in two-way communication important for effective public relations (Dozier, 1995; J.E. Grunig & Hunt, 1984). The women used participative management, attempts to energize staff, and empathy (Aldoory, 1998, p. 98).

An extensive research on perceptions of female and male managers show that female leaders were rated higher on people-oriented leadership skills while male leaders were rated higher on business-oriented leadership skills (Kabacoff, 1998). Overall, bosses rated male and female managers equal in effectiveness; however, colleagues rated women slightly higher than men. In particular, the following points surfaced from this research: 1) Male managers were perceived as having more of a vision of strategic planning and organization, having a greater sense of tradition (building on knowledge gained from experience), being innovative and willing to take risks, and being more restrained and professional in terms of emotional expression. They were also seen as better delegates, more cooperative, and more persuasive than female managers. 2) Female managers were perceived as being more empathic, being more energetic and enthusiastic, being better communicators (e.g., keeping people informed, providing feedback), and possessing more “people skills” (e.g., sensitivity to others, likeability, listening ability, development of relationships with peers and superiors) than their male counterparts. However, they were not perceived as being more outgoing or extroverted, or more cooperative as leaders (Kabacoff, 1998).

Researchers have found readily detectable gender differences in the communication styles of leaders (Hegelsen, 1990, 1995; Sloan & Krone, 2000). In

general, a feminine management style involves supportive, facilitative leadership that tends to be effective in participatory, democratic work settings. On the other hand, a masculine management style involves control or power over employees and a competitive tone that strives to create winners and losers – a style that may be more effective in a highly autocratic work environment.

Communication scholar Steven May (1997, p. 3) defines the “feminization of management” as a result of a changing workplace and a changing worker. May states:

No longer told to “check your brains at the door,” workers in high-wage manufacturing and service economies are asked to abandon the idea that their jobs are static and, instead, work more independently, contribute to problem-solving and cost-reduction, be more customer-oriented and vendor-minded, and do what is needed rather than what the job description prescribes. Thus, as workers become self-managing, managers are told to reorient themselves toward a new role of coordinating, facilitating, coaching, supporting, and nurturing their employees (May, 1997, p. 4).

May identifies three themes in current managerial literature, themes that reveal a “thread of feminization” (May, 1997, p. 9). The first theme is advice to managers to replace the notion of control with shared responsibility. Instead of commanding, directing, and deciding, “the new ideal is a manager who relinquishes control and shares responsibility, authority, and the limelight” (May, 1997, p. 10). The second theme is helping and developing employees, as opposed to regulating and supervising them. This theme underlies the team-building approach that is popular in modern American organizations.

The third theme is the importance of building meaningful networks of relationships, both within and outside the organization.

While May (1997) found these themes consistent with feminine traits identified in our culture, none of the literature he surveyed used the term “feminine style of management.” Matter of fact, authors struggled to find another name or metaphor for the style. According to May (1997), a recommended management style based on feminine qualities such as nurturance, along with an unwillingness to call that style feminine, indeed proves that there is a continued bias in the workplace. He concludes that “the culture is deeply ambivalent about elevating the status of the female and femininity; doing so would call into question the entire system of gender relations that underpins most organization and management theory” (May, 1997, pp. 22-23).

Research and popular literature on the subject of gender and management describe a blended style that includes both masculine and feminine strengths in communication and leadership (Claes, 2002; Hayes, Andrews, Herschel, & Baird, 1996). As Tom Peters, coauthor of the bestselling management treatise in *In Search of Excellence*, explains, “Gone are the days of women succeeding by learning to play men’s games. Instead the time has come for men on the move to learn to play women’s games” (Fierman, 1990, p. 115).

One of the earliest and strongest supporters of the blended management approach was Alice Sargent, author of *The Androgynous Manager* (1981). According to Sargent, *androgynous management* involves blending linear, systematic problem solving with intuitive approaches, balancing competition and collaboration, and dealing with power as well as emotion. Sargent argues that both men and women have suffered the

consequences of a masculine management style, including stress and related health problems. Moreover, some women claim that they are not interested in reaching the upper levels of management in their patriarchal organizations, because of concerns that they will be forced to exhibit the company's masculine value-based behavior (Sloan & Krone, 2000); and sometimes when a female manager uses stereotypical feminine behaviors, she receives negative reactions as well (Daniels, Spiker, & Papa, 1997). Today female managers are still finding their way in a male-dominated arena, thus the decision to adopt an androgynous management style, or any management style, depends upon the context within which one works.

This analysis of the differences between male and female managers is important because it gives an introductory background to the glass ceiling theory, in which females have more difficulties than their male counterparts in reaching the managerial level. Thus, it is important to see whether this discrepancy is caused by personal traits inherent in an individual, a set of skills that could be taught, or patterns that emerged based on each situation. It is even more so crucial in this specific study because as a profession that is often regarded as feminine, one may assume that a female manager is preferable in this profession. However, as the glass ceiling theory suggests, that is not the case, not even in the public relations industry.

This analysis also gives an introductory background to the role congruity theory (Eagly & Karau, 2002). According to this theory, men and women occupy social roles with attributed stereotypes and prescriptions. Men are stereotypically agentic—they are assertive, confident, and powerful. Women are stereotypically communal—they are pleasant, likeable and trustworthy. Agentic traits also define the leadership role, which

means that men are viewed as having more leadership traits than women. This disparity between the communal-female stereotype and the agentic-leader stereotype leads to two forms of prejudice. First, women's potential for being approved as leaders is less than men's potential because the male stereotype is more similar to the leader stereotype. Second, women's actual leadership is evaluated less favorably than men's actual leadership because women's assertive behavior is perceived as undesirable or threatening, particularly to men. This theory will be further explained and analyzed throughout this dissertation. Furthermore, the topic of male traits and female traits in managers will be brought up again in the interviews and will be discussed in the following chapters.

It is obvious that there were mixed and controversial results of previous gender and leadership studies. Do gender differences actually exist in terms of leadership styles? Or, do some perceived differences result in gender stereotypes? The following section reviews different gender theories, which is important in this research because it summarizes some of the more prominent gender theories, which serve as the foundation for more advanced gender-related theories, including those connected to feminism and communication. This chapter concludes with the explanation of two theories that are highly relevant to the context of gender and leadership: the glass ceiling theory and the role congruity theory.

B. Gender Theories

Theories have been generated to explain the phenomenon of gender identity development. Human communication is a continuous and dynamic process of sending

and receiving messages in order to share meaning. To achieve this purpose, people use both verbal and nonverbal communication. Communication flows back and forth simultaneously, both verbally and nonverbally, between the sender and the receiver (Wood, 2001). Communication then becomes *gendered* when sex or gender clearly begins to influence one's choices – choices of what one says and how one relates to others. Many scholars claim that gender is an all-inclusive designation, a personal characteristic so pervasive that communication cannot avoid its effects. Thus, in this view, all communication is gendered (Spender, 1985; Thorne, Kramarae, & Henley, 1983; Wilson Schaef, 1981).

Communication problems send couples into therapy more than any other relationship issue. Gender puts forth a powerful impact on all aspects of human communication and raises many profound social issues. How does one's gender affect one in everyday interactions? Is one treated differently because one is male or female? When one speaks to someone, does the way one speaks depend on the listener's gender?

One of the most provocative depictions of gender communication is found in Lois Gould's *X: A Fabulous Child's Story* (1972). Gould (1972) writes about X, a child whose parents participated in an experimental study by not revealing to anyone the biological sex of the child. The story starts from X's infancy and advances through childhood, as X plays with other children, goes to school and deals with sex-specific bathrooms, and is considered mentally healthy by a psychiatrist. The most interesting part of this story is the reaction of other people toward X. Adults, as well as children, in the story found it enormously difficult to cope with not knowing X's sex. It was as if people did not know how to behave without sex-based information to guide them.

Biological sex has a major influence on the communication between men and women. Nevertheless, Gould (1972) shows that biology is not destiny, and that is the amazing possibility of analyzing gender communication. A person's sex cannot be easily changed, but a person's concept of gender is much more open to change and development.

Some people are even more comfortable claiming themselves as androgynous, meaning that they have a mix of traits typically associated with one sex or the other. *Androgyny* is derived from the Greek *andros*, meaning man; and *gyne*, meaning woman, and the term was made popular by gender scholar Sandra Bem (1974). Androgynous women are not necessarily masculine or sexless; similarly, androgynous men are not necessarily effeminate, gay, or asexual. This kind of gender identity merely involves a combination of sex-associated traits, instead of only those traits linked with femininity or masculinity (Lippa, 2002).

Humans find comfort in being able to expect and predict how others will behave, hence making these expectations and predictions powerful motivators in human communication. On the basis of their past and ever-expanding experiences, people strive to anticipate a situation, predict how certain behaviors will lead to certain reactions from others, act accordingly, and reap rewards from the situation. Charles Berger and his colleagues have contributed a significant amount of research about the process of *uncertainty reduction*. According to Berger, when people cannot form adequate expectations and are unable to predict what will happen in situations, they experience uncertainty (Berger & Bradac, 1982; Berger & Calabrese, 1975). One reaction to this discomfort is by communicating in order to gain information and reduce uncertainty.

Various theories have attempted to analyze the phenomenon of gender identity development, or how one becomes “gendered.” Some of the more well-known theories explore the connection between gender identity and gender communication:

1. Social Learning Theory

Social psychologists Walter Mischel (1966) and Albert Bandura (1971; 1986) are prominent for their research on Social Learning Theory as an explanation for human development. This theory claims that children learn gender-related behavior from social contacts, mainly with their parents and peers. Through a process known as identification, children model the thoughts, emotions, and actions of others. This role-modeling has a powerful impact on how children view themselves and develop gender identities.

A related practice involves a kind of trial-and-error method in which children learn what behaviors are expected of each sex. Some behaviors in little girls and boys are rewarded by parents, teachers, peers, and other agents of socialization; however, the same behaviors enacted by the opposite sex are punished. Based on the constant positive and negative responses they receive due to their behaviors, children generalize to other situations and come to develop identities as girls or boys (Lippa, 2002; Peach, 1998).

2. Cognitive Development Theory

Unlike what the Social Learning Theory suggests, according to Lawrence Kohlberg (1966), without external reinforcement, children gain an understanding of gender roles and self-identity as their minds mature. Kohlberg’s (1996) theory fundamentally claims that children socialize themselves into feminine or masculine identities by going through four stages of mental ability. In stage 1, very young children begin to recognize sex differences, but are still not able to attach a sex identity to a

person. Thus, they are likely to say such things as “Mommy is a boy.” In stage 2, children learn their own sexual identity, as well as how to identify other people’s sex correctly (Ruble, Balaban, & Cooper, 1981). At this stage children understand that their own maleness or femaleness is unchangeable. In stage 3, children learn that there are “ground rules” for sex roles, or guidelines for sex-typed appropriate behavior, that grow from one’s culture. Children become motivated to behave according to those rules, and persuade others to conform, too. For example, girls want to wear girly clothing, and boys are appalled at the thought of playing with dolls. At this point, children are more motivated to value and imitate those behaviors associated with their own sex than behaviors associated with the other sex.

The progress continues onto stage 4, when children are able to separate their identities from those of their primary caregivers, usually their mothers. For boys, the importance of their fathers’ identity and behavior is complex. Furthermore, because girls cannot separate themselves from the mother’s female identity, they remain at stage 3, unlike the boys who progress through all four stages (Kohlberg, 1996).

A major critique of this theory is that the model claims that girls’ development is somehow less complete or advanced than the boys’ development. Kohlberg (1996) uses a male model of development and generalizes it to all humans.

3. Gender Schema Theory

This theory was mainly developed by gender scholar and psychologist Sandra Bem (1983), who states that when a child learns a proper cultural definition of gender, this definition turns into the key structure around which all other information is organized. A schema is a cognitive structure that helps people interpret the world.

According to Bem (1983), in cultures that adhere closely to traditional gender differentiation, gender schemas are likely to be more complex. Thus, a child must be old enough to identify gender accurately before a schema can be formulated and gender-related information can be gathered from it. Gender schemas offer instructions on how to behave, and these instructions strongly influence a child's sense of self-esteem (Bem, 1983).

As a child develops a gender schema, he or she continuously uses it as an organizing point of view. A schema related to a child's own sex first develops, and then becomes more complex and detailed than schemas for the other sex. Using his or her own schema, a child takes in new information, plans activities, and chooses roles. The development of and succeeding adherence to gender schemas may help understand why it is so hard to remove gender-stereotypical thinking (Bem, 1993).

According to Bem (1993), every culture holds assumptions about behavior that are part of its social institutions. She explains that three fundamental, culturally shared attitudes exist regarding males and females:

1. Females and males are totally different and opposite beings.
2. Males are superior to females.
3. Biology produces natural and inevitable gender roles.

Regardless of evidence against gender divergence and biological predestination, these beliefs prevail. Bem (1993) states that most children accept these beliefs without recognizing that alternatives are possible. As these children grow older, they cannot picture a society organized differently.

4. Gilligan's Gender Identity Development Theory

Carol Gilligan (1982) challenged human development theorists in her revolutionary book *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development*. Gilligan's theory expands earlier theories of human development to cover both female and male paths to gender identity. In short, the heart of identity development is in the relationship between the mother and the child. While the female child connects and finds gender identity with the mother, the male child finds identity by separating himself from the mother. Therefore, unlike male development, which stresses separation and independence – female identity revolves around interconnectedness and relationships. As communication researchers Wood and Lenze (1991) explain, “This results in a critical distinction in the fundamental basis of identity learned by the genders. For men, the development of personal identity precedes intimacy with others, while for females, intimacy with others, especially within the formative relationship with the mother, is fused with the development of personal identify” the two are interwoven processes” (Wood & Lenze, 1991, p. 5).

Gilligan's theory offers insight into how men and women function, but major criticism toward this theory claims that the theory focuses too much on female development, and that it implies an advantage for females who can identify with a same-sex caregiver, while simply making rare comparisons with how the process goes for males.

5. Gender Transcendence Theory

Numerous researchers have developed, expanded, and refined a theory of gender identity development called *gender transcendence*. Traditionally, the term *sex role* is defined as “the psychological traits and the social responsibilities that individuals have

and feel are appropriate for them because they are male or female” (Pleck, 1977, p. 182). This definition emphasizes the two terms – masculine and feminine. Masculinity includes traits such as instrumental or task-oriented competence, assertiveness, self-protection, self-expansion, and a general orientation of self *against* the world. On the other hand, femininity involves such traits as expressiveness or relationship-oriented competence, as well as characteristics that include nurturance and concern for others, emphasis on relationships and the expression of feelings, and a general orientation of self *within* the world (Eccles, 1987; Parsons & Bales, 1955).

Critics of traditional views of development claim that the current theories are responsible for the dichotomy between males and females and limit individual’s options regarding identity. Within Gender Transcendence Theory, Pleck (1975) explains three stages of gender identity development. The first two stages are similar to Kohlberg’s (1966) Cognitive Development Model. However, stage 3 is the part where Transcendence Theory differs from the more traditional theories. Stage 3 happens when individuals face difficulty because the rules of behavior do not seem to make sense or because they begin to suspect that they have both expressive (feminine) and instrumental (masculine) abilities. At this point, individuals may “transcend” their understanding of the norms and expectations of gender to develop “psychological androgyny in accordance with their inner needs and temperaments” (Pleck, 1975, p. 172).

Androgyny is connected to this idea of gender transcendence. Androgyny is more understandable by picturing a continuum with masculinity place toward on end, femininity toward the other end, and androgyny in the middle. An androgynous does not lose masculine traits or behaviors. Androgyny is a combination of the feminine and the

masculine. Some androgynous individuals may have more masculine traits than feminine, and vice versa (Pleck, 1975, p. 182).

Transcendence Theory, like other theories of gender identity development, begins with a discussion of child development. However, emphasis is on adolescence as a period when for the first time, traditional definitions of what is male and female are likely to be challenged. The theory then progresses into adult development, as life events, changing values, and social pressures, cause adults to reevaluate their gender identities. Transcendence, then, may occur in adolescence and adulthood; although, not everyone experiences it. Some people continue throughout adulthood sticking to the traditional roles and definitions of what is female and male, and they manage this quite well (Pleck, 1975, p. 172).

Androgynous individuals tend to expand their repertoires of behavior; in general, they are adaptive to situations and comfortable with communicative options – options that become extremely helpful in the complicated realm of gender communication (Bem, 1987; Eccles, 1987; Greenblatt, Hasenauer, & Friemuth, 1980; Kelly, O'Brien, & Hosford, 1981). Results from a study in which subjects indicated strong identification with both masculine and feminine traits led the researchers to suggest that “androgyny may be a new gender ideal” (House, Dallinger, & Kilgallen, 1998, p. 18). Because androgynous individuals have expanded views of sex roles and corresponding behavior, they are usually more generally accepting and less judgmental of others whose behavior differs from social expectations for the sexes.

At the beginning of this chapter the researcher described the main differences between male and female styles of leadership. Whereas sex is generally used to refer to

maleness and femaleness based on biology, gender is a much broader psychological and cultural construct. Gender is culturally based and socially constructed from psychological characteristics; it also contains such things as attitudes and beliefs, sexual orientation, and perceptions of appropriate roles for women and men in society. Gender identity is a subset of gender that refers to the way one views ones' self relative to stereotypically feminine or masculine traits. These views and stereotypes are important aspects in this study and will be further pondered upon in the interviews. Even though these theories are not necessarily used in answering the research questions, these theories serve as an important background to the feminist communication theory.

The following section focuses on the feminist communication theory and concludes with the analysis of the glass ceiling theory and the role congruity theory, which are the core theories of this research. But before that, the researcher finds it necessary to explain the different definitions of feminism as well as the criticisms toward it.

C. Feminism

C.1. Definitions of Feminism

Feminism is often defined as the organized movement of moral philosophies, social theories, economic, and political thoughts, that are concerned with social, political, and economic inequalities and practices that discriminate against women. Nevertheless, like gender theorists, feminists often disagree over the reasons of inequality, how to achieve equality, and the extent to which gender and gender-based identities should be questioned and critiqued. Modern feminist political activists commonly campaign for

women's human rights to bodily integrity and autonomy on matters such as reproductive rights, including the right to abortion, access to contraception and quality prenatal care; for protection from violence within a domestic partnership; against sexual harassment, street harassment, and rape; for workplace rights, including maternity leave and equal pay; and against all other forms of sex-based discrimination.

Liberal feminism is an individualistic form of feminism and theory, which focuses on women's ability to prove and maintain their equality through their own actions and choices. Liberal feminists, such as Gloria Steinem, believe that biological sex should not be the only factor that defines the social identity or socio-political or economic rights of a person. Their women's liberation movement revolves around the equality of sexes, and thus, liberal feminists seek to achieve the equality of men and women through political and legal reform. Liberal feminism looks at personal interactions between men and women as the starting point from which to transform the society into a more gender-equitable place. According to liberal feminists, all women are capable of demonstrating their ability to achieve equality and working to attain it, therefore, change may happen without changing the structure of society. Issues of concern to liberal feminists include sexual harassment, reproductive and abortion rights, voting, and education (hooks, 1984).

On the other hand, radical feminists believe that the capitalist sexist hierarchy is the main feature of women's oppression. Radical feminists feel that the male-based authority and power structure are responsible for oppression and inequality, and they believe that women are only free once they have done away with what they consider an inherently oppressive and dominating system, and as long as that system and its values still exist, society will not be able to reform in any significant way. Radical feminism

considers capitalism an obstacle to fighting oppression because capitalism thrives on the ability of a person to profit at another person's expense. Most radical feminists argue that feminism is about ending domination or elitism in society, and therefore, there is no option other than the total uprooting and subsequent reconstruction of society in order to achieve their goals (Echols, 1990).

Another form of feminism is the Socialist feminists, who believe that women are being held down as a result of their unequal standing in both the workplace and the domestic sphere. Socialist feminism ties the oppression of women to Marxist ideas about exploitation, oppression and labor, and believes that marriage, childcare, domestic work, and prostitution are all ways in which women are exploited by a patriarchal system that degrades women and the significant work that they do. Socialist feminists focus on a broad change that impacts the society as a whole, not just on an individual basis. Not only do they see the need to work alongside men but also all other groups because the oppression of women is part of a larger pattern that affects everyone involved in the capitalist system (Ehrenreich, 1976).

Unlike the other forms of feminism, ecofeminism links ecology with feminism. Ecofeminists see the domination of women as coming from the same ideologies that bring about the domination of the environment, but similar to the other forms of feminist groups, ecofeminists also blame patriarchal systems for the oppression of women. Moreover, ecofeminists believe that patriarchal systems, where men own and control the land, are responsible for destruction of the natural environment. Since the men in power control the land, they are able to exploit it for their own profit and success. In this same situation, women are exploited by men in power for their own profit, success, and

pleasure. Thus, women and the environment are both exploited because they are considered passive and helpless. In order to repair the social and ecological injustices, the ecofeminists feel that women should strive to create a healthy environment and end the destruction of the lands on which most women rely to provide for their families (MacGregor, 2006).

Many feminists today view feminism as a grass-roots movement in the effort to cross boundaries based on race, culture, social class, and religion. Feminists also argue that in order to be an effective movement, it should address both universal issues, such as incest, rape, and prostitution, and culturally specific issues relevant to the women of the society in question, for instance, female circumcision in some parts of Africa and the Middle East, and the "glass ceiling" practices that holds back women's advancement in developed economies. Feminism also explores such subjects as patriarchy, stereotyping, sexual objectification, and oppression.

One of today's most prominent feminists is bell hooks, whose book *Feminism is for Everybody* (2000) attempts to clear up the confusion about what feminism is and is not. She explains past attempts to discredit the feminist movement: "Embedded in the portrayal of feminists as man-hating was the assumption that all feminists were lesbians. Appealing to homophobia, mass media intensified anti-feminist sentiment among men" (hooks, 2000, p. 68).

In the most basic sense, a feminist is a person – male or female – who believes in equality, especially sex and gender equality. In calling for people to "come closer to feminism," hooks (2000) cites her favorite definition of the term: "Feminism is a movement to end sexism, sexist exploitation, and oppression" (hooks, 2000, p.viii). She

continues by saying that “the movement is not about being anti-male. It makes it clear that the problem is sexism” (hooks, 2000, p.viii). She describes sexism as being perpetrated by both men and women who are socialized from birth to accept sexist ideas and actions.

Authors of Manifesta: Young Women, Feminism, and the Future, Baumgardner and Richards (2000) describe feminism as being “exactly what the dictionary says it is: the movement for social, political, and economic equality of men and women. Feminism means that women have the right to enough information to make informed choices about their lives” (Baumgardner & Richards, 2000, p. 56). Well-known feminist author Susan Faludi (1991) suggests, “Feminism’s agenda is basic: It asks that women not be forced to ‘choose’ between public justice and private happiness. It asks that women be free to define themselves – instead of having their identity defined for them, time and again, by their culture and their men” (Faludi, 1991, p. xxiii).

In a more specific sense, feminism involves a reaction to institutionalized and internalized sexism, to power imposed by a male-dominated system or patriarchy (derived from a Greek word meaning “of the fathers” (hooks, 2000; hooks, Vaid, Steinem, & Wolf, 1993). Gender scholar Dale Spender (1985, p. 1) explains patriarchy as self-perpetuating society “based on the belief that the male is the superior sex.” Patriarchal practices or attitudes are often referred to as *sexist*, typically relating to discriminatory treatment of women. But the term *sexism* merely means the belittling of one sex and the exaltation of the other. Thus, sexism does not refer exclusively to devaluing women, just as racism does not refer exclusively to the belittling of one specific race in preference of another.

Robin Truth Goodman's (2004) third book, World, Class, Women: Global Literatures, Education and Feminism analyzes how theory and literature may be used to recover feminism, education, and economic justice as part of a wider effort in imagining a democratic public sphere. This book looks at the categorization between public and private spheres of modern neoliberal power, pertaining particularly to feminism. Bringing a feminist voice to critical pedagogy, Goodman (2004) explores how current debates about education contribute to the development of radical feminist thought. Goodman (2004) cleverly connects the disciplines of postcolonial and feminist theory, popular literature, critical pedagogy and education to theorize how the fall of the public sphere and the rise of globalization influence access to learning, the socialization and reproduction of labor, definitions of knowledge, and, consequently, both the meaning of subjectivity and the possibilities of a radical feminism.

Goodman (2004) challenges the ways in which the academic disciplines have been used to guarantee specific forms of authority, by giving the opportunity for both questioning how power operates in the construction of knowledge, while at the same time redefining the boundaries of the content and form of what is being taught in schools and higher education institutions. She emphasizes how struggles over meaning, language and text have become indicative of a bigger struggle over the meaning of cultural authority, the role of public intellectuals, and the meaning of national identity.

Even though the feminist theory covers diverse aspects such as literature, sociology, moral philosophy, and political thoughts, for the purpose of this dissertation, the researcher will focus on the most relevant aspects, which are feminist communication theory, gender communications, and gender equality in the workplace.

C.2. Criticisms of Feminism

As with any ideology, feminism is not without criticisms, especially radical feminism. The following are some of the criticisms against feminism in general, not yet focusing on feminism in Indonesia, which will be discussed in the following chapter. Criticisms of feminism as an *ideology*, criticisms of specific *types* of feminism, and criticisms of specific feminist *concepts* have been made by feminists, non-feminists, masculinists, social conservatives, and social progressives.

Postcolonial feminists criticize certain ideas of Western forms of feminism, notably radical feminism and its most basic assumption, universalization of the female experience. They argue that this assumption cannot so easily be applied to women for whom gender oppression comes second to, for example, racial or class oppression.

From the perspective of some strands of feminism, as well as the men's movement and queer theory, inequalities and stereotypes based on gender are detrimental to both men and women and both sexes suffer from the expectations of traditional gender roles. Many who support masculinism argue that because of both traditional gender roles and sexism infused into society by feminists, males are and have been oppressed. Marriage rights advocates oppose feminist aspirations to replace the traditional family, as illustrated by statements made by a variety of feminist leaders such as Sheila Cronan's view that marriage constitutes slavery for women, and the women's movement must concentrate on attacking this institution and that freedom for women cannot be won without the abolition of marriage (Poloma & Garland, 1971).

On the other hand, Dr. Mary Jo Bane, associate director of Wellesley College's Center for Research on Women, suggested that to raise children with equality, they should be taken from families and communally raised. Family and men's rights groups are also critical of feminist encouragement of lesbian agendas that undermine the traditional role of men in the family, such as Sheila Cronan's *National NOW Times* (January 1988) interview declaring that every woman must be willing to be identified as a lesbian to be fully feminist. Many critics of feminism are alarmed by the prevalence of lesbians such as Patricia Ireland, former head of NOW, in feminist leadership roles.

Men's rights advocates perceive many contemporary feminist issues as "extremist" because of their perception that feminist demands such as equal rights have been achieved. They also claim that feminists—in their struggle for what they call equality—are unwilling to pay any attention to areas where men may be discriminated against. Father's rights advocates are critical of alleged feminist efforts to block shared parenting, or joint custody, after divorce. Laws such as the Violence Against Women Act are also viewed as discriminatory against men.

Ann Widdecombe, a British Conservative politician and former leadership candidate, claimed that feminism slowly evolved into its antithesis (Lewis-Horne, 2007). She argues that 1970s rhetoric highlighted equal rights and self-sufficiency, whereas 1990s rhetoric demanded special assistance for women and implied that women could not look after themselves. She identifies with the former variant, and describes the latter as "absolute tosh."

As mentioned earlier, above are just some of the general criticisms against feminism. It must be noted however, that there are various forms of feminism. Some

people may agree with one form of feminism but not with another. Moreover, the concept of feminism in Indonesia is also not the same as in Western countries, or most other countries for that matter. While feminism in Indonesia will be discussed in the next chapter, the next section brings together communications research and feminist studies research.

D. Feminist Communication Theory

That an area of scholarly work is identified by a term such as *feminist communication theory* reveals as much about nonfeminist communication theory as it does about itself. The field of communication, existing as disciplinary departments in universities and scholarly divisions in professional associations, has mainly developed from the Western perspective, which expresses the mindset of white men and deceptively universalizes their particular experiences. Thus, in spite of the potential for communication scholarship to recognize, support, and give voice to the great diversity of human experience, it can be said that the feminist communication field, in this respect, is largely marked by failure (Rakow & Wackwitz, 2004, p. 2).

What are the beginnings and the status of this field called feminist communication theory? The history and contours of feminist communication study—and the efforts of the feminist scholars—have been described, reviewed, and critiqued by a number of authors since the mid-1980s (Altman, 1987; Ardzonni, 1998; Blair, Brown, & Baxter, 1994; Long, 1989; McLaughlin, 1995; Press, 1989; Rakow, 1989, 1992; Schwichtenberg, 1989; Steeves, 1987; Treichler & Wartella, 1986). In general, frequent themes in those

works stress the need for and promise of feminist scholarship in communication, specifically due to the scholarship's disappointing effect on the communication field.

One way of measuring the status of feminist scholarship is by looking at its presence in scholarly communication journals, a status analyzed by Timothy Stephen (2000). Stephen concludes that feminist scholarship comprises two different eras in communication – the period before the mid-1980s and the period since that time. Unfortunately, his “concept map” of gender issues addressed in published articles does not address theoretical differences among authors and, most important, whether or not they used feminist theory. He does, nevertheless, refer to the same turning point that has been identified as the start of the era of feminist communication theory. Even though many outstanding feminist scholars and concerned others were documenting the communication concerns of women and pushing the limits of communication research even before the latter half of the 1980s, it was only then that feminist theory emerged into the field in a significant way. Since then, two schools of thought have appeared in communication journals: one that adds women or gender to existing communication theory, and another that is grounded in feminist theory (Rakow & Wackwitz, 2004, pp. 4-5).

Traditionally, ‘theory’ has been restricted for white men in the academy (Kramarae, 1989). Women, some argue, either have had little to say on the subject or have lacked the history of ideas necessary to properly develop good theory and thereby earn their theoretical entitlement. Given this history, it is possible to understand why the term *theory* has not been embraced by all feminists (Butler & Scott, 1992). In response, Deborah Rhode (1990) urges feminists to consider that their suspicions about theory

“should not hinder us from the practice of theorizing about what justice in a postmodern world would look like” (p. 29).

Rakow and Wackwitz (2001, p. 6) propose that feminist communication theory differs from other theory by virtue of three criteria, which need to be emphasized in spite of their obviousness:

1. Feminist communication theory theorizes *gender*;
2. Feminist communication theory theorizes *communication*;
3. And feminist communication theory theorizes *social change*.

Rakow and Wackwitz (2001, p. 6) added that feminist communication theory begins with the goals of understanding and explaining gender, refusing to accept stock answers and unchallenged common-sense assumptions. It does not begin with an assumption about or definition of communication, as does, ironically, most of the work in the field of communication, including that done by many feminist activists. Instead, understanding and explaining communication, like understanding gender, are key outcomes anticipated by their work. Finally, unlike most of the communication field, which assumes the continuation of the social order it examines, feminist communication theory starts with an assumption that the world is in need of deep structural change to produce new social relations and just societies. “Unlike most traditional communication theory, however, feminist communication theory is political, polyvocal, and transformative. These properties ensure it does not look much like received communication theory – this is its great strength” (Rakow & Wackwitz, 2004, p. 6).

Rakow and Wackwitz (2004) identified three premises that provide a flexible framework within which one may approach feminist communication theory. These three

premises – difference, voice, and representation – are neither exclusive nor distinct. Other premises are clearly also present in feminist theorizing, such as community, identity, and place.

Difference refers to particular linguistic, material, and political systems that create oppressive relationships within and between racial and ethnic groups, economic classes, political orientations, genders, and sexualities. These differences have been conceptualized by feminist scholars who have challenged previous assumptions about the nature of difference. Their work questions the political and philosophical foundations and outcomes of difference (a) between genders and (b) among women, thus problematizing early white, heterosexual assumptions about the solidarity and stability of the category ‘woman’ (Rakow & Wackwitz, 2004, pp. 8-9). As Lorde (1984, p. 99) states, “As women, we have been taught to either ignore our differences or to view them as causes for separation and suspicion rather than as forces for change. Without community, there is no liberation, only the most vulnerable and temporary armistice between an individual and her oppression. But community must not mean shedding our differences, nor the pathetic pretense that these differences do not exist.”

Common knowledge has it that gender (known as sex) is a condition held by two types of human beings, male and female, whose basic biological distinctions naturally and necessarily precede culture. The dominant belief about a natural and universal basis for dividing the world of humans into female and male is used to justify different economic, social, and political treatment and locations of people (women and men) within cultural groups and across them. The differential treatment of groups results in consequences (geographic, material, biological) that seem to confirm the appropriateness

of their group placement. These hierarchical and oppressive relations between groups, resulting from the political act of creating and enforcing certain kinds of differences over others, make understanding the concept and process of difference fundamental to the work of feminist scholars (Rakow & Wackwitz, 2004, p. 14).

Feminist scholarship has agitated primitive assumptions by declaring that differences—biological, psychological, and sociological—are cultural accomplishments. While deconstructing gender has been a remarkable achievement of this era of feminist scholarship, difference has proven to be a more complex concept than some feminist scholars first supposed (Rakow & Wackwitz, 2004, p. 14).

Additional to reacting to assumptions about the presumed differences between women and men, feminists continue to struggle with differences among and between women due to age, class, ability, race, and ethnicity; between nonfeminist and feminist women; among straight women and lesbian and bisexual women; between Western women and women of other countries; between feminist activists and feminist theorists; between the colonizers and the colonized; and among feminist theoretical positions (Rakow & Wackwitz, 2004, p. 14).

Voice refers to how too often women are either denied access to communicative forums or admitted to them only to have their ideas dismissed out of hand as deviant or irrelevant. To have voice is to possess both the opportunity to speak and the respect to be heard. Feminist authors theorize about such issues as women's lack of access—physical, psychological, and technological—to communicative forums, men's domination of conversation, women's attempts to name their experiences and to challenge traditional language 'authorities,' women's interactional preferences, and the creative means by

which women have found their own outlets and styles of expression (Rakow & Wackwitz, 2004, p. 9).

While numerous feminists claim that silence is disempowering, imposed, and even violent, others claim that not all silence is the same, that silence is fundamental to speech, and is also a method of communicating that can be chosen as a strategy (Clair, 1998). For instance, the silence of the powerful father figure, boss, or judge is not the same silence as the silence of someone forbidden to speak or who is “at loss of words” because of the lack of appropriate names for her experience or lack of access to the linguistic currency of institutions. Even where silence results from a humiliating experience, silence can produce positive results (Rakow & Wackwitz, 2004, pp. 95-6).

Silence, too, can speak, as can other symbolic gestures. Silence can be a powerful method of communicating when speech is denied. Examples include strategies of silent vigils by mothers of the disappeared in Latin American revolutionary movements. Pot banging was done by women in Pinochet’s Chile when protesting against unemployment and economic conditions. On the other hand, habitual social practices also “speak,” for instance, the pay inequity experienced by women, a symbolic representation with material consequences for the value placed on women and their work (Rakow & Wackwitz, 2004, p. 96).

Experience is a key element in feminist allegations about the value of women’s voices, as states Joan Scott (1992), “What could be truer, after all, than a subject’s own account of what he or she has lived through?” (p. 24). Historians who collect evidence from experience take as “self-evident the identities of those whose experience is being documented and thus naturalize their difference” (p. 25). However, experience taken as

the origin of knowledge from the viewpoint of the individual subject “becomes evidence for the fact of difference rather than a way of exploring how difference is established, how it operates, how and in what ways it constitutes subjects who see and act in the world” (p. 25). One may be missing, Scott indicates, the larger, historically contingent patterns of meaning within which the experience is placed.

Satya Mohanty (1993) argues “that experience, properly interpreted, can yield reliable and genuine knowledge, just as it can point up instances and sources of real mystification” (p. 44). He perceives experience as a cognitive activity, and believes that it is because personal experiences, including emotions, are socially and theoretically constructed that they can yield knowledge. Since experiences do not have self-evident meanings, alternative interpretations give new or competing definitions of the same event – interpretations that can be judged as better or worse.

Thus, it seems that there is much knowledge to be gained from a feminist interesting experience, but one must be careful with the interpretive frames available or not available to make sense of those experiences. Even though feminist values suggest that the interpretations women make of their lives should be respected, it is also possible to recognize the limitations of interpretive schemes. Feminist scholars across a range of disciplines have been putting in to the understanding of voice through work that interrogates relations of power at various levels – from language to talk to stories. That is why this research focuses on the experience of female public relations practitioners in Indonesia in their effort to achieve a managerial position / role.

Lastly, *representation* refers to the systems or representation in popular culture, the media, and other social, political, and intellectual forums that are harming to women.

Because socially constructed systems of difference and exclusion are related to the process of representation, feminist theorists struggle with the limits inflicted by their membership in particular ethnic, racial, class, and sexual groups (Rakow & Wackwitz, 2004, p. 9).

In a U.S. context, African American women have been represented as mammies or matriarchs, Chicana/Latina women as Spanish noblewomen or beautiful cantina girls, Native American women as overworked and unattractive squaws or beautiful princesses, Asian American women as obedient and demure sexual geishas or powerful dragon ladies (Rakow & Wackwitz, 2004, p. 172). In other geographic contexts, representations of gender and ethnicity have been noted as shifting to accommodate new economic or political goals. For example, Rajeswari Sunder Rajan (1993, p. 133) argues that the “new Indian women” emerging in media and official discourse in India are women who represent “modernization without westernization.”

In the feminist writings and cultural practices of the 1960s and 1970s, the idea of gender as sexual difference was essential to the analysis of representation; the revision of cultural images and narratives; the questioning of theories of subjectivity and textuality; of reading, writing, and spectatorship. The idea of gender as sexual difference has positioned and maintained feminist interventions in the arena of formal and abstract knowledge, in the epistemologies and cognitive fields defined by the social and physical sciences as well as the human sciences or humanities.

England’s Mary Wollstonecraft is regarded as one of the first feminists. Her book *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, which called for women’s equality with men, is still widely studied to this day. Abigail Smith Adams, wife of the second U.S. president,

John Adams, and the mother of sixth president, John Quincy Adams, is also considered an early feminist as well. She is credited with writing letters in 1776 to her husband while he was at the Continental Congress, prodding him to “remember the ladies” (Lunardini, 1994, p. 16). However, the Constitution originally barred women, African Americans, American Indians, and many poor people from participation. For years after the Constitution was adopted women were legally subjugated to their husbands. According to the laws in most states, a married woman, “literally did not own the clothes on her back”; her husband legally possessed her and everything she earned (Weatherford, 1994, p. 222). Thus, Wollstonecraft’s and Adams’ efforts marked the *first wave of feminism*.

