

# Indonesian Feminist *Journal*

Volume 3, Number 1, August 2015

## THE REMAKING OF TRADITION: SEX, LIES & POLITICS

"Gold and Silver, Branded Horses, and Well-Tilled Land":  
Gender and Hadrami Migration (4-13)

*Ismail Fajrie Alatas*

Sexual Slander Revealed:  
The Story of Jamilah/Jemilah and The Act of Killing (14-22)

*Saskia E. Wieringa*

Culture, Sex and Religion: A Review of Temporary Marriages  
in Cisarua and Jakarta (23-30)

*Gadis Arivia & Abby Gina*

How Does One Purchase a Woman? The Status of Christian  
Batak Women in Wedding Traditions (31-38)

*Nurseli Debora Manurung*

Profiles, Statuses and Performance of Female Local Leaders:  
Impact Study of Direct Local Elections (39-59)

*Kurniawati Hastuti Dewi*

Indigenous Women and Land Rights in Indonesian Agrarian  
Conflicts (60-68)

*Sapariah Satori*

Feminist Ethics Against the Stigma of Theocracy-Patriarchy:  
Reflections on the 2014 Presidential Election (69-75)

*Rocky Gerung*

Understanding the Ties that Bind:  
Early Marriage in Yogyakarta (76-84)

*Tracy Wright Webster*

Women as Other in the Narrative of the 2014 Legislative and  
Presidential Elections (85-92)

*Dewi Candraningrum*



*Solo 26/6/15 Dewi Candraningrum*

## **INDONESIAN FEMINIST JOURNAL**

Vol 3 August 2015

[www.indonesianfeministjournal.org](http://www.indonesianfeministjournal.org)

ISSN 2338-9362

Cover shows a detail of "Wounded Body" by Dewi Candraningrum (water color on paper, 2015)

Indonesian Feminist Journal (IFJ) is an annual interdisciplinary publication in the English language that aims to circulate **original ideas in gender studies**. IFJ invites critical reflection on the theory and practice of feminism in the social, political, and economic context of Indonesian society. We are committed to exploring gender in its multiple forms and interrelationships. The journal encourages practical, theoretically sound, and (when relevant) empirically rigorous manuscripts that address real-world implications of the gender gap in Indonesian contexts. Topics related to feminism can include (but are not limited to): sexuality, queer and LGBT questions, trafficking, ecology, public policy, sustainability and environment, human and labour rights/ issues, governance, accountability and transparency, globalisation, as well as ethics, and specific issues related to gender study, such as diversity, poverty, and education.

Publisher: **YJP Press**

Address: Jl. Lontar No. 12 - Menteng Atas, Setiabudi - Jakarta Selatan 12960

Telp. (021) 8370 2005 (hunting); Fax: (021) 8370 6747

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# Profiles, Statuses and Performance of Female Local Leaders: Impact Study of Direct Local Elections

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## Abstract

This paper shows that the role and position of Indonesian women in local governance improved gradually since the implementation of direct local elections in 2005. The direct local elections increased “structural opportunities” for women to be elected as local leaders. The number of women elected as local leaders rose significantly during 2005-2014 period. Female local leaders’ profiles are diverse in terms of their socio-political background, individual capital and political parties, which reflects the new typology of female local leaders. The presence of female local leaders do not necessarily mean that they always advocate women issues in their policies, as this ideal condition depends on many other influential factors. This paper initially indicates a possible declining trend of women participation in local governance as the Law No. 22/2014 adopts the election of a local government head via the Regional People’s Representative Council replacing the earlier mechanism of direct election. However, it suggests that the Government Regulation No. 1/2014 enacted at the end of Yudhoyono’s presidency, which annulling the Law No.22/2014, offers new optimism for women participation in local governance, since it returns direct election of a local government head.

Keywords: Women, governance, direct local elections, profile, position, performance.