The period called *the sexual revolution* began during the first wave of feminism. In the United States, women have practiced birth control in one form or another throughout history, but not always legally. Margaret Sanger was among the first to make the connection between reproductive rights and women’s economic and social equality. She felt that birth control was the key to women’s equality (Ventura, 1998). In 1914 Sanger began publishing a journal titled *Women Rebel*. Even though it contained no particular information about contraceptives, it violated laws of the time and led to Sanger’s arrest and indictment by an all-male grand jury. Still, in 1916 she opened a clinic in Brooklyn, and in only 10 days before the police shut it down and arrested Sanger, 500 women were given diaphragms smuggled from Europe (Weatherford, 1994). While upholding the laws of the day, courts did allow physicians to prescribe contraceptives for women and condoms for men to prevent venereal disease (Lunardini, 1994). By 1938 federal courts changed the obscenity laws. Sanger and her associates

opened a network of 300 birth control clinics nationwide, and in 1942 they founded the Birth Control League, which would later become the Planned Parenthood Association (Lunardini, 1994).

In 1960 the Food and Drug Administration approved the manufacture and sale of “the pill” as a new form of contraception, which quickly became the keystone of the so-called sexual revolution (Lunardini, 1994, p. 297). Many people believe that this one innovation, in the form of a simple pill, helped make the ideas of women’s liberation more practical and acceptable to a wide range of American women. In 1965 the Supreme Court ruled the states could not ban the distribution of contraceptives to married people; in 1972 the right to purchase contraceptives was extended without regard to marital status (Weatherford, 1994). For many, the sexual revolution marked the first time that women could freely explore their sexuality without being concerned about becoming pregnant.

Along with the sexual revolution came the rise of a “singles” culture, including the hippie movement’s advocacy of “free sex” and the “swinging” lifestyle of the 1970s, which led to a higher rate of cohabitation and switching of sexual partners (Lunardini, 1994, pp. 297-8). Since the 1960s, the number of American heterosexual, nonmarried couples living together has escalated by approximately 600 percent (Neft & Levine, 1997). Nearly half a million couples cohabited in 1960; by 1994 that figure had blown up to 3.6 million. The gay rights movement surfaced also during this era, opening discussions on sexuality and the oppression of homosexuals in society. In 1973 the American Psychiatric Association officially declassified homosexuality as a psychiatric disorder (Bernikow, 1997). However, as stated earlier, this sexual revolution happened in

the United States. In Indonesia, things were very different, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

In 1953, French writer and philosopher Simone de Beauvoir published *The Second Sex*, which “argued that women – like all human beings – were in essence free but that they had almost always been trapped by particularly inflexible and limiting conditions. Only by means of courageous action and self-assertive creativity could a woman become a completely free person and escape the role of the inferior ‘other’ that men had constructed for her gender” (McKay, Hill, & Buckler, 1995, p. 1055).

In 1961, President John F. Kennedy appointed Eleanor Roosevelt to chair the Commission on the Status of Women (Weatherford, 1994). The report from this commission documented discriminatory practices in government, education, and employment and included recommendations for reform. Many states followed suit and identified discrimination at the state level. Hundreds of daily situations exemplified the second-class status of women in the American society. At the recommendation of the president’s Commission on the Status of Women, Congress passed the Equal Pay Act 1963, which was the first national legislation for women’s employment since the progressive era. However, it has proved rather difficult to enforce (Lunardini, 1994). The Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited private employers from discriminating on the basis of race, color, religion, national origin, or sex. These efforts marked the *second wave of feminism*.

During the Second Feminist Wave, theories of women’s positions in society were newly considered. This theorization about women was done in order to find out how the patriarchal ideology was thought to work and to show how masculinity within this

ideology was attempting to claim universality, whereas femininity was used as its mere projection. Key work in this field was, for instance, Simone de Beauvoir's Second Sex. Later, several other feminist scholars, like Kate Millett, took up De Beauvoir's ideas (Hoofd, 1997).

As Rosi Braidotti articulately points out in her book Nomadic Subjects, this description of the difference between men and women has led to a dichotomy where 'normal subjectivity' is masculine subjectivity which is then phallogocentric, universal, rational, capable of transcendence, self-regulating, conscious, and denying bodily origins. The female is then conceived as the lack, the other-than-the-subject, irrational, uncontrolled, imminent and identified with the body (Hoofd, 1997). De Beauvoir thus thought that the best feminist political and theoretical thing to do for women was to gain the same entitlement to subjectivity as men. Therefore women had to go for transcendence and rationality in order to bring their existence, which De Beauvoir thought as being yet unrepresented, into representation. In other words, in her idea, *woman* is seen as *minus-man* or *woman* as the *other*. Braidotti calls this working scheme sexual difference level one (Hoofd, 1997).

Some critics argue that feminism is dead or “stolen” (Hoff Sommers, 1994) or that the society has moved into a “post-feminist” existence because feminism is no longer necessary (Denfeld, 1995; Roiphe, 1993). However, Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Susan Faludi, author of *Backlash: The Undeclared War against American Women* (1991) and *Stiffed: The Betrayal of the American Man* (2000), argues that every time women move toward equality, a backlash occurs to restrain them, as was the case for the first and second waves of feminism. A backlash, according to Faludi, is not an organized

conspiracy but a subtle yet persuasive campaign against feminist objectives which surfaces in attempts to withdraw many of the gains previously made by the feminist movement. It is a deceptive force that infuses American culture via national and local politics and the mass media, and it leads women to question whether equality is what they really want. A backlash will identify feminism as the devil incarnate and feminists as miserable, lonely, childless, and emotionally unstable.

In her book *Faces of Feminism: An Activist's Reflections on Women's Movement*, Sheila Tobias (1997) describes a feminist movement for the 21st century that emerged in the 1990s from women in their twenties and thirties who continue to be proud to call themselves “the third wave” (Tobias, 1997, p. 252). These young feminists emphasize collective action to effect change and embrace the diversity represented by various feminisms. They focus on inclusion; a multicultural emphasis; and strive to address problems stemming from sexism, racism, social class inequality, and homophobia (Baumgardner & Richards, 2000; Renzetti & Curran, 1995). As Leslie Heywood and Jennifer Drake explain in their book *Third Wave Agenda* (1997), third wave feminism draws from the struggles of past waves but is not a mere extension of a past movement.

Just as other feminist efforts have had their critics, third wave feminism has also been scrutinized. Some scholars accuse that an overemphasis on age and generational differences associated with the movement works against effective political reform and makes “crucial conversations impossible” (Hogeland, 2001, p. 117). Others criticize the movement’s emphasis on the self, rather than on accomplishing positive change through collectivism (Shugart, 2001; Shugart, Waggoner, & Hallstein, 2001). Yet others question the movement’s dependence on celebrity and media images and its close association with

popular culture, in that some of its icons are television characters such as Ally McBeal, fashion models such as Kate Moss, and musicians such as Alanis Morissette and Courtney Love (Bellafante, 1998; Dow, 1996; Shugart, et al., 2001). As reporter for *Time* magazine, Ginia Bellafante (1998, p. 57) points out, “If feminism of the ‘60s and ‘70s was steeped in research and obsessed with social change, feminism today is wed to the culture of celebrity and self-obsession.”

These criticisms toward feminism are important to discuss because the findings from the interviews, which will be discussed later, also reveal criticisms toward feminism. As will be further discussed, the Indonesian culture is heavily patriarchal; hence, the term feminism is often frowned upon, while gender inequality in households, workplaces, as well as the society in general, remains common in Indonesia.

The following section explains the main conceptual foundation of this research, the glass ceiling theory and the role congruity theory – which in order to answer the research questions, will then be narrowed down to the public relations industry .

E. Glass Ceiling Theory

It is undeniable that there exist physiological differences between men and women. Unfortunately, this truth is used to justify the unequal treatment of women on all levels of human interactions. And the prevailing historical attitude of men toward women have people believing that the physiological differences hinder women in their choice of career, their intellectual maturity, their credibility, as well as their ability to be effective contributors to the advancement of human society, and that these differences warrant that women be treated differently from men. Thus, this attitude defines a view of

women in which their role is that of a keeper of hearth and home, while that of the men is to provide for and protect this 'weaker sex' – a view which continues to define different social roles for men and women.

The term *glass ceiling* refers to the phenomenon that top-level management in businesses consist predominantly, if not exclusively, of a certain demographic. A *ceiling* means that the persons outside the dominant demographic group are supposedly limited in how far they are able to advance inside the organization ranks; the ceiling is *glass* (transparent) because the limitation is not immediately apparent. The *glass ceiling* is different from formal barriers to advancement, such as education or experience requirements. The existence of the glass ceiling is frequently cited as a failure of existing anti-discrimination action (Cotter et al., 2001).

The term is often credited as having been originally coined by Carol Hymowitz and Timothy Schellhardt in the March 24, 1986, edition of the *Wall Street Journal*. However, the term was already used prior to that. The term is most often used to describe women's access to upper management. Nevertheless, the glass ceiling also describes the general tendency for women to be underrepresented at higher levels of the occupational hierarchy. Empirical evidence for this pattern in the U.S. is persistent. The extension to other groups, such as racial or ethnic minorities, is usually made with direct or indirect reference to gender (Cotter, 2001).

Other terms that relate to the *glass ceiling* includes the term *glass elevator* (or *glass escalator*), which is sometimes used to describe the fast promotion of men over women, especially into management, in female-dominated fields like nursing. Another term is the *glass cliff*, which describes a situation in which a person, particularly a

woman, has been promoted into a risky, difficult job where the chances of failure are higher.

There is also a sometimes-used term *glass floor* which describes the theory that some factor both limits a group's (often women's) progress but also limits their numbers in situations like, say, imprisonment and the disproportionate numbers of male inmates. Biological factors are often quoted for these, although the practice is contentious. This term is also sometimes used to describe the fact that men almost always occupy the least pleasant jobs in a society—sewage workers, miners, street cleaners, refuse workers, etc.

In his book, Equal Rights: The Male Stake, Leo Kanowitz (1981) claims that men are just as much victims of sex-role stereotyping as women. This is certainly notable in the case of careers labeled as 'feminine,' or the often *de facto* practice of giving custody to mothers when the fathers may be just as capable of raising the children as the ex-wife. Kanowitz (1981) further argues that the current language of the law positions an unjustified burden on the man to provide financially for his wife and children while society contributes to his chronic unemployment by closing to him careers that are considered inherently 'female' for instance, those of elementary school teacher, clerk-typist, or secretary. However, these 'female' careers are clearly not considered managerial.

While more women are now being hired than in times past, greater numbers of men than women achieve the higher, more responsible and more rewarding ranks (Dunn, 2002); Stewart, 2001; Williams, 2002). Even though *Fortune* magazine continues to produce its "Fifty Most Powerful Women" lists and other indications of gains at higher levels can be cited, significant inequity still exists (Sellers, 1998). For example, statistics

show that women now represent more than 40 percent of graduating classes at American law schools, a figure that is up from a mere 7 percent in 1972. These women have achieved in all aspects of the practice of law except for one: positions of power, such as partnerships and the management of law firms (Rosenberg, Perlstadt, & Phillips, 2002; Sege, 1996).

In the mid-1980s, a group of researchers at the Center for Creative Leadership began a three-year study: the Executive Women Project (Morrison, White, & van Velsor, 1987). This group coined the term *glass ceiling*, which they described as follows: “Many women have paid their dues, even a premium, for a chance at the top position, only to find a glass ceiling between them and their goal. The glass ceiling is not simply a barrier for an individual, based on the person’s inability to handle a higher-level job. Rather the glass ceiling applies to women as a group who are kept from advancing higher *because they are women*” (Morrison, White, & van Velsor, 1987, p.13).

In 1987, the United States Department of Labor published a report – Workforce 2000 – that brought dramatic attention to changes taking place in the U.S. economy and in the composition of its workforce. Significant among these was the increased importance of minorities and women to the competitive status of the American economy. While individuals and organizations have developed various definitions of the glass ceiling, the Department of Labor has concluded that the glass ceiling is most clearly defined as those artificial barriers based on attitudinal or organizational bias that prevent qualified individuals from advancing upward in their organization into management-level positions.

In 1991 the Federal Glass Ceiling Commission was formed, headed by Secretary of Labor Lynn Martin. This group's Glass Ceiling Initiative studied nine Fortune 500 companies in order to understand the barriers to advancement for women and minorities and to assist corporations in determining strategies for eliminating the barriers. As a result of this study, Martin (1991) issued the following challenge: "The glass ceiling, where it exists, hinders not only individuals but society as a whole. It effectively cuts our pool of potential corporate leaders by eliminating over one-half of our population. If our end game is to compete successfully in today's global market, then we have to unleash the full potential of the American work force. The time has come to tear down, to dismantle the 'Glass Ceiling'"(Martin, 1991, p.2).

Some factors contributing to the barrier for female and minority advancement include the following:

1. Corporate lack of attention to equal opportunity principles, such as monitoring the progress and development, as well as compensation patterns, for all employees.
2. Discriminatory placement patterns.
3. Inadequate record keeping.
4. Internal recruitment practices that maintain white male-dominated networks.
5. A lack of EEOC (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission) involvement in the hiring processes for middle and upper-level management positions.

After more than two decades of awareness of the need to promote women and members of minority groups into higher-level decision-making positions in the workforce, it seems that little progress has been achieved (Stewart, 2001). The Federal Glass Ceiling Commission (1995) gathered research findings and reported that women were occupying less than 5 percent of senior managerial and executive positions in large American corporations. Surveys of Fortune 1500 companies uncovered that in 1990s, 97 percent of senior managers (vice presidents and above) were men (Federal Glass Ceiling Commission, 1995). At the turn of the new century, the general growth trend for women in the workforce was still not evident at the highest levels of employment. While 47 percent of middle-management positions in American companies were held by women, women held only 17 percent of executive management positions. The discrepancy was even more extreme at the level of CEOs: only 11 percent of U.S. organizations had female CEOs (Gathrie & Roth, 2002).

The difference between the numbers of male and female upper-level managers and executives in the American workforce has been given the name an *authority gap* by researchers Reskin and Padavic (1994). They give three explanations for the gap. The first is the “human-capital inequities” explanation, which suggests that women are still obtaining the education and experience that will enable them to rise to positions of authority. Reskin and Padavic oppose with statistics showing that “Women have not advanced into authority-conferring jobs in proportion to their presence in the lower ranks. Women were 15 percent of all managers in 1968, so they should be 15 percent of senior managers today. Instead, in 1990 they were only 3 percent of senior managers. If

women's rate of progress proceeds all the present pace, women will not achieve equitable representation and pay at all management levels for another 75 to 100 years" (pp. 95-96).

The second explanation relates to segregation in the workplace. The most frequently held managerial positions for women are in personnel and public relations – areas that are typically given little authority or power within an organization. The third explanation for the authority gap roots from cultural bias. Reskin and Padavic (1994) argue that many employers still “adhere to informal segregation code that keeps women from supervising men and that reserves the training slots leading to higher-level jobs for men” (Reskin & Padavic, 1994, p. 96). Organizational communication researcher Lea Stewart (2001) agrees, “Women have not reached the top of the corporate hierarchy in part because of the gender stereotype held by many corporate decision makers that women do not have the personality characteristics necessary for top leadership roles” (Stewart, 2001, p. 180). These statements portray the stereotypical judgment that because women are naturally affiliative and nurturing, they choose not to “rock the boat” and cannot make tough decisions that might disappoint others.

To combat the gender differential in upper-level management, organizations must actively ensure that male and female employees' careers are developed with equal attention (Nadler & Nadler, 1987). Teachers, parents, academic advisers and mentors should work with very young children to eliminate negative gender stereotypes *where they begin*. In addition, women should plan their careers well beforehand and proactively seek advancement, rather than waiting for a superior to notice and reward their accomplishments. Stewart (2001) suggests that networking and developing mentor relationships are excellent strategies to help women overcome barriers in the workplace.

Women who use both formal and informal channels for developing contacts, and who actively work to learn and emulate more experienced professionals, widen their options and heighten their satisfaction and comfort levels in their jobs (Hall, 2001; Sloan & Krone, 2000).

One of the most obvious factors that complicates women's professional progress is a basic biological function – women give birth to babies. As a culture, the modern society has advanced a bit on this notion, creating more choices for families. Efforts in the 1970s and 1980s helped to loosen the constricted view that women would automatically choose home and family over careers. In the 1990s, women who could afford to sacrifice their salaries to stay home and raise young children felt freer to do so without feeling that they had violated some basic principle of women's liberation (Ivy & Backlund, 2004).

People in developed nations also witnessed in the 1990s an extensive use of *flextime*, a system some organizations adopt which allows workers to come and go early or late, or to work longer hours fewer days of the week, to better respond to home and family demands (Hochschild & Machung, 2002). There was also an effort to create more *family friendly* workplaces, a descriptor that came out when *Working Mother Magazine* began identifying the best places in the country for women and mothers to work. Organizations attempted to better accommodate workers with family issues that may affect their job performance (Dubeck & Dunn, 2002).

However, evidence shows that family friendly accommodations and flextime opportunities are not readily available for workers across different levels of organizations, particularly low-wage workers, even in those firms considered to be at the

top of the family friendly lists (Fennigan, 2001; Holcomb, 2002). In some highly competitive workplaces, family friendly initiatives exist as mere public relations devices; the informal internal word is that employees should not actually take advantage of them (Crary, 2002).

In spite of all this awareness and important innovations, an enduring perception still exists in the minds of many: Women in the workforce just cannot be counted on over the long haul. Women are likely to want to have children at some point in their careers and that means maternity leaves, a greater potential for absenteeism, and the big possibility that they will vacate their positions in favor of staying home and raising their children (all of which costs organizations money). As feminist activist Gloria Steinem is often quoted as saying, “I have yet to hear a man ask for advice on how to combine marriage and a career” (Ivy & Backlund, 2004).

Having discussed the glass ceiling theory, one may understandably assume that such glass ceilings could not exist in the public relations industry. After all, public relations has long been considered a feminized profession, and the vast majority of its professionals are female. Nevertheless, the following sub-section will discuss how such glass ceilings indeed exist, even more so than in other industries as some more argue, in the public relations industry.

E.1. Glass Ceilings in Public Relations

With women entering university programs in public relations in growing numbers, and with women now the majority of practitioners in public relations, Toth (1988) shows concern about what universities are informing these young women about

their outlook for a satisfying and rewarding career in public relations. She asserts that bright young women would contribute greatly to the field, but questions if they might be better off in other fields where women have made more progress toward equality (Wrigley, 2002, pp. 30-31). This research, therefore, assumes the glass ceiling is an important area for further study for the following reasons.

Public relations feminist scholars have discovered that the increasing number of women in public relations has opened up a professional area that was once considered a male-only occupation. However, as much as those in the field of public relations should be proud of making this opportunity available to women who do not have equal access to all professions, some public relations experts see only threats to the status of the public relations field.

How could a female majority be considered a threat to the field of public relations? According to a prominent public relations practitioner Lesly (1988), the impact of a predominantly female field would have consequences such as the creation of an image of public relations as a soft, rather than a heavy-hitting, top management function; the decrease of professional aspirations because women wanted to do technical rather than managerial work; and the decrease of income levels because fields that became 'female' experienced such losses.

Public relations scholar L.A. Grunig (1995) calls this phenomenon of spotlighting token women as *compensatory feminism* (p. 11). Those who have not made it to the boardroom just yet can take comfort from the stories of those who have. In short, such success stories should make women feel better about their status, or the lack thereof. "For example, a 300% increase sounds very big, but a 300% increase in the number of women

CEO's of major companies is in fact not a very big jump – it means there would be three instead of one” (Grunig, 1995, p.11).

Experts in public relations throughout Europe refer to communications in the context of an organization as a “specialized management field” (Ruler et al., 2000). Anglo-American authors argue that public relations is a field that should not merely be seen as a tactical and artistic-creative function, but should rather be considered managerial and strategic (Grunig, 1992). These authors emphasize the importance of a mutual communication system, which requires a specialized management function at a high level. “Inclusion of communication management in the dominant coalition seems vital,” wrote Larissa Grunig (1990).

Communication management is a strategic management activity that helps secure the long-term functions of an organization in the society, and this requires hiring specialists at a managerial level, e.g., communication managers, rather than communication technicians (Dozier, 1988).

Nevertheless, in Indonesia, as in many countries, practice lags behind theory. One factor that causes this lag is the *glass ceiling*. As discussed earlier, the glass ceiling is used to describe the more or less invisible mechanisms that prevent women from climbing to the top of the organizational ladder (Dozier, 1988).

Public relations scholar Elizabeth Lance Toth (1989) describes the glass ceiling as the domain of general managers and not of public relations specialists. She claims that the technical functions of public relations – producing and disseminating messages that happen below the glass ceiling – may be more important to an organization than the higher functions held by some public relations managers. The problem-solving roles of

public relations managers are very much like those of any general manager. To justify her argument, Toth (1989) points out that when corporate downsizing affects a public relations department, it is often the communication technician roles, and not the public relations problem-solving roles, which prevail.

Toth (1989) wonders if men overemphasize the role of conflict resolution and negotiation in public relations because it supports masculine myths about the function of management. She thinks that women may be especially good at fulfilling technician roles because women possess a distinct set of nurturing, empathetic values and a greater appreciation of communication processes than do men (Toth, 1989).

During the 1990s, three feminist studies on the increasing numbers of women in public relations introduced feminist research in theorizing about the status issues of a female plurality. Two of these studies, called the glass ceiling studies, were conducted for the PRSA to audit its membership about gender issues. In the first study, the researchers concluded that after the 4th year, women in public relations earned less money, even considering age, accreditation, and type of public relations practiced. In general, women were less satisfied with their jobs than were men, and women experienced more gender-based inequities than did men (Toth, 2001, p. 241). In 1995 the second study found that over time, the status of men and women had been influenced by the economic downturn of the 1990s, and that during the 5-year period between audits, men and women were becoming more aware of institutional influences and their effect on both men and women. Thus, the roles in public relations were changing during economic circumstances that required both male and female practitioners to revamp and innovate

themselves to respond and stay up-to-date with the changes within their organizations (Toth, 2001, para. 242).

The third study was the *Excellence* study, the most comprehensive study of the 1990s of what constitutes excellence in public relations. This study was an examination of CEOs, top communicators, and employees in about 300 U.S., Canadian, and British organizations, and it indicated that among the most excellent organizations, both CEOs and top communicators reported above-average support for women. This support included three groups of items: 1. Nondiscrimination policies enacted to protect women employees such as ‘developing specific guidelines for handling sexual harassment problems and establishing effective policies to deal with sexual discrimination’; 2. Supportive work environment for women such as ‘fostering women’s leadership abilities and paying men and women equally for equal or comparable work; and 3. Mentoring and advancement programs established for women such as ‘enacting special policies, procedures, or programs designed to promote an understanding of the concerns of female employees’ (Toth, 2001, p. 241).

Another term closely related to the glass ceiling theory is the Velvet Ghetto. According to former corporate executive and journalist Jeanette Reddish Scollard (1995), people are enticed into the Velvet Ghetto by promises of comfort and respect. But invariably, a few years later, it becomes a trap. Since there is no upward mobility into the corporate mainstream, occupants of one Velvet Ghetto must move sideways into similar ghettos at similar companies. Ghetto *residents* must move from one dead-end job to another, with a minuscule, if any, increase in salary. Real job opportunities arise only

when someone retires or moves completely outside of the corporate system, leaving a vacancy (Scollard, 1995).

Scollard (1995) then added that mainstream corporate work experience for women, including a taste of the *glass ceiling* and the Velvet Ghetto, has become an option for the most ambitious young women, only shortly and early in their careers. Then, after learning the inner world of corporate culture, they leave and begin serious career work as advisors, suppliers, and competitors to the traditional corporate culture.

In the United States, as in many other countries, women constitute a majority in the communications field (Hon et al., 2001), but the Anglo-American *Velvet Ghetto* study showed that discrimination keeps women from having a managerial role (Cline et al., 1986). Gersh (1986) confirms the findings of the Velvet Ghetto study by adding that women are assumed to be ineffective managers. Dozier (1988) stated that having a technical role might even form a “ghetto” for some women in communication management. Hon et al. (2001) agreed with him that, although a technical role may be relatively transitory for many male practitioners, it seems to be relatively permanent for many females. The glass ceiling is expressed in a lack of organizational power (Hon et al., 2001). If this phenomenon does exist, it implies that female communication managers are excluded from organizational power.

In fact, a research conducted in The Netherlands (Van Ruler & de Lange, 2002) found that communication management is not considered an “emancipated” expertise at the highest organizational level, since only 32% of the organizations that participated in this research had a communication department that was visible in the organizational hierarchy and had its own structural budget. Even fewer (two-thirds of these) were also

placed at the top floor level. Therefore, in only very few organizations the function is so specific that it can justifiably claim the title of “Communication Management” and be regarded as a specialty at a strategic level. Feminist theory claims that the reason for this is the fact that women dominate the field and that they do not possess sufficient organizational power because of a glass ceiling (Van Ruler & de Lange, 2002).

Another aspect commonly known to hinder the career progress of female public relations practitioners is sexual harassment. Sexual harassment is neither new (Segrave, 1994) nor exclusive to a specific field or socioeconomic strata (Borger, 1993). One in three women and one in ten men claim they have undergone sexual harassment on the job (Bovet, 1993). Sexual harassment in the public relations workplace is no exemption. A survey conducted by Women Executives in Public Relations found sexual harassment of female public relations practitioners to be common (Bovet, 1993). Even though much has been written about sexual harassment, it has not been explored in depth in public relations (Serini, Toth, Wright & Emig, 1998, p. 193).

In a study on sexual harassment in public relations, female public relations practitioners pointed out that subtle, but harmful forms of sexual harassment are used to discriminate against them (Serini et al., 1998). Serini et al. (1998) argue that because female public relations practitioners must deal with discrimination, they are viewed secondarily as managers. In their words, female public relations practitioners are being given “titles without influence” (p. 194). According to O’Neil (2003), regarding the ability of female public relations practitioners to influence the strategic decisions of senior management, “if women, who represent the growing majority of the public relations field, are unable to actively participate in the negotiations that shape the

organization because they lack influence, then the worth and value of public relations will diminish” (O’Neil, 2003, p. 152).

According to Serini (1998, p. 194), research on sexual harassment in the public relations field is essential to public relations practitioners as well as to the organizations and societies they serve: “Public relations practitioners deal with sexual harassment not only from their perspective as professionals who have the potential to either harass or be harassed but also as professionals who offer counsel to management and who work with the organization to communicate internally and externally about sexual harassment policies and problems.” The latter comes in different shapes, which include speaking on behalf of the organization when confronted with sexual harassment claims in the public arena (Fitzpatrick & Rubin, 1995) and communicating sexual harassment policies to employees. More importantly, public relations contributes extensively to the overall organizational culture and workplace environment in which all employees of the organization interact daily (Serini et al., 1998, p. 194). Thus, as more women become public relations managers, their ability to work successfully in a harassment-free environment will influence the overall status and practice of the field (Serini et al., 1998, p. 193).

In a recent study on glass ceiling in public relations conducted by Wrigley (2002), women used a variety of concepts to talk about the glass ceiling: sex discrimination, denial of equal pay, denial of promotion, different treatment in the workplace for men and women, and men feeling threatened by women. “Clearly, they connected with the concept of a glass ceiling and could readily provide examples of experiences they or women they knew had, relative to a glass ceiling in the workplace” (Wrigley, 2002, pp.

47-48). This study identified five factors as possible contributors to the glass ceiling for women in public relations and communications management: 1) denial, 2) gender role socialization, 3) historical precedence, 4) women turning against other women, and 5) corporate culture (Wrigley, 2002, pp. 37-39).

Public relations claims to be a profession that strives to achieve mutual understanding. Yet, women in public relations have difficulty being treated equally in terms of advancement and salary (*PRWeek*, March 27, 2000, p. 29). That is why this theory is relevant to this study. Through this theory, the researcher attempts to analyze the impacts of the feminization of public relations. Key themes from the interviews will be analyzed in relation to the glass ceiling theory in order to answer the two research questions.

F. Role Congruity Theory

Another theory used in this study to analyze the impacts of the feminization of public relations is role congruity theory, which the researcher believes is the most elaborate attempt to theoretically model and empirically test the effect of gender differences on the effectiveness of compliance gaining strategies (Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Eagly, Karau, & Makhijani, 1995). Role congruity theory builds on three key propositions.

First, it assumes that the majority of beliefs about the sexes pertain to ‘communal’ and ‘agentic’ attributes:

“Communal characteristics, which are ascribed more strongly to women, describe primarily a concern with the welfare of other people – for example, affectionate,

helpful, kind, sympathetic, interpersonally sensitive, nurturing, and gentle. In contrast, agentic characteristics, which are ascribed more strongly to men, describe primarily an assertive, controlling, and confident tendency – for example, aggressive, ambitious, dominant, forceful, independent, self-sufficient, self-confident, and prone to act as a leader” (Eagly & Karau, 2002, p. 574).

Second, it argues that in order to be effective in their compliance gaining attempts, the behavior of men and women needs to be consistent with their gender roles. Thus, women using communal strategies are likely to be more successful in gaining compliance than women using agentic strategies, and the use of agentic strategies will be more disadvantageous for women than for men. A key difference between role congruity theory and other gender role theories is that it makes no assumptions about gender differences in the use of specific kinds of compliance gaining behaviors, but only that behaviors that are accepted for a man may not be accepted for a woman.

Third, women in leadership positions may find that their gender roles are likely to conflict with their managerial roles. To the degree that the managerial role a woman has to fill is agentic, the more likely she will elicit negative reactions and noncompliance from others because she deviates from her expected gender role. Consequently, “women in managerial positions can avoid negative reactions associated with taking a masculine-oriented role by combining the assertive, confident, and decisive behaviors required in this role with a more communal or feminine style” (Eagly & Karau, 2002).

Role congruity theory has been applied successfully to explain gender-related variations in the effectiveness of compliance gaining in organizational and experimental settings. Carli (2001) found that women have greater difficulty exerting influence than

men do, particularly when the influence tactic they use conveys competence and authority – traits that are usually attributed to male interpersonal behavior. Consequently, women are less influential when the influence or communication strategy they use is perceived as dominant (Carli, 2001).

An experimental study by Shackelford, Wood, and Worchel (1996) showed that women with a people-oriented style and competence exerted greater influence over men than did women who were merely competent. Atwater, Carey, and Waldman (2001) found that female managers engaging in ‘masculine oriented roles’ (e.g., delivering reprimands) were seen as less effective than male managers by their employees. Brett et al. (2005) showed that women are more effective than men if they use a ‘communal’ style of compliance gaining. The presented evidence supports the assumption that the use of ‘agentic’ strategies is seen as a traditionally masculine role (Brett et al., 2005).

As role incongruity is defined as a mismatch between a (communal) female gender role and an (agentic) managerial or leadership role, the researcher suggests that role congruity theory can be extended to the context of public relations practitioners. More specifically, the researcher argues that working women, in this case female public relations practitioners, experience incongruity between their gender role and their role as public relations managers (Hood, 1986).

The traditional provider role has predominantly agentic connotations: “The traditional good provider role took on negative connotations such as *distant, strict, harsh, authoritarian, bumbling, and incompetent ... putting priority of job over family...* Breadwinning was active, responsible, emotionally invested, demanding, expressive, and measured real devotion” (Christiansen & Palkovitz, 2001). Based on discourse analysis

of interviews with 45 white professional men, Riley (2003) concludes that despite social change in gender relations and the rise of egalitarian value systems, a legitimate successor to the male provider role has not yet emerged. The role of the provider defines success and status; 'real' work; and the legitimate mechanism for the production of male identity" (Riley, 2003). Furthermore, there is strong empirical evidence that women taking a provider role violate gender role expectations (Deutsch & Saxon, 1998; Tichenor, 2005). Though empirical evidence also shows a trend toward more egalitarian gender ideologies regarding family roles both in Europe (Ciabattari, 2001) and the U.S. (Zuo & Tang, 2000), this trend is slower and less pronounced for men, and exhibits considerable cross-national variation (Pfau-Effinger, 2004). In particular higher status men tend to disapprove of women sharing a provider role (Zuo & Tang, 2000).

From the perspective of role congruity theory, the highly agentic connotation of the provider role implies that working women will be likely to experience role incongruity between their (communal) female gender role and their (agentic) provider role. It follows that this role incongruity will affect the effectiveness of their compliance gaining strategies during intra-household time allocation conflicts. Working women using agentic compliance gaining strategies (e.g., forcing) enact the traditional agentic provider model, and will therefore be likely to elicit negative reactions and non-compliance from their male partners because by doing so they deviate from their communal gender role. Conversely, working women who instead use communal compliance gaining strategies (e.g., problem solving, accommodating) to resolve time allocation conflicts with their partner will be more successful in resolving the conflict to their advantage.

In this study, this theory is especially important to answer the first research question regarding the correlation between the practitioner's gender and the dominant public relations role. Moreover, this theory helps analyze whether 'female' leadership and 'male' leadership are regarded as equally effective. Therefore, key themes from the interview findings will also be analyzed in relation to the role congruity theory.

G. Conclusion and Discussion

Reducing uncertainty and increasing predictability about communication with others are confounding tasks. Sex roles in the society have shifted dramatically. For instance, men and women alike are taking longer to marry today than in past generations. More women are entering the workforce and more men are actively involving themselves in childrearing, so that even the very basic roles such as breadwinner, homemaker, childcare-giver, and the like have changed. As these roles evolve and the rules governing people's behavior keep changing, one may experience high uncertainty and low predictability, which results in confusion or even possibly disappointment.

Biological influences affect one's view of self. Social influences, as well as one's own attitudes about the appropriate roles that others should take in society, shape one's view of self. Based on these biological and social influences, one forms a psychological response – the gender identity – which is expressed in one's communication with others. Developing personal effectiveness in gender communication starts with introspection – with a long, hard look at one's self in terms of sex and gender identity. As one starts to understand more about the influences of gender on the communication process, one's

identity may begin to change, while another may become more comfortable with the current view of self, so that it becomes solid.

Most feminist social movements promote women's rights, interests, and issues. Early feminists and primary feminist movements are often called the first-wave feminists, and feminists after about 1960 the second-wave feminists. More recently, some younger feminists have identified themselves as third-wave feminists, although the second-wave feminists are still active. Several subtypes of feminist ideology have developed over the years.

The presence of decades of work in mass communication on gender topics exposes the challenges that feminists have made to dominant research topics, even though much of the work borrowed dominant research theories and methodologies. Where other communication theory and research ignored women, feminist work insisted on the significance of women as sources of content and as audiences in mass communication processes, so that it became difficult to pretend that gender was not an issue throughout mass communication. Some feminist work went further, using and developing feminist communication theory, to enrich the people's understanding of the complexity of reality, representation, ideology, and politics. Still, work remains to be done if feminist communication theory is going to provide the challenge that it could to the communications field and to local and global conditions.

In the 21st century, women have made great accomplishments in "leveling the playing field" between their roles and remuneration and those of their male counterparts. Women today head large corporations, especially in the high-tech area, where Carly Fiorina was recruited in 1999 to become CEO of powerful Hewlett-Packard; Meg

Whitman is given great credit as eBay's CEO; and Anne Mulcahy was named CEO by Xerox Corporation in 2001 and charged with the impressive task of rescuing that once-great company.

In public relations as well, women have increasingly graduated into middle-management and upper-management positions, particularly at public relations agencies. However, in the corporate area, a disparate number of men still hold top public relations jobs. Some disparities also may remain in remuneration in public relations and other fields.

To summarize briefly, in public relations and feminist research, there are two main perspectives on the sex differences in the field: The radical feminist approach and the liberal feminist approach. The radical feminist or individualist perspective suggests explanations that lie in the structural demands of organizations and society. Advocates point to male-dominated work environments, traditional sex roles, and the overall devaluation of women and women's work as main process of selection, channeling women into jobs and positions of less prestige and status. Women's discrimination is described as the "aimed product of patriarchal strategies of power and influence" (Heintz, Nadai, Fischer, & Ummel, 1997, p. 32). Accordingly, changes of social, organizational, and professional circumstances are claimed. In contrast, the liberal feminist approach, or structuralist perspective, focuses on individual, mostly socialized characteristics and preferences – this means processes of self-selection. Supposed less managerial skills (gender stereotypes) and alleged less interest in managerial tasks (socialized preferences, self-stereotyping) are said to explain sex differences. Women are assumed to have specific characteristics caused by gender-specific socialization processes that make them

more suitable for certain tasks (like communications) than others (like management). Accordingly, strategies to overcome the glass ceiling are mainly the individual's responsibility – namely, that women are recommended to adopt male characteristics and behavior. Others rejected this perspective as “blaming the victim” (Hon, 1995, p. 34).

A crucial first step is to discredit the myth that sexism is no longer a problem. Too many public relations practitioners, both men and women, are hesitant to talk about gender discrimination, possibly fearing that sexism will become a self-fulfilling prophecy. Still another group is in denial. However, neither of these approaches is effective. A more productive method would be acknowledging the persistence of gender discrepancies and seizing opportunities to raise other people's level of awareness.

Of course, sexism in public relations does not exist in isolation. Discrimination results from a societal power structure where women most of the times are still excluded. One way to combat this discrimination is by increasing women's political power at all levels of government. Women's political power also helps put issues on the public agenda that have been neglected for far too long, such as the need for a national family leave policy.

A major initiative at the organizational level is establishing guidelines for making the workplace more flexible. Research shows that employees and organizations benefit from a work environment that is supportive of employee needs. Flexibility is not just a way for organizations to be nice, however. Money is saved by reducing costs associated with employee stress, absenteeism, lateness, and turnover.

Flexibility is of limited value, though, until one disputes the assumption that workers who want and need time for their families are somehow less devoted to a career.

This assumption particularly troubles many women, given their uneven share of care-taking demands. Organizations should also start to value the feminine. This does not necessarily mean that all women act a certain way. However, many women approach their work and relationships at work differently than men typically have. Thus, an organization's recognizing and validating different leadership styles would be affirming for women.

Grunig, Toth, and Hon (2001) suggest "reassessing undergraduate education" as a solution to the glass ceiling problem in public relations. Grunig et al., (2001) emphasize such ideas as moving public relations education into schools of business and incorporating women's perspectives into the curriculum by encouraging more women academics to write textbooks. Since the "Torches of Freedom," a campaign created by Edward Bernays in 1929 that co-opted the values of feminism to increase the market share of a tobacco company, public relations as an occupation has allied itself with the values of the corporate world. Moving public relations education into business schools does not seem like the most innovative strategy to bring about equality for women working in the field. Perhaps a more radical recommendation would be to require courses in feminist studies and cultural studies in the core curriculum of a public relations degree.

This chapter is important in this study because it analyzes the center of the controversial debate in research on the feminization of public relations, which is marked by the interpretation of presumed gender differences. The two main questions are: 1. Whether, and to what extent, women and men are generally suited to public relations and 2. Women's and men's specific suitability for the two main public relations roles –

namely, the technical and the managerial role. Advocates of a model of female superiority in public relations argue that “feminist values” have a positive effect on professional public relations and the efficiency of public relations as a whole, which consequently would lead to a growing valuation of women, particularly at management level (Aldoory, 1998; Aldoory & Toth, 2001; Dozier, L.A. Grunig, & J.E. Grunig, 1995; L.A. Grunig et al., 2000; Rakow, 1989). But there are also voices that express concern about this essential stressing of “feminist values,” saying that they would actually reinforce the traditional gender role socialization and are of little help in changing the male-dominated status quo and structures (Wrigley, 2002; Fröhlich, 2004), and thus won’t have any positive effects on women’s development of self-concepts and rather simply lead women to another kind of self-deception.

This chapter has thoroughly explored the concepts of gender and feminism, including the various theories within. These theories serve as an introductory background to this study. Most importantly, results of this study will focus on the glass ceiling theory and role congruity theory, and will then be analyzed using a radical feminist perspective and a liberal feminist perspective.

Since this research seeks to analyze the effects of the feminization of the public relations industry in Indonesia, this chapter has been crucial and this topic will be further tackled through the interviews. However, because this research focuses on Indonesia, the following chapter will focus on the lives of women in Indonesia.

CHAPTER IV

WOMEN IN INDONESIA

After thoroughly analyzing the public relations industry in Indonesia and the concept of gender communications, in order to answer the research question, one still needs to fully understand the life of women in Indonesia. Therefore, this chapter discusses the status, role, labor force participation, and living patterns of women in Indonesia, starting from a discussion of how controversial it was for Indonesia to have a female president. This chapter will be concluded with a thorough explanation of feminism in Indonesia, which includes the very controversial history of its women's movement.

A. Indonesia's First Female President

In 2001, Indonesia appointed its fifth president – a woman. The politics around the appointment of Megawati Soekarnoputri into high office provoked issues of gender and politics into public focus. During the New Order period, gender relations and gender roles were a vital aspect of state control. Men and women had clearly identified roles that strengthened particular constructions of identity. More significantly, the public and private spheres were clearly – and artificially – separated, with women's roles restricted mainly to the private sphere. The ideal New Order woman was a mother, wife, and household manager (Suryakusuma, 1996).

There was barely any mention in the national media that only two years earlier the political elite of all colors had written her off as a potential president for Indonesia. Since

the end of 1998, and particularly from the time of the enormous success of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) in the 1999 elections through the installation of Abdurrahman Wahid as president, conservative Islamic and liberal intellectual leaders found numerous reasons to publicize why Soekarnoputri could not and should not become Indonesia's leader.

The Islamic argument, coming from sections of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and the United Development Party (PPP) had two main themes. The first is that Soekarnoputri was not from the Islamic community and, indeed, might be a Hindu. And the second argument, which received even more media coverage, was that a woman president was not acceptable under Islam. Reiterated by numerous senior NU figures, this perspective was based on the *hadis* interpretation, which translates roughly as: "A community that makes a woman its leader will not prosper" (Ulil, 1999, p. 156).

Nurcholis Madjid, an internationally respected liberal Muslim thinker, summarized Soekarnoputri's weaknesses in a long interview with *Forum Keadilan*, just before the 1999 election. First, as a woman, she was not acceptable to Muslims. Second, her policies were not acceptable to the global media: she did not want to condemn Soeharto, she did not want to question the dual function of the military, and she saw East Timor as an integral part of Indonesia (Sen, 2002).

When Wahid and Soekarnoputri took office as president and vice president in October 1999, the Jakarta-based national media almost collectively portrayed this as the dream team, but only because the politics of the Central Axis had managed to control the threats that Soekarnoputri and her team had represented. By January 2001, it had become clear that Wahid would not last beyond the August session of the People's Consultative

Assembly (MPR). The intellectual and religious oppositions on Soekarnoputri had not been revised, but Wahid had stopped being a credible president, and the only constitutionally legitimate alternative was for the vice president to take over (Sen, 2002).

The national press seemed to be relieved when Soekarnoputri took office on July 23, yet the international media remained skeptical. A blind cleric had been replaced by a not-so-clever housewife – neither are particularly powerful symbols of power in the West (Sen, 2002). The international media had always been comparing Soekarnoputri unfavorably with other female political figures in Asia such as Corazon Aquino, Aung San Suu Kyi, and even Benazir Bhutto. Soekarnoputri shares many of their political disadvantages – like Aquino, she was a ‘mere housewife,’ like Suu Kyi, her charisma is actually merely ‘reflected glory from her father,’ like Bhutto, she is weighed down by a ‘husband who is a liability.’ Nonetheless, Soekarnoputri possessed none of the redeeming qualities that make these women beloved by the Western media: She did not speak English fluently, and had not been ‘westernized’ in her social behavior as others were by long years of living in England and America. Western journalists have always written sniggeringly of her personal style (Sen, 2002).

At her first cabinet meeting on August 13, Soekarnoputri issued a tough policy agenda with authority. Her policy initiatives were welcomed as bold, and even the highly patriarchal media reacted by saying that Soekarnoputri had been underestimated (see, for instance, Schumann, 2001). Following her first state of the nation address on August 15, the editorial of *Kompas* newspaper restated that earlier widespread comment about the president’s low intellectual capability appeared to have been a mistake (August 18, 2001). It is obvious that when Soekarnoputri does something right, her sex is not

mentioned; at times like these, the media and critics seem to consider the presidency to be gender-neutral. However, when her statements are considered weak or when problems arise, her sex is given emphasis (Oey-Gardiner, 2002).

Despite its heavily patriarchal system, Indonesia has had its first woman president, Megawati Soekarnoputri. The debates surrounding her elevation to the presidency brought issues of gender and politics to the forefront of the public agenda, raising crucial questions about the role that women are to play in public life in post-Soeharto Indonesia. The struggle to achieve a democratic transition following the fall of Soeharto's New Order in 1998 has also focused attention on issues of equity and justice, including gender equity and gender justice. The controversy of having a woman as the leader is an important aspect in this study as the glass ceiling theory describes the barriers that women encounter when trying to reach the top, barriers that men do not encounter. These barriers, as well as perceptions of Indonesians toward female leaders, will also be discussed in the interview findings.

In order to understand more the reasons for such perceptions toward female leaders, the following sections explore gender relations in Indonesia and present an overview of the political, social, cultural, and economic situation of Indonesian women. It has to be noted, however, that this study focuses more on women in urban areas, and that the public relations industry in Indonesia is a microcosm of urban Indonesia, not a depiction of all Indonesia.

B. The Status and Role of Indonesian Women

The movements for the betterment of women's role and status in Indonesia began long ago. In each historical period—colonial, post-independence, New Order, and post-New Order—the women's movement has revealed its own enthusiasm, whether the initiative has emerged from the people or from the government. The movement was founded by a spirit of struggle—against polygamy, and for the education of women. Since 1999, when the era of transition to democracy began, the main agenda has changed to empowering women to achieve gender equity and equality (Parawansa, 2002).

All through its history, Indonesia has had women leaders who were renowned for their wisdom, and tough queens who ruled over their kingdoms for extended periods, including Tri Buana Tungga Dewi; and a few well known women who participated actively in the fight against colonialism, among them Cut Nyak Dien, Cut Mutiah, and Nyi Ageng Serang (Parawansa, 2002). Their initiatives have improved the quality of Indonesian women's lives and opened up new opportunities for women in the public domain. However, it is still the case that women bear primary responsibility for the family and household. Non-government organizations have an important role to play in the advancement of women. Their numbers have expanded greatly in the post-New Order era; they now reach many more women than before; and they have built up capacity over a far broader spectrum of issues. Most concentrate on a particular area, such as protection of women's rights, elimination of violence against women, provision of crisis and trauma centers, assisting women migrant workers, or lobbying for political and legislative change (Hermawati, 2001).

The democratic values introduced under Soeharto's successor, B.J. Habibie, were continued by Abdurrahman Wahid in 1999-2000. As a democrat, he disseminated the need to empower civil society by letting people manage their own affairs. The monetary crisis and general economic crisis that followed led to the collapse of many of the conglomerates that had dominated Indonesia's economic activities since the mid-New Order era. Micro-, small-, and medium-scale economic units, whose endurance had been tested by hardship, now received greater government attention. The number of women entrepreneurs – who tend to be engaged mainly in micro and small enterprises – increased (Cameron, 2002, p. 145).

The opening of the transition period gave Indonesians the opportunity to reposition themselves. This has certainly been true of the relationship between women and men. Freedom of speech encouraged people to express their opinions and aspirations, especially in urban areas. Consequently, the number of NGOs representing women's interests and demands has greatly increased.

However, in the social system of Indonesia with its strong patriarchal values, women bear the heaviest burden in the existing condition. Women, who comprise 51% of the Indonesian population, have to struggle enormously in facing poverty, violence, and injustice daily. Women's concerns are most often put aside in public discourse because the government and the community consider these problems exclusively females' problems, irrelevant to the developing political context. Political and economic discussions commonly ignore women as political and economic agents in the Indonesian system. Consequently, improvement of women's living conditions is somewhat slow compared with that of the other community members (Zulminarni, 2001).

A new approach based on gender analysis was introduced in the 1999 GBHN. This stated that “empowering women is achieved by improving women’s role and status in national life through national policy implemented by institutions that struggle for the actualization of gender equality and justice,” and sets the goal to “improve the quality and the role and self-reliance of women’s organizations by maintaining the value of integration and the historical value of women’s struggle in continuing to empower women and society” (Parawansa, 2002, p. 72).

The methods to achieve these goals have not yet been developed, and to date the implementation of laws to protect women has been gender-biased. Penalties for rape, for example, tend to be minimal, and there is no law on witness protection in rape cases. The Women’s Ministry has compiled a book of jurisprudence on violence against women to be used as a reference work in court verdicts on this matter.

In the health field, even though it tends to decrease compared with previous years, the maternal mortality rate is still relatively high and the worst in the Southeast Asia region, with a 334 deaths per 100,000 live births ratio. Most of the time, the death cause is related to pregnancy problems such as bleeding, poisoning, and infection. Poverty has prevented pregnant women from access to health services and has caused malnutrition. This condition is preceded by a level of infant mortality rate that also remains high, with 46 per 1000 births (Zulminarni, 2001).

Abortion is legally restricted in Indonesia and only allowed to save a mother’s life. Statistics on abortion in Southeast Asia indicates that legal prohibition does not prevent abortions, it only makes them unsafe because illegal and high-risk abortions are often performed. A large percentage of maternal deaths are linked to unsafe abortions.

Indonesia currently has the highest maternal death rate in the Southeast Asia region, reaching 307 per 100,000 births. In comparison, the rate in Singapore is 6, Malaysia 39, Thailand 44, and in the Philippines 170 per 100,000 births (Arivia, 2006).

To enhance the role of women in national development, the Indonesian government established the State Ministry for the Empowerment of Women, which attempted to facilitate the improvement of the status of women in the family and in the society and women's participation in Indonesia's development (Hermawati, 2001). In fact, as mentioned earlier, Megawati Soekarnoputri replaced Wahid on July 23, 2001, and became Indonesia's first female president (Richburg, 1999).

The change of name in 1999 from State Ministry for the Role of Women to State Ministry for Women's Empowerment indicated a renewed resolution to achieve more just treatment for women in the family, society, and nation. Among the challenges facing the ministry are patriarchal social values embedded in such legislation as the Marriage Law, Law on Citizenship, and Law on Population, particularly in the national family planning program. About 29 laws are acknowledged to be gender-biased (Hermawati, 2001). The 1974 marriage law, for instance, contains articles that permit men (but not women) to commit polygamy but not women, in the case of a wife's infertility or inability to perform her 'wifely duties,' and also allow girls aged 16 to marry, even though in other statutes such girls are considered to be children. Furthermore, the regional autonomy policy created discriminative regulations against women, such as the 2005 regulation in Tangerang, Banten, which stipulates that any woman seen alone in public after 7 p.m. could be considered a prostitute and thus be arrested, as well as the various regional laws,

such as the one in Malang, which requires women to obtain permission from their husbands to work at night (Hermawati, 2001).

Such patriarchal values are also evident in the bureaucratic structure, both civil and military. Women hold only 7 percent of executive positions in the civil service (that is, echelons I and II) – and there are very few high-ranking women in the military. In politics, women's representation stands at about 9.2 percent in the legislature (DPR) and 9 percent in the general assembly (MPR) (Parawansa, 2002, p. 73).

In Indonesia, religious teachings have always strongly influenced the society's mindset and way of life. Unfortunately, many *ulama* (Muslim religious scholars), preachers and religious leaders do not have enlightened views on gender. It is not clear whether regional autonomy, implemented from January 1, 2001, will restrain women's advancement or open up new channels for them to communicate their aspirations to a closer, local level of government. One of the unexpected consequences of decentralization has been the proposal in a few regions – such as West Sumatra and East Java – to introduce regulations to prevent women going out at night, supposedly for safety reasons (Parawansa, 2002, p. 73).

The revived Women's Ministry has been working together actively with women's organizations, political parties, NGOs, religious organizations, professional associations, and other institutions with an interest in women's affairs. One of the most important outcomes has been the National Plan of Action to empower women, starting from 2000 to 2004. The plan covers five key areas: (1) improving women's quality of life, (2) raising awareness of justice and equity issues nationwide, (3) eliminating violence against

women, (4) protecting the human rights of women, and (5) strengthening women's institutions (Parawansa, 2002, p. 73).

Women's institutions are a vital medium for increasing community participation in gender equity programs. A network of religious women has been established to raise awareness of issues related to gender equity and justice, and of the danger of drugs. The State Ministry for Women's Empowerment has fortified its collaboration with women's studies centers, and there are now 84 such centers in state and private universities throughout Indonesia. It has also welcomed NGO involvement in its working groups – in training, research, and other activities such as *Hari Ibu* (Mother's Day) celebrations (Parawansa, 2002, 74-5).

The State Ministry for Women's Empowerment has openly challenged the norm in which young unmarried women have been forced to discontinue their studies after becoming pregnant. This issue has created much public controversy because some people feel that allowing these young women to return to school would undermine moral values. However, the Ministry of Education has responded positively to this argument that these young mothers would be better equipped to provide for themselves and their babies if they could finish their education. As well as the economic benefits, this would help boost their self-esteem and these young women could get on with their lives (Parawansa, 2002).

Still, in times of economic distress, parents often take their daughters out of school first because girls are expected to replace their mothers in their household duties when these mothers take up paid work outside the house. In some areas in Indonesia such as Pulau Buru, sexist traditions still play a major role in society. Practices such as

kawin piara are common among the indigenous people, where daughters as young as eight years old are married to older men. Young girls basically are treated as commodities (Arivia, 2006).

C. Labor Force Participation

This section explains the labor market experiences of Indonesian women, especially during and after the financial crisis in 1997. Specifically, it describes in what way women's experiences have differed from men's experiences.

Preceding studies of the labor market impact of the financial crisis that occurred in Indonesia, and the rest of Asia, since 1997 have shown that because of the large decreases in real labor income, labor force participation increased between 1997 and 1999, and that women's labor market participation increased to a bigger magnitude than men's (Sigit & Surbakti, 1999; Gilligan et al., 2003). The national figures demonstrate a rather small increase in participation for both women and men between 1997 and 1999, of 1.5 and 1.4 percentage points respectively. This translates into an addition of approximately two million people to the workforce over this period. Urban areas, more specifically in Java, were more severely affected because of their strong formal labor market. The low value of the Rupiah led to chaos, which resulted in various lay-offs in the financial sector, the construction sector, and the formal manufacturing sector. On the other hand, the export-oriented agricultural sector profited from its increased competitive advantage, and some rural areas, particularly in the outer islands, also profited from the 'crisis.' Even though the crisis may not have had a direct unfavorable effect on rural

areas, it did have an indirect effect through the return of villagers who had been laid off in the cities, and also through the massive increase of prices (Cameron, 2002).

Obviously, the financial crisis increased unemployment. The number of unemployed increased more noticeably among men than among women. Prior to the financial crisis, unemployment was highest among women. During the crisis, male unemployment in urban Java increased from 7.6 percent in 1997 to a high of 11.4 percent in 1999. Female unemployment also increased, but by a smaller 1.9 percent. By 1999, male unemployment rates were higher than female employment rates in Java, although still lower nationally (Cameron, 2002).

In industries where women and men work side by side, gender-biased retrenchments can result in the women being forced into unemployment. For instance, women were widely laid off before men in Korea during the crisis. However, Oey-Gardiner and Dharmaputra (1998) report that there is little evidence of this happening in Indonesia. Nevertheless, women may have been retained because they are usually paid significantly less than men, and this offers companies cost savings. The government was largely criticized because of the fact that its public works programs were originally not open to women. In reaction to this criticism, at least 20 percent of new jobs under these programs were to be allocated to women, but even though these programs are now theoretically open to women, their emphasis on manual labor serves as an understood barrier to women's involvement (Cameron, 2002).

The participation of Indonesian women in labor migration, especially to work as domestics, has attracted considerable controversy in Indonesia, especially among religious and women's groups. Numerous cases of mistreatment, excessively heavy

workloads, abuse, rape, and sexual harassment have notoriously received media coverage. However, this media coverage had little apparent impact in discouraging the level of demand among Indonesian women to work overseas (Hugo, 2002). An increasing number of NGOs in Indonesia are becoming involved in providing support services to female labor migrants and in lobbying the government to improve support and protection for them. Without a doubt, there needs to be greater commitment to the protection of overseas contract workers at each stage of the labor migration process (Hugo, 2002).

While some Indonesian women indeed improve their status as a result of labor migration, not all are so empowered. Many simply exchange one patriarchal structure (in their home village) for another in the destination country; others – particularly domestic servants and sex workers – are caught in unequal power relationships with their employers. Some women succeed only in enhancing the economic status of their family, without experiencing any increase in their own overall status. This would appear to be particularly the case for women working as domestic servants in the Middle East (Adi, 1996).

Underrepresentation of women in the labor force participation may not be the case in public relations. Indeed, as discussed before, the vast majority of public relations practitioners is female, and thus public relations is often considered a feminine profession. In fact, one may say that in the public relations industry, women are overrepresented. Nevertheless, this explanation gives a crucial background to this study, especially because some scholars consider such overrepresentation and feminization of

the industry bad for the industry as a whole. The findings from the interviews will thus discuss these impacts.

D. Living Patterns of Young Women

It has been customary in Indonesia that young women lived at home until they married. The young couple then would usually live with either her or his parents for a couple of years before moving into their own home. However, trends in several crucial background factors changed this customary trend. These factors included rising education, rising marriage age and self-arrangement of marriages, and rising labor force participation rates. Having described the labor force participation of women in Indonesia, the researcher felt the need to give a brief description of their lifestyles prior to focusing on feminism in Indonesia.

In just a decade, between 1980 and 1990, the number of women aged 20 to 24 who had not completed primary school has been reduced from 58 to 27 percent, while the number of women who had completed upper secondary school or had a tertiary education increased from 8 to 26 percent. Young women turning 20 to 24 in 1990 had been in primary school in the second half of the 1970s, at a time when primary schooling was expanding very rapidly. Clearly, these women continued on into upper secondary education in much larger numbers than the cohorts that had preceded them. The rise of education was very widespread in both rural and urban areas, and in all regions of the country. In 1993, a policy to make nine years' education mandatory was introduced, although this cannot be enforced because of a lack of school places (Robinson & Bessell, 2002).

The proportion of young women in Indonesia remaining single at any given age is still much lower than in surrounding countries. For example, in 1990, among women aged 30 to 40, 13.4 percent remained single in the Philippines, 14.1 percent in Thailand and 15.8 percent among Chinese in Peninsular Malaysia, but only 4.5 percent in Indonesia. This may suggest that parent-arranged marriages – which generally favors early marriages in order to protect the family reputation – remain more common in Indonesia than in these neighboring countries. While the role of parents in deciding marriage partners for their children does indeed appear to be more common in Indonesia, it has declined greatly compared with earlier times (Robinson & Bessell, 2002).

Involvement in the workplace is closely linked to trends in both education and marriage. More and more well-educated women in urban areas face greater ‘opportunity costs’ of not being in the workforce, although participation rates for those with only a lower secondary education tend to be lower than for both the poorly educated and the well educated. This is probably because the work opportunities available to such women are not particularly appealing, and because many of them are from rather conservative lower-middle-class groups (Robinson & Bessell, 2002).

The Global March Against Child Labor in 2002 reported that 1 million Indonesians were trafficked that year. The Ministry of Women’s Empowerment of Indonesia states that 20 percent of women migrant workers are victims of trafficking. The Indonesian National Police have reported that the trafficking destinations, or receiving countries, are mainly Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, Australia, Thailand, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Japan, Korea, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Europe. The sending areas in Indonesia are primarily Jakarta, Central Java, Yogyakarta, East Java, Bali, North

Sumatra, Riau and South Sumatra. Transit cities in Indonesia are Medan, Batam, Tanjung Pinang, Lampung, Jakarta, Pontianak, and Makassar (Arivia, 2006).

Today, it is the women who hold upper secondary or tertiary education degrees whose workforce participation is high and rising. These women have more appealing job prospects, and in many cases have a paid servant (primarily female) at home to ease the burden of working and raising a family. Female labor force participation rates in urban areas of Indonesia have historically been below those in most parts of East and Southeast Asia. In 1971, Indonesian women's participation in the labor force was actually much below those in urban areas of Korea, Taiwan, Malaysia or Singapore. Moreover, in subsequent years, rates in these other countries increased faster, but there was only a modest rise in Indonesia's rate (Robinson & Bessell, 2002).

The previous sections have explained the status and role of Indonesian women, the labor force participation of women in Indonesia, and the living patterns of young women. It has been described that even though women tend to be underrepresented in the labor market, today more women hold upper secondary or tertiary education degrees. Thus, their participation in the workforce is rising and they have more appealing job prospects, and in many cases have a servant at home to ease the burden of working and raising a family. These descriptions serve as important background in analyzing the impacts of the feminization of the public relations industry in Indonesia. And since feminist theory is an important part of this research, the following section seeks to describe feminism in Indonesia, because as public relations in Indonesia is somewhat different from that in other countries, so is feminism.

E. Feminism in Indonesia

Since 1998, when Indonesia began its transition toward a more democratic society, many women's groups have been working actively on women's rights issues within the context of feminism. Consequently, the application of feminist ideas has become more visible, although in Indonesia, feminism and women's rights are still the concern of a relatively small group of women and some men.

At the start of the 21st century, feminism remains problematic for many Indonesians, especially those who are not directly concerned with women's issues or who are not familiar with the development of feminism in the north or in Asian countries such as India, the Philippines, or Malaysia. The terms 'feminism,' 'feminist,' and even 'gender' are still questioned by the majority of Indonesians. They are considered by many to be non-indigenous concepts that are irrelevant to Indonesian values. Certain assumptions remain common: Feminism is a Western or northern concept; it is anti-men; it perceives men to be the source of all gender inequity; it promotes the acceptance of lesbianism, and so forth. This is despite the fact that the principle of gender equality is embodied in Article 27 of the 1945 Constitution and in other basic laws of the Republic of Indonesia (Sadli, 2002).

Shortly before the Beijing conference in 1996, women's issues became hot topics in Indonesian mass media. Feminism ignited polemics. Both its defenders and accusers struggled with the question of whether feminism is anti-family, and therefore not congruent with religious values. The 'devastating' consequences of adopting feminism were often linked to some unflattering images about the West, particularly the USA, for instance, the disintegration of the American family and the degeneration of American

sexual morality (Budianta, 2000). Indonesian writings that question the implementation of human rights often indicate the concern that “securing human rights means adopting liberalism, making people individualistic, egotistic, and thus disrupting the spirit of togetherness and solidarity” (Suseno, 1994).

The Indonesian women’s movement, generally regarded as a social movement to voice the concerns of Indonesian women, surfaced early in the 20th century concurrently with the nationalist movement. Both movements were nourished by similar forces of socio-economic growth (especially urbanization), modern education, improved communications, and contact with international ideas. Early Indonesian feminism’s (or proto-feminism) best known advocate was R.A. Kartini, a woman whose life was altered by ideas obtained from a Western education, ideas that generated dissatisfaction and ambitions for greater autonomy for women. Women began to form modern organizations to pursue their aspirations, and to air new views and concerns in the press (Blackburn, 2001).

The women’s movement was barely under way when it was taken over by the nationalist movement, and this was apparent at the first Women’s Congress in 1928. Most participants framed their speeches in a nationalist theme, connecting the pursuit of women’s interests to those of national unity and independence, which was not always a comfortable combination. Some speakers were more concerned with such issues of particular interests to women as schooling and early marriage, than they were with nationalism. Others were at heated arguments with one another, contradicting the pursuit of national unity. Most of the disagreements were religious (Blackburn, 2001).

However, numerous women's organizations persevered in trying to create a united nationalist women's movement. Various federations and umbrella organizations dominated the movement in the following decades, and today's federation, Kowani, the Indonesian Women's Congress, is part of this history. These organizations were usually based on the ideal of Indonesian national unity, which was often considered more important than the women's issues. Issues that generated disagreement among member organizations, particularly differences between Islamic and non-Islamic women's groups, were discouraged (Blackburn, 2001).

In the 1930s, the most radical women's organization of the day, Isteri Sedar, left the women's federation due to issues perceived to be sensitive to Muslims. Isteri Sedar felt that the single most important issue was the need to provide greater equity in marriage for Islamic women, particularly in current practices in the Islamic courts, which permitted child marriage, arbitrary divorce of wives by their husbands, and husbands' unrestricted right to marry up to four wives. Nevertheless, the Indonesian Women's Congress chose to downplay this issue in order to maintain harmony with religious groups that opposed changes they believe undermined Islamic family law (Blackburn, 2001).

Accepting nationalism as a foundation not only inferiorated some women's concerns in favor of preserving unity, but also obtained the women's movement the hostility of the Dutch colonial government, which was otherwise rather sympathetic toward its objective to improve the situation of Indonesian women. Nevertheless, adopting nationalism also assisted the women's movement in many aspects. It gained the support of the male-led nationalist movement, which was crucial in the longer run, when

Indonesia finally gained its independence in 1945. Women's support for the armed struggle for independence in the period 1945-49 won the women's movement additional favors. The democratic government of the new republic easily granted all kinds of legal rights to women in such matters as the right to vote, constitutional equality, and equal pay in the civil service (Blackburn, 2001).

Still, the main concern of the women's movement in independent Indonesia, which is uniform marriage law, was disregarded by the male-dominated political system, fearing, quite reasonably, that focusing on that issue would stimulate the anger of Islamic parties. When President Soekarno gained power in the late 1950s and early 1960s, nationalism became growingly vociferous and overwhelmed the women's movement. One of the few mass-based women's organizations of the time, Gerwani, sold out its principal concerns in favor of pursuing Soekarno's support through a strongly anti-imperialist orientation, as instructed by the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), with which it was aligned (Blackburn, 2001).

Gerwani (from Gerakan Wanita Indonesia, Indonesian Women's Movement) was an organization of communist women active in Indonesia in the 1950s and 1960s. The organization was founded in 1950, and had more than 650,000 members in 1957. Its predecessor, Gerwis, was founded in June 1950 when six existing women's organizations based in the island of Java united; other organizations from different parts of Indonesia joined the group over the next few years. It established offices around the country, and was headquartered in Semarang, which was then known as the "Red City" due to its many leftist organizations (Martyn, 1997).

Even though Gerwani was closely affiliated with the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI), it was nonetheless an independent organization concerned with an array of socialist and feminist issues, including marriage law reform, labor rights, and Indonesian nationalism. On a local scale, Gerwani provided individual support to women who had been abused or abandoned by their husbands. Early campaigns focused on reforming Indonesia's legal system to make women and men equal under the law. Much emphasis was placed on marriage laws, which prioritized local customs that in many places restricted women's ability to inherit property or to resist involuntary polygamous marriages. While much of the early membership was drawn from the middle class, the organization also reached out to the working class and peasantry (Martyn, 1997).

By the early 1960s, Gerwani was participating in national politics. Its association to the PKI became closer, and the feminist aspects of its activism decreased. The organization also became a strong supporter of President Soekarno, whom it respected for his nationalism and his socialist policies, in spite of internal disagreement over the President's polygamous marriages. The organization had a peak of about 1.5 million members in 1965 (Martyn, 1997).

After an alleged coup d'etat on September 30, 1965, in which seven military generals were killed, Gerwani was banned along with most other leftist groups and many of its members were killed. The Army accused Gerwani members of having killed the generals, dancing naked, castrating the men, and engaging in other similar depravity. Under President Soeharto, the organization became a frequently mentioned example of immorality and disorder in the pre-1965 era. Most of today's historians agree these

accusations were false. Thousands of Gerwani members were raped and killed as part of the counterattack against leftist organizations that followed (Martyn, 1997).

Nevertheless, why is the history of Gerwani still unknown to most Indonesians? Who really were the women of Gerwani and what were their politics? These were among the questions that inspired Saskia Wieringa (2002) as she embarked on years of research about the Indonesian women's movement. In her book, Sexual Politics in Indonesia (2002), Wieringa begins by outlining the growth of the Indonesian women's movement from its beginnings in the 1920s through the Soekarno period, investigating influences such as feminism, Marxism, and nationalism. She examines Gerwani's thoughts of gender and womanhood, and how these developed as the organization's early feminism submitted to more rigid nationalist and Marxist ideals. Wieringa (1995) argues that "Soeharto rose to power by creating a campaign of unprecedented violence, legitimized by accusations of sexual debauchery allegedly committed by members of Gerwani," and added, "The New Order is not only built on the deaths of an estimated million innocent people who were massacred in the last months of 1965 and the first months of 1966, but also on the suppression of the power women had acquired in the preceding decade, a power which their adversaries conceived of through sexual metaphors" (Wieringa, 1995).

Wieringa (2001) challenges the story of Gerwani members castrating and brutally killing the generals on the night of September 30, and argues that this information was deliberately disseminated by the military to justify eliminating the communist threat. She offers statements from women that contradict that of the military, and warns readers that the autopsy report published by Benedict Anderson in 1987 indicates that the bodies of the generals did not indicate signs of sexual mutilation.

Wieringa (2002) also elaborates the concept of ‘militant motherhood’ to describe Gerwani’s type of feminism. Gerwani promoted equality for women, yet also accepted the common belief in women’s ‘natural’ difference from men. Gerwani illustrated the Javanese *wayang* (puppet) character Srikandi to combine militant activism with the traditional belief that women’s primary role is as mothers. Militant motherhood is a perception that feminist scholarship frequently mentions, but seldom explains. In *Sexual Politics* (2002), Wieringa argued that Gerwani promoted quite a conservative morality, giving emphasis to monogamous marriage and heterosexuality while condemning prostitution, forced marriage, and rock music.

Though modern feminism is clearly a broad term that includes various and often opposing ideas, many feminists reject the idea that motherhood or biological imperatives define a woman. However, for Gerwani such a viewpoint was almost unthinkable. Thus, Gerwani’s militant motherhood differentiates its idea of feminism from the more rigid Western definitions of feminism (Wieringa, 2002).

According to former first lady Sinta Nuriyah Abdurrahman Wahid, the root of much discrimination against women rests in an incorrect interpretation of the Islamic teachings. In 1998, she set up a group of Islamic scholars and social activists to research gender bias in a religious text that is widely used in Indonesian Koran schools. According to Wahid, the classical text was written at the end of the 19th century and generously quotes teachings from the Muslim tradition, the Hadith. It is taught in Koran schools all over Indonesia and is extremely unfavorable toward women: “For example, it states that a wife who steals from her husband is worse than 70,000 thieves. In that case, a woman is better off if she just becomes a thief” (van Doorn-Harder, 2001, para. 12).

Wahid claims that the condition of women is closely related to their social level. “In the lower classes, all are poor, but there is some kind of equal division of tasks. Men and women are working together to make a living. They both take care of children, and important decisions for the household are made together. There is, however, a trend to give preference to boys when it comes to schooling.” (Van Doorn-Harder, 2001, para. 6). Regarding polygamy, Wahid says, “It still happens a lot in Indonesia, especially in circles that are financially well off. In principle the Koran allows a Muslim man to marry up to four women. This rule was revealed in the Arab society at a time when men married far more than four women. So the rule originally curtails the number of women allowed” (van Doorn-Harder, 2001, para. 7).

As mentioned earlier, most Indonesian feminists do not consider themselves feminists in the same sense as feminists in the West. As Wahid says, “I am a feminist according to Indonesia’s state ideology of Pancasila. This means that I base my actions on my belief as a Muslim, but also accept the other religions that are present in Indonesia. Furthermore, I strive for democracy and equal rights for all. My goal is equality between men and women, since it says in the Koran that men and women are each other’s helpers” (Van Doorn-Harder, 2001, para. 4). Wahid adds that it is difficult for Indonesians to discuss issues like violence against women and abuse in the family, “Many women think that their husbands are allowed to beat them. Talking about this is taboo, since it is considered a family secret. If a woman comes out and admits that her husband abuses her, she is dishonoring her whole family” (Van Doorn-Harder, 2001, para. 9).

When Soekarno’s autocracy disastrously collapsed, “Soeharto’s regime set about ‘cleansing’ the women’s movement by outlawing and demonizing radical groups like

Gerwani. It exerted strict control over the women's federation, Kowani, exploiting it for its own development purposes" (Blackburn, 2001, para. 14). The New Order enhanced the role of the 'wives' organizations,' such as Dharma Wanita (the wives of state employees), and established a new mass-based organization, the Family Guidance Welfare Movement, or PKK. Aside from strictly non-political religious groups, the PKK was the only organization allowed to recruit village women as members. PKK helped execute such official development plans as the family planning program, which arguably benefited rural women by providing them with inexpensive or free contraceptives, although not without considerable pressure and lack of adequate information or a broad range of choices (Blackburn, 2001).

This is, in fact, the reason why Wieringa (1995) became interested in the history Gerwani. In the late 1970s, she was struck by the docility and the level of male dominance of the major women's organizations in Indonesia, especially the organizations of government wives (Dharma Wanita) and of wives of military men (Dharma Pertiwi), as well as the state-sponsored, nationwide organization of Family Welfare Guidance (PKK). Wieringa (1995) claimed that she subsequently learnt that these organizations were built on the ruins of a history of active and independent women's organizations—rebuilt by the military to resubordinate Indonesian women (Wieringa, 1995).

In 1974, the authoritarian New Order granted the women's movement what it had long desired, a uniform marriage law that offered women more legal protection and certainty in marriage than the large majority of them had previously had under the considerably unsupervised and exclusively male-run Islamic legal system. Since 1974, the religious courts have been heavily under the government's control. Women have

repeatedly been appointed as judges, and decisions, especially about divorce and polygamy, are less arbitrary and weighted against wives. Certainly, the Marriage Law was also useful to a government seeking to establish its development plans on small, stable families. Some may also consider this a trade-off for getting the women's movement to provide unpaid labor for the government's development strategy (Blackburn, 2001).

After Soeharto's dictatorship, the women's movement, like everything else in Indonesia, was in transition. Nationalism and developmentalism lost their ideological grip. Regional diversity and even separatism were emphasized. The Jakarta circles, also within the women's movement, had to retreat in order to avoid accusations of dominance. These differences emerged at the women's congress of December 1998, which some considered an effort to unify women's organizations under an alternative umbrella, much like Kowani. Triumphalist developmentalism took a beating. PKK and the wives' organization Dharma Wanita, its main channels within the women's movement, struggled to regroup. No widespread ideology appeared likely to gain dominance. Instead, there were competing paradigms, including human rights, Islam, and international feminism. The movement disintegrated, and any effort to create a strong umbrella organization looked likely to fail (Blackburn, 2001).

In conclusion, under the Soeharto regime, feminism in Indonesia was suppressed and progressive women's organizations banned. Now, with more democratic space opening up, women are once again starting to organize and fight for their rights. But what is feminism in Indonesia is not always the same as the feminism found in Western literatures. Feminism in Indonesia is deeply affected by Indonesia's history, Pancasila

ideology, culture, and religions, especially Islam. Therefore, this discussion about feminism in Indonesia is essential to this study.

F. Conclusion and Discussion

As in most countries, the status of women in Indonesia is lower than that of men. However, there is a movement for the improvement of the status of women and a drive for a more gender-equal society. Islam's influence on the status of women is not as discriminatory as it is in other Muslim countries. Women's rights are recognized in terms of property and inheritance rights. In this area women have relative equality with men, particularly in urban areas.

Many urban women are now educated and able to work outside the home. Many women hold positions in government and this proportion is making improvements continuously. As in most countries, including the United States, the wage that women receive is lower than that given for men. However, the difference in wage rates reduces as educational levels for women increase. There have been some problems with women and pregnancy as some companies dismiss women while they are on maternity leave.

The women's movement is moving with the needs of women. In general, middle class and urban women have made significant achievements and women are able to do many things compared to previous times. Education among women is widespread, employment is accessible, and legal rights hold a protectionist power for women to utilize if need be. The movement has shifted from a nationalism and developmentalism ideology to one that is diverse and represents the desires of the different women of Indonesia.

There is no longer one common charge, rather different fights for different issues from human rights to religion. Many say this new diversity is good and beneficial for the women of Indonesia, who still face many obstacles. What is important is that the women's movement was able to gain momentum under the nationalist policy and Indonesian women came to play a very important role in the country's economic development efforts. Women's economic activities, especially those belonging to the poorer segment of the population, have been closely associated with their responsibilities in the family (Hermawati, 2001). The labor force rates of Indonesian women in the agriculture, manufacturing industries, and service sectors are also high. In the university level, the female participation rate in 1999 was almost equal to the male rate at 48 percent (Hermawati, 2001). However, as in many other nations, some Indonesian women still face problems such as domestic violence and gender discrimination in the workplace (Hermawati, 2001).