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## Introduction

This paper is going to explore the topic of women’s roles in Indonesian local governance since the new era of regional autonomy since 1999 to the present day in 2014. Following the downfall of Suharto in 1998, democratization soon began in Indonesia and the local governance entered a whole new chapter. The laws and regulations regarding local governance, including the mechanism for electing local leaders, have been reformed from the practices of representative democracy (local leaders are elected in and by the Regional People’s Representative Council or *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah* (DPRD)), to direct democracy, where people are directly involved in the elections choosing their local leaders. From this experience, there is one

interesting issue that deserves a closer look, but generally goes unnoticed: to what extent this reformed local governance, especially the mechanism for electing local leaders, has influenced the emergence of women as local political leaders? This is an important study considering that past studies of local governance generally dwell on the impacts of various changes in the laws and regulations regarding local governments on central-local government relations, structural-institutional consequences, community participation, including changes in the local governments’ performance. Although these topics are equally important, it is necessary to critically assess the impacts from a gender perspective. In general, women are often placed in marginal positions, have little involvement,

and even worse, their voice tends to be ignored in public decision making processes. Political decision and public policy making are in general male-dominated processes, and local governments are no exception to this.

This kind of criticism has encouraged a new paradigm in governance, demanding that women's interests, voice, aspirations, access and control should be accommodated in political decision and policy making processes. It has given rise to a "gender and governance" perspective which requires women's participation (equal to men) to ensure that women's rights to express their voice are accommodated; eventually molding governance to be more responsive to different needs and situations of women and men and contributing to gender equality.<sup>1</sup> Similar to past notions, the "gender-sensitive governance" perspective strives for gender equality and focuses on the fulfillment of women's rights in governance practices; stating that policies and laws and regulations should take into consideration the different needs, interests, priorities, responsibilities, and unequal socioeconomic conditions of women and men.<sup>2</sup>

Fully recognizing the major criticism of how important a gender perspective in local governance is, as described above, this paper aims to provide an analysis of how relevant and urgent the issue of women in Indonesian local governance is. This paper focuses on: *first*, analyzing the impacts of changes in local governance, especially the mechanism for electing local leaders, on the emergence of women as local leaders (district heads/mayors/governors) since the new era of regional autonomy in 1999 to the present day in 2014; *second*, analyzing the profiles and backgrounds of female local leaders; *third*, assessing their performance or policies during their term of office. The third point is related to the normative expectations attached to a woman as a political leader. This has previously been explored, for instance, by Joni Lovenduski's who

evaluated the roles of female British Members of Parliament in terms of the extent of their influence in generating more policies that adopt a female perspective,<sup>3</sup> and Haleh Afshar who envisions the ideal portrait of female politicians in Syria and Iran as political actors/agents who fight for women's rights.<sup>4</sup> Women have unique life experiences thanks to their biological roles of getting pregnant, giving birth, breastfeeding, and being naturally comfortable with children. As such, it is safe to assume that only women can best recognize and understand their needs and interests in fulfilling women's rights. As a result, female leaders are expected to have higher sensitivity to women and children issues, as well as to advocate pro women and children policies. Therefore, one part of this paper is going to assess how well the locally elected female political leaders take on this normative mandate.

This paper is divided into four parts. Following this introduction, the next part will describe the changes in Indonesia's decentralization policy throughout 1999-2014, analyzing its impacts on the emergence of female political leaders in local governments, while part three will analyze their policies when serving as political leaders in local governments, especially with regard to women and children issues. Part four is the concluding part, containing findings, conclusions, and projections about the future trend of female leadership in local governments and important agendas that need to be fought for.

### **Impacts of Direct Local Elections on the Women's Political Map**

Throughout 1999-2014, there have been three changes in the laws and regulations regarding local governance under the umbrella policy of decentralization. In a chronological order, these are the Law No.22/1999 regarding Local Governments, replaced by Law No.32/2004 regarding Local Governments, and lastly by the Law No. 22/2014 regarding Governor, District

1 "Gender and Governance," *Gender and Development IN BRIEF Bridge Bulletin*, Issue 21, March 2009, without page.