Women were sheltered somewhat from the full economic crisis impact due to their under-representation in the formal sector of the economy. Women did, however, suffer increases in unemployment (and underemployment) – although to a lesser extent than men. Possibly the main way in which women were affected by the crisis was indirectly – through its effects on labor market opportunities for the men in their families. In response to high male unemployment and underemployment, women increased their participation in the labor market. Trends suggest that as the economy continues its recovery, the relative labor market positions of men and women are likely to return to their pre-crisis positions. Male wages have already increased relative to women's such that the wage gap is now greater than before the crisis. Although labor demand has

picked up, there has not yet been a strong reemergence of the formal sector. In urban areas women have gained relative to men in terms of their share of wage employment, whereas in rural areas they seem to have been displaced from the formal sector.

Women went backward during the economic crisis in rural areas in terms of their share of wage employment. Whether women can hold on to the small gains they made relative to men in urban formal sector employment and make up the ground lost in rural areas remains to be seen.

Clearly, it is still the case that Indonesian women take primary responsibility for the household and family. In order that the end result is not simply to increase the burden on women, men must be convinced to take on greater share of unpaid household work.

NGOs play an important role in the advancement of Indonesian women. Their numbers have expanded greatly in the post-New Order era; they now reach more women than before, and they have built up capacity over a far wider range of issues. Most NGOs concentrate on a particular area, such as protection of women's rights, elimination of violence against women, provision of crisis and trauma centers, assisting women migrant workers, or lobbying for political and legislative change. The government and civil society must continue working together on behalf of Indonesian women.

Various efforts to overcome the bad socio-economic condition as a consequence of the crisis have been carried out by the government as well as by NGOs, through several emergency programs and routine programs to overcome poverty—for example, the program of fighting illiteracy, a nine-year compulsory education, and the provision of study funds for children of poor families. Health examination of pregnant women, provision of free of charge contraceptives, and the provision of health cards are forms of

the program for health of the poor community. Besides, political education has become the agenda of activist groups and women NGOs as an effort to increase the number of women as decision-makers.

However, the great number of the Indonesian population who are living below poverty line, the spread and isolated geographic condition, as well as unsettled economic, social and political problems, ensure various efforts that have been carried out only have changed the situation a little. Besides, the dependence of Indonesia on foreign debts to finance development and programs to overcome poverty is creating new problems in the socio-economic system in Indonesia at present and in the future.

In Indonesian popular discourse, the word 'feminism' is considered the flag of 'Western' mind and is thus tainted. Those Indonesians who do consider themselves feminists often feel the need to clarify that they do not consider themselves feminists in the same sense as feminism in the West. Regardless of the type of feminism one associates with, viewing the status of women in Indonesia, one may think that feminism is the only coherent and universal philosophy that offers an alternative to patriarchal thinking and structures. Feminism asserts that women are human beings.

This chapter is essential for analyzing the impacts of the feminization of the public relations industry in Indonesia because it has described various aspects of the lives of women in Indonesia – the status and role, labor force participation, living patterns, and finally, feminism. Such explanation will help readers understand better the findings from the interviews.

CHAPTER V

METHODOLOGY

The previous chapters identified the two research questions that this dissertation seeks to answer, and the researcher has addressed them through the literature review. However, to tackle the research questions in greater depth, the researcher also conducted primary research.

As mentioned earlier, this study used the in-depth interview as its primary research method. This chapter explains why the researcher chose this method. Choosing an appropriate method of inquiry is essential to make sure that the knowledge gained from scientific research is credible and advances what is already known in a disciplined, replicable manner. The following discussion offers a rationale as to why a qualitative approach was the most suitable research design for this study.

A. Qualitative Methodology

According to Marshall and Rossman (1995), quantitative methodology, the traditional schema of scientific inquiry, is appropriate when data can be obtained from experiments, the variables are known and unambiguous, and processes are relatively simple. On the other hand, qualitative methodology provides the flexibility to obtain data that cannot be acquired from experiments because of ethical or practical reasons, when the variables may be unknown or ambiguous, and/or processes are complex.

Miles and Huberman (1994) described the strengths of qualitative data. First, “they focus on naturally occurring, ordinary events in natural settings, so that we have a

strong handle on what ‘real life’ is like” (p. 10). In other words, data are usually collected in relatively close proximity to the phenomenon under study. Second, the data have the potential to reveal complex constructs because of the “richness and holism” that exists through lived experiences and the various meanings people place on events, processes and structures. Third, qualitative data allow researchers to explore new areas and test hypotheses. Last, they allow researchers to “supplement, validate, explain, illuminate, or reinterpret quantitative data gathered from the same setting” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 10).

Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggested four constructs that would help frame assumptions of qualitative research. These constructs are: credibility, which demonstrates how variables are identified and the study is conducted; transferability, which deals with how well the findings can be applied to other contexts, regardless of investigator; dependability, which addresses the way researchers explain changing conditions and research design; and confirmability, which is the degree to which the findings can be confirmed by other researchers. These constructs—credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability—can be used to assess the veracity of research.

As discussed in Chapter 2, data show that the number of female public relations practitioners is larger than male practitioners in most countries, including in Indonesia. However, public relations scholars, especially the feminist ones, continuously claim that the glass ceiling and inequity in remuneration seem to be a custom in public relations, as they are in other professions. Nevertheless, even though it is clear that discrimination exists, men and women continuously ignore it. The feminization of the public relations industry has led to the notion that women are not experiencing gender discrimination in

Indonesia. Therefore, the researcher was no longer interested in mere numbers. It was clear that the majority of public relations practitioners in Indonesia are female. The researcher was interested in the feminization of the public relations profession and the impacts that result from it, and thus used a qualitative approach.

Because this study relied on a qualitative research design, the researcher feels the need to briefly discuss the philosophy of qualitative research; criteria for considering an appropriate research design, including general ethical concerns; and several potential qualitative data collection methods such as interviewing and ethnography, including their strengths and weaknesses. The researcher concludes by explaining the approach that was used in this study. A general description of the specific procedures and analytic techniques is also addressed.

A.1. Philosophy of Qualitative Research

Denzin and Lincoln (1994) pointed out that the field of qualitative research “is defined primarily by a series of essential tensions, contradictions, and hesitations” (p. ix). Plowman (1995) observed that Geertz (1973) argued that the aim of qualitative research was to “enlarge the universe of human discourse through searching for meaning in human existence” (Plowman, 1995, p. 103). Guba and Lincoln (1994) offered an excellent synopsis of four of the competing paradigms in qualitative research. These paradigms represent the basic worldviews held by researchers. They fundamentally vary on issues of ontology, which addresses the “form and nature of reality”; epistemology, which addresses “the nature of the relationship of between the knower or would-be knower and

what can be known”; and methodology, which addresses “how can the inquirer (would-be knower) goes about finding out whatever he or she believes can be known” (p. 108).

Guba and Lincoln (1994) argued that positivism has been the dominant paradigm in the discourse of the physical and social sciences “for some 400 years” (p. 108).

Researchers from this persuasion believe in “naïve realism” and in the existence of a “real reality” that can be apprehended (p. 109). Moreover, they believe that their findings gathered through quantitative experimental and manipulative approaches and verification of hypotheses reveals findings that are “true” (p. 109).

The aim of their research is to explain, predict, and control (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 112). According to Guba and Lincoln (1994), postpositivists attribute to critical realism where reality is real but only “imperfectly and probabilistically apprehendable” (p. 109). Inquirers rely on modified experimental or manipulative and critical multiplism approaches to falsify hypotheses that result in findings that are probably true.

Postpositivists may rely on qualitative approaches to scientific inquiry. Like positivists, they aim to explain, predict, and control (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

Guba and Lincoln (1994) also observed that critical theorists believe in historical realism in which reality is “shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, and gender values” (p. 109). Furthermore, they said that critical theorists rely on dialogic or dialectical approaches that reveal “value-mediated findings” (p. 109). Their purpose is to critique and transform through restitution and emancipation. Constructivists argue that realities are relative and locally constructed. They rely on hermeneutical or dialectical approaches to reveal “created findings” (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 109). They seek to understand and reconstruct reality.

As Plowman (1995) wrote, “Qualitative research is holistic in that it looks at people and settings as part of a larger picture. Researchers strive to understand people from their own frames of reference and value all perspectives of a given situation. This type of research has the ability to use the participants’ own language and symbols in context of the whole picture, not as separate variables” (p. 106).

B. Research Design

Marshall and Rossman (1994) argued that research strategy is very much linked to the purpose of the study. When the purpose of the research is “to investigate little understood phenomena, to identify/discover important variables, [or] to generate hypotheses for further research,” then a case study or field study is an appropriate strategy and participant observation and interviewing are important data collection techniques (p. 41). Moreover, qualitative studies allow researchers to stress “the importance of context, setting, and participants’ frames of reference” (p. 44).

Selecting the appropriate method is a task that all researchers hope to learn. In this study, it was especially important to understand constructs and contexts as understood by the participants. Plowman (1995) identified two screening criteria that guide selection of the appropriate method: “(1) the complexity and depth of the topic and (2) feedback, meaning the importance of speaking individually to participants” (p. 112).

Discussing research settings, populations, and phenomena, Marshall and Rossman (1994) suggested: “The ideal site is where (1) entry is possible; (2) there is a high probability that a rich mix of the processes, people, programs, interactions, and structures of interest are present; (3) the researcher is likely to be able to build trusting

relations with the participants in the study; and (4) data quality and credibility of the study are reasonably assured” (p. 51).

This research sought to understand the impacts of the feminization of the public relations industry in Indonesia. Thus, entry into public relations agencies and various types of organizations was necessary to explore both the complexity and richness of the various phenomena in play. In addition, it was necessary to establish trust and credibility with the public relations practitioners the researcher interviewed in order to acquire and collect data for analysis. As a public relations educator, the researcher possessed the knowledge, familiarity, and ability to gain access to the research setting. However, these strengths also possessed ethical concerns that are addressed at the end of this chapter. There are basic ethical instructions in the literature when it comes to human subjects. Locke, Spirduso, and Silverman (1993) suggested the following when dealing with human subjects: In general, participants should be informed of what is being investigated, their role, and the demands on them that will be required. Participants should understand what protocols are in place to protect confidentiality. Finally, participants should know to whom questions or concerns should be directed and offered the opportunity to receive study results, as appropriate (p. 31). Participants of this research study received an email from the researcher, giving a thorough explanation of the purposes of this study. This email outlined procedures and the potential risks and/or benefits from participating in the research, including the right to withdraw their consent during any point in the inquiry without reprisal.

The qualitative approach of interviewing to study women in public relations follows Toth and Cline’s (1991) summon for “listening to individuals more fully” (p.

174). They claim that quantitative responses are flat, “revealing little about the beliefs and interpretations of meaning” by respondents (p. 173). This study allows respondents—public relations educators and practitioners—to voice their beliefs and interpretations of the glass ceiling and the feminization of public relations.

As evidenced by its use, the survey method has been popular for examining the experiences and attitudes of women in their profession (e.g., Hoshino, 1998; Hardin & Shain, 2006). However, feminists have appropriately pointed out the limitations in quantitative (positivistic) methods for illuminating and legitimizing the realities of women's lives (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002). Instead, many choose a qualitative approach to uncover the particular truths of women's experience (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002). Feminists have used qualitative methods partly because such methods acknowledge the connection between knowledge production and the values of researchers. Feminist application of such methods is seen as research for rather than merely about women, hence setting the stage for transcendent action and policy (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002).

Having discussed some of the fundamental issues with respect to the philosophy of qualitative research and established general criteria for the methodological approach, the following discussion considered several types of interviews and other methodological approaches that could have been used to collect the data for this research.

C. Interviews

Interviews represented one of several approaches to collecting qualitative data that could have been used for this study. H. Rubin and I. Rubin (1995) claimed that

qualitative interviews allow researchers to understand experiences and reconstruct events that are unfamiliar. They also argued that interviews require an understanding of culture, recognition that interviewers were participants, and an acknowledgement that interviewers give voice to those interviewed.

Plowman (1995) offered a practical decision matrix that captured the advantages of interviewing in relation to other qualitative methods. In short, he argued that interviewing offered an individual perspective, could be theory driven and triangulated, and performed with limited time and funds. In addition, interviewing allowed the timely collection of large amounts of data that could be validated. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) argued that triangulation was important especially to qualitative methodology because the validity of qualitative research might be challenged because of the constructivist nature of the data collection methods.

A qualitative research interview seeks to describe the meanings of central themes in the life world of the subjects. The main task in interviewing is to understand the meaning of what the interviewees say. A qualitative research interview seeks to cover both a factual and a meaning level, though it is usually more difficult to interview on a meaning level (Kvale, 1996). Interviews are particularly useful for getting the story behind a participant's experiences. The interviewer can pursue in-depth information around the topic. Interviews may be useful as follow-up to certain respondents to questionnaires, e.g., to further investigate their responses (McNamara, 1999).

As discussed in Chapter 3, experience is a key component in feminist assertions about the value of women's voices; as states Joan Scott (1992, p. 24), "what could be truer, after all, than a subject's own account of what he or she has lived through?" Thus,

interviews with public relations practitioners and educators seemed to be the best method to tackle the two research questions that this dissertation seeks to answer:

1. Is there a correlation between the Indonesian public relations practitioner's gender and public relations dominant role?

And,

2. What are the impacts of the feminization of public relations in Indonesia?

In-depth interviews are often essential in qualitative research (Silverman, 2001).

According to McCracken (1988, p. 9), interviews are powerful: "For certain descriptive and analytic purposes, no instrument of inquiry is more revealing." Although focus groups, also favored by some feminist researchers, were an option, they do not allow the same in-depth opportunity to explore the specific life stories, values and beliefs of each participant as do interviews (McCracken, 1988, p. 9). Thus, because of their ability to effectively take the researcher in the "life world" of participants, and because they are most feasible, interviews were used for this research.

Nevertheless, there are disadvantages of interviewing as well, according to Marshall and Rossman (1995). Data might be misunderstood or misinterpreted, results might be difficult to replicate, and data validity rests heavily on the participant's truthfulness.

The purpose of the following discussion is to define and describe several types of interviews that were considered for this research. In addition, consideration was given to the ethical implications of each type of interview. The researcher concludes with a summary discussion of the interviewing method she used and how she identified study

participants. The researcher concludes with a review of the procedures and ethical concerns.

C.1. Long Interview

Long interviews possess unique characteristics that help the researcher understand and determine meaning as understood by participants. This requires the researcher to invest adequate time in interviewing so that the phenomenon of interest will emerge through the analysis phase of a study. Long interviews require extensive, thoughtful preparation to avoid amassing unnecessary data while acquiring critical data that will reveal answers to the questions sought by the researcher. Thorough preparation also provides the best return of valuable information while minimizing the time required of participants.

Critically important to long interviews are issues of culture and, as McCracken (1988) observed, shared meaning. The goal of long interviews is to understand the phenomenon as the participant understands it. Unlike unstructured ethnographic interviews, long interviews provide focus for the researcher. Because confidentiality is associated with this methodology, researchers gain access to important issues that full disclosure or identification of participants would likely inhibit. Although long interviews provide structure, they allow for the emergence of variables and concepts that may not be known to the researcher at the beginning of the inquiry. Additionally, research may be conducted within a much shorter time frame than traditional ethnographic research requires.

Though no specified time lengths for long interviews are mandated, the information gleaned from the literature review indicates that up to eight hours may be needed to collect the necessary data. Such length in interviews may require that several interviews be scheduled. By allowing time between interviews, the researcher can review the data and follow up to clarify ambiguities. Hon (1997) observed that the goal is to understand the meaning of concepts, categories, terms, relationships, and assumptions as the respondent understands them in his or her view and experience in the world.

Researchers who use long interviews to acquire data are interested in depth rather than breadth. Whether this is accomplished in two hours or eight hours depends on the researchers' ability to accurately reflect the phenomenon as determined by participants. The resulting shared meaning allows researchers to determine the presence of cultural patterns, categories, characteristics, or assumptions.

Several ethical implications are associated with long interviews. Researchers are commonly understood to be instruments of data collection and analyses in qualitative research. McCracken (1988) identified a number of important issues that must be considered. Researchers working in their own culture must be vigilant to the very real problem of seeing familiar data in unfamiliar ways. By allowing participants to answer questions and prompting them to use their own terms, researchers reduce the potential for interpretation that frequently occurs with active listening. Active listening encourages researchers to repeat back words and phrases to discover hidden meanings of language.

A healthy distance must be maintained between researchers and subjects. Like researchers who must see the familiar in unfamiliar ways, so must participants.

Researchers must help participants to distance themselves from the familiar to articulate what lies beneath the surface of a belief or behavior. Such self-reflection possesses significant ethical implications. For example, emotional harm might result when participants are asked to reflect on uncomfortable issues relevant to the research. Another legitimate reason that necessitates distance between researchers and participants is the nature of researchers' roles. Arguably, one of the differences between voyeur and scientist lies in intent. It is important to understand that professional curiosity to fully understand what phenomena motivate scientists.

Confidentiality of participants must be protected to allow for as complete disclosure as possible. Researchers must be clear about the risks of interviews as well as the benefits. For some participants, questions may evoke surprise, embarrassment, or anger; for others, questions may possess a cathartic quality or intellectual dimension. Above all, researchers must first do no harm. During interviews, researchers must listen carefully for clues that require further probing. McCracken (1988) identified some of these potential issues as topic avoidance, distortion, misunderstanding, and even incomprehension. He also suggested several technical considerations such as tape recording, transcription, and use of the computer to aid in the collection and analysis of the data.

C.2. In-depth Interview

Marshall and Rossman (1995) suggested that in-depth interviews are conversations designed to explore general topics to discover meaning from the participant's perspective. In doing so, researchers should consider the responses as

framed by participants. Although Marshall and Rossman made no distinction between in-depth and long interviews, McCracken (1988) considered in-depth interviews to be primarily concerned with participants' affective attributes where long interviews were more focused on shared categories and assumptions.

As noted previously with all interviews, in-depth interviews also possess the ability to acquire a significant amount of data quickly. Researchers can seek clarification during the interview and uncover the significance people place on events and experiences in everyday life. Cooperation of participants is necessary for researchers to acquire the appropriate data. Interviewers must also possess fine listening skills that permit them to interact, frame, and diplomatically probe participants. In the end, researchers should evoke the necessary data that frequently lie beneath the surface of routine responses. Fontana and Frey (1994) pointed out the importance of never taking anything for granted in interviews.

Ethical implications of in-depth interviews are similar to those already discussed. In addition, Fontana and Frey (1994) noted that traditional concerns focus on informed consent, privacy, and protection from harm. Although Wolcott (1995) disagreed, Miles and Huberman (1994) argued that interviews must necessarily violate the trust and privacy of respondents. Use of technology must be disclosed initially so participants are informed about the use of recording devices. As long as participants understand and consent to the terms set forth in research protocols and researchers remain within the established ground rules, the risk of violating agreements is minimized.

In-depth interviews as a research method also have limitations. Because it typically involves small, nonrandom samples, the results cannot be generalized to a larger

population (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006). In addition, researchers must be cautious to avoid inadvertently communicating their own attitudes concerning the issues through “loaded questions, nonverbal cues, or tone of voice (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006, p. 136).” Finally, data analysis poses a challenge because it is more subjective to researcher bias (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006).

C.3. Elite Interview

Elite interviews recognize the position or experience participants possess that warrant special treatment or consideration. They differ from other types of interviews in several ways. Dexter (1970) suggested participants’ elite status qualified them to define the situation of interest. Two characteristics are common with elites: participation and time. As a result, interviewees are encouraged to structure the account of the situation.

Finally, interviewees are left to describe what they perceive as relevant. Unlike focused interviewing where researchers define the area of interest, ask the questions, and seek answers within a set of boundaries, elite interviewers frequently desire that participants teach them what the problem is, what questions should be answered, and what the situation demands.

In addition to the special status of elites, data must be examined differently. Dexter (1970) observed that surveys deal with deviation statistically. Frequently, the goal is to understand the norm, the typical response. However, with elite respondents who are better informed, deviations may necessitate a revision or extension, or a new paradigm. Hirsch (1995) reinforced the observation that disparities in information and perception often exist between upper and lower levels in organizations. Thus, responses from elite

interviewees must be framed properly to understand the value of their observations and contributions.

Useem (1995) favored interviewing chief executive officers because of the insight they offer into a company's culture, organization, and activity. In addition to understanding more about executives, researchers also gain executives' perspectives on their firm and the world at large. Useem observed in his research that elites tend to see both the small picture as well as the concerns of the larger business community. Because of the difficulty in reaching executives, Useem (1995) provided an array of considerations from his experience when trying to gain access to senior executives. One recommendation was to identify someone of import to the executive to act as a door opener. On the other hand, not all researchers appear to agree on whether access is a problem. Ostrander (1993) argued that the problems of gaining access and establishing rapport with elites have been overstated.

Once researchers gain access, Hirsch (1995) suggested, it is imperative to prepare well for the interview—relying simply on street smarts can result in wasting the researchers' efforts and, more importantly, elites' time. Ostrander (1993) observed that elites are used to being in charge and having others defer to them. This notion must be carefully, but tactfully, challenged. Because of the deference that elites may be accustomed to, skepticism must be part of the interviewer's questioning. Useem (1995) recognized that some managers know how they do something but not why. Therefore, researchers must guard against assimilation into the culture to the point that objectivity is lost. Paradigms must be challenged and confirmed throughout the process. In addition to organizational issues, Useem noted that perceptions of events and phenomena are socially

constructed to some degree. For example, chief executive officers frequently travel in circles of similar status. Thus, these elites often possess their own sense of reinforcing culture.

Useem (1995) provided practical advice for consideration in using elite interviews as a research approach. First, reaching top management may require direct contact. Second, flexibility is critical because of the demands placed on elites. Third, several research approaches may be necessary to obtain the information desired. Fourth, the researcher must remain disciplined and focused to the research at hand because interviews with elites frequently result in more research possibilities. Finally, the researcher must record those additional possibilities that often provide a framework for further study.

C.4. Active Interview

Holstein and Gubrium (1995) argued that knowledge is created by the action necessary to acquire it. In contrast to the traditional role of passive interviewers who merely record information, active interviews recognize the constructionist process of producing meaning. One of the primary objectives of active interviews is to draw out and make visible the linkages and horizons participants use to define and organize subjective meanings. Holstein and Gubrium noted that the goal is to arrive at common narrative ground in the face of contextual issues and complicated matters.

Active interviews assume that there is a mental model of the subject or phenomenon that lies beneath the responses of persons being interviewed. The challenge for researchers is to adequately represent the phenomenon that the interviewee may be

revealing, which may require several interviews and collaborative interpretation to capture the information. Based on this assumption, several items are of concern. One of the greatest challenges to this approach is for researchers to create an environment that is conducive to open and undistorted communication. Rapport between researchers and participants is critical to the success of this approach.

Interviewees must be competent about the subject of the research in order for the information to be of value. Because participants continually revise and modify answers, the truth-value of responses must be measured not against some objective answer as in the traditional “vessel of answers” approach, but by the enduring local conditions that evolve. Introductions to the interview must be carefully prepared and delivered to avoid predisposing participants to a set of desired responses. In addition, culture and ethnographic considerations are important to framing questions.

Researchers must necessarily and continually challenge themselves through self-analysis to guard against bias. Active interviews allow for researchers to explore ill-defined and marginally developed concepts. With the focus on linkages and horizons, researchers can seek out the model behind the vessel to better understand a phenomenon. This approach has the potential to produce a large quantity of data. In addition, this type of research can be done with little expense. Active interviews deny the philosophical notion of objectivity. Though some might view this as a weakness, many argue this approach strikes closer to the truth than traditional interviewing.

One of the most important ethical considerations in using the active interview is selection of participants. By conceiving of people in particular ways, researchers give voice to some while silencing others. Thus, understanding the culture and knowing the

terrain is tremendously valuable. Like other approaches, similar issues of disclosure and confidentiality are important as well. Maintaining professional relationships with participants serves several purposes. It keeps clear the line between interviewers and interviewees. This approach also avoids placing either participant in an advantageous position.

C.5. Summary of Research Schema

Given what the literature has revealed about the various types of interviews, the following matrix was established which helped guide the selection of the in-depth interview as the appropriate methodology.

Table 1
Decision Matrix for Qualitative Methodological Approach

Method	Individual Perspective	Limited Time & Money	Theory Driven	Triangulated	Access	Researcher Knowledge
Long Interview	X		X	X	X	
Elite Interview	X		X	X		
In-depth Interview	X	X	X	X	X	X
Active Interview	X		X	X	X	X

Both the in-depth interview and the active interview are suitable for this research. But because the researcher travelled from Germany to Indonesia to conduct this research, time and expense were of important consideration. As explained previously, both approaches can be done with little expense. However, in-depth interviews offer the ability to obtain a significant amount of data quickly. Researchers can seek clarification during the interview and uncover the significance people place on events and experiences in everyday life, whereas the active interview may require several interviews and collaborative interpretation to capture information. Therefore, the in-depth interview was chosen for this study.

D. Procedures

In seeking to find the answers to the research questions, relevant literature has been reviewed and discussed in the previous chapters.

Chapter 2 discussed the practice of public relations worldwide and then focused on Indonesia. This chapter began by explaining public relations from a Systems Theory perspective, which says that a system is characterized by communication (Luhmann, 2000), which means that individual actors do not represent the elements because men do not only belong to one system since every issue of life can be identified as a system. This means that public relations practitioners do not only live in the public relations social system, but also in other systems such as family, and thus, a clear definition would be nearly impossible as it would be too indefinite to classify a system attributable to its actors. The borders of each system are thus defined as context borders determined by corresponding communication, which is directly empirically observable. Therefore,

through the interviews, the researcher seeks to observe the lives of the practitioners in other social systems, for instance as a man or a woman; as a father or a mother; as an Indonesian; as a person of a certain ethnicity; and so on.

This chapter continues on to explain public relations as an organizational function, which is also important because this study analyzes the roles and functions of public relations in organizations in Indonesia. In fact, the first research question is 'is there a correlation between the Indonesian public relations practitioner's gender and public relations dominant role?'

As explained in the previous chapters, the fact that public relations is considered a feminine profession influences its role and function, and how others perceive this profession. Moreover, studies in Western countries (Hon, 1995; Wrigley, 2002, Fröhlich et al., 2005) have shown that the organizational context definitely matters in terms of circumstances concerning the work-home conflict or male dominance, and in some cases the number of women varies between different types of public relations organizations. Therefore, to see if such aspects also pertain to the public relations industry in Indonesia, participants of this research are questioned about their PR roles and functions in their workplace, about the status of the PR department in their workplace, and about the perceptions of their colleagues and top management toward the public relations functions in their workplace. The researcher also wanted to see whether there was a big discrepancy between the answers from the female participants and those from the male participants.

Chapter 2 also explains that the way public relations is practiced in Indonesia is heavily influenced by its culture; using Hofstede's dimensions of culture, Indonesia fits

into the collectivistic culture. There is a strong in-group loyalty among Indonesians within family, friends, and members of the same ethnic group. Indonesia's closed system of social environment and high context culture, however, make it difficult to have the best public relations practices that emphasize two-way communication channels. The Indonesian culture has been dominated by authoritarianism, causing Indonesian public relations to remain as a publicity function or propaganda (Ananto, 2003). These findings are also the reason the participants are questioned about their functions as public relations practitioners, to see how Indonesia's culture influences the functions and roles of public relations in an organization and whether these are different from the functions and roles of public relations in other countries. An explanation of the Indonesian culture was therefore clearly crucial to this study and very relevant to the interview questions as a whole because findings from this study may vary greatly from studies conducted in other countries.

The development of the public relations industry in Indonesia has lagged behind the development of public relations in many Asian countries due to the Indonesian people's lack of understanding about public relations and how it helps support a company's communications objectives and corporate brand in a competitive business environment (The Jakarta Post, 2000). Public relations is often viewed as a field that merely involves hiring an attractive woman to represent the organization by saying pleasant things about that organization. Therefore, the researcher wanted to see whether such a view still prevailed in Indonesia. Hence, participants in this research were questioned about their views of the assumption that public relations was a feminine

profession. They were also asked about their opinion regarding such job requirements for the PR profession as female gender and attractive appearance.

Chapter 3 discussed a persistent theme throughout a big part of studies on gender and public relations, which is that the organizational environment may be preventing some female public relations practitioners from having influence in their organizations (L.A. Grunig, Toth, & Hon, 2001; Hon, 1995; Serini, Toth, Wright, & Emig, 1998). According to the *structuralist perspective*, the differences between the behaviors of men and women are caused by the conditions inside the organization. Furthermore, power is rooted in the organization and hinders the influence of women in numerous occupations (O'Neil, 2003, p. 151). The arguments of many feminist public relations scholars are representative of the structuralist perspective (Toth et al., 1998; Hon et al., 1992; Hon, 1995). This perspective is also questioned in this research. Participants are asked whether they feel that they are being treated differently compared to their colleagues of the other sex. More specifically, the researcher wanted to see whether the participants viewed their sex as a hindering or, maybe, even a supporting factor in their career development. Participants are also asked whether they feel they would be paid the same amount, have the same chance for a raise or a promotion, or get the same assignments if they were of the opposite sex. Since this perspective claims that the conditions inside the organization hinder the influence of women, the researcher wanted to see whether there was a difference between the roles played the male and female public relations practitioners and how much influence each sex had in one organization. Therefore, participants were questioned about their roles as PR practitioners, and whether public relations is part of the dominant coalition, and thus whether they take part in the decision-making process in

their respective workplaces. Participants were also asked about how they think their colleagues, and more importantly, their top management, viewed the role of public relations in their organization. In order to see have a general sense of how organizations in Indonesia value public relations, the participants were also questioned whether they think the PR human resources in Indonesia are qualified for the profession; whether they think organizations in Indonesia are willing to allocate a proper budget to PR programs; and whether they think that PR practitioners in Indonesia, generally, are being remunerated appropriately. Of course, the researcher does not expect the participants to have accurate data on the previous questions. However, it was necessary to find out how these PR practitioners think they are being valued by their organizations.

Literature reviewed in Chapter 3 also revealed that overall, bosses rated male and female managers equal in effectiveness; however, colleagues rated women slightly higher than men. Male managers were perceived as having more of a vision of strategic planning and organization, having a greater sense of tradition (building on knowledge gained from experience), being innovative and willing to take risks, and being more restrained and professional in terms of emotional expression. They were also seen as better delegates, more cooperative, and more persuasive than female managers. On the other hand, female managers were perceived as being more empathetic, being more energetic and enthusiastic, being better communicators (e.g., keeping people informed, providing feedback), and possessing more “people skills” (e.g., sensitivity to others, likeability, listening ability, development of relationships with peers and superiors) than their male counterparts. However, they were not perceived as being more outgoing or extroverted or more cooperative as leaders (Kabacoff, 1998). Having discussed this, the

researcher also wanted to see whether PR practitioners in Indonesia also shared these views, considering this literature comes from Western countries and Indonesia's culture is different. Therefore, the participants were questioned whether they feel that female and male managers have the same leadership styles and whether they have any preference between a female and male manager. They were also questioned whether they feel that a woman is suitable for managing the public relations division of their organization and whether they feel that a woman is suitable for holding the top position at their organization.

Chapter 3 also explained the five types of theories of gender identity development: Social learning theory—children learn gender-related behavior from their social contacts, primarily their parents and peers; cognitive development theory—children socialize themselves into feminine or masculine identities as they progress through various stages of mental ability; gender schema theory—once children learn appropriate cultural definitions of gender, these definitions become key structures around which all other information is organized; Gilligan's gender identity development theory—the core of gender identity development rests within the mother-child relationship, it involves the development of connectedness in girls and autonomy in boys; and gender transcendence and androgyny—a rejection of traditional identities (masculine or feminine), an integration of feminine and masculine selves into a self-defined gender identity. These gender identity development theories serve as an introduction to the feminist communication theory, which along with the glass ceiling theory, is the core of this study. As discussed earlier, the glass ceiling is used to describe the more or less invisible mechanisms that prevent women from climbing to the top of the organizational

ladder (Dozier, 1988). The glass ceiling is expressed in a lack of organizational power (Hon et al., 2001). If this phenomenon does exist, it implies that female communication managers are excluded from organizational power.

Common aspects described as factors leading to the glass ceiling include gender discrimination – in several areas, including salary, role, influence, power, and so on; and sexual harassment. The researcher wanted to see whether such a glass ceiling existed in the Indonesian public relations industry, but most importantly if it did exist, whether the practitioners realized its existence. Therefore the participants were asked about the development of their careers—the researcher wanted to see if there were a big discrepancy between the male and the female practitioners' career developments. The participants were also asked whether their organizations enforced sexual harassment policies and female-friendly policies; whether they have ever felt threatened or intimidated by a colleague of the other sex; whether they feel that their colleagues and supervisors treat male and female employees equally; and whether they feel that male and female employees in their workplace had the same chance to reach a managerial level.

Because the second research question is 'what are the impacts of the feminization of the public relations industry in Indonesia?' the researcher felt the need to first explain in Chapter 3 the various definitions of feminism and the various criticisms of feminism because these are the foundation to understanding gender discrepancies. This explanation is also crucial because findings of this research are examined through the radical feminist perspective and the liberal feminist perspective.

Chapter 4 discussed women in Indonesia. The chapter began by describing how despite its heavily patriarchal system, Indonesia has had its first woman president,

Megawati Soekarnoputri. However, the debates surrounding her elevation to the presidency brought issues of gender and politics to the forefront of the public agenda, raising crucial questions about the role that women are to play in public life in post-Soeharto Indonesia. This chapter also discussed the status and role of women in Indonesia, in which it is still the case that women bear primary responsibility for the family and household. Women's concerns are most often put aside in public discourse because the government and the community consider these problems exclusively females' problems and irrelevant to the developing political context. Political and economic discussions commonly ignore women as political and economic agents in the Indonesian system. Consequently, improvement of women's living conditions is somewhat slow compared with that of the other community members (Zulminarni, 2001).

In Indonesia, religious teachings have always strongly influenced the society's mindset and way of life. Unfortunately, many *ulama* (Muslim religious scholars), preachers, and religious leaders do not have enlightened views on gender. In times of economic distress, parents often take their daughters out of school first because girls are expected to replace their mothers in their household duties when these mothers take up paid work outside the house.

Regarding the women's labor force participation, women were sheltered somewhat from the full crisis impact due to their underrepresentation in the formal sector of the economy. Possibly the main way in which women were affected by the crisis was indirectly—through its effect on labor market opportunities for the men in their families. In response to high male unemployment and underemployment, women increased their participation in the labor market. To the extent that women were somewhat protected

form the crisis in the labor market, that protection resulted from their underrepresentation in the most lucrative sector—the formal sector—much in the same way that rural areas and the Outer Islands were protected by their lesser reliance on this sector.

This discussion was very important because this study focuses specifically on the public relations industry in Indonesia, and the researcher felt that after thoroughly analyzing the public relations industry in Indonesia and the concept of gender communications, in order to answer the research questions, one still needs to understand the life of women in Indonesia, including the status, role, labor force participation, and living patterns of women in Indonesia. Therefore, this chapter is very relevant to the questions being asked in the questionnaire as a whole.

A crucial part of Chapter 4 is the discussion on feminism in Indonesia. The terms ‘feminism,’ ‘feminist,’ and even ‘gender’ are still considered by many to be non-indigenous concepts that are irrelevant to Indonesian values (Sadli, 2002). Women’s patriotic role both before and immediately after independence included the struggle to liberate women from cultural, traditional, and religious barriers and achieve full social participation. The effectiveness of the women’s movement during the Soeharto era was curtailed when women’s organizations became a vehicle to celebrate women as mothers whose rightful place was in the home rather than in the public sphere. This contributed to a public debate—which continues today—about feminism, the liberation of women and unequal power relationships between men and women. Essentially the debate is polarized between two camps: those who claim to be defenders of women’s rights, without necessarily calling themselves feminists, and those who claim to be defenders of religious values and so-called traditional practices.

This discussion about feminism in Indonesia is also relevant to the interview questions as a whole, especially because of Indonesia's patriarchal culture. The researcher was interested in finding out the perceptions of both male and female practitioners toward working women, many of whom are mothers—who went into their homes as their rightful place into the public sphere—and many are women who choose to postpone marriage or even remain unmarried and pursue their careers in public relations.

In order to answer the second research question, 'what are the impacts of the feminization of the public relations industry in Indonesia,' participants were questioned whether they agree with the assumption that public relations is a female profession. They were also questioned on what they felt are the impacts of the feminization of the industry—if indeed they felt that industry was feminized—toward the industry and toward the practitioners themselves. And because in Indonesia the public relations industry is often linked to attractive women as their practitioners, the participants were questioned on their opinions of such job requirements as female gender and attractive appearance. The participants were also questioned whether they think gender could determine a person's ability to conduct public relations functions and roles.

In order to enrich data and understand the impacts of the feminization of the public relations industry in Indonesia, in-depth interviews were conducted with male and female public relations practitioners and educators in Jakarta, Indonesia. The interview questions (see Appendix) covered factors related to the glass ceiling theory and the role congruity theory. According to the literature, the consistent feminization of the public relations industry has contributed to assumptions that women are not experiencing gender-based disadvantages. The researcher also wanted to know whether these female

public relations managers were still experiencing gender-based disadvantages, such as lack of power and influence and decline in status and remuneration. The glass ceiling theory and the role congruity theory frame this research study. And because this study is informed by feminist theory, results will be examined through a radical feminist perspective and a liberal feminist perspective.

D.1. Selection of Participants

The researcher obtained a list of 86 PR practitioners and educators from the Public Relations and Communicators Directory 2005, and 2006-2007 published by Public Relations Society of Indonesia (PRSI). The researcher also obtained a list of 596 PR practitioners from the PRSI database. These professionals are not necessarily members of PRSI, and they belong to a wide range of industries: PR consultancy agencies, academics, federal organizations, banks, media, and telecommunication, as well as products and services companies.

The researcher chose to conduct interviews only in Jakarta because as the nation's capital, it is the center of the PR industry in Indonesia. In fact, according to a PRSI staff member, there are approximately 700 PR practitioners in Indonesia, and more than half reside in Jakarta.

The list of practitioners and educators given by PRSI had been pre-selected by the PRSI staff because it was considered to be unethical to release data of practitioners other than those who belong to a PR agency. From this list, the researcher selected only the ones with email addresses, because due to time and budget restrictions, it was important to contact and make appointments with the prospective interviewees via email (from

Germany) prior to traveling to Jakarta. In total there were 233 practitioners and educators with email addresses.

These 233 practitioners and educators were then contacted via email and were asked for their participation in the interviews at the time and place of their choice (mid-December 2007 until end of March 2008 in Jakarta). The researcher hoped to get at least 50 interviewees from different industries and professional levels. It was important that the majority of the interviewees were female, considering the nature of this dissertation research. However, the researcher also wanted to obtain opinions from male practitioners in order to get a comparison, even though the purpose of this research is not as a comparative study. The interviewees were given a choice to be interviewed in either English or Indonesian.

Still, many of these email addresses bounced, and some simply did not reply. Based on the researcher's previous experiences conducting research in Indonesia, Indonesians are often hesitant to participate in research for fear of being misquoted or misinterpreted, which they fear will damage the reputation of Indonesia or their employers. This may be due to the Indonesian culture, as discussed in Chapter 2. Also, many Indonesians still do not have easy daily access to the Internet. Many still have to go to Internet shops to check their e-mails. Fortunately, most offices do have Internet access.

At the end, 35 female and 18 male public relations practitioners and educators agreed to participate in this research. These participants come from a variety of industries: Media (n=5); NGOs (n=4); PR agencies (n=16); Government (n=2); Education, both as educators and as PR practitioners in an educational institution (n=6);

and Corporations, including banks, fast moving consumer goods, transportation, gas and oil, property, hotels, and insurance companies (n=20). Nevertheless, these fields often overlap. It is hard to determine every respondent's specific field since one, for instance, may currently work in an agency, but has also had extensive in-house experience. There are also several respondents who work at a corporate or PR agency but also teach public relations at a university. Nonetheless, the difference in the positions, years of experience, and levels of education were fairly balanced in order to reduce bias as much as possible.

Previous research has indicated that people who work in public relations end up wearing numerous hats (Toth & L.A. Grunig, 1993, p. 168). This function often is responsible for public relations, marketing communications, crisis management, employee communications, and more. Therefore, the combined terms of public relations and communications were used during the interviews.

All in-depth interviews were conducted face-to-face by the researcher and were audio taped for later transcription, with the exception of some respondents who agreed to send their responses via email because they were not in Jakarta when this study took place. The interviews lasted an average of 50 minutes. All interviews were then transcribed and sent to each respondent for a member check. Member checks offer participants a chance to review their discourse and make corrections, clarifications, or additions to the transcript. The interview transcriptions were also content-analyzed based on the study's research questions. The researcher looked for main themes and supporting evidence for each of these main themes. These main themes included: Views on the impacts of the feminization of PR, career advancement, job satisfaction, remuneration, company policies, PR roles, and leadership styles. Direct quotations from participants

were also catalogued under main themes for later reuse in providing examples related to the main themes.

This project presented minimal risks to participants. The potential risks and benefits were explained to all interview participants prior to their participation in the project. There was no foreseeable harm to participants. Standard methods to protect privacy were adhered to. To protect the respondents' confidentiality, none of their names or the names of their workplace was used throughout the results and discussion sections.

E. Analytical Techniques and Approach

According to Miles and Huberman (1994), qualitative data analysis should be as easy to replicate as quantitative data analysis. Citing the difficulty in using original field notes to arrive at similar conclusions, they suggested an interactive model for data analysis. This model consisted of three subprocesses of data analysis: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing or verification.

In Miles and Huberman's (1994) view, data reduction subprocesses actually commence before data are collected. Data collection may come from a variety of sources such as interviews, documents, field notes from observations, and surveys. By considering how data are to be reduced, the researcher is guided toward certain types of data collection methods. Marshall and Rossman (1995) made a similar observation about the critical link between data collection and data analysis. They noted that Schatzman and Strauss (1973) recognized this relationship when they argued that because qualitative data are complex, researchers must analyze as data are collected and adjust collection strategies toward those data most critical to understanding the phenomenon of interest.

Miles and Huberman (1994) suggested numerous analytical techniques. As discussed earlier, contact summary sheets, which represent a one-page synopsis of questions that researchers use to develop summaries of field contacts, were used for this research. In addition, document summary forms were used to help clarify and understand the importance of documents collected during fieldwork. Although contact summary sheets and document summary forms were used, they were not coded. However, the interview transcripts were coded for retrieval and analysis.

Codes represent meaning of the actual words and can be descriptive, interpretive, or patterned. In this study, the researcher sought to understand whether there were patterns that revealed themselves through the interviews. Clear operational definitions are imperative for codes to reduce ambiguity and inconsistency and to facilitate analysis. Coding schemes actually represent what Miles and Huberman referred to as a conceptual web. Miles and Huberman (1994) noted that reflective remarks represent what researchers think about as they record raw field notes. Such reflections might include new hypotheses, questioning existing data, or elaboration of prior information thought to be irrelevant and included in parentheses. Marginal remarks, on the other hand, are included in margins and help clarify and add meaning to field notes. In addition, colleagues and critics can provide marginal remarks to help researchers examine alternative explanations.

Pattern coding was used in this research to help group emergent or inferential themes. Pattern coding reduced large amounts of data into smaller units, facilitated analysis during collection, and assisted in clarifying the conceptual map. According to

Miles and Huberman (1994), pattern codes typically focus around themes, causes, personal relationships, and theoretical constructs.

Marshall and Rossman (1995) argued that analysis is complete only after critical categories are defined and relationships of categories are established. They observed that five modes govern analytic procedures. These include organizing data; establishing categories, themes, or patterns; testing hypotheses against the data; considering alternative paradigms; and writing the report.

Miles and Huberman (1994), in positing the second subprocess of data display, made clear the centrality of this concept to identifying the linkages and patterns that emerge from the data. Data displays that are focused, co-located, and complete allow users to draw conclusions. These data displays represent the distillation of raw data and, if done adequately, improve confidence in the findings through various levels of abstraction. For example, Miles and Huberman offered contact summary forms and reports of case analysis meetings as examples to consider for data displays.

Data displays can take two general formats: matrices that have defined cells and networks that have links between the various nodes. Data entries can take many forms depending on what researchers are trying to understand. Examples include text, quotes, and ratings. Miles and Huberman (1994) said it is important to note that “the creation and use of displays is not separate from analysis, it is part of the analysis” (p. 11). Data displays help validate qualitative analyses because they provide the framework from which conclusions may be drawn.

Miles and Huberman (1994) offered some “rules of thumb” for such matrix displays. For example, for this research, the partitions are based on observations about

decision events as perceived by participants and are more descriptive in nature than explanatory. Miles and Huberman also noted that ordering, sequencing and categorization were also considerations (p. 240). Of critical import, Miles and Huberman noted that “the conclusions drawn from a matrix can never be better than the quality of the data entered”(p. 241).

E.1. Data Analysis

There were essential two steps to the data analysis that were based on the analytic techniques of Huberman and Miles (1994), Miles and Huberman (1994) and Marshall and Rossman (1995). Following the collection of the data, the first step in the data analysis process consisted of data reduction. This process consisted of transcribing the interviews, recording and reviewing field notes, and clarifying the data by conducting additional interviews with the participants. As indicated, each interview was digitally and audio recorded and transcribed. The audio data were compared with field notes to underscore areas perceived to have special relevance to the participants, which the researcher inferred from emphasis made during the interviews. The annotated transcriptions with marginal notes and questions were provided to each of the participants for clarification. The revised transcriptions with clarifying comments were then compiled for the second phase of the data analysis—interpretation analysis.

The interpretive analysis, which was the second step of the analysis, had several components. First, transcriptions based upon in-depth interviews with public relations practitioners were examined. Notes were made in the margins where the researcher had questions about comments made by participants that required clarification. The edited

transcripts were then used as the basis for contact summary sheets, which facilitated identifying relevant issues, common patterns or similar themes or categories. The researcher initially examined the data to develop the recurrent themes, patterns, and categories. By using an interactive model of data display, which included tables of “cut and pasted” lists and matrices, the researcher established loosely connected relationships among the various themes, patterns, and categories.

F. Mailing List Discussion

Mailing lists, newsgroups, and associations are each focal points of discussion, exchange of information and professional development. Brilliant research sites in their own right, a mailing list, newsgroup or association can also be a fine contact point for experts, or the site of focused, specialized libraries.

Therefore, along with the interviews, the researcher also decided to discuss the topic of the feminization of the public relations industry in a mailing list of a reputable association of public relations professionals and educators in Indonesia (which shall remain anonymous). This discussion revolved around a job vacancy posting dated December 2, 2008, for the position of public relations officer at a major shopping center in East Java. The job vacancy advertisement posted the following requirements:

1. Having at least 2 years of experience in the same field from a reputable shopping center (especially in the Jakarta area)
2. Female, maximum 30 years old
3. Good looking
4. Fluent in English, both oral & written
5. Creative, energetic, team player, & fast learner.
6. Having large connection with local & nationwide media
7. Social networking skills
8. Familiar with the Internet & other channel promotion media
9. Having a great understanding of customer loyalty management.

The advertisement then concluded by stating the deadline in which candidates must submit their updated curriculum vita, application letter and latest photo.

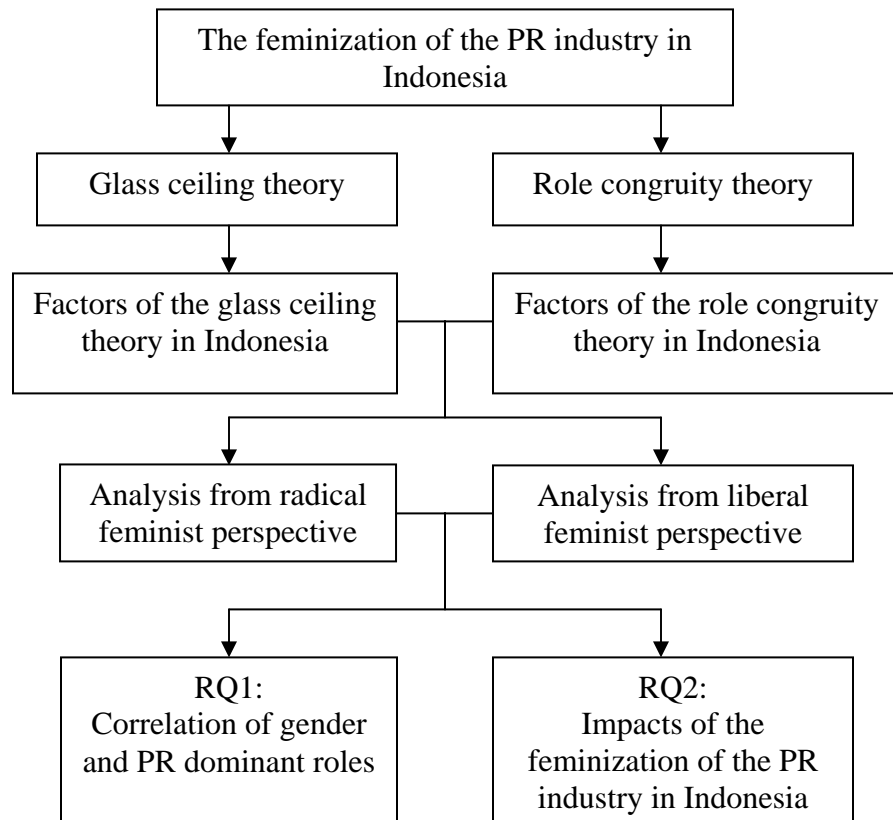
Even though this mailing list discussion was conducted after the interviews were finalized, the researcher felt that this posting was very relevant to her research, especially requirements number 2 and 3 mentioned above. Participants of the mailing list responded by discussing their opinions about people's perceptions about the public relations profession, specifically in regard to gender. Therefore, the researcher seeks to observe how these opinions relate to the impacts of the feminization of public relations in Indonesia.

CHAPTER VI

RESULTS

The previous chapter presented the research method used in this study along with the data analysis procedures. This chapter discusses the results from the in-depth interviews with public relations practitioners and educators in Jakarta, Indonesia. The format of the results and analysis can be seen in the following diagram:

Table 2
Diagram of Results and Analysis



In this chapter, the feminization of the public relations industry in Indonesia is analyzed through the glass ceiling theory and role congruity theory because the researcher feels that these are the two theories that are most relevant to the gender discrepancies in the public relations industry. Based on these two theories, the researcher explains the factors and aspects that pertain to Indonesia according to the interview results. And because this study is strengthened by gender communication theory, these factors are then analyzed from a radical feminist lens and a liberal feminist lens. From these two analyses then the researcher seeks to answer the two research questions: 1. Is there a correlation between the Indonesian public relations practitioner's gender and public relations dominant role? And, 2. What are the impacts of the feminization of public relations in Indonesia?

The data analysis of this study used matrices with the help of computer software; however, the researcher chooses not to present the results in matrices in order to avoid the appearance of claiming generalization. Therefore, the researcher relies heavily on the important themes and personal quotes from the respondents, and emphasizes that these findings only pertain to this specific study and these specific respondents. The researcher claims no statistical generalizability of the findings.

A. The Glass Ceiling Theory

As explained in previous chapters, the glass ceiling refers to an invisible barrier that blocks women from obtaining top jobs in corporations (Hymowitz & Schellhardt, 1986), arguing that "brains and competence" served as a means of achieving promotion only to a certain level. After that, CEOs usually promote those with whom they feel comfortable working, people who have passed "invisible" tests, such as getting along in

the business world, having the "right" temperament, having an acceptable "commitment," and having a suitable "management style." As a result of these invisible tests, an invisible glass ceiling was created on upper management jobs, and ultimately "a caste system of men at the top and women lower down" (p. D1).

During the 1990s, three feminist studies on the rising numbers of women in the public relations field introduced feminist research that theorized about the issues of status of a female plurality. Two of these studies, called the glass ceiling studies, were conducted for the PRSA to audit its membership about gender issues. The third study was the Excellence study, the most comprehensive study in the 1990s of what represents excellence in public relations (J. Grunig, 1992).

The first glass ceiling study concluded that in general, women were less satisfied with their jobs than were men. Women observed more gender-based inequities than did men (Wright et al., 1991, p. 32). This, however, was not true in this research. All respondents, male and female, claimed that they are satisfied with the advancement of their careers in public relations. Almost all considered their career to be fast-paced. Nobody claimed his or her gender to be a hindering factor, except for one female university lecturer with previous experience in corporate public relations, who said,

"When I first started working in PR, in both of my previous workplaces there was a stigma that it was not good for a woman to pursue her career and surpass the men, be it in career level, or work hours, so if a woman works overtime and leaves work late at night, that's frowned upon. Especially because I worked in PR under marketing, automatically I had to travel a lot, inside and outside the country. Personally, traveling too much had also taken away my private time with

family and friends, especially during local business trips where I was by myself and had to stay at a hotel. The way the other hotel guests looked at me during check-in and breakfast felt awkward although clearly, during business trips, I wore business attires, but still, in the eyes of Indonesians, it is still awkward for a woman to stay alone at a hotel. Maybe things have changed a bit in the past few years because more women are now pursuing careers, so logically the view of the society has to change. There's also a bit of obstacles from my family, especially from my father's side, because he still feels that a woman belongs in the house, taking care of the family, so that's pretty much against the fact that in my work I have to often work overtime and go out of town. Even until today.” – F27

Her answer shows how the Indonesian society still has a double standard for men and women in pursuing careers. Without her having to say it, the respondent's answer shows how heavily patriarchal the Indonesian social system is. Her family has become an obstacle for pursuing her career because members of it still believe that women belong in the kitchen; notice that she also said “especially from my father's side.” It must be known that the respondent at the time of the interview was in her late 30s, married, and had two children. The fact that her father, in addition to her husband, still has a say in her career choices shows how dominant the male is in Indonesia's social structure, including families. This patriarchal system will be further explained throughout the chapter.

The rest of the respondents stated things other than gender to be the supporting and hindering factors in their careers. These supporting factors, among others, were: Good teamwork and a healthy working environment; the practitioner's ability to maintain relationships with clients; strong willpower; a hard-working character; the ability to

handle multiple tasks at once; high energy; passion; experience; support from the higher-ups; flexibility; dedication; integrity; professionalism; the ability to adapt to different environments; supporting facilities offered by the company; having the right educational background; the ability to approach the CEO; and having strategic knowledge and open-mindedness.

On the other hand, the hindering factors, among others, were: Cultural differences; jealousy among coworkers, especially among females; lack of trust and underestimation by the higher-ups; difficulty in obtaining clients; rigid bureaucracy; organizational structure; closed organizational system; lack of fluency in English; and people's misperception about the work of public relations.

As one may assume, the factors mentioned above are fairly general and have little to do with gender. Nevertheless, the researcher believes that some of these factors actually contribute to the glass ceiling in the public relations industry, and therefore, are not so irrelevant to gender discrepancy issues after all. Also, even though all but one respondent claimed that they were satisfied with the advancement of their careers, the researcher wonders whether perhaps male and female practitioners had different expectations when it comes to their career goals, and that perhaps the women may be satisfied with less, whereas men are more ambitious. This will be further discussed in this chapter.

The second glass ceiling study found that over time, the roles in public relations were changing during economic circumstances, and required both male and female practitioners to innovate themselves to remain up-to-date with the changes within their organizations (Toth, 2001). The third, known as the Excellence study, indicated that

among the most excellent organizations, both CEOs and top communicators reported above average support for women, which included three groups of items: 1.

Nondiscrimination policies enacted to protect women employees, including sexual harassment policies; 2. Supportive work environment for women such as ‘fostering women’s leadership abilities and paying men and women equally for equal or comparable work; and 3. Mentoring and advancement programs established for women such as ‘enacting special policies, procedures, or programs designed to promote an understanding of the concerns of female employees’ (Toth, 2001, p. 241).

Even though the term glass ceiling traditionally refers to the barrier that women encounter in climbing the corporate ladder, interestingly in this research the male respondents are actually the ones aware of such a glass ceiling. This is contrary to the findings from Wright et al. (1991), in which the men interviewed in public relations research studies have denied the reality of the problem, even after being presented with detailed and well-researched information regarding salary discrepancies and other inequities. The following comments came from male PR managers at a multinational bank, a multinational oil company, an automobile company, and a government department, consecutively:

- “Yes, that I don’t know...But when we get to the corporate level, at the end the higher-ups are men, like in our group, the Asia Pacific region, it’s a man. In London, also a man. My friend at [oil company] is also a man. So it’s true that certain levels belong to women and certain levels belong to men” – M2.
- “...But in this world there’s no such thing as equal treatment...because women and men are different, they could never be equalized, in practice they will always

be different. For example, there's an employee who is a young woman, and coincidentally the boss has a young daughter. He will probably be reminded of his daughter, and that may actually be good for her [to stay in a lower level]..." – M12.

- "The top management should be a man...because as far as I've observed, it's always been a man. I've never seen a woman on top, so I can't compare, I can't learn from that. But why mess with perfection if the men are already doing a good job? I think this is the best way, because PR and top management are different. The top management has to deal with others, not just PR...especially in this company, we have many technical issues because we're in the automobile industry. If we were talking about the perfume industry, maybe it would be different, there should be more ladies there, or in cosmetics and so on. But this is a car company, with many technical issues and instruments and where many men work" – M6.
- "It depends on our understanding about PR. If we're talking about 'our' PR, I'll tell you, it's hard for a woman, even though it's still not definite. If we talk about the PR functions that are generally understood by the public, that means marketing PR, and that's suitable for women. But even so, in the top levels it would be hard for her. Because that's the general understanding of people, therefore PR is still identified with women, because it's limited to marketing" – M7.

The above respondents not only concurred with the existence of a glass ceiling in their workplace but also agreed that indeed that is the way it should be because the managerial

position is considered 'too hard' for women to handle. This goes along with Grunig et al. (2001), who said that public relations work at the higher level is often still a male domain, and pointed out that one of the concerns with feminization is that the status of senior public relations roles is weakening as more women enter these positions. This may be a reason why in times of economic downturn and crisis, companies are cutting back the public relations people. There is an assumption that public relations is too "soft," and the regarded as more "hard hitting" professions of accountants and lawyers are leading the communications brief (Grunig et al., 2001).

As mentioned in the previous chapter, in 1991 the U.S. Federal Glass Ceiling Commission (Martin, 1991, p.2) concluded that some factors that contributed to the barrier for female and minority advancement included:

1. Corporate lack of attention to equal opportunity principles, such as monitoring the progress and development, as well as compensation patterns, for all employees;
2. Discriminatory placement patterns;
3. Inadequate record keeping;
4. Internal recruitment practices that maintain white male-dominated networks; and
5. A lack of EEOC (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission) involvement in the hiring processes for middle and upper-level management positions.

In a 2002 article, Brenda Wrigley identified factors contributing to the glass ceiling according to 27 female public relations and communications managers in the United States, and examined the findings from both a radical feminist and a liberal feminist perspective. In this study, based on the interview responses with both the female and male public relations practitioners and educators, the researcher has also gathered the

most common factors she believes contribute to the glass ceiling in the public relations industry in Indonesia.

A.1. Factors Contributing to the Glass Ceiling

Even though the vast majority of the female respondents at first disagreed that there is a glass ceiling for women in public relations, throughout their interview, many had given examples from their personal experiences or the experiences of others that suggested otherwise. According to the researcher, this denial is precisely one of the main factors contributing to the glass ceiling.

The researcher identifies definitions and presence of a glass ceiling through factors contributing to the glass ceiling. This study identified seven factors as possible contributors to the glass ceiling for Indonesian women in public relations and communications management:

Factor 1: Denial

One major obstacle to women's progress is denial that gender discrimination exists. The data suggest that one factor contributing to the glass ceiling for female practitioners is denial. This factor was identified by putting together the comments and contradictions heard in the interviews with the female practitioners. Data analysis resulted in a list of factors that the researcher suggests may be contributing to this denial. The examples come from the women's voices themselves:

I'm not capable yet of being a manager

Findings from the interviews show that women lack self-esteem and undervalue their worth. Many female practitioners who enter the public relations profession actually doubt themselves, believing they are not ready for success or family pressures will not allow them to succeed. One common trait found among female respondents is the denial that they should already be in a managerial position by now.

Some researchers (e.g., L. Grunig, 1989) ascribe women's low confidence as professionals to the "impostor syndrome," which occurs when women feel like impostors, realizing they are working in a man's world and are subject to men's rules. The psychological result can be self-doubt (Bell & Young, 1986). As one female assistant manager at a five-star hotel blamed herself for not yet being a manager,

"I'm supposed to be a manager by now, but I don't want to hold a certain position, let's say, PR Manager, and have people telling me, 'you're not capable enough, how come you're the manager?' because I know I'll ruin it" – F35.

This respondent then contradicted herself by explaining that her workplace follows certain steps for promotions, steps that apply to all employees. And according to these steps, she should already be a manager by then. The respondent denied her own capability and blamed herself for not yet being a manager.

The researcher believes that personal blame is mainly due to mass media representations of singularly successful women. Many respondents gave examples of famous female corporate leaders featured in business magazines, who made it to the top of the company. Mass media also present the image of Superwomen, an unrealistic image of women with tremendously successful careers, passionate personal lives, abundant

money, and plenty of time to enjoy it all. This is a tough image to live up to, but women often blame themselves for not being able to achieve it.

There is no glass ceiling in PR! It's all women!

Also a common finding is the denial of the existence of the glass ceiling itself. For instance, one female managing director of a public relations agency denies the existence of a glass ceiling in the public relations industry by saying,

“In this agency, the president director and founder is a woman. Until today, all the managers are women. No problem, there's a lot of female managers in this industry.”

But when asked whether she was aware of any gender discrimination in the PR profession, she said,

“It's true that there is, but does it always have to be a man who leads?” No. It's true that the old paradigm still exists, that PR is female. So in the end, all the bosses are women. There are many men who lead, but that doesn't mean that men are more capable than women. And at the lower levels, I don't think there is a gender difference. Especially in the PR consultancy field, because we PR people understand. Once we go to the client's side, maybe they still don't understand, and there may be gender differentiations, but not in consultancies.” – F8

Here the respondent contradicted herself several times, first she said there was not a problem because all her bosses have been female, but then she admitted that the old paradigm still existed. But most importantly, she stressed that in the lower levels, there was no gender discrepancy, again, associating public relations with the lower

technical functions. Then, she admitted that gender discrepancies may exist among her clients, but denied that such discrepancy existed in her organization.

It's O.K., I'm not ambitious anyway!

Many female respondents in this study spoke as if having ambitions were a bad thing. When being asked what they hoped to happen in their careers in the near future, female respondents were often hesitant to do so, and when they did, they would say something very general such as 'to expand my network' or 'to learn new things', and others simply say that they do not have any ambitions. One example is a public relations manager at a major food and beverage company who has held the same position for five years and claimed that she has no intention to move up the corporate ladder,

“Actually, I’m not ambitious, I don’t have any big targets for the future. Some of my friends have asked me, ‘why are you still working for [major food and beverage company]?’ I tell them the positive things about this company. When I started working here, I made a commitment that if after working 10 years I don’t gain anything, then I’ll move on. As my supervisor says, we learn and get paid at the same time. We work by trial and error, and the company tolerates our errors.”

She appreciated the company for ‘tolerating’ the ‘errors’ her department does from time to time, as if the company were doing her a favor. But when asked what she thought the status of public relations was in her company, she answered,

“Good, so good that we’re often overloaded. I guess that’s better than not being regarded at all” – F1.

One may easily assume that 10 years is a long wait to gain something—promotion, raise, knowledge, etc.—So the fact that she committed herself to wait for a decade shows that

she underestimates her own capabilities. It seems as if the respondent was making excuses for the company, by claiming that the company was very understanding of her, despite her mistakes, and thus undervalued and denied the role of public relations when it actually plays an important role in that company, as she herself claimed. It should also be noted that in her workplace, out of 400 managers, only 10 of them are female.

I don't mind not getting a promotion for more than a decade, I love my job.

One female PR Department Head at a property company, who has been holding the same position for 13 years, constantly denied her desire to move up the corporate ladder and later contradicted her own statement:

“Truthfully, there are some who, once they’ve become a Department Head would like to at least move up to the VP position, maybe not necessary part of the Board of Directors, but at least VP. But the thing is, in this company, PR’s career is very narrow. But back to myself, I really enjoy my work. This company offers more than one lucky factor, so I’m not always in the same place, I get to hold many different accounts, so I don’t get bored. It’d be crazy to say that I didn’t care, I’m not an angel, but I have too much fun working on my projects, so whether they want to promote me or not, it’s up to them, anyway I report to the President Director.” – F6

And when being asked what hindered her career, she agreed that it was the company’s structure, but then denied that it was a burden to her:

“The hindering factor in my career, I guess it’s the structure, but I see it this way, if you see a wall in front of you, don’t hit the wall, it’s better to paint the wall, make your life interesting for yourself, so you won’t think that it’s a burden, that’s

how I choose to think...It's okay, in this company there's no high position in PR, like VP for example, so why bother dreaming about it?"

The respondent then carried on by saying how busy she always was and that public relations was regarded very highly—importance-wise—by the top management, but when asked whether public relations was part of the decision making process, she said,

“No, but every morning we have to prepare clippings, which will be used later on for decision making.” – F6.

The researcher believes that if structurally, public relations is placed low in the hierarchy, then it would be hard, if not impossible, for public relations to be part of the dominant coalition. This respondent denied and contradicted herself by priding how important the role of public relations was in her workplace, but then limited its function to mere clipping activities, a technical task, but maybe she did not really understand that public relations functions go beyond media monitoring and clippings. Such limitation on activities would explain why public relations is placed low in the organizational structure and why she was still holding the exact same position after more than a decade.

Women's timidity about being ambitious may also lead to women's timidity about salary negotiation, which may lead to women being paid less than men. This finding is in accordance with research by Matthews (1988), who observed that many female practitioners confessed that they were inexperienced with the basic methods of salary negotiation. This is also pertinent to Indonesia's high context culture that would prevent a person from straightforwardly demanding a certain salary. More importantly, working married women often do not consider their salaries very important because their husbands are the primary breadwinners of the family, as will be discussed next.

Factor 2: Patriarchal system

The researcher actually believes that this is the main culprit that contributes to the glass ceiling in public relations. However, she placed it as second—not that these factors are in any particular order—to denial because she believes that denying and ignoring the problem is even worse and does not make it go away.

In feminist theory, the opposite of feminism is not masculism but patriarchy. Patriarchy refers to the societal structure on the basis of family units, in which fathers hold the primary responsibility for the welfare of, and thus authority over, their families. The use of the word *patriarchy* in feminist literature has become so full with emotive associations that some writers choose to use a more objective and technical synonym, *androcentric*, which means man-centered. Most feminists, however, do not propose to replace patriarchy with matriarchy, instead they strive for equality (though some have argued for separation).

In Indonesia, the patriarchal system is rarely questioned—not to mention challenged—by either men or women. As a female PR Assistant Manager of a hotel said, “I don’t think women face more challenges in their career, because as a woman, if I feel like it’s time to stop, then we’ll stop. That’s not a hindrance to our career, because if we already have children and our husbands make enough money, then I think we should stop.” – F35

It seems that this respondent was only pursuing her career to spend her single years and admitted that once she gets married, the husband becomes the breadwinner, and therefore she should quit her job.

In patriarchal societies, the concept of patriarchy is often used to refer to the expectation that men take primary responsibility for the welfare of the community as a whole, acting as representatives via public office. Patriarchy is indeed still a reality in Indonesia, so much so that many people cannot imagine any other way of organizing human life, “Read any magazine, watch any *sinetron* (TV soap opera), talk to any bureaucrat, professional, intellectual, or religious group. None has a clue about values other than masculine values (Arivia, 2006). Until today, in certain religious as well as ultranationalist circles in Indonesia, the concepts of ‘culture’ and ‘women’ are still endowed with heavenly decree. “In the intellectual climate nurtured during the 32 years of an authoritarian, patriarchal regime, cultural values are “given,” and women must follow their *kodrat*, i.e., that they are religiously and naturally decreed to be. To see *kodrat* as a social construct, or to question the sacredness of motherhood, is sacrilege” (Budianta, 2000, p. 48).

When asked whether in order for a female practitioner to be on the same career level as male practitioners she should be unmarried and not have kids, a male government PR practitioner answered:

“Oh yes. If she’s truly career-oriented, she will be successful in PR. My friend, until today, is still unmarried. She battles with her own idealism, and until today remains unmarried...But I’m sure this applies to all professions in Indonesia. If she wants to concentrate on her career, become a career woman, she shouldn’t be bothered by domestic issues, family issues, right? She should remain single!” – M7.

He did say, however, that these limitations do not pertain only to the field of PR but most other professions,

“This is the reality. Although it’s not saying that women are not capable. But in reality, let’s see in all government departments, there’s seldom any woman, there’s only one in the Health Department, but in general, the head of PR in the government is always male” – M7.

He then continues to explain why women could not be optimal in their careers,

“In a patriarchal society, there’s already a division of duties. The domestic sector is the women’s responsibility, and the public sector is the men’s responsibility...but because of progress, women also want to be in the public sector. But these values do not necessarily release her from the domestic duties. On the other hand, you can’t tell men, ‘you have to be responsible for the domestic issues,’ that still cannot be done...Even if a woman participates in the public sector, the domestic issues are still her responsibility. If there are employee problems in the domestic sector, it’s the woman’s fault! That’s called double role-playing, and that’s hard. Therefore, women cannot work optimally.” – M7.

While another male respondent said:

“Especially in Indonesia, we have a different culture. When a woman gets married, she has a different role. When’s she’s married, usually her first priority is her family, especially her child. So I have a friend, she’s married, and has to carry out PR tasks which sometimes require 24 hours of your time, she would say, “Sorry I can’t, I have to meet my children,” that’s usually the difference between

males and females, but that's okay, no problem. That only means that her focus is toward her children" – M2.

Clearly, the men are viewed as the breadwinners and a woman's place is at home taking care of domestic issues. The above quotes show that women are regarded as incapable of balancing family and career. But most interestingly, only women are expected to be concerned with the family and domestic issues; men were not expected to be concerned with balancing family and career.

One common trait as a response to the patriarchal system is gender role socialization, which results in perceived gender differences. As one female Account Manager at a multinational PR agency said,

"I feel that women are really super women. We're so multitasking, that while taking care of our families, our jobs are not less prioritized. That's why I'm so grateful that I'm a woman. Here, many of my colleagues are heads of families, they cannot be bothered by their wives calling about their sick child. But women can type while calling home, 'take this medicine...' So I don't see any obstacles as a woman" – F13.

Women in the interviews associated their gender role socialization to their later experiences in the workplace. Women and men often carry their gender role socialization to work. One interview participant pointed out that she believes that the notion that women are 'helpers' limits how men perceive women's capabilities to lead and to manage the bottom line for organizations.

Likewise, several women explained that women are socialized to accept more limited views of success; at best, women are taught that they can reach certain career

goals, but maybe only in certain fields or only in limited job titles. Some female respondents confessed that women rather freely accept these limitations as “the way things are” for women. Once again, seldom challenging the parameters shaped by the patriarchal system, a female PR executive agrees with the previous statement:

“Honestly, in Indonesia there are still very few female top managers, which goes back to gender issues. The chances of a woman to reach top level management is also very little, looking back to what the function and role of women really are. So for a woman to choose her career over her family, people will surely view her as a bad mother. Whereas men, their function and role are as heads of the family, so they are the breadwinners, their careers don’t become a problem” – F34.

Clearly, patriarchy here does not only pertain to family units, but also heads of state, cabinet ministers, and the top executives of major companies are still mostly men. The researcher believes that patriarchy is a major contributor to the glass ceiling. Even though there are large numbers of women in this industry, it turns out that many of these women still succumb to the belief that their place is at home taking care of the family. And because this is their God-given *kodrat*, it would be unnatural for women to pursue managerial levels, making them unfit managers.

The researcher thinks that this is actually a vicious cycle: Because public relations is considered a feminized profession, the majority of its professionals are women. And because of the patriarchal system, women often do not move up the corporate ladder. And because these women cannot climb the corporate ladder, public relations remains lowly regarded in the organization. And of course, because public relations is a lowly regarded

function, it will not be part of the dominant coalition and participate in the organization's decision-making process.

Factor 3: Old paradigms about public relations

As in many other countries, historically, the public relations profession in Indonesia has been linked to women. It is not enough that the practitioners are women, however, but these women have to be attractive because they are considered the front liners, the representatives, and hence, the image of the company. It was traditionally assumed that if the representative appeared attractive, then the public would immediately have a better perception regarding the company.

”People tend to think of PR practitioners as mere frontliners with short skirts, pantihoses, high heels, and good make up, and that these practitioners need not be smart as long as they are good looking, I think that the mindset of the companies still focus on the notion that a competent PR practitioner has to be female. Moreover, sometimes PR is related to attractive women who are able to woo or lobby the clients, and this sometimes gives female PR practitioners a negative image” – F33.

Even though the public relations industry has advanced since its beginnings, and many organizations are now using public relations in their regular operation, this paradigm still prevails. So much so that a job advertisement for a public relations position posted in the media would often include ‘female’ and ‘attractive appearance’ as requirements for the candidates. Some respondents attempted to explain the reason for this paradigm. Their answers included:

- “Because in the beginning PR was considered a tool to attract buyers, now the majority of PR practitioners are attractive women. Moreover, the term PR is also misused and considered equal to waitresses at karaoke bars” – F26.
- “Why is it like that? Because PR in Indonesia started off as ‘humas,’ mass relations, right? In mass relations, your duty is to meet many people and explain something. Because of this people-meeting, your appearance has to be good, and because your appearance has to be good, you have to be a woman. But there are no strategic factors in it, they don’t even consider it. So eventually, PR practitioners are mostly women, who are physically beautiful, attractive...but don’t have strategic abilities” – M2.
- “This is an old myth. Today, people are more realistic and result-driven, as opposed to being gender-driven. However, I’d understand if in some practices, gender bias prevailed, being influenced by Asia’s high context culture, in which women are perceived to have more chances in approaching decision makers, be it men or women, compared to the male approach by male PR practitioners” – M10.

Renowned public relations practitioner Lesly (1988) argues that the impact of a largely female field would lead to the creation of the image of public relations as a soft, instead of heavy-hitting, top management function; lowering professional aspirations because women wanted to do technical rather than managerial work; and lowering income levels because fields that became “female” experienced such losses. Lesly (1996) states that women were detrimental and describes their condition as leading to the Balkanization of the field, saying “the unfortunate labeling of the field as a feminine one. Women are able

and in some ways more skillful, but the image unfortunately has consequences” (p. 43). As seen from the responses, in Indonesia, the fact that public relations is a largely female field does not only give it a ‘soft’ image because women tend to do more technical rather than managerial work, but it also leads to the assumption that these female practitioners are hired only for their looks, and therefore public relations does not require intelligence because their main duties are only to accompany and entertain clients. This is actually an age-old paradigm regarding public relations professionals in Asian countries, and it clearly still stands in Indonesia.

The researcher strongly believes that these paradigms contribute to the glass ceiling. If physical appearance is a prerequisite for the job, then most likely the work revolves around tasks that require such an attractive appearance. And most likely, these tasks are not the tasks of decision makers. Not only are public relations practitioners considered unintelligent because attractiveness—as opposed to educational background and experience—is often a main requirement, but the work of public relations is also often misunderstood by people of other professions, by the management, and unfortunately, by the practitioners themselves, leading to encroachment, and often, stagnation. The impacts of the old paradigms about public relations will be further analyzed in this chapter.

Factor 4: Women against women

The theme of women not helping other women in the workplace was often mentioned during the interviews. Many female respondents revealed that instead of helping each other, many did not get the support they expected from other women and

they resented it. Some respondents pointed out that unmarried female bosses are even more unsupportive of their female subordinates:

- “I’ve always had bosses who are single. Unmarried female bosses are especially hard to handle, I don’t know if it’s the hormones or what, because they’re unmarried, they’re more cynical toward women. This doesn’t happen with male bosses. They’re more rational, when we’re talking business, we’re strictly business. After that, if we want to become friends that’s up to us. Female bosses are more egotistical toward female subordinates” – F21.
- “Unmarried female managers are usually even less understanding than are male managers toward female subordinates, because they’ve never experienced the responsibilities of married women” – F34.

The researcher finds this very interesting; not only are females considered unfit managers, but unmarried females are considered even more unfit managers, as if unmarried female managers would suffer from hormonal imbalances that would impair their leadership capabilities.

What are women doing with that resentment? This is important because it seems as if they are not channeling this resentment against the structure of the organization or the larger culture. They channel their resentment at other women, and this may result in women believing that the glass ceiling is partially caused by the other (unsupportive) women. As one Assistant Manager of a five-star hotel put it,

“In this department the girls are very competitive, they’re jealous of each other, so they want to see the other girls fall. And this are just the girls, not the guys.

Except for one, but I think he’s gay, that’s why he’s like that, too. The guys are all

nice, they help us, they show good gestures, they act professional with everyone, but not the girls” – F35.

Many assumptions could be made from the previous responses. Perhaps there is fear of homosexuals and thus, the gay coworker is considered one of the girls who are ‘jealous’ and would like to see other female coworkers fail. Perhaps a woman who is older than 30 and is unmarried is automatically labeled as a lesbian, and is regarded as ‘not normal.’ There may also be resentment of these women’s peculiar commitment to their careers. Another assumption could be the age-old fear that if one person does well, the other will look bad by comparison. Regardless, this may sidetrack attention from the deeper, more prevalent structural contributors to the glass ceiling and will turn the attention away from gender role socialization, corporate culture, or societal norms and expectations. Women are blaming other women.

This resentment may prevent women from advancing even more. Not only are these women already working in a male-dominated world, but they are also resenting other women. Moreover, respondents argue that women are already considered too emotional – and often irrational. This jealousy and resentment-based competition will only make women seem more unfit to hold managerial positions. Therefore, the researcher believes that such resentment contributes to the glass ceiling.

Factor 5: Corporate structure and culture

The female respondents in this study argued that they believe the cultures of corporations vary greatly from the cultures found in agency environments, saying that, in general, corporations provide fewer opportunities for women to advance than do

agencies. One of the reasons is the organizational structure of some corporations, which simply does not have a high position for public relations.

One female PR Department Head has held the same position for 13 years, and said that she could not be promoted to vice president because there is no such position for public relations in the corporate hierarchy. But apparently, according to the respondents, corporate structure is less of a problem in public relations agencies,

“When it comes to the PR consultancy field, there is no gender difference, we have many female leaders, and especially in the lower levels, the majority is female, but once we enter the clients’ side, maybe they still don’t understand, and that’s why [gender discrepancies] happen, but not in the consultancy field” – F8.

Besides corporate structure, corporate culture is also a major contributor to the glass ceiling. One female PR Manager of a fast moving consumer goods company also admitted that in her workplace, out of 400 managers, only 10 were female. She was one of the very few female participants who argued that even though women are undoubtedly suitable to become PR managers, men are more suitable than women to become top managers or CEOs of a company:

“PR revolves around a woman’s world. But outside of PR, things are more advanced. So based on competence and skills, it would be more suitable for men. I think men are more suitable for the important positions. I mean, maybe women and men have the same chances, but women often encounter many obstacles, and I think that the obstacles that men face are minimal” – F1.

One sign of this corporate culture is the phenomenon of men feeling threatened by women and needing to protect their positions of power. This has been a recurring theme

in public relations gender research, as in the case of the 1991 Public Relations Society of America (PRSA) Task Force Study (Wright et al., 1991). Many women in this study also believed that corporate cultures and maintenance of men's power results in several unwritten rules: it is all right to hire women, but only for certain types of jobs. In some fields such as communications, women will work harder than men, and because women are willing to do so, they will be given more and more work. As one female PR Executive explained,

“Sometimes I feel that because I'm a woman, my supervisor gives me assignments that...my goodness, why do I have to do this? this is not my position! just because I'm a woman I am given secretarial assignments. Sometimes because we're women, we're given assignments that are not actually our responsibility, but we have to, because for instance, we're the only woman in a team” – F21.

This explains why there is a such a large number of women in public relations but yet they encounter more barriers than do men in climbing the corporate ladder. Employers often recruit young women because they are often a cheaper, more flexible, and less ambitious option, compared to confident and ambitious young men. Many young women are employed in technical positions rather than those with recognized paths to management (Grunig et al., 2001). The researcher believes that succumbing to such corporate culture and structure would contribute to the glass ceiling in the public relations industry.

Factor 6: Differentiation of functions and duties

As mentioned previously in the explanation of Factor 2: Patriarchal system, there is a differentiation of roles and duties between men and women in the Indonesian society. This differentiation also tends to exist in the workplace. Broom (1982) found that men and women differed considerably on which roles they found themselves performing: “About half of the women see themselves operating primarily in the communication technician role, while more than half of the men report the expert prescriber role as their dominant role” (p. 21). Broom argued that this difference could not be a result of the differences in age or experience, instead, he speculated a gender difference existed. This is also true with the respondents of this study. The following description from a male respondent more or less summarizes the responses from the majority of the male respondents:

“As a PR practitioner here, my role is quite complex because we have different terms such as public relations, public affairs, publications specialist...my role is indeed linked to media relations, branding, internal communications, then there’s CSR, government relations, event sponsorship, that’s usually the core PR role.

Aside from that, I have branding marketing, channel marketing, and many more, so that may be the core responsibility for me in this company’s PR” – M2.

On the other hand, most of the female respondents reveal that their main duties are along the lines of event organizing and supporting the marketing department. The following are two descriptions from female respondents, a PR manager of a five-star hotel and a PR section head, respectively, regarding their roles as PR practitioners in their workplace:

- “As part of promotions and as spokesperson of the company...also as event organizer of the hotel” – F19.
- “PR’s role is only as media relations, a complementary role to marketing in holding its events, I still haven’t seen any innovative ideas. Maybe there are limitations given by the organization, we don’t know, but I think that because there are limitations given by the higher-ups, PR in this organization still hasn’t had an influence. It’s not part of the decision-making process” – F29.

Interestingly however, when being asked whether public relations was part of the dominant coalition in their workplace, the majority of both male and female respondents agree that public relations is not yet included in the decision-making process. As one male respondent pointed out,

”It’s true that PR often does not have a significant place, meaning, as a decision maker that is on the same level as other directors. It should already be in that level, but it still cannot give advice to the directors. It depends truly on the directors. So indeed, Indonesians, especially the CEOs, need to be educated that PR is actually a CEO’s tool” – M11.

Even though this is true for both male and female respondents, the researcher believes that the fact that public relations is not yet part of the dominant coalition is one of the impacts of the feminization of the public relations industry. Because, as discussed, women are the paradigm of public relations and the view that women are not fit as managers, the role of public relations is often limited to technical functions. And because public relations is limited to technical functions, public relations is often not included in

the dominant coalition. Hence, regardless of whether the public relations practitioner is female or male, this notion of public relations as a technical function prevails.

The differences in the PR functions and duties held by the male and female respondents in this research coincide with the reports of Wright et al. (1991): “Findings indicate that women are more likely than men to plan public relations programs; write, edit, and produce public relations messages; implement new programs; and carry out decisions made by others. Men are significantly more likely than women to be involved in counseling management and somewhat more likely to make communication policy decisions and to conduct and analyze research” (p. 24).

Some respondents claimed that even the type of public one practitioner deals with is often determined by gender. For instance, government relations is usually assigned to men, whereas media relations is usually assigned to women. As one Senior Corporate Communications Officer of an automobile company said,

“Those who deal with the government have to be men, because you must have a high dignity when dealing with the government nowadays. Not that women have no dignity, but women are more suitable dealing with journalists, media, agencies...dealing with events. But specifically for government, in my opinion a man is more powerful” - M6.

This shows that not only is there a differentiation of duties and functions between male and female practitioners, but there is also a differentiation of which publics each gender is entrusted with. Respondents revealed that unlike women, men are considered to have more dignity and power, whereas women are more suitable for technical functions and dealing with publics that do not require such a high ‘dignity’ – to use the respondent’s

term. The researcher assumes that if male practitioners were considered more dignified and more powerful, they would presumably have more opportunities to advance in their careers. Therefore, the researcher believes that differentiation of duties and functions between male and female practitioners also contributes to the glass ceiling.

Factor 7: Lack of sexual harassment policies

As mentioned earlier, results from the Excellence study showed that among the most excellent organizations, both CEOs and top communicators reported above average support for women. This support included three groups of items: 1. Nondiscrimination policies enacted to protect women employees such as sexual harassment policies (Dozier et al., 1995, p. 158); 2. Supportive work environment for women such as “fostering women’s leadership abilities and paying men and women equally for equal or comparable work” (p. 158); and 3. Mentoring and advancement programs established for women such as “enacting specific policies, procedures, or programs designed to promote an understanding of the concerns of female employees” (p.158).

Even though policies that accommodate female employees, such as maternity and menstruation leaves, are part of the Indonesian labor law, sexual harassment policies turned out to still be highly unknown to the respondents. When asked about whether their companies enforced sexual harassment policies, it turned out that most companies, with the exception of multinational and foreign-based companies, did not have a set of written sexual harassment policies, and yet, not all respondents thought such policies were necessary. Some respondents were defensive when asked about sexual harassment policies, saying:

“No, here the women are feisty, nobody dares to harass them” – F10.

Some are even against such policies:

”This is what scares me sometimes...Is that terminology really necessary, is such understanding really necessary at a company? Here’s the thing, disclosure is relative. I’m afraid to comment on this because my subordinates and I hug each other. So, do we have to regulate that? I don’t know. I’m afraid to comment on that because I think this is highly relative...All companies must have regulations regarding inter-employee relationships and respecting each employee. But when it comes to regulating the details, I think it’s difficult, should we get into that? Is it too soon? Is it too late? Because in this company, sometimes a colleague cries on my chest. Then what happens? From which perspective should we make that a debate?” – M16.

And some have simply never heard of such policies:

“Prohibitions, so far we don’t have. I mean, so far I’ve never heard of such sexual harassment policies or incidents. None” – F20.

But most respondents feel that sexual harassment policies are not yet needed in

Indonesia:

- “If you ask about policies, we definitely don’t have that. We really don’t. But to me, I still feel that Indonesia is still safe when it comes to those issues. Because I often work until late at night, and spend every day with female colleagues, but there’s no problem. They feel secure too, nothing ever happens” – M7.
- “We don’t have sexual harassment policies yet. I think that in such a moral nation such as Indonesia, such policy is not yet needed. I believe that if this company has the right vision and mission, its delivery will reach the employees as well. If the

company does not have the right moral values, then perhaps sexual harassment could happen. But if the company is good, I'm sure that won't happen" – M8. Indeed, some female respondents in this study revealed having felt uncomfortable or intimidated by the opposite sex, be it their colleagues, superiors, or clients. This will be further explained along this chapter.

As the number of women in the PR field continues to grow, women will increasingly take their place in the management ranks. Their ability to work successfully in a harassment-free environment could determine how influential public relations will be in the organization, which has a major impact on the overall status and practice of public relations in general. Therefore, the researcher believes that the lack of sexual harassment policies in the workplace contributes to the glass ceiling.

A.2. Analysis from a Radical Feminist Perspective

In this section, factors contributing to the glass ceiling will be examined first through a radical feminist perspective, based on the comments made by the respondents in terms of a radical feminist view of society's structure and limitations. This section also offers strategies according to the radical feminist view to deal with the factors that are believed to contribute to the glass ceiling.

Factor 1: Denial

From a radical feminist perspective, denial means that women are refusing to confront and blame the structure for not treating them fairly in the workplace. Instead, the women blame themselves for a lack of experience or credentials, claiming that they are

not yet capable of holding a managerial position. Women question themselves, not the structure. On the other hand, the structure, the status quo, remains unchallenged.

The researcher believes that the initial, and sometimes unwavering, denial of the existence of a glass ceiling is the result of a considerably complicated process in the Indonesian culture that aims to maintain the status quo, hence denying that discrimination against women exists in the workplace or elsewhere within the Indonesian culture. This denial may be partially caused by the fact that women deal with cognitive dissonance about the glass ceiling by using an inconsistency reduction strategy such as denial. The researcher would suggest that this may be the primary reason for what is happening.

Festinger's (1957) theory of cognitive dissonance suggests that in order to deal with certain inconsistencies in one's environment, one analyzes what is happening, and balances things by rationalizing his or her feelings toward the situation (West & Wicklund, 1980, p. 70). Therefore, when facing the glass ceiling at work, women may develop strategies to either justify its existence or minimize its effect on their careers.

To acknowledge the glass ceiling means to deal with it somehow, and perhaps denial is one way of dealing with the glass ceiling. As the findings from this study suggest, some successful women believe that there is not a glass ceiling for them because of their hard work and abilities, but perhaps they were lucky by being in the right place at the right time to advance. Of course, these women possibly would prefer to credit their success to merit than luck. Moreover, it may be easier to blame the problem on other fields than to admit that it is right under one's nose, as some respondents in this study did. If their argument were true, then women should have been advancing to the top in much greater numbers than they actually have, given that they make up the vast majority

of practitioners in public relations. Furthermore, Creedon (1991) argues that often, feminization of the field has been considered hegemonically a threat instead of an opportunity.

The rationalizations that the female respondents made in this study—"I'm not capable yet of being a manager"; "There's no glass ceiling in PR"; "I'm not ambitious anyway"; and so on—may help to solve the inconsistencies in their work day to day and help them to continue working in these environments without questioning the status quo. This hypothesis is supported by Huberlie's earlier work, which indicated women resolved their disappointment about not getting ahead by deciding that getting a promotion had lost its appeal (Huberlie, 1996), and this is shown in some of the female respondents' answers that claim that they do not mind holding the same position and never getting promoted because they love their job anyway, and that they are not ambitious to begin with.

Factor 2: Patriarchal system and Factor 3: Old paradigm about public relations

Radical feminism is a philosophy that emphasizes the patriarchal roots of inequality between men and women, or, more specifically, social dominance of women by men. Radical feminism views patriarchy as dividing rights, privileges, and power primarily by gender, and as a result oppressing women and privileging men. Radical feminists emphasize the importance of strategies that will force institutional transformations to occur in order for discrimination against female practitioners to stop.

Radical feminism claims that social structure is patriarchal. "The patriarchy perpetuates a set of gender-laden meanings that promote masculine interests and subordinate feminine ones" (Littlejohn & Foss, 2005, p. 323). Society's structure focuses

and encourages male interests and goals. Naturally, this leads to women's interests and goals being given significantly less priority. Furthermore, women in society are oppressed. "Women are oppressed because the very fabric of society is a constructed reality that devalues and marginalizes women's experience" (Littlejohn & Foss, 2005, p. 323).

Society has been built in such a way that women are subordinated to men. The structures that are created to understand society act to ensure a status quo of females being dominated by males, and this is exactly what is happening also in the workplace. And because society's structure serves the interests of men, the old paradigms that public relations practitioners have to be female and are hired only for their looks, and that therefore public relations practitioners do not require intelligence because their main duties are only to accompany and entertain clients remain pervasive. This is actually an age-old paradigm regarding public relations professionals in Asian countries, and it clearly still stands in Indonesia. But why is it that attractive appearance is only linked to women, when clearly there are also men who are attractive? Perhaps because of the patriarchal assumption that most business people and journalists are males—presumably straight— and thus need to be 'accompanied' and 'entertained' by females.

Radical feminists tend to be more militant in their approach. The term *radical* itself means "getting to the root." Radical feminism is against the existing political and social organization in general because it is inherently tied to patriarchy. Thus, radical feminists tend to be skeptical of political action within the current system, and instead support cultural change that undermines patriarchy and associated hierarchical structures.

It must be remembered, however, that radical feminism opposes patriarchy, not men. To equate radical feminism to man-hating is to assume that patriarchy and men are inseparable, philosophically and politically. Therefore, radical feminism is not against the existence of male practitioners in public relations, but the existence of the patriarchal structure in public relations.

Radical feminists claim that many parents still raise their daughters to be passive about salary issues and narrow in their career ambitions, while raising enlightened sons. One societal strategy has to do with breaking down gender stereotypes. Many respondents argue that the most fundamental problem within public relations is overcoming others' misconceptions about the field. For radical feminists, an obvious recommendation to overcome marginalization of the profession is to educate others – especially top management – about the importance of public relations. Some researchers argue that professional associations can and should specifically tackle the problem of the glass ceiling – for instance, by empowering women by helping them develop salary negotiation skills. Professional associations are considered to be especially appropriate for advancing equity for female practitioners. Professional opportunities for women may be limited elsewhere, but “opportunities within the professional organizations are unlimited” (L. Grunig, 1989, p. 229).

Another initiative within public relations should be reassessing undergraduate education. One suggestion is more required coursework in business, in other words, future practitioners should be educated to be communicators **and** managers.

Therefore, from a radical feminist perspective, female practitioners should aggressively take action in order to dismantle the patriarchal structure in the public relations industry, instead of just adapting to it and making compromises.

Factor 4: Women against women

Women who select the type of work culture that matches their own goals, objectives, and values take advantage of the knowledge that corporate cultures are often more limiting for women who want to advance. It is not that some women cannot advance in corporate environments. It is just a different environment with different rules and structures in place. As Hon, Grunig, and Dozier (1992) claim, the subtleties of the workplace culture may contribute to discrimination against women as much as the more obvious rules of the organization.

Because of the perceived limitations for women who want to advance, women are often more competitive with each other. Radical feminism blames the glass ceiling, in other words, women's oppression on society's patriarchal structure. Hence resenting other women for their inability to climb the corporate ladder just shifts the attention away from the more endemic, deeper structural causes. And it does not solve the problem.

Moreover, sometimes women who are already at the top are considered unsupportive of their female subordinates because they like to exhibit power. And since men are deemed more powerful, more men in the team would make the team more powerful. Thus, female respondents often opt for the strategy to get ahead by "being one of the boys," such as one participant's suggestion that women learn how to play golf. However, if being manlike is not desirable in women, why then, should women want to

become one of the boys? Maybe this is why this strategy never really works. Women are not men.

From a feminist perspective, women must embrace their "femaleness" and "keep their feminine characters free of poisonous masculine additives" (Tong, 1998, p. 48). Radical feminism advocates a revolutionary change in the way management and leadership are viewed, valued, and executed. Instead of building on a system of competition, individualism and dominance, management and leadership should instead rest on "feminine values" of participation and cooperation (Linskyj, 1994).

As noted by Novek (1991), feminism "has long emphasized the special enabling qualities of connectedness for women" (p.2). According to her, when women rally together, they can produce social change: "women forge new social bonds, develop new abilities, learn to respect skills they already possess, and test their capacities for leadership and confrontation" (p.10). Studies that document the advantages of having mentors and role models show that people with sponsors earn more at a younger age, are more satisfied with their job, and have more job mobility and visibility (Wright, L. Grunig, Springston, & Toth, 1991). These relationships are especially important for women, as also indicated by research, because women need such ties to compensate for the lack of stability and power typically offered by their positions (Keele, 1986). Therefore, jealousy and resentment-based competition is useless.

Factor 5: Corporate structure and culture

Radical feminism focuses heavily on the patriarchal structure of society. It is that focus on structure that marks it as modern critical theory. The structures at the focus of

radical feminism, and in fact all modernist critical theories, include everything from corporations, to political systems, to families, to even gender itself. All of these structures are socially constructed. The problem, according to radical feminists, is that these structures are all man-made and hence, place women in subordinate roles (Littlejohn & Foss 2005, p. 323).

Radical feminism seeks to abolish the perceived patriarchy and therefore calls for a radical reordering of society. From a radical feminist perspective, because it is believed that men use social systems and other methods of control, including the corporate structure and culture, to keep non-dominant men and women suppressed, radical feminism suggests dismantling the structure. Until then, according to radical feminism, the glass ceiling will prevail and women will always encounter more obstacles than do men in climbing the corporate ladder.

Factor 6: Differentiation of functions and duties

As mentioned previously, radical feminism does not accept "androgyny" (that men and women both exhibit "masculine" and "feminine" traits), but instead promotes the idea that women must embrace their "femaleness" (Tong, 1998).

Radical feminism also acknowledges a sex/gender system in which biological sexuality has been transferred to cultural activity (Tong, 1998). In other words, culturally constructed differences between men and women are naturalized and viewed as being just as real as biological differences. For instance, the idea that women are more family and home-oriented than men is recognized as a social construction of gender, not necessarily a natural feature of the female sex (Coventry, 2004; Tong, 1998).

This is often difficult in Indonesia because women are considered the weaker sex. Therefore duties that require women to be working until late at night, or require women to travel and thus be apart from their families, are usually assigned to men instead. And Indonesian women often appreciate the gesture and even take advantage of it. But what they may – or may not – fail to consider is that men are then evaluated as more valuable employees, which helps them advance their careers even faster, but makes it even more difficult for women to advance in their careers.

From a radical feminist perspective, organizations should accommodate these natural and socially constructed differences so that women could still embrace their ‘femininity’ and not have to be ‘masculinized’ in their workplace. Such accommodations include female-friendly policies, flextime for mothers, and protection against sexual harassment.

Factor 7: Lack of sexual harassment policies

Despite the increase of the number of women in the labor force, women workers continue to face significant problems in the workplace. One gender-specific problem is sexual harassment. Many feminists today regard sexual harassment as a form of violence similar to rape and battering.

Women who are victims of mild forms of sexual harassment may understandably worry whether a harasser’s conduct is simply a prelude to a violent sexual assault. On the other hand, men, who are rarely victims of sexual assault, may view sexual conduct in a vacuum without full appreciation of social setting or the underlying threat of violence that a woman may perceive. This is especially dangerous when there are no clear policies

prohibiting such behavior. As a result, as respondents in this study indicated, many Indonesians are not familiar with the term sexual harassment. Thus much inappropriate conduct in the workplace is tolerated because it is often not considered sexual harassment until it includes sexual violence.

Because radical feminists believe in changing the ‘system’ itself, another important task for organizations is establishing innovative worklife policies, which could range from family-friendly benefits to support for employees who wish to return to school. Carpenter (as quoted in Barbieri, 1992) argued that family-friendly benefits bring a direct financial boost to employers because employees with child- or elder-care issues are more likely to be absent, to experience more stress, and to have more health problems than those without such responsibilities. At the same time, workers would also feel more connection with and loyalty to their organizations. Suggestions for worklife programs often include child-care and elder-care assistance and policies for making the work place more flexible.

Today’s unflexible career paths originate largely from the old assumption that all employees have a ‘wife’ at home who is managing the domestic department. This presumption may have been accurate in the past, but today it has become unrealistic for many Indonesians.

From a radical feminist perspective, both employment discrimination and sexual harassment are the result of male dominance. Men’s dominant role in the labor force results in the sexualization of the woman worker as part of the job. And because this is the result of the patriarchal system, once again radical feminists suggest the dismantling of the male-dominated structure.

In summary, the seven factors are seen as contributors to the glass ceiling, with the patriarchal system being the chief culprit behind these factors when viewed through a radical feminist lens. Radical solutions, which are those geared toward the institutional transformations that must take place before discrimination against female practitioners stops, may include societal reforms—e.g., increase level of awareness, transformations in federal law, breaking down gender stereotypes; organizational reforms—e.g., establishing innovative work-life policies that are family-friendly, transforming the organizational cultures so that feminine values are esteemed; and reforms in the public relations field itself—e.g., overcoming others' misconceptions about the field, and reassessing undergraduate education in public relations. Radical feminist perspectives question whether things will ever change until women acknowledge that the structure needs to be dismantled; otherwise, women are fooling themselves into believing things will get better for them in the workplace.

A.3. Analysis from a Liberal Feminist Perspective

Even though not too many Indonesians would label themselves as feminists, the majority of the women participating in this study seemed to be coming from a liberal feminist perspective. Liberal feminist approaches usually emphasize characteristics of women themselves, such as their personality traits, communication behavior, and management style. These strategies propose that women leave behind the attitudes and behaviors often associated with stereotypical feminine socialization so they may blend more effectively in to the (male) work-place. Unlike in radical feminist approaches, the restructuring of the 'system' itself is not emphasized. Instead, the strength of liberal feminist strategies is in the empowering effect these tactics bring because liberalism

considers women individuals who can and do overcome discrimination. Moreover, it offers women immediate strategies for securing advancement while still aiming for the institutional transformations that radical feminism recommends.

Therefore, the seven factors contributing to the glass ceiling for Indonesian women in public relations will be now analyzed from a liberal feminist perspective as well.

Factor 1: Denial, interpreted as survival strategies

What a radical feminist might regard as a pointless persistence could be, instead, determination to reach a final goal, even if the process appears to be difficult. In the liberal feminist perspective, the structure can remain, but more adaptive strategies are needed for women who wish to navigate successfully through the workplace culture.

Grunig, Toth, and Hon (1999) have written about survival strategies employed by people of color in American culture. The concept has some relevance to the dilemma that women encounter as they struggle to reach the top of today's organizations.

Instead of denial, liberal feminists describe the rationalizations women make about their current working situation to be more a case of negotiating survival strategies by showing courage when facing adversity. The liberal feminist perspective acknowledges that some women do make it to the top. This is, obviously, a more hopeful view compared to the radical feminist perspective, and indeed, this interpretation may better describe the experiences of women in this study.

From the liberal feminist perspective, women who persist sometimes do advance or take satisfaction from being part of the environment and working for change. After all, who is to say these women are not successful? Success is a very personally held standard.

Obviously, women in this study sought to define success for themselves. In this process, they may find alternative strategies that would ease them into achieving what satisfies them.

The participants in this study revealed adaptive strategies—e.g., by monitoring their behavior and appearance to blend in with the “boys’ club,” aligning themselves with politically strategic people, taking business politics seriously, dressing ‘appropriately’—on many occasions to work within the current system. Many of these women have come to terms with their workplace problems by adapting to their work environments, and some have come to terms with their disappointments in the workplace.

In other words, as many female respondents said, women often have to work twice as hard as their male colleagues, But even though this may be exhausting, they argued that buying into and working the system improves women’s chances for breacking through the glass ceiling. These adaptive strategies also help women to carry on and not dwell on the negative aspects of a discriminatory work environment and for that they, and undoubtedly their employers, find this strategy preferable. Therefore, from a liberal feminist perspective, these adaptive strategies make very practical sense.

Factor 2: Patriarchal system and Factor 3: Old paradigms about public relations, interpreted as gender differences perceived as advantages

Liberal feminists do not propose replacing patriarchy with matriarchy; rather they argue for equality. Some radical feminists and separatist feminists have argued for gendercide against men, matriarchy, or separation. They argue that equality is a difficult idea. It is especially difficult to work out what equality means when it comes to gender because there are real differences between men and women. Although the gender

resistance conception of gender still focuses on gender differences, its proponents argue that these differences should not be eliminated, but rather, celebrated (Ely & Meyerson, 2000). This perspective emphasizes the importance of profound analysis and theorizing of women's experiences and situations, arguing that women have indeed certain experiences and interests that are basically different from those of most men, at least when it comes to how these experiences are formed and enacted under the existing patriarchal conditions (Alvesson & Billing, 1997). Therefore, instead of aiming to dismantle the patriarchal system, liberal feminists recommend that women abandon the attitudes and behaviors often linked to stereotypical feminine socialization so they may blend more effectively into the (male) workplace.

When it comes to the old paradigms about public relations, liberal feminists may suggest women demonstrate even more professionalism. Membership in professional associations are known to give networking opportunities, professional development, and thus, more self-confidence. Some respondents of this study also mentioned professional accreditation, saying that accreditation might help reinforce the overall status of public relations.

Liberal feminism uses the personal interactions between men and women as the place from which to transform society. According to liberal feminists, all women are capable of asserting their ability to achieve equality, therefore it is possible for change to happen without altering the structure of society. Some respondents commented about gender differences, attributing them to biological origins, and claiming that these differences were to be celebrated. Many also talked about the advantage, especially in the public relations profession, women have in being more intuitive than men. Obviously,

some female respondents in this study believe that gender differences are real, but they highlight these differences as positives.

This positive emphasis on gender differences may actually lead to empowerment for some women, who may otherwise become bitter and angry, which is not a wise approach if they are trying to win favor with management. Some of the female respondents believed that as more men share in family and home responsibilities, and more children are raised by women who have professional lives, that gender role socialization will shift to a more androgynous process where boys and girls are equally introduced to possibilities for their roles in society—as has occurred in developed countries such as the U.S.

Several respondents of this study believed that learning how to conduct research is key, and many wished to learn more in depth. Therefore, female practitioners must be able to evaluate the results of communication programs and then educate management about public relations' contributions. The true test of women's success in public relations lies in the results they can demonstrate. Part of this is letting others in the organization know about their good work. If female practitioners can demonstrate results, they will be accepted by management—regardless of gender.

This theme is consistent with Dozier's (1988) argument that female practitioners could gain the power they need to break through the glass ceiling by conducting scanning research—social scientific methods practitioners use “to find out ‘what’s going on’ among internal and external publics (p. 6). According to him, environmental scanning is essential not only for females, but for all practitioners because it gives them control over information, which is a scarce resource and is useful to the dominant coalition of an

organization. Equipped with this information, practitioners are more likely to be included in the management decision making.

The liberal feminist perspective sees transformation of gender roles as possible through a more gradual process of change. Therefore, this awareness is clearly a start toward change.

Factor 4: Women against women, interpreted as competition without elements of gender

From a liberal feminist perspective, what the respondents in this study experience about women being unsupportive of other women may just be the competitive nature of corporate environments that causes an uneasy feeling about certain women in power.

Some participants believed that women acted more like men once they made it to the top as more of an adaptation strategy—as explained in Factor 1—than anything else. These women argued that it was just the competitive pressure of a corporate environment.

Therefore, it is not about gender, instead, it is about the competition everyone in a corporation feels and participates in to climb the corporate ladder. Once equal opportunities are present, women could view other women the same way that they view men – as equal, not worse, competitors for positions in management. Once women no longer fear they will be harming themselves by supporting other women in reaching the top, this phenomenon may disappear gradually.

Factor 5: Corporate structure and culture, interpreted as alterable environments

Liberal feminists argue that with the introduction of feminine values, the corporation could be a different place. Indeed, respondents in this study do not suggest

undoing the entire corporate structure, instead, they suggested reshaping work cultures to provide more female-friendly environments for women to advance—although many respondents suggested neither; they simply argue that women are not suitable for corporate jobs. This adaptation of the structure, rather than dismantling, is a crucial element of liberal feminist theory. It is a way of working within the system.

Therefore, liberal feminists believe that strategies such as developing competence in public relations, demonstrating professionalism, and women empowering themselves may slowly alter the environment of the workplace.

Factor 6: Differentiation of functions and duties

Liberal feminism aims to bring together the different characteristics of the sexes, making men and women into beings not only equal but alike. Liberal feminism tends to have a neutral vision toward different gender; it requires women to mold themselves to fit a citizenship that had already been constructed in the welfare of men. According to liberal feminists, all women are capable of asserting their ability to achieve equality; therefore, it is possible for change to happen without altering the structure of society.

It has been explained earlier in this chapter that many female respondents claim to be proud of being women and to be able to juggle between family and work. However, findings also show that there are differentiations in the duties performed by male and female practitioners. Although celebrating gender differences as advantages, liberal feminists strive for equality. Therefore, this perspective also argues that male and female practitioners are equally competent in handling public relations functions and duties, and thus there should be no differentiation. Men and women should be given the same

functions, imposed the same duties, and be granted the same rights in all things - their occupations, their pleasures, their business.

It is obvious that liberal feminism does not believe in the differentiation of functions and duties between male and female public relations practitioners. It does, however, suggest that once the female practitioners succeed in learning to work 'the system' and blend in with the male colleagues, the differentiation of functions and duties will be significantly diminished.

Factor 7: Lack of sexual harassment policies

Liberal feminists support the equality of men and women through political and legal reform. It focuses on women's ability to show and maintain their equality through their own actions and choices. Therefore, liberal feminism views the personal interactions of men and women as the starting ground from which to transform society into a more gender-equitable place.

Liberal feminists generally work for the eradication of institutional bias and the implementation of better laws. Issues important to liberal feminists include reproductive and abortion rights, sexual harassment, voting, education, "equal pay for equal work," affordable childcare, affordable health care, and bringing to light the frequency of sexual and domestic violence against women. Unlike radical feminism, liberal feminism argues that corporate cultures should not be dismantled; they can only be restructured to provide a better, more welcoming environment for women. Therefore from the liberal feminist perspective, it is crucial that a company puts sexual harassment policies into effect. Not

only that, policies regarding equal opportunity employment and treatment for men and women are also essential.

In conclusion, from the liberal feminist perspective, the seven factors are seen as contributors to the glass ceiling, but as nonstructural factors. They are also seen as alterable. With transformed work cultures, women's distinctive gender advantages would help them build cooperation and consensus. The patriarchal system and gender role socialization would become less of a barrier if more women would work and more men would become more active parents. This perspective suggests that women should be patient in waiting for things to change – and improve.

B. The Role Congruity Theory

There has been much research and speculation regarding the obstacles women encounter in trying to climb the corporate ladder, with evidence suggesting that they typically confront a 'glass ceiling' whereas men are more likely to benefit from a 'glass escalator,' as discussed in the previous section. But what happens when women do achieve leadership roles? And what kinds of positions are they given?

There is little doubt that women continue to be disadvantaged in the workplace and underrepresented in leadership positions (Davidson & Burke, 2000; Nieva & Gutek, 1981). But as discussed earlier, recent reports and research suggest that women are beginning to break through the glass ceiling that has historically prevented them from achieving leadership positions in organizations (e.g., Goodman, Fields, & Blum, 2003; Stroh, Langlands, & Simpson, 2004). However, despite these advances, studies also show that, once women attain these leadership roles, their performance is often placed under

close scrutiny (e.g., Eagly, Karau, & Makhijani, 1995) and their evaluation is not always positive.

While research suggests that women tend to receive positive evaluations when their leadership roles are defined in feminine terms, on traditional, masculine measures of leadership women's leadership effectiveness is often perceived to be lower than that of men (Eagly & Karau, 1991, 2002; Eagly et al., 1995; Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992). Moreover, attitudes in the workplace reveal that workers prefer male supervisors to female ones (e.g., Simon & Landis, 1989) and that many men and male managers remain unconvinced about the effectiveness of women leaders (Bowen, Swim, & Jacobs, 2000; Eagly et al., 1992; Sczesny, 2003). These attitudes come from, and contribute to, what Schein (2001, p.675) refers to as a "think manager — think male" bias.

Role congruity theory (e.g., Eagly & Karau, 2002) argues that a group will be positively evaluated when its characteristics are perceived to align with the requirements of the group's typical social roles. Social roles thus form the basis of norms that prescribe valued behavior for men and women. This theory suggests three assumptions: that the majority of beliefs about the sexes pertain to 'communal' and 'agentic' attributes; that in order to be effective in their compliance-gaining attempts, the behavior of men and women needs to be consistent with their gender roles, and thus; for women in leadership positions, their gender role is likely to conflict with their managerial role because she deviates from her expected gender role. These assumptions will be explained as factors that pertain to the public relations in Indonesia, according to the interview findings.

B.1. Factors of the Role Congruity Theory

First, role congruity theory assumes that most of the beliefs regarding the sexes relate to ‘communal’ and ‘agentic’ attributes: “Communal characteristics, which are ascribed more strongly to women, describe primarily a concern with the welfare of other people – for example, affectionate, helpful, kind, sympathetic, interpersonally sensitive, nurturing, and gentle. In contrast, agentic characteristics, which are ascribed more strongly to men, describe primarily an assertive, controlling, and confident tendency – for example, aggressive, ambitious, dominant, forceful, independent, self-sufficient, self-confident, and prone to act as a leader” (Eagly & Karau, 2002, p. 574).

Respondents in this study also attributed communal characteristics to female leaders and agentic characteristics to male leaders. When asked about whether they thought male and female managers have different leadership styles, the following were the most common traits attributed to male managers: Realistic, rational, well-organized and structured, better strategic thinkers, straightforward, objective, quick and brave decision makers, wise, objective, and view things from ‘the bigger picture’.

On the other hand, the most common traits attributed to female managers were as follows: Understanding, emotional, take things personally, intuitive, empathetic, more communicative, open and personable, subjective, honest, firm, honest, motherly, and have a higher level of tolerance. As one female communications analyst from a major telecommunication company put it,

”In general, women lead more emotionally. From my observation, female supervisors often mix their emotions with rationality and often make decisions

based on subjectivity, not objectivity. Whereas male supervisors tend to be more rational and objective” – F18.

Second, it argues that in order to gain compliance, men and women should behave according to their gender roles. Therefore, a woman would be more successful in gaining compliance if she used communal strategies, whereas the use of agentic strategies will be more disadvantageous for women than for men. One main difference between role congruity theory and other gender role theories is that it makes no assumptions about gender differences in the use of specific kinds of compliance-gaining behaviors, but only that behaviors that are accepted for a man may not be accepted for a woman.

One female public relations manager attempts to make it in the public relations field by joining the ‘boys club’ and blending in with the journalists, who are mostly men, and meeting them late at night over coffee and cigarettes. As a manager, she also leads using agentic characteristics, which she claimed is to gain respect – most of the other managers in her workplace are male. She proudly said that she gained a lot of respect from her subordinates and journalists. Ironically, she also said that she has not received a promotion in more than a decade. It seems that she was successful in gaining compliance from the subordinates, but not from her superiors.

Third, for women in leadership positions, their gender role is likely to clash with their managerial role, to the extent that the managerial role women have to fill is agentic, but they are likely to draw negative reactions and noncompliance from others because they deviate from their expected gender role. As a result, “women in managerial positions can avoid negative reactions associated with taking a masculine-oriented role by combining the assertive, confident, and decisive behaviors required in this role with a

more communal or feminine style” (Eagly & Karau, 2002). As one male communications manager of a foreign automobile company said,

“The top management should be a man...because as far as I’ve observed, it’s always been a man. I’ve never seen a woman on top, so I can’t compare, I can’t learn from that. But why mess with perfection if the men are already doing a good job? I think this is the best way, because PR and top management are different. The top management has to deal with others, not just PR...especially in this company, we have many technical issues because we’re in the automobile industry. If we were talking about the perfume industry, maybe it would be different, there should be more ladies there, or in cosmetics and so on. But this is a car company, with many technical issues and instruments and where many men work. The top management has to be quick in making rational decisions, women are too emotional” – M6.

Another male respondent, a government officer agreed,

“Where I work, public relations work under pressure, all the time, and we are required to remain rational, especially if you’re a leader. A PR person, once he’s not rational, it’s hard, it will affect everything else. And the fact is, the women in our workplace have never been able to do that. Because I have had female bosses. They just can’t stay rational!” – M7.

The researcher finds it almost ridiculous that men find women incapable of remaining rational, and thus cannot possibly be good leaders. Yet, this perception may very likely be one of the reasons female leaders in Indonesia are often underestimated.

However, the vast majority of respondents claimed that they do not have a preference between female and male managers, saying that these differences only lie in their leadership approaches. When it comes to their ability to lead, female and male managers are considered equally capable by all but one respondent. Therefore, it is not confirmed that women in leadership positions who adopt stereotypically masculine ways are less favorably evaluated than men (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Like in other studies, the assumption on which the role congruity theory of prejudice toward female leaders is based is not confirmed (e.g., Davis, 2004; Dulewicz & Higgs, 2005; van Engen et al., 2001; Rojahn & Willemsen, 1994). What can be the explanation of these results?

Dozier and Broom (1995) argued as follows regarding gender and roles: “Our presumption is that healthy humans and competent managers are highly androgynous, possessing attributes stereotypically associated with both men and women. We view with skepticism any scholarship that traffics in gender stereotypes” (p. 20).

In short, respondents show that female leaders do not necessarily receive less favorable evaluations than males when they adopt stereotypically masculine styles (i.e., autocratic), nor is there a biased tendency in men to favor leaders of their own sex, as Eagly et al. (1992; 1995) found in their meta-analyses. In view of these results, one could wonder why women are not sufficiently represented in leadership roles. In other words, the scarcity of women in these positions is difficult to understand if, as revealed by the results of this study and other works (see Barberá & Ramos, 2004), the adoption of stereotypically feminine styles is more highly valued than masculine styles and more congruent with current organizational demands.

Firstly, the existence of a persistent stereotype that associates managerial activities with stereotypically male qualities should be taken into account. Through diverse studies in different countries, this phenomenon, called “*think manager-think male*” in the literature, is global and is especially sustained by men (see Schein, 2001). Therefore, the traits, values, or behaviors linked to masculinity are considered necessary to achieve success in managerial positions. As a result, some women who occupy leadership positions continue to emulate male behavior traditionally associated with professional success in leadership positions (see Cuadrado, 2004). However, when doing this, women contravene desirable feminine behavior, namely, they transgress the prescriptions associated with their gender and are evaluated negatively, as was developed extensively in the theory formulated by Eagly and Karau (2002). Because of this, there is both a process of self-exclusion, known as the “cement ceiling”—self-imposed by personal choices, such as rejecting promotion (Chinchilla & León, 2004)— as well as the existence of greater difficulty to achieve these roles in comparison to men.

However, as aptly noted by Eagly (2003), the growing presence of women in these positions, together with a higher evaluation of stereotypically feminine qualities—which at the same time are appropriate to the current needs of the diverse settings (see the analysis of Barberá et al., 2005)— are important factors that will favor female presence in leadership positions. This study confirms these statements. The changes—though slow—in the content of gender stereotypes (see Barberá & Ramos, 2004) and the decrease of incongruity between leadership roles and the feminine role will allow organizations to be more receptive to female leaders. Of course, this optimistic viewpoint should be interpreted with realism. In fact, the statistics still show that women have not yet

advanced as much as would be fair and desirable. There is still discriminatory treatment toward female leaders or toward women who attempt to perform these roles, but, from our viewpoint, some conditions must be met for this to occur. For example, it is more likely to occur in people who display strong gender stereotypes, and when women try to gain access to positions of power and prestige in jobs that are incongruent with their gender.

The researcher feels that organizations should take into account the contributions and the value of feminine styles, instead of blocking women's access to traditionally masculinized settings. Likewise, they should consider the importance of the feminine styles when training managerial skills and styles. It is very likely that these aspects, together with the growing access of women to leadership positions—which will gradually modify the content of gender stereotypes— will prevent the devaluation of female leaders and allow egalitarian access of men and women to positions of responsibility. Not only women, but organizations and society in general can achieve important benefits.

B.2. Analysis from a Radical Feminist Perspective

Radical feminism has been highly influential in the study of gender and leadership. Resistance feminism grew out of women's dissatisfaction with liberal feminism and its endeavor to achieve equality by equating women to men (Lorber, 2001). What is seen by liberal feminists as individual challenges is seen by radical feminists more systematically, as the consequence of the privilege of men in a society where masculinity defines the norm (Jagger, 1983). Therefore, according to this perspective, women's difficulties in getting promoted to leadership positions cannot be understood in

individual terms only, but rather as part of a wider social system of gender, in which the personal becomes political.

Following this perspective, radical feminism envisions a new social order where women are not subordinated to men. For this purpose it proposes alternative, often separatist, economic and cultural arrangements that undermine the values represented by a male-dominated culture (Calàs and Smircich, 1996). Radical feminists have proposed several ways to change the existing gender relationships ranging from working toward an androgynous culture, in which a biological male or female would be both masculine and feminine, to replacing male culture with a “female culture” (Tong, 1998). After further reflections on the concept of androgyny, many radical feminists concluded that the androgyny is not really a liberation strategy for women, and advocated the replacement of a male culture with a female culture (Rich, 1980).

According to radical feminism, “women's difference” from men, in particular, their “relationship orientation” can constitute an effective management style (Ely and Meyerson, 2000). They emphasize the positive value of qualities identified with women (e.g. sensitivity, nurturance and emotional expressiveness), and highlight the benefits of women's ways of knowing (e.g. intuitive, non-verbal and spiritual) (Jagger, 1983).

Gender resistance perspectives, as applied to leadership, led to work emphasizing that “women's ways of leading,” and their relational skills and intuitive mode of thinking were not deficiencies to be overcome, but advantages for corporate effectiveness (Hegelsen, 1990; Peters, 1990; Rosener, 1990, 1995).

B.3. Analysis from a Liberal Feminist Perspective

The first and perhaps most common approach to gender equity is the gender reform approach. This approach, mostly represented by liberal feminism, asserts that gender differences are not based on biology and that men and women are similar in their common humanity (Lorber, 2001). Therefore, biological differences should be ignored in order to achieve gender equality in work opportunities (Jagger, 1983).

Most of the organizational literature that focused on gender and leadership is consistent with liberal feminism (Calàs and Smircich, 1996). It is mostly interested in comparisons between men and women in terms of inequality and discrimination and aims to explain such phenomena (Alvesson and Billing, 1997). A major focus in this literature is to determine if there are sex/gender differences in relation to conventional organizational concepts such as power, negotiation, and job satisfaction, as well as to investigate under what circumstances men and women differ.

According to the liberal feminist perspective, sex-role socialization produces individual differences in the characteristics of men and women, which have rendered women less skilled than men to compete in the business world. Hence, liberal feminists do not agree with the attribution of agentic and communal characteristics in leadership. Liberal feminists believe that if women developed appropriate traits and skills, they would be better equipped to compete with men and would advance at comparable rates.

Most recommendations for working the system involve women observing their behavior and appearance. In other words, women need to take on the attributes of maleness they are perceived to be lacking. Clearly, these and other impression management techniques have helped many women. Nevertheless, these strategies may

not be the most adequate if the psychological consequences that women face include feeling like impostors (Bell & Young, 1986). These impression management techniques actually strengthen the women's outsider status by emphasizing their difficulty in proving their 'appropriateness' for organizational advancement. And the stress caused by having to act out male-defined standards may be devastating to women in the long run.

Many respondents believed that women tend to have advanced communication and management skills, arguing that women are uniquely qualified for public relations because in general, women are more detail-oriented and verbal, less egocentric, and more intuitive than men. These arguments imply that organizations might profit by taking advantage of women's unique talents instead of demanding women to be more like men.

C. Answers to the Research Questions

C.1. Research question 1: Is there a correlation between the Indonesian public relations practitioner's gender and public relations dominant role?

The glass ceiling discussion in public relations came from the research done on public relations roles. Since 1979, researchers have recorded what public relations people do, based primarily on a 1979 set of role categories that asked public relations practitioners to report on how frequently they perform specific activities (Broom & Smith, 1979). Toth and Grunig (1993) argue that the majority of public relations research has focused on the examination of two previously identified roles in public relations - the managerial and the technical (Dozier, 1983; Dozier, 1992). There can be little doubt that such research has been successful in charting the roles women perform and the discrimination that they face as a consequence in public relations. However, research

which focuses on the role dichotomy within public relations may now be dated because "as the nature of public relations has changed, so have the activities carried out by public relations practitioners" (Toth & Grunig, 1993, p. 156). Therefore, there is a need to re-examine public relations from different perspectives. Indeed, Toth and Grunig (1993) call for a "shift in our study of public relations activities" (p. 156).

When asked about what attracted them to the field of public relations, both female and male practitioners mainly claimed that the dynamics and the prospects of the field were what they found most attractive. However, it was obvious that the main aspect that attracted the female respondents to the field of public relations was the social and networking aspects. Some of the responses from the female practitioners included:

- "I'm more into highly dynamic jobs, where you get to meet new people or maintain and build relationships, compared to having to be behind the desk at all times, I think that would be monotonous. Meanwhile, in public relations, sometimes our goal is business, but then we also gain knowledge. From socializing, we are inspired to gain knowledge that we didn't get in college. So by meeting lots of people from different cultures and perspectives, I wanted to learn more about public relations" – F4.
- "Because I get to meet people. Yes, basically that was the reason. I thought that if by nature a person is interested in people, in a positive way, it will ease him/her in conducting the PR functions" – F6.

On the other hand, the male respondents tended to focus on the strategic thinking and analytical tasks of the PR work as the main aspects that attracted them to PR. Some of the male practitioners' answers included:

- “The dynamics of the industry, which requires its human resources to have high creativity and be able to face uncertainty and ensure that all targets are reached” – M17.
- “The challenge is that ... how you can manage the situation, how you can manage the emotion, and how you can manage the information, that’s the most challenging part, and whatever you are an in-house communication practitioner or you are a consultant you will deal with very different situations anytime. You will never see a similar case. The case may be similar but the part is maybe different even though you are an in-house communicator” – M2.

This difference goes along with the conclusions of Grunig, Toth, and Hon (2001) that public relations is attractive because traditionally feminine skills in communications, empathy, networking and multi-tasking, are encouraged and appreciated. However, as Probert (1997) claims, women’s competence in these areas is also taken for granted and exploited. Women are expected to perform the “emotional labor” of listening, counseling, serving, dealing with difficult people, and even cleaning up literal and figurative messes (Probert, 1997).

Moreover, from the perspective of role congruity theory, the highly agentic connotation of the provider role implies that working women will be likely to experience role incongruity between their (communal) female gender role and their (agentic) provider role. It follows that this role incongruity will affect the effectiveness of their compliance gaining strategies during intra-household time allocation conflicts. Working women using agentic compliance gaining strategies (e.g. forcing) enact the traditional agentic provider model, and will therefore be likely to elicit negative reactions and non-

compliance from their male partners, because by doing so they deviate from their communal gender role. Conversely, working women who instead use communal compliance gaining strategies (e.g. problem solving, accommodating) to resolve time allocation conflicts with their partner will be more successful in resolving the conflict to their advantage.

Findings from the interviews show that male and female public practitioners play different roles in their organization. As discussed before, there is also a differentiation of duties and functions among male and female practitioners. Women are more often assigned technical tasks, usually dealing with the media or event organizing, whereas men are more often assigned tasks that involve strategic and analytical thinking. The patriarchal system indeed views men and women as playing different roles in the societal structure, including the corporate structure.

Furthermore, management literature show evidence which suggests that women are appointed to management positions under circumstances that differ from those of male managers. For example, women managers tend to occupy particular types of management positions, being more likely to hold support roles in personnel, training, or marketing, rather than performing critical operating or commercial functions (Vinnicombe, 2000). Further, there is a higher proportion of women managers in service sectors (e.g., retailing and banking) than in more industrial sectors (e.g., manufacturing, mining, and information technology; Davidson and Cooper, 1992; Goodman et al., 2003; Singh and Vinnicombe, 2003).

As one male corporate communications director of a foreign automobile company said,

“Especially in this company, we have many technical issues because we’re in the automobile industry. If we were talking about the perfume industry, maybe it would be different, there should be more ladies there, or in cosmetics and so on. But this is a car company, with many technical issues and instruments and where many men work” – M6.

Therefore, to answer the first research question, according to the respondents of this research, there is indeed a correlation between the Indonesian public relations’ practitioners’ gender and their PR dominant role. But the researcher believes that public relations goes beyond Dozier’s technical and management roles. Furthermore, when it comes to whether public relations is part of the dominant coalition in their workplace, it can be seen from both the female and male respondents that PR is not always part of the decision making process. This may be a common aspect in Indonesia, in which PR is still underestimated as mere support service.

C.2. Research question 2: What are the impacts of the feminization of the public relations industry in Indonesia?

Based on the factors and aspects discussed above and the answers from the interviews, the researcher concluded the following as the impacts of the feminization of the PR industry in Indonesia:

1. Degradation of the public relations industry

Many professionals in the field of public relations would agree it is an industry that requires a strong sense of ethics, the skill to handle media relations and the ability to

combine human behavioral skills and communication techniques. On the other hand, there are those that believe public relations practitioners are simply "spin doctors" or "flacks" whose time is spent trying to make bad companies look good, rather than trying to make bad companies become good.

The image of the public relations industry is not a positive one. This image was created through a variety of reasons including: a lack of standardization in the field, misrepresentation in the media, and misuse of the term public relations, among other things. One of the main reasons for the negative perception of the public relations profession is that some people do not consider public relations to be a profession at all. Many don't see this as a profession, so they don't identify with promoting ethics and other issues reinforced by professional associations.

The degradation of the public relations profession has led to the assumption that public relations does not require a high level of intelligence. A main argument against labeling public relations as a profession is that there is no set standard for the industry. Also, public relations is one of the few occupational groups that cannot control entry into the field. Rigorous academic training, such as is required in law and medicine, is not required to practice in the industry and there are not many universities that offer degrees in PR. And especially because public relations job advertisements often post "female" and "attractive" appearance as their qualifications, it is obvious that intelligence is not considered important. As some respondents said,

- "This assumption causes people, especially men, to not trust the capability of PR...because they think that this is some sort of modelling school, so they don't take PR seriously and they underestimate the practitioners" – F33.

- “PR is viewed as a flamboyant function, because we’re often exposed by the media...Top management views PR as a communication tool to expose information about the organization to the media. The stronger the perception of PR as a female profession linked to attractive women may lead to the neglecting of essential abilities that must be possessed by PR practitioners. Those who are interested in the PR field think that the main requirements to become a PR practitioner are attractive appearance and a pretty face. This is devastating to the PR industry in general because the industry would not be able to develop ideally by relying on communication skills such as lobbying, spinning, issue framing, boundary spanning, and more...Directly or indirectly, this perception will lead to the underestimation of the PR profession. The PR profession will be viewed as a profession that does not require intelligence. If this happens, it will be difficult for PR practitioners to have a bargaining position and access to the stakeholders. Moreover, it will be difficult for PR practitioners to be included in the decision-making process or other aspects that require strategic thinking” – F17.

As a result of the assumption that public relations is not an intelligent profession and the misconceptions about work of public relations, practitioners are also regarded poorly by the management and their colleagues. As some respondents said,

- “They view us as incompetent and they consider our job as the easiest. Before working here I was working at [a major telecommunications company], they had a [Corporate Communications] department, and it’s a big corporate right? When I was there, incompetent people who were disposed of from their departments were placed in the Cor-Com department’ – F33.

- “The colleagues regard our job as not as important as their jobs, and management only think the PR role is important only when it comes to collateral matters” – F30.

Others claim that they have already earned the trust of management, but still find it hard to gain support from the coworkers,

“Support from the top management is in our hands, what’s hard is to get support from the lower levels, people at the operational level wonder what we in PR do...’what added value do you give to my business?’ they say, especially the sales people, ‘why is PR spending so much money but sales don’t go up?’ And that’s our everyday challenge...” –F4.

As a result, public relations is often stuck in a low structural level, often because there is simply no higher level of position in the hierarchy – as discussed previously – and sometimes because public relations is limited to technical functions only and are not included in the decision-making process. Therefore, the researcher believes that one of the impacts of the feminization of public relations is the degradation of the industry, in which its practitioners are considered of low intelligence, and thus public relations is often held in low regard by top management and coworkers in the organization. This low regard, as explained previously results in public relations not being included in the dominant coalition. Because in Indonesia, public relations is limited to technical functions, as opposed to strategic and analytical functions, public relations is often under the marketing department, and therefore does not participate in the decision-making process of the organization.

2. Appearance as a job prerequisite

Even though most respondents – male and female – furiously disagree with paradigm that associates public relations with the female gender and attractive appearance, the vast majority of respondents believes that good-looking and well-dressed individuals have not only a better chance of receiving a job after an interview, but also greater opportunities to advance in their fields.

Some respondents have even revealed that they have faced discrimination due to weight or outer physical appearances during interviews or at work. The researcher finds it ironic, that even though when asked whether they agreed with the assumption that public relations was a female profession, the majority of respondents did not agree, arguing that such assumption would automatically link the profession to attractive appearances, all respondents—male and female—did nonetheless, agree that an attractive appearance is one of the requirements for a PR position. They did, however, emphasize that looks are not the main qualification, and that communications skills and strategic thinking are still the main criteria. Some of their comments included:

- “What we look for is likeability, likeability has nothing to do with short skirts, good looking, bad looking, etc. It could mean ugly person and very likeable. Likeability is a skill, it has to do with active listening, etc. And you know, you need people that are likeable, especially in this industry, so we look for likeable. Of course it will be unfair as it is, if you are good looking, the chances are of you being likeable is so high... Yeah, so sad, but I didn’t make the rule...” – M5.
- “An attractive appearance is also important, because when we have to interact with different publics, one of the things that help you establish relationships is of

course, your attractive appearance. No one would approach you if you look bad...Attractive appearance is mainly physical, if you're a woman, you have to look pretty, even though people have different perceptions of what's pretty, the way you dress is also important, because people see the outside first. That's how it is in the real life..." – F5.

- “In the hotel industry, appearance is indeed important. Believe it or not, the PR of a hotel represents the hotel itself, so whether you like it or not, people view it that way. And people always judge you like, ‘my goodness, the hotel is really nice, luxurious, 5 stars, and so on, and *this* is the PR officer?’ In the hotel industry, grooming is important...our grooming is judged by the media, the general public, and the guests...I wonder if this is also true in corporations, I don't think so, it's not necessary as long as they're smart” – F35.

L. Grunig, Toth, and Hon (2001) refer to this phenomenon as *lookism*, a kind of concealed sexual harassment. This problem refers to others' tendency to focus more – either positively or negatively – on women's appearance and not on their job performance. Along with *lookism* there is also the case of *ageism* – the discrimination against seniors, and sometimes, youth. In Indonesia, however, it is perfectly normal in any profession to hire people of certain ages only, as evidenced in many classified advertisements as will be discussed later in this chapter.

The researcher has no doubt that the fact that physical appearance is a prerequisite for a public relations job is an impact of the feminization of its industry. Because of this paradigm, there are those who believe that public relations practitioners have to entertain and accompany clients and bosses—who are usually male. No literature on the

importance of beauty has been found, especially in Western countries. Perhaps this is an Asian characteristic, or even a strictly Indonesian characteristic. The researcher suggests that further research needs to be done on this topic. One may, nevertheless, assume that men's focusing on women's physical attributes was indeed the 'ultimate power play' by men to degrade women's professionalism.

3. Male practitioners are regarded as gay

Another interesting finding from the interviews is that many respondents associated male public relations practitioners with homosexuality:

- “That PR is a female profession, I don't fully agree, but in the field we still find that the majority of practitioners are female, and when there are males, they're usually gay” – F4.
- “I've met male PR practitioners, but it's true that in hotels the male PR practitioners are usually not straight. Indeed that's their condition, and it's quite obvious. I think that in hotels, females are more suitable as PR practitioners because females are smoother. There are some male PR practitioners in hotels but they usually turn out to be effeminate” – F35.

These responses are ironic in a sense, because even among those who disagreed with the assumption that PR was a female job, many did agree that most male practitioners are effeminate. But at the same time it makes total sense because of the old paradigm that public relations is a female job, and thus regardless of whether one agrees with the feminization of PR, the practitioners are often linked with feminine traits. The researcher has also not found previous literature that linked public relations with homosexuality. It would be interesting to conduct research on this topic.

This may also hinder men from entering the industry, in a society where Muslim values are generally highly held, and homophobia is still very common. As one male public relations manager said,

“Yes, even my friends told me that the male PR practitioners are usually a little gay, okaayy, that scares me! That’s another perception, when there’s a male practitioner, he’s usually not very straight” – M2.

The researcher believes this assumption is one of the impacts of the feminization of the public relations industry. Because public relations is considered a feminine profession, the majority of its professionals are female. And because the majority of professionals are female, the sexual orientation of the male practitioners is often questioned.

4. Encroachment

There is much evidence of encroachment, which is the tendency of organizations with strong marketing departments to allow individuals not skilled in public relations, such as people from marketing departments or people with no background in communications whatsoever, to “manage the less powerful department” (Lauzen, 1991).

Indeed, encroachment has been the subject of much scholarly and industry interest (Dozier, 1988; Lesly, 1988; Lauzen, 1992; Lauzen & Dozier, 1992). The culprits of such encroachment have been said to be those from marketing, sales management, finance, accounting, engineering, human resources, law – in other words, nearly all fields outside public relations.

In this study, out of 36 female respondents, 24 (67%) had an educational background in communications, while only 8 out of 17 (44%) male respondents had an

education background in communications. Other educational backgrounds among the female respondents included: Secretary vocational studies, law, management, economics, education, and politics, while among the male respondents, other educational backgrounds included: Contemporary history of South East Asia, geology, business, law, economics, management, and psychology.

Indeed, almost half of the respondents in this study claimed that public relations is a field that anyone could learn by doing, and thus an educational background in communications is not important. As one founder and owner of a PR agency stated:

“Essentially, if you have the kind of mindset that you could actually figure out what’s important to people and or what’s important to a situation, that’s essentially what PR is about, and that’s what journalism is about as well..., so you know and they used to be this umm.. I can say look, in journalism you have to make anything complicated, seem simple.. anything simple so important, and that’s what journalists do, and that’s what PR people do as well. So if you have that ability, then you could actually be a PR person. I think, we live in a world where knowledge is increasingly accommodated, you go into the ’Net you can get any knowledge that you want. The point of difference that comes is your attitude, what you’re interested in, you can always find that knowledge. The question is whether the interest is there, the motivation is there” – M5.

And even a public relations lecturer at a university concurred:

“[An educational background in Communications] is not a must, but it would be an advantage. The most important thing is one’s capability to be a strategic thinker, not just a technical assistant. However, PR practitioners need to realize

that they need continuing education in PR and communication, and need to be able to adapt to cutting-edge research and approaches in the PR and communication industry” – M10.

It is no wonder that public relations is often an underestimated field. Even its practitioners feel that any person with or without an educational background in communications could handle PR tasks. This could lead to the underestimation of the importance of PR education, and consequently, the lack of research that could advance the PR industry in Indonesia. As a result, public relations will never be regarded as an integral part of an organization, let alone be part of the dominant coalition. This encroachment phenomenon is very common in transitional societies where public relations is still undeveloped as an organizational communication function (Lauzen, 1991).

Grunig and Grunig (1989) found significant correlations between inclusion in the dominant coalition and both education and experience in public relations. Gaining increased education specifically in the field of public relations aids the professional in public relations by giving knowledge about design and evaluation of communications programs with their strategic publics (Grunig 1992a). Also, professionalism and expertise in the field is a contributor to gaining access to the dominant coalition (Grunig 1992a). If public relations professionals do not have the expertise and professionalism in their own field, it is difficult for them to persuade the dominant coalition. Lindeman and Lapetina (1981) found that one of the weaknesses of public relations professionals is the lack of knowledge about business problems and the lack of experience in business operations. Dozier et al. (1995) mentions knowledge of a specific business or industry as one of the

important factors influencing inclusion in the dominant coalition. Knowledge of strategic business planning and management aids the public relations practitioners in gaining support for their program from senior management.

Many people, including CEO's and the media, tend to misrepresent the public relations industry because of a lack of understanding what it actually is. Oftentimes, PR is considered to be advertising or simply publicity. What they do not understand is that while advertising can create enormous "talk value" for a company, it is public relations that builds a reputation and influences people's decisions.

The reason for this confusion might stem from the fact that most PR practitioners do not have a unified way of explaining their work. Given the confusion within the practice, it is understandable how those viewing it from the outside may misuse the term.

One significant problem with the practice of encroachment, in the researcher's view, is that public relations is and must continue to be a management function. As the field becomes increasingly female-intensive, in such a patriarchal country as Indonesia, it is logical to speculate about the organization that discriminates against women. Often, subtle discrimination takes the form of pigeonholing women into dealing with such women's issues as paying women less than their male colleagues on the assumption that they are less experienced or capable; failing to train women for managerial roles in the first place; and of keeping inflexible structures that make it impossible for women to balance work and family responsibilities.

Findings from the interviews show that women are perceived to be trapped in their families and therefore unsuitable for transfers to more responsible top managerial positions. Women are perceived to be nurturers – ideal as support staff but hardly

compatible for the vigorous line management. At work, women are considered less serious about their careers and thus not as ambitious or driven as men. When an organization with this system of belief has a public relations department with a female majority, or perhaps even a totality – which often happens, is it likely to promote a woman to head that department? Ironically, it seems much more realistic to predict that a manager from some other related discipline would be brought in to direct the public relations department

Encroachment can bring serious consequences when the organization's power elite places men with general management credentials from other departments to direct public relations efforts. Not only would it disadvantage the women who deserve promotion, along with all of the benefits that come with directing an operation, but it would also marginalize public relations as a strategic function.

5. Low budget allocation on public relations programs

As a feminized profession, public relations is not considered 'hard-hitting' and the results it produces are not tangible and immediate like the results of marketing and advertising. Therefore, many companies in Indonesia are hesitant to allocate a proper budget for their public relations programs. As two respondents said,

- “A ‘pure’ PR program, maybe only a small number of companies would allocate the proper budget. But as a part of the marketing strategy, I think that most companies in Indonesia would do it. Unfortunately until today, there is no clear definition among the corporate higher-ups in Indonesia, about what PR really is, as opposed to marketing communication or marketing PR. Consequently, branding activities are packaged and claimed as PR activities” – M10.

- “In my observation, not all companies in Indonesia are willing to allocate the proper budget for PR programs. Most companies demand big results with small budgets. They tend to allocate budget on divisions that show tangible results like marketing and advertising.” – F25.

To a large extent, top managers often do not realize the need for public relations until faced with a crisis (Wenas, 2002). After the financial crisis that hit Indonesia in 1997, organizations have been striving more than ever to survive by making budget cuts, and the public relations department is usually the first one to suffer from these cuts (Wenas, 2002). This situation is not far different from the situation in the United States where small budgets for public relations and even downsizing of public relations is still typical in organizations (Grunig, Grunig, & Dozier, 2002). Business managers in the United States often express a favorable attitude toward public relations in principle, but until they have experienced firsthand what public relations can do for the organization, these managers still hesitate to spend money on public relations programs (Grunig et al., 2002).

The researcher believes that a proper budget is crucial for a department to function well. As long as public relations remains an underestimated field, companies will not be willing to spend much on public relations programs, and public relations will be stuck doing the same routines and thus will not advance as an organizational function, let alone become part of the decision-making process.

6. Low remuneration for public relations practitioners

One can almost readily assume that if a company is not willing to spend money on public relations programs, then the company is most likely not willing to pay much to the public relations workers either.

Feminization does need to be understood and monitored because it seems to be masking the continuing reality of gender inequity. Additionally, the research evidence across other professions and industries is that over time feminization leads to a decline in status and remuneration (Valian, 1998; Rafferty, 1996). Trends in status and remuneration are naturally issues of concern to all in the industry. Measuring and assessing trends in remuneration is a complex matter, as it has to be considered within wider trends in the labor market and the overall economy. Gender, feminization, remuneration, and status are all intertwined and do need picking apart and rigorous analysis.

One female Account Executive at a multinational PR agency came closest to being specific,

”It depends on the standards...For in-house, I’m not sure but I think it’s pretty big...maybe 15 to 17 [million rupiah] for the corporate communication manager. In agencies, it varies per person, but maybe 12 [million rupiah] for the account manager level, between 12 to 16” – F13.

The researcher found these figures to be surprisingly high in Indonesia. The researcher assumes that such ranges may be a rare case, and one could not compare it to the salaries of practitioners of local or smaller companies or agencies.

Also, even though salaries may be the same for both males and females, the benefits are often not. As one government public relations official said,

“In the government, there is no difference. In the government, men and women who hold the same position would get the same salary. But I don’t know about private companies. But I’ve heard of a company, a major private bank in

Indonesia, they phone the employees. Coincidentally my friend also works for the government, and his wife works for that bank. They asked whether her husband gets health benefits from the government. It turned out that married female employees of that bank don't get health benefits because it was assumed that the husbands already received such benefits from their workplace" – M7.

As it turns out, the salaries may be the same, but the benefits are often different. Once again, with the patriarchal structure that views men as the breadwinner of the family, men are often awarded more than women because of the assumption that the women are dependent on their husbands.

Regardless of the difference between the salaries of men and women, the findings from the interviews showed that the vast majority of respondents, male and female, claimed that public relations practitioners in Indonesia are not being remunerated appropriately. In other words, they are not satisfied with their salaries. As one public relations practitioner turned lecturer said,

"The salaries vary greatly from company to company, but I am sure that the majority is not appropriately remunerated compared to the compensations in other professions. Public relations is not viewed as important as other professions. Consequently, this also affects the quality of the recruitment and the competence of the staff" – M10.

This finding concurs with research findings from other professions and industries that have shown that over time, feminization leads to a decline in status and remuneration (Grunig et al., 2001).

According to the respondents in this study, the level of remuneration also varies greatly by the industry the PR practitioner works in, oil and finance being the two highest paying industries for PR practitioners, as according to one male respondent,

“...But as far as I know, the top tier for salary and market range is oil and finance...so it depends on the field.”

One female respondent agreed,

“It depends on the industry, not the function. The more profitable the industry, the higher the salary for PR. Therefore, PR practitioners in the mining industry surely earn much higher than those in other industries” - F3.

It is not surprising however, that these two industries are dominated by male PR practitioners. Nevertheless, according to "The Hidden Brain Drain: Off-Ramps and On-Ramps in Women's Careers" (Hewlett, Luce, Shiller, & Southwell, 2005), a study by the Center for Work-Life Policy, even ambitious women do not measure success in high salaries and fancy job titles. Relationships with colleagues and giving back to the community are more important to women than salary. Perhaps that is the reason why the female respondents in this research claimed that they are satisfied with their careers and that most of them do not feel any gender discrimination in the public relations field.

A global study conducted by Catalyst indeed found that men worldwide desire the top jobs more often than women. Some experts argue that the glass ceiling does not affect job satisfaction because women make sacrifices at work in exchange for greater happiness in their lives as a whole, says Warren Farrell (2005), author of *Why Men Earn More*, which says that women work fewer hours, and do not stay at jobs as long as men do. Whether it is nature or socialization driving their decisions, women often choose lives

that allow them to spend more time with their families. As one female PR manager put it,

“The thing is, at this level I have bigger opportunities to get exposure and overseas assignments. But I prefer to stay here, because of my family, it’s not possible for my husband to resign and follow me...But I don’t see this as a hindering factor of my career, but a priority. And that depends on each individual, it’s just a different priority, different preference...”

When asked whether she thinks that the situation is different for men when it comes to making career decisions that would involve relocating the family, she said,

“Yes, because no matter what, the bread winner is still the male...But in my case, this is my own decision, so it’s not like I really want to be relocated but my husband forbids me, that would restrain me. In my case, my husband allows me, but I still don’t want to go, it’s my choice” – F4.

The researcher believes that remuneration discrepancy is also an impact of the feminization of public relations. Because this profession is regarded as feminine and most of its practitioners are female, it may be assumed that their priority would be the domestic issues, and since their husbands are the primary breadwinners, thus they do not have to be remunerated as much as their male counterparts. The researcher feels that even though some women may have different priorities than do men, it would only be fair that men and women be remunerated equally. This may also be a vicious cycle. Lower remuneration may keep men away from public relations, while the constant feminization of the profession may also keep the remuneration low.

7. Sexual harassment in the workplace

Findings from the interviews showed that sexual harassment policies in Indonesia are often viewed as necessary only once a crisis has happened. Sadly, because there are seldom any sexual harassment policies or guidance, inappropriate conduct is very seldom considered sexual harassment unless it involves sexual violation. As one female PR manager of a multinational telecommunications company said,

”In Indonesia, women don’t really understand sexual harassment. That’s why we never make a fuss about sexual harassment unless someone has been raped. On the other hand, in the U.S. if you’re making unwanted advances toward me, you’re doing sexual harassment. Here, people don’t really understand what sexual harassment means” – F34.

This is much like public relations itself, which is often viewed as necessary to a company only after a crisis breaks, and this is often too late. As a result, many practitioners – mostly women – who experience such harassment do not report it, and these conducts continue to happen. Many respondents claimed that sometime along their careers, they have felt uncomfortable or threatened among male colleagues or clients. One female respondent was shocked to see pornography collectively viewed in the workplace,

“Maybe because the policies in this company are not so strict, so they are free to surf the internet and look at porn sites during break. Yes, at work! I’ve never caught any of them, but one of my other colleagues saw it, and when I heard of it I felt uncomfortable. I never had problems with this male colleague before, but after this, when I’m at the office and must stay late working on some stuff, and he turns out to be there, I’d run, I’m scared...” – F16.

Some other female respondents claim that they have been harassed by their clients,

- “Not with the colleagues, but with the clients, sometimes yes....some clients are ‘sneaky’, they’ll test us to see how far we women would go to become their ‘friends’ – F3.
- “I’ve had an experience with online journalists, who asked to be entertained by touring the city and be given ‘female companions and more.’ I was shocked to find out that this actually happened in the real world. They requested this very bluntly!” – F11.

Some feel uncomfortable with the “locker-room jokes” their coworkers openly tell during office hours,

“I feel uncomfortable when their conversations become too ‘suggestive’ ...you know, men’s talk...maybe not during a meeting, maybe just at the office and we’re all together in one room, sometimes they make jokes that don’t sound right”
– F21.

And some simply feel intimidated at the office because they are the only women in the meeting room,

“Sometimes yes, especially when I have to be among the male colleagues of the top management. They’re usually foreigners, whether it be from Korea or Australia, and sometimes they get together, and the VP is also there, and they call me for a meeting. At that time I could only be silent and listen, studying the situation...It’s not because they’re foreigners, it’s because they’re men. We’ve

only had 4 or 5 foreign guests, and they're not all men, sometimes they're accompanied by their wives, that makes it easier and more comfortable" – F33.

The above comments show that sexual harassment does exist and is a problem for public relations practitioners in a large number of organizations. Most practitioners, however, were uncertain as to its magnitude or importance relative to other issues in their workplace.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect is the extent to which both men and women agreed on how unnecessary are programs or policies that deal with sexual harassment and bring about the organizational change necessary to create a harassment-free environment. Both men and women expressed genuine confusion, and some, concern and fear regarding sexual harassment. However, most of them know about sexual harassment only because they have read about it, and not because they have experienced it.

There were few stories of deliberate sexual bribery and coercion. This may actually add to the problem because it is not deliberate enough for women to want to jeopardize their position by reporting such harassment, but it is present enough to wear down their self-worth and keep them in their place.

Some scholars claim that before sexual harassment and its effects can be eliminated from the workplace, intense societal and organizational effects must occur (Hon, 1995; Hon et al., 1992; Kanter, 1977). The "underlying problem," according to Hon (1995), is society's "devaluation of women and women's work" (p.28). Hon's solution is legislation: "A federal mandate outlawing sexual harassment would send a clear message underscoring the repugnancy of this behavior" (p. 68).

Since sexual harassment policies are still unheard of in many Indonesian organizations, it is assumed that public relations is probably not the only industry in which sexual harassment cases are encountered. However, some of the respondents revealed that they were harassed by clients who expected ‘bonus’ services, and also journalists who expected to be ‘entertained.’ The researcher suggests that such harassment also has much to do with the old paradigm, discussed previously, about public relations being associated with attractive women whose main duty is to look good while entertaining the clients or accompanying their bosses. And combined with the strong patriarchal system which holds the view that women are supposed to serve the needs of men, sexual harassment is sadly very likely to linger in the public relations industry even more so than in other industries. Therefore, the researcher believes that the lack of sexual harassment policies, which allow actual sexual harassment acts in the workplace—mainly public relations—is also an impact of the feminization of public relations in Indonesia.

D. Mailing List Discussion

As mentioned in the previous chapter, having completed the in-depth interviews, the researcher started a discussion on a mailing list of an association of public relations professionals and educators. This discussion revolved around a job vacancy posted December 2, 2008, for the position of public relations officer at a major shopping center in East Java. Not surprisingly for Indonesians, the job vacancy advertisement posted the following requirements: Female, maximum 30 years of age, and good looking as the top

requirements for the position. The advertisement also demanded the applicants to submit their updated curriculum vita, application letter and not surprisingly, latest photo.

The researcher felt that this posting was very relevant to her research, and was interested in observing what these practitioners felt about the paradigm that public relations professionals are equivalent to young and attractive women.

“PR practitioners must be careful with advertisements with such biases. There is nothing wrong with recruiting PR officers, but looking at the requirements, one should wonder, what type of PR work will be conducted at that company? From the first two requirements, it can be concluded that [the employer]’s perception of public relations is a young and attractive woman”-RNB.

Indeed, most participants agreed that this paradigm is a misperception about the profession of public relations, and that even though in fact the majority of practitioners in the world of public relations is women, there are also public relations experts who are men,

“The biased view of public relations being represented by young and attractive women has long been attempted to eradicate. [This association] and the practitioners, experts, as well a PR and Communication academicians have in several forums ferociously campaigned the strategic PR school of thought. Not just PR in the sense of young women (maximum 30 years old), good looking, who get manicures and pedicures, smell good, and makes big promises without the intention of fulfilling them, etc...It’s okay to be attractive, smell good, and be young, but if those things are categorized as requirements, then we can see the discrimination behind it”-RNB.

Apparently, this paradigm does not only come from people outside the public relations industry. Instead, many claimed that this paradigm was already embedded in their education:

- “I remember when I was in college, my friends laughed at me because I chose public relations management as my study concentration just because I’m a MAN. At that time many of my friends viewed the PR profession as only suitable for women who are pretty and talkative (attractive, to be exact) and that a person’s social status could actually go up if you worked in PR...unbelievable... What’s worse is that my activist friends often claimed that PR was one of the pillars of capitalism, even though activist groups and non-profit groups also carry on PR functions”-AA.
- “When I was in college, a lecturer of mine, who was a foreigner, said that the reason why most PR students in Indonesia are female, even though in more developed countries PR is dominated by men, is because in Indonesia PR serves as front liners, but when it comes to strategies and managerial issues, men are preferred, because men are not easily affected by emotions”-PT.

Once again, it can be seen from the last quote that technical and non-strategic tasks are linked to females, whereas managerial and strategic tasks are linked to males. Even though, most participants agreed that men and women are equally competent in all aspects of the public relations profession, there were, however, some who because of the popular misconception about public relations, actually prefer male practitioners to female practitioners. As one male participant said,

“I prefer male PR practitioners, because women tend to move toward negative behavior. I see now that many companies like to hire PR practitioners who are good looking women, wearing really short skirts. That’s called exploitation, especially if they have a boyfriend or a husband, I feel sorry for the boyfriend or husband who are often left at home because of their PR job”-JD.

Here, not only are the women blamed for ‘moving toward negative behavior,’ but the patriarchal system is also obvious, as the participant felt sorry because the husbands or boyfriends are left at home so that the women could work. Not surprisingly, not one participant felt sorry for the wives or girlfriends left at home.

Nevertheless, like the interview participants, most of the mailing list participants also seem to come from a liberal feminist perspective, which as mentioned before, is characterized by an individualistic emphasis on equality. According to this philosophy, society itself does not need a major overhaul; instead, laws should be changed, and opportunities simply have to be opened up to allow women to become equals in society. As one female participant said,

“ One thing that I believe is that [women’s] emancipation (including in public relations) will be successful if men and women respect each other’s existence as human beings: Women with all their natural femininity, and men with their natural masculinity. I’ve never tried to be more than what I am”-AM.

As also mentioned earlier, liberal feminists recommend the advantages of psychological androgyny, ascertaining a gender-blind society with equal opportunities for men and women, making liberal feminists unique among other feminists in continuing to accept

traditional scientific method. In this discussion, some suggested that an androgynous public relations officer would be ideal,

“In my observation, the higher the position, the more the PR practitioners are expected to have masculine traits, because the position requires that person to act independent in making strategic decisions... Women who are feminine tend to be weak and are easily wooed. Men who are very macho, tend to have a short temper. Women who are aggressive intimidate clients. So it seems that the best practitioners are women who are masculine, and men who are feminine. Because you need to keep smiling even in times of crises. In the meantime, women have to be tough figures, not weak and feminine figures who usually move really slow, and cry in times of crises”-EGA.

However, there are also respondents who do not see a problem with such job advertisements . They claim to have seen similar job advertisements numerous times before and do not see it as a threat to the public relations field, as one senior PR practitioner wrote,

“In my mind, the classified ad doesn’t necessarily degrade public relations... At least, not for me, who happen to have been born before you, my dear colleagues, and have had the chance to work in PR for more than three decades.

It is not the first time that I find such an ad in Indonesia. I have once observed the classified ads for PR positions in an institution. It turned out that what they meant by PR was “lady sales representatives” for an investment company. What’s worse, in Hong Kong and Eastern European cities, the night clubs and casinos refer to their hostesses as public relations.

I'm sure that they don't mean to degrade the public relations profession. What's happening? My conclusion is that they don't know the real PR profession, as we may not know the profession of an insurance broker, or a foreign exchange dealer. American films often degrade the PR profession with statements such as "Ah..that's just PR" for things like promotions, propaganda and other manipulative things. Therefore, even in America and the whole world is the PR profession not as well known as the professions of doctors, police, journalists, etc." - TS.

All in all, two things are commonly agreed by the participants of the mailing list discussion:

1. That the public relations profession is an 'open profession', which means, a) both men and women, b) without age limits, c) from any background and discipline, not only communication, can enter the public relations profession.

This suggests that there should be an equal opportunity for both genders of all ages to enter the profession, and the researcher very much supports this opinion. However this also supports the findings from the interviews, that encroachment indeed exists in this industry. The researcher laments this opinion from the participants, and feels that such encroachment would further support the popular belief that public relations is an easy job that could be conducted by anyone, and that public relations education is not important.

2. That statistically and universally a) PR education attracts more women than men, b) female PR practitioners outnumber the male practitioners, but c) the senior positions, at the top position of big companies, be it national or international, is dominated by men. This is also mirrored in the membership of IPRA, which is an

organization of the world's PR profession, in which the members (60-70%) are male senior practitioners, consultants, and PR educators.

Some participants suggested that the fact that the top positions are dominated by men instead of women may be due to the fact that more men pursue their careers more fully, whereas women, for one reason or another, quit their professions midway. The participants, however, did not think this was because of the women's potential limitations:

“We PR practitioners cannot blame others for the paradigm that PR is part of the marketing mix, because the PR practitioners themselves, in doing their job, like and feel comfortable with technical positions, like publicity, propaganda, media relations, in-house publications, etc. In carrying on PR programs, practitioners seldom follow what McNamara calls the SPIE Model: Strategic research, Planning, Implementation, and Evaluation. The lack of evaluation in public relations makes the work of PR intangible in the eyes of the CEOs”-RNB.

Even though this mailing list discussion was conducted as an addition to the in-depth interviews, its findings have provided much-needed information that the researcher was not able to find in literature. Moreover, the findings reinforced that gender bias exists in recruitment (as the ad discussed in this mailing list is just one of numerous job ads commonly found in Indonesian media), and that there are many companies that still seek female public relations practitioners who are attractive ‘front liners’ rather than competent communicators.

In conclusion, based on the interview results, the researcher gathered common themes that she believes to be the impacts of the feminization of the public relations

industry in Indonesia: 1. Degradation of the public relations profession; 2. Appearance as a job prerequisite; 3. Male practitioners regarded as gay; 4. Encroachment; 5. Low budget allocation; 6. Low remuneration; and 7. Sexual harassment in the workplace.

It seems that the female practitioners in this study are not complaining about gender discrimination or the inability to move up to managerial levels. They seem to not have a problem with the patriarchal system in Indonesia, accepting that the roles of mother and wife are their main responsibilities, and that the breadwinner of the family is still the man so her career comes second to his. As one female Account Executive stated,

“I have a family, I have two small children, I’d like to work from home as a freelancer...I have no ambition to reach the top here. In the end, I’d like to stay home and set up my own business” – F13.

They are more bothered, however, by the public’s perception of the work of public relations, which consequently degrades them as professionals and gives them a bad image. To answer the second research question, according to the respondents in this research, the feminization of public relations has a negative impact toward the public relations industry in Indonesia and its practitioners because it leads to discrimination that will reduce the chances for great potential and competence among the practitioners. Labelling public relations as a female profession may also limit the roles of the practitioners to a technical level as opposed to managerial as well as exclude them from the dominant coalition.

The assumption of PR as a female profession is also said to give the industry and its practitioners a bad reputation because of the age-old Indonesian perception that links PR practitioners to attractive women who serve as mere front liners to accompany their

bosses and clients of the company. Thus, practitioners must struggle for legitimacy and recognition. In summary, most respondents, both male and female view the feminization of public relations as negative.

There is a need for gender conscious research on remuneration and career paths in the Indonesian public relations industry. As the Grunig, Toth and Hon study, *Women in Public Relations: How Gender Influences Practice* (2001), is the only significant and comprehensive research on gender in public relations, their findings provide a useful comparative starting point for Indonesian investigations. Whilst recognizing that the United States industry is of a much greater magnitude and has a much longer history, these factors also mean that the United States industry has influenced the development and practices of the Indonesian industry. Gender analyses of the Indonesian and United States labor markets can also be usefully compared, whilst allowing for different histories and policy contexts.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to explore the impacts of the feminization of the public relations industry in Indonesia. To determine whether there was a correlation between a public relations practitioner's gender and the public relations dominant role, and to find out the impacts of the feminization of the public relations industry in Indonesia, the researcher interviewed public relations practitioners and educators in Jakarta, Indonesia.

This chapter provides a summary of the findings and conclusions, as well as recommendations for future practice drawn from this study of the impacts of the feminization of the public relations industry in Indonesia. This chapter first presents the summary of the results followed by conclusions.

A. Conclusion

A.1. Findings from the Literature Review

In order to answer the research questions, this study reviewed literature as its secondary research method and used in-depth interviews as its primary research method. Based on the literature review, the following conclusions were made:

- Public relations in Indonesia differs from public relations in other countries because the social, political, and economic systems as well as the cultural traditions and values in each country are also different.

- Public relations in Indonesia is often limited to duties on a technical level and in most companies, it is not part of the dominant coalition. One of the main factors that had been hindering the development of the public relations profession in Indonesia is the lack of quality education in public relations. Another main factor is the public's misperception toward public relations.
- Decades of work in mass communication on gender topics expose the challenges that feminists have made to dominant research topics, even though much of the work borrowed dominant research theories and methodologies. Some feminist work went further and used and developed feminist communication theory, enriching the people's understanding of the complexity of reality, representation, ideology, and politics. Still, work remains to be done if feminist communication theory is going to provide the challenge that it could to the communications field and to local and global conditions.
- In public relations, women have increasingly graduated into middle-management and upper-management positions, particularly at public relations agencies. In the corporate area, there is still a disparate number of men holding top public relations jobs. Some disparities also may remain in remuneration in public relations and other fields.
- A major initiative at the organizational level is establishing guidelines for making the workplace more flexible. Research shows that employees and organizations benefit from a work environment that is supportive of employee needs. Flexibility is not just a way for organizations to be nice, however. Money is saved

by reducing costs associated with employee stress, absenteeism, lateness, and turnover.

- As in many other countries, the status of women in Indonesia is lower than that of men. However, there is a movement for the improvement of the status of women and a drive for a more gender-equal society. Islam's influence on the status of women is not as discriminatory as in other Muslim countries. Women's rights are recognized in terms of property and inheritance rights. In this area women have relative equality with men, particularly in urban areas.
- The women's movement in Indonesia is moving with the needs of women. In general, middle class and urban women have made significant achievements and women are able to do many things compared to previous times. Education among women is widespread, employment is accessible, and legal rights hold a protectionist power for women to utilize if need be. The movement has shifted from a nationalism and developmentalism ideology to one that is diverse and represents the desires of the different women of Indonesia.
- Women were sheltered somewhat from the full economic crisis impact due to their under-representation in the formal sector of the economy. Women did, however, suffer increases in unemployment (and underemployment) – although to a lesser extent than men. Possibly the main way in which women were affected by the crisis was indirectly – through its effects on labor market opportunities for the men in their families. In response to high male unemployment and underemployment, women increased their participation in the labor market.

- Although labor demand has picked up, there has not yet been a strong reemergence of the formal sector. In urban areas women have gained relative to men in terms of their share of wage employment, whereas in rural areas they seem to have been displaced from the formal sector.
- Indonesian women take primary responsibility for the household and family.
- NGOs play an important role in the advancement of Indonesian women. Their numbers have expanded greatly in the post-New Order era. Most NGOs concentrate on a particular area, such as protection of women's rights, elimination of violence against women, provision of crisis and trauma centers, assisting women migrant workers, or lobbying for political and legislative change.
- Various efforts that have been carried out have only changed the situation in Indonesia a little because of the large proportion of the Indonesian population that is living below poverty line, the spread and isolated geographic condition, and unsettled economic, social, and political problems. Indonesia's dependence on foreign debts to finance development and programs to overcome poverty is creating new problems in the socio-economic system in Indonesia at present and in the future.
- In Indonesian popular discourse, the word 'feminism' is often frowned upon because it is considered to be the flag of a 'Western' mind. Those Indonesians who do consider themselves feminists often feel the need to emphasize that they do not consider themselves feminists in the same sense as feminism in the West.
- The theoretical and professional literature in Indonesia has only recently begun to focus on communication management as a specialized field. Thus, there are few

practitioners functioning on a strategic level, and little strategic advice is available. Previously, it was believed that the necessary prerequisites for this field were non-specified higher education and tactical skills. Nevertheless, communication science has not yet provided significant assistance to the profession.

A.2. Findings from the In-depth Interviews

A qualitative method was selected on the premise that the perceptions and deep insights of participants were crucial to the study. This approach allowed deeper exploration, offering better insights and understanding into the reasons behind the phenomenon of the glass ceiling. The researcher felt that face-to-face interviews alone could achieve the rich and deep inquiry into the phenomena that was desired.

Based on the results from the in-depth interviews with public relations practitioners and educators in Jakarta, Indonesia, the researcher made the following conclusions:

- All respondents, male and female, claimed that they are satisfied with the advancement of their careers in public relations. Almost all considered their career to be fast-paced. Nobody considered gender to be a hindering factor.
- Even though patriarchy is indeed still a reality in Indonesia, the female respondents deny the existence of such a glass ceiling, especially in PR consultancy agencies.
- When asked about what attracted them to the field of public relations, the main aspects that attracted the female respondents to the field of public relations were the social and networking aspects that enabled them to meet people, whereas the

male respondents tended to focus on the strategic thinking and analytical tasks of the PR work.

- Findings indicate that women are more likely than men to plan public relations programs; write, edit, and produce public relations messages; implement new programs; and carry out decisions made by others. Men are significantly more likely than women to be involved in counseling management and somewhat more likely to make communication policy decisions and to conduct and analyze research. However, when it comes to whether PR is part of the dominant coalition in their workplace, both the female and male respondents claim that PR is not always part of the decision-making process.
- When asked about whether they agree with the assumption of public relations as a female profession, the vast majority of respondents, female and male, disagreed and claimed that this assumption has a negative impact on both the PR industry in Indonesia as well as on its practitioners.
- The feminization of PR is said to have a negative impact toward the PR industry in Indonesia and its practitioners, who say that this is discrimination that will reduce the chances for great potential and competence among practitioners. Labelling PR as a female profession may also limit the roles of the practitioners to a technicianship level as opposed to managerial as well as exclude them from the dominant coalition.
- The assumption of PR as a female profession is also said to give the industry and its practitioners a bad reputation because of the age-old Indonesian perception that PR practitioners are attractive women who serve as mere front liners to

accompany their bosses and clients of the company; thus, practitioners must struggle for recognition.

- Ironically, even though respondents do not agree that PR is a female profession, claiming that such an assumption automatically links the profession to attractive appearance, all respondents, although emphasizing that looks are not the main qualification, agreed that attractive appearance is one of the prerequisites for a PR position.
- The traits attributed to male managers were: realistic, rational, well-organized and structured, better strategic thinkers, straightforward, objective, quick and brave decision makers, wise, and only looks at the big picture, while the traits attributed to female managers are as follows: detail-oriented, understanding, emotional, take things personally, intuitive, empathetic, more communicative, open and personable, subjective, honest, firm, honest, motherly, and have a higher level of tolerance. Most respondents, however, do not have a preference between female and male managers.
- Policies that accommodate female employees, such as maternity and menstruation leaves, are part of the Indonesian labor law. Nonetheless, sexual harrassment policies are still highly unknown to the respondents. Most respondents claimed that their companies, with the exception of multinational and foreign-based companies, did not have a set of written sexual harrassment policies.
- All but one respondent feel that they would get the same salary, same chance for a raise, same chance for a promotion, and same assignments if they were of the

other sex. However, Indonesia still has no statistical data showing the differences between salaries of women and salaries of men.

- The majority of respondents, male and female, feel that PR practitioners in Indonesia are not being remunerated well enough. However, the level of remuneration varies greatly, depending on the industry. The oil and finance industries, two highly male-dominated industries, are said to be the two highest paying industries for PR practitioners.
- Most female practitioners in this study do not complain about gender discrimination or the inability to move up to managerial level. They are more disturbed by the public's perception of the work of PR, which consequently degrades them as professionals and gives them a bad image professionally.

In summary the following are the answers to the two research questions:

RQ1: there is indeed a correlation between the Indonesian public relations' practitioners' gender and their PR dominant role. Although the researcher believes that public relations goes beyond Dozier's technical and management roles, interview findings show that women are more likely to tackle technical functions, mainly dealing with the media and organizing events, whereas men are more likely to tackle functions that involve strategic and analytical thinking. But when it comes to whether public relations is part of the dominant coalition in their workplace, both the female and male respondents revealed that PR is not always part of the decision-making process.

RQ2: The most common themes found in the interviews, regarded as the impacts of the feminization of the public relations industry in Indonesia are: 1. Degradation of the public relations profession; 2. Appearance as a job prerequisite; 3. Male practitioners regarded

as gay; 4. Encroachment; 5. Low budget allocation; 6. Low remuneration; and 7. Sexual harassment in the workplace.

B. Discussion

The interview results have shown that the steady increase in the numbers of women entering public relations over the past decades has not had good influences on how public relations is perceived as being a female career. Recently attention has been given to the feminization of public relations. As more and more women have entered the public relations field, women have long outnumbered the men for many years. The increasing number of women in public relations is clearly a widespread phenomenon that is set to continue.

It might not be prevalent at all companies in Indonesia, and certainly not in consultancies, according to respondents, but why do both scholars and public relations practitioners alike keep debating whether there is an invisible glass ceiling that prevents women from gaining access into the upper echelons of management? And why are so many women starting their own businesses? It might well be that this is an attempt to escape discrimination that prevents them from obtaining top management positions within the public relations profession.

Considering the recent studies on gender issues in public relations, gender bias seems to have become an issue in public relations since many women perceive a glass ceiling. While some in the industry dismiss this as just a myth, others say that perception is reality. Looking at any public relations classroom at a college, one will surely see more women than men. The trend for more women in the field will only

continue to grow. Will this continued influx of women lower salaries and prevent the public relations industry from being taken seriously? Women already in the field are showing that gender shouldn't define their capabilities. Indeed, the vast majority of the respondents in this study do not believe that gender determines one's ability to conduct public relations functions.

Even though most female respondents in this study initially disagreed that there is a glass ceiling for women in public relations and communications management, by the end of their interview, many had given examples from their own experiences or the experiences of others that suggested otherwise.

The researcher considers the stories of these respondents and their interpretations of what the feminization of public relations and the glass ceiling might mean as valid in reporting what is going on in their workplaces. The researcher believes that the glass ceiling and feminization of public relations for the respondents in this research are concepts that each respondent personally holds, but are relevant, at varying degrees, to their life experience. Therefore, the researcher does not put boundaries to their explanation of their experience by definitions of the concept that she might inflict.

It is already well established that women face greater challenges than men in their attempts to climb to the top of the corporate ladder. Moreover, it is apparent that even if they arrive there, women are likely to receive greater scrutiny and criticism than men, and to secure less positive evaluations, even when performing exactly the same leadership roles (Eagly et al., 1992). It now seems apparent that in addition to these obstacles, the leadership positions that women occupy are likely to be less promising than those of their male counterparts. Furthermore, as the content of Judge's (2003) article indicates, if,

upon finding themselves in a leadership position, they fail (as they are more likely to than men because their positions are more precarious), they may be singled out for blame and humiliation, at the same time that the unpropitious conditions of their appointment are overlooked.

The increasing number of women in public relations has created a debate over the feminization of the profession, which consequently has led researchers to study the impacts of the feminization of public relations while seeking to analyze whether there is a correlation between gender and the roles and functions that public relations practitioners perform (Broom & Dozier, 1986; Cline et al., 1986; Dozier, 1983; Toth & Cline, 1989; Toth & Grunig, 1993). Toth and Grunig (1993) as well as other researchers have researched what makes the field of communications so attractive to women. One reason could be that good communication skills are considered to be a particular, socially dependent and/or biologically determined trait possessed by women (Foss, Foss, & Griffin, 1999; Hall, 1978, 1984; Reif, Newstrom, & Monczka, 1978; Sargent, 1981), which makes women especially fit for a communication profession such as public relations, and therefore women are considered to excel at tackling challenges specifically found in these professions. Of course, these are qualities that could not simply be learned in school or during on-the job training like writing skills or special PR techniques. As seen from the findings of this research, almost half of the respondents believe that formal education is not too important in public relations because the field itself requires communication skills and strategic thinking ability that anybody could learn in time.

Lana Rakow (1989) claims that positive qualities such as the ability to establish and maintain intrapersonal and interpersonal relationships at all levels, in both public and

private situations, which are attributed to women in western culture and society, are crucial prerequisites for a successful career in the communications professions, such as journalism or public relations. Grunig, Toth, and Hon (2000) concur, linking values that are presumably linked to the feminine gender, for instance, morality, cooperation, and honesty or fairness, with the norms of public relations practice. Supposedly female characteristics in the public relations field, such as thoughtfulness, empathy, the need to reach consensus, a talent for dealing with people, and the ability to work in a team-oriented atmosphere, are all considered to be beneficial career qualifications as opposed to the supposedly typical male characteristics such as cool rationality, competitiveness, aggression, and individualism (Aldoory & Toth, 2001). Aldoory (1998) outlines within this context her 'feminist model of leadership' in public relations, and Grunig, Toth, and Hon (2000, p. 63) even refer to a 'revolution of the heart,' saying that in the field of public relations itself, women's 'natural' intuition and profound sense of ethical responsibility may serve as means for shaping the image of public relations as responsible, more efficient, and more reputable (Rakow, 1989; Grunig, Toth, & Hon, 2000). Nonetheless, because of the argument that women are better communicators, more importance will be attached to gender as a social category, and once again gender is linked to strict, culturally determined stereotypes.

The fact that public relations requires communication skills that particularly aim toward reaching a consensus and dialogue gives women more access to this profession at the entry level because of the very skills they have (Berryman-Fink, 1985; Christmas, 1997). Ironically, these skills do not necessarily have an influence on how long women stay in the profession or how far they will be able to advance in their careers. It seems

that the very attributes that get women into the communications sector – sensitivity, caring, honesty, fairness or morality – often are also associated with a lack of assertiveness and weak leadership skills (Cline, 1989). This, as Fröhlich (2004) argues, will result in women falling into the “friendliness trap” without even knowing it because people who are accustomed to being applauded because of their particular skills usually would not consider that these same skills could actually be a disadvantage later on in their career.

The truth is, as in many other professions, women often seem to leave behind their journey to the top of the corporate ladder in public relations. The reasons behind this include: starting a family; taking care of children; “double shifts” in career and home (Rakow, 1989); discrimination through sex-role stereotyping; lack of support from home and from employers; male-female interaction and/or social norms (Grunig, 1989); as well as greater control from management. Identifying whether glass ceilings exist in the Indonesian public relations industry is obviously vital to this study. Research into sex roles could probably shed some light on the reasons men and women operate at certain levels within the public relations industry. It remains to be further analyzed whether either gender is actually predetermined to a specific role or whether in fact, men and women just select the roles that best suit their ‘natural’ gender skills and competencies.

This roles research seems to support the idea of a glass ceiling across the upper levels of the public relations industry in Indonesia, limiting women to technician roles. However, there may also be other reasons for the high proportion of women in technician roles that do not necessarily involve gender constraints but instead, gender competencies.

Women encounter obstacles - subtle and not so subtle - that may restrict them to the technician's role. They face stereotypes about what women want or are capable of handling. Women are often either perceived as 'too soft' for top-level management or just sufficiently soft to be attract the sexual harassers still often found in the Indonesian work force.

Grunig et al. (2001) argue that women in public relations are better communicators than are men, and that women are probably more skillful at the communication skills that are required in public relations. This may explain why there are so many women working in technician roles. The respondents in this study (both females and males) also agreed that women are better communicators, but men are better at strategic thinking, and yet public relations needs both. If women really are far more skilled at communicating than men, this possibly explains why there are so few men at the technician level of the Indonesian public relations industry; perhaps men are just not as skilled as their female counterparts.

However, it must also be noted that women are often juggling the desire to work in public relations with the desire to have children and raise a family and therefore may be unwilling or unable to work in managerial roles. Women may actually be voluntarily choosing the technician roles over managerial roles simply because there is more flexibility and less responsibility and pressure in these technician roles. Aldoory (2001), Dozier et al (1995), and Grunig & Toth (1993) contend that the females who reach the management level still conduct more technician tasks than males working in manager roles. The interview results have shown that Indonesian women are used to the patriarchal system in Indonesia and have accepted their roles as mothers and wives as

their main responsibilities over their careers. They have accepted it so much that they do not view discrepancies in PR roles and remuneration as gender discrimination.

In summary, with a heavily patriarchal system and an organizational structure that traditionally only position men in power, historically develops organizational rules and regulations to maintain them in power, and a socialization process that strengthens sex-typing in jobs and gender roles, the status quo stays firmly intact. The glass ceiling in the public relations industry in Indonesia remains unbroken. Yet some of the respondents in this research believed that the glass ceiling is less firmly in place in agencies than it is in corporations. It is no wonder that many female respondents claimed that they aspire to one day establish their own PR firms. As one female Account Manager at a PR agency said, “Actually, since I have a family and I have two little children, I’d like to work from home, sort of like a freelancer. I don’t have the ambition to reach the top or anything. I’d like to eventually stay at home, and set up my own business.” Another female respondent, a PR Manager at a multinational telecommunications company agreed, “Actually I want to be honest with you, I don’t want to work as an employee all the time. If it’s possible, I want to have my own PR agency.” These two respondents were not the only ones. Many female respondents, for varying reasons, claimed that they dreamed of someday owning their own public relations agency, and that their current jobs are just stepping stones toward reaching that goal.

As explained in Chapter 3, Rakow and Wackwitz (2004) suggested three premises that provide a flexible framework within which feminist communication theory could be approached. These three premises are: difference, voice, and representation, which are neither exclusive nor distinct. In this study, all three premises have been utilized.

Difference refers to particular linguistic, material, and political systems that create oppressive relationships within and between racial and ethnic groups, economic classes, political orientations, genders, and sexualities. These differences have been conceptualized by feminist scholars who have challenged previous assumptions about the nature of difference. This study focused on the differences between male and female public relations practitioners as perceived by Indonesia's patriarchal society.

The dominant belief about a natural and universal basis for dividing the world of humans into female and male is used to justify different economic, social, and political treatment and locations of people (women and men) within cultural groups and across them. And this research has explored the perceived differences between male and female public relations practitioners in Indonesia's patriarchal society and the reactions toward such presumed differences. More importantly, this research aimed to analyze the consequences of these perceived differences.

Voice refers to how too often women are either denied access to communicative forums or admitted to them only to have their ideas dismissed out of hand as deviant or irrelevant. This research addressed the glass ceiling theory in which female public relations practitioners often are denied access to the managerial position, and thus denied voice in the decision-making process of the organization. This research also addressed the role congruity theory in which scholars have suggested that female leaders are more often ineffective compared to male leaders, because a managerial role is not congruent with the female's communal characteristic.

To have voice is to possess both the opportunity to speak and the respect to be heard. As an impact of the feminization of the industry, public relations in Indonesia is

often limited to technical functions, which eventually prevents it from being part of the dominant coalition, which consequently denies public relations from having a voice in the decision-making process. It is in the voice premise that experience becomes an essential element. By conducting in-depth interviews, this study has acknowledged that there is much knowledge to be gained from experience, and that a feminist interesting experience is not misplaced. But one must be careful with the interpretive frames available or not available to make sense of those experiences.

Lastly, *representation* refers to the systems or representation in popular culture, the media, and other social, political, and intellectual forums that are harming to women. Feminist theorists often struggle with the limits inflicted by the socially constructed systems of difference. This research has addressed how public relations practitioners are represented in Indonesia, where female public relations practitioners have been represented as attractive but unintelligent women whose main job is to entertain guests and journalists and to accompany their bosses, and male practitioners are usually regarded as being gay. This representation is believed to be an impact of the feminization of the industry. More importantly, this study analyzed the factors that contribute to such representation and the consequences thereof.

B.1. Recommendations

Gender bias is an often unfair difference in the treatment of men and women because of their gender. Traditionally the issue has been viewed as something only encountered by women and when the topic is raised it often brings up images of women struggling to get along in a “boys’ club” environment. However, the situation in the

public relations industry is rather unique because women are actually the majority, so how could this be called gender bias if a majority of the profession is female?

In Indonesia, the public relations industry is not yet as sophisticated as it is in developed nations such as the U.S., but it has, nonetheless, evolved greatly since its early beginnings. However, as discussed earlier, many people—inside and outside the public relations industry—still have misperceptions about public relations, its functions, roles, and duties. Thus, job advertisements that include ‘female,’ ‘attractive appearance,’ and ‘under 30-years-old’ are still very common, which contributes to the misperceptions even more.

The future status of the public relations industry in Indonesia seems to be under threat as a result of feminization and it seems that an effective way of creating a balanced industry may be to reassess how public relations academic courses are promoted to both males and females. However as long as traditional stereotypes are held and employers consider factors other than competence and skill in recruitment, bias will always prevail.

There is hope for the field, however. Public relations is entering into an era where upper management is openly welcoming the industry as a critical management function. Nonetheless, it is important to recognize that issues of sexism still linger. Once inequities are acknowledged, the field can advance through addressing the issues and discrepancies openly instead of pretending they do not exist. For instance, a woman’s career no longer has to be disrupted by the infamous "mommy track." Companies are becoming increasingly flexible with time commitments and family obligations.

Bridging the gender gap means embracing female leadership—and recognizing that it is different. Female leadership includes shared decision-making, employee

relationships and empowerment, and building teamwork. This leadership style could actually be more beneficial to the changing corporate environment, validating that women are an important part of the success of an organization.

Because of the gender-role expectations that women communicate better, young women increasingly choose this profession because it is considered appropriate for their sex. However, as a consequence, the same gender-based expectations may also trigger a corresponding demand by employers, which in turn reinforces these supposed gender-specific expectations. Even though women since long have constituted the majority in PR, they fail to reach high and leading positions. This shows that women do not have the same chances as men in public relations. In other words, what is supposed to be their career advantage as the better communicators, does not seem to help. Instead, in the professional labor market, a re-codification takes place. A higher value is placed on men, compensating for their presumed entry-level disadvantage as poorer communicators than women, and enables them to advance in a field in which they are ‘naturally’ less qualified more easily. On the other hand, women’s ‘natural’ skills are used less because of the gender-based segregations that are common once these women work in the sector.

Therefore, the image of women as better communicators may actually become a questionable stereotype and a dangerous myth. Together with public relations theories like the ‘feminist model of leadership’ in public relations (Aldoory, 1998) and the ‘revolution of the heart’ (Grunig, Toth & Hon, 2000) it drags the mothering role from home into the work place and thus, as Fröhlich (2004) argues, creates a “friendliness trap” for female PR practitioners. It may be important to warn and prepare the female students for this gender stereotype.

As long as sexual harassment is implicitly or explicitly tolerated in an organization, women will be marginalized in every stratum. Not only does this lead to ineffectiveness and upset in organizational functioning, it directly impacts the public relations position and role in an organization. This in turn, will continue to affect not only the organization's policies, culture, and relation to stakeholders, including employees, but also the field of public relations.

Furthermore, sexual harassment particularly jeopardizes public practitioners as they increasingly prepare for and move into positions in the dominant coalition. Because women are increasingly moving into managerial roles (Toth et al., 1997), the impact of the field of public relations has the potential to be disastrous: If sexual harassment is used to continue to control women in the organization, then women who do rise to managerial positions, who do sit with the dominant coalition, will be powerless. They will continue to be ignored because they will be little more than tokens. As sex objects, they will lack the ability to speak with credibility in the negotiations that shape the organization. That will reflect, ultimately, on the perception of the public relations in general and will continue to erode the role and level at which the practitioner – male or female – functions. That change must come from a fundamental shift in social, cultural, and organizational structures. That is why Hon's (1995) suggestion that legislation outlawing sexual harassment may not be effective in the long run. Legislation could serve the important purpose of creating awareness, but it could also give the culture yet another legitimization for marginalizing women as companies may be too afraid to hire women (McCarthy, 1993). Nonetheless, such legislation may open dialogue and raise the much

needed awareness in Indonesia's workplaces. Obviously, more research is needed to understand the nature of sexual harassment in public relations, specifically.

A crucial first step is to discredit the myth that sexism is no longer a problem. Too many public relations practitioners, men and women, are hesitant to talk about gender discrimination, possibly fearing that sexism will become a self-fulfilling prophecy. However, this approach is not effective. A more productive method would be acknowledging the persistence of gender discrepancies and seizing opportunities to raise other people's level of awareness.

Highly connected to levels of awareness about sexism is educating others about the feminist movement. There is a stereotypical image of feminists as raucous and anti-men, and this continues to be a problem because many women—especially young women—are then reluctant to call themselves feminists. They fear being stigmatized or do not believe that feminism is relevant to their lives. The media, advertising, and popular culture are partly responsible for having undermined the feminist movement by falsely depicting feminist goals as harmful to women and suggesting a return to home and hearth as women's true way to happiness.

The researcher believes there are differences between men and women, not only based on biological traits, but also on gender role orientations that predict behavior. However, the researcher also believes that societal stereotypes have fostered far more differences. Women have attributes and abilities that help their organizations, just as men do. Nevertheless, perhaps more importantly, there is more variation within than there is between men and women. Women have been confined to specific traits and expectations. As a result, public relations has been labeled as a field with too many

women, as if women could not contribute enough to the public relations field. Thus, there is the cry for more men in this field, as if only men could fill the missing elements to the public relations practice. Undoubtedly, men bring significant perspectives to public relations, but society often positions men as more valuable than women and thus degrades public relations women, and consequently the field as a whole.

In conclusion, men as well as women must take part of these solutions. Because even though men are minority in terms of numbers, men however dominate the field of public relations in positions of responsibility and power. Women may gather each other's strengths to confront such mighty institutions as public relations firms and departments of corporate communication nationwide, but in order for any revolution of employment practices to take place, the involvement and commitment of both women and men will be required.

Most feminist discourses end with the impression that the solution to sex discrimination pivots around political, institutional, and organizational policies. Women alone, even those who align themselves with like-minded men, are not capable of overcoming the blatant or the subtle sexism. The researcher, like most others before her, realizes that transforming society is not as simple as it might seem on paper. Change takes longer than anyone expects. Nonetheless, without moving toward equal treatment for women, the field of public relations runs the risk of losing the skills of far beyond half of what is considered its most effective practitioners.

This study has been both extremely enjoyable and challenging and has allowed the researcher to investigate an area that she felt to be essential in the future of PR but is still rather under-analyzed. The interview process was extremely successful, despite

some difficulties in recruiting participants and making appointments, revealing useful perceptions and some unanticipated but valuable responses.

Few empirical studies have focused on Indonesian public relations, let alone gender issues in Indonesian public relations. Even though the findings of this research are not statistically generalizable, this study has made significant advances into the largely unexplored area of public relations gender bias and how it affects both men and women in the Indonesian public relations industry. For more generalizable results, future research should include quantitative methods involving a larger sample. This research provides baselines upon which future studies could build. Further research needs to be undertaken to establish whether the findings are repeated throughout other public relations sectors. Such future studies may answer research questions such as: Why do women dominate the communications field but yet lack organizational power? How do different fields, e.g., government institutions, manufacturing industries, and service industries, in which the Indonesian female public relations practitioners are involved, affect their adherence to certain public relations roles? Findings from this research provide a basis for such research.

In providing direction and suggestions for future scholarship, some other research questions that could also expand on this study include:

1. Why do women not question the structure of organizations to challenge assumptions that they must do such things as change jobs to get ahead, or balance work and home life without making waves about this subject at work?

2. Is there actually a salary discrepancy between female and male public relations practitioners?
3. What is the nature of sexual harassment in the public relations industry?
4. Is there a correlation between PR male practitioners and homosexuality?
5. Is gender deep-rooted into specific public relations roles or do men and women actually choose the roles that best suit their 'natural' gender skills and competencies?
6. What other factors emerge as factors contributing to the glass ceiling for women in public relations?
7. What strategies do women who have been successful have in common?

There seems to be a need for public relations scholars in Indonesia to conduct more research that focus on Indonesian public relations. There is comparatively little information on public relations practice from other regions of the world, such as Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean. Even though public relations studies conducted in other countries are also beneficial to Indonesian practitioners because it enriches the general knowledge about public relations, a public relations study focusing in Indonesia may pinpoint the unique characters of Indonesian public relations. Findings from such studies will contribute to the progress of the public relations industry in Indonesia and offer hope to Indonesian practitioners in their pursuit of professionalism and acceptance as part of the dominant coalition.

Lastly, until recently, the phenomenon of public relations, understood both as a specific social relation and as a specific social activity, has been increasingly institutionalized as a professional practice and thus, has been examined and described

mainly within a practice-oriented framework. In Indonesia, public relations is currently developing from a pre-theoretical activity into a scientifically-based profession.

Admittedly, it has been almost sixty years since the first book on public relations was published (Edward L. Bernays: *Public Relations*, 1952), and there have been many since, often containing theories on how public relations should be practiced. But these theories contain mainly normative assumptions based on isolated knowledge of practice and know-how, and lack the reflection of epistemological theory. Such theories are not sufficient to give a profession a scientific basis. However, if fundamental scientific research were placed into public relations in the theoretical framework of business economics, the PR phenomenon might be seen mainly in relation to an overall economic goal, and the context would be weakened. If public relations research was based solely on communications science, it would not provide a scientific environment where it would be possible to examine the actual social function of the phenomenon. The truth is, public relations as a professional practice arose in pluralistic, democratic societies and should be examined in connection with developments in structures and processes in society. It is therefore necessary to apply theories of sociology to describe, analyze, interpret and discuss the phenomenon and to place its manifoldness in a meaningful whole. The researcher believes that applying feminist communication theory into the study of public relations is an important step into examining public relations in connection with such developments in structures and processes in society. The researcher inquires the need for more scientific research into public relations that apply theoretical frameworks such as Jürgen Habermas' theories on Bourgeois society and communicative action and Niklas Luhmann's development of systems theory including the Autopoiesis thesis. The

researcher believes that such theories would give the public relations profession a scientific basis and would possibly improve the status of the public relations field in general.

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