2 Alyson Brody, "Gender and Governance: Overview Report," *BRIDGE Development – Gender*, April 2009, 2; [http://www.bridge.ids.ac.uk/reports/Governance\\_OR\\_final.pdf](http://www.bridge.ids.ac.uk/reports/Governance_OR_final.pdf) (accessed on 18 Sept 2014)

3 Joni Lovenduski, "Gender Politics: A Breakthrough for Women," *Parliamentary Affairs* 50, no. 4 (1997): 708-09.

4 Haleh Afshar, "Introduction: Women and Empowerment-Some Illustrative Studies," in *Women and Empowerment: Illustrations from the Third World*, ed. Haleh Afshar (Macmillan Press: Great Britain, 1998).

Head and Mayor Elections. These laws and regulations will be discussed in detail below.

Firstly, a centralistic approach adopted in local governance in the era of the New Order (1966-1998) under the Law No. 5/1974 regarding Local Government Principles was replaced by Law No. 22/1999 regarding Local Governments. If Law No. 5/1974 states that district heads/mayors/governors must be nominated by the DPRD for the president's approval and validation, Law No. 22/1999 specifies that local leaders must be democratically elected by the DPRD, and the president should only validate and inaugurate them. The point is that these acts adopted representative democracy in local elections because the processes were carried out by and took place in the DPRD as the people's representative council.

So, what were their impacts on the emergence of female local leaders? Based on the author's research data, under Law No. 5/1974, which prevailed throughout the period of 1974-1998 when local leaders were nominated by the DPRD for the president's (Suharto) approval, there were only two women elected as senior level local leaders: Tutty Hayati Anwar as Majalengka District Head (1998-2003) and Molly Mulyahati Djubaedi as Sukabumi Mayor (1998-2003). This dismal number of women elected as local leaders in the New Order era could be the result of Suharto's policy of systematically de-politicizing the roles and positions of Indonesian women through a certain gender ideology. Suharto positioned himself as the 'father of development' who claimed that women should devote themselves as both mothers and wives in the development.<sup>5</sup> Julia Suryakusuma called this ideology "state *ibuism*" which was built on a paternalistic ideology and positioned men as the core element of the state, while women were a secondary element who should limit themselves only to family affairs.<sup>6</sup> Under the construction

of this gender ideology, the husbands were expected to have active political roles outside home (symbolized by the figure of Suharto), while the wives (symbolized by Tien Suharto) acted as their companions and supporters in creating 'stable' families as the basis for achieving political stability and developing a strong country.<sup>7</sup>

The New Order regime managed to marginalize women in practical political world by implementing the Family Welfare Movement or *Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* (PKK) – a program focusing on promoting women's roles as mothers and wives since 1972, targeting women in villages,<sup>8</sup> and controlling the loyalty of middle-class women in cities through the Dharma Women's Association or *Dharma Wanita*, which was established in 1999.<sup>9</sup> Through the two programs, women were demanded to be loyal but kept apolitical as mothers or wives whose role was to support their husbands' career in fulfilling state duties. With this kind of political context which tends to marginalize women's roles in politics, it was extremely difficult for women to emerge as local political leaders. Not to mention that under Law No. 5/1974, President Suharto – whose gender ideology marginalized women's political roles – had the authority to appoint local leaders, while the DPRD could only nominate names to the president.

Meanwhile, after Law No. 22/1999 became effective, local elections became more democratic under the DPRD with less intervention from the president. As a result, more women were elected as local leaders. Four district heads were

5 Barbara Hatley, "Nation, "Tradition," and Constructions of the Feminine in Modern Indonesian Literature," in *Imagining Indonesia: Cultural Politics & Political Culture*, ed. Jim Schiller and Barbara Martin-Schiller, 98 (Ohio University, USA: the Centre for International Studies, 1997).

6 Julia I Suryakusuma, "The State and Sexuality in New Order Indonesia," in *Fantazising the Feminine in Indonesia*, ed. Laurie J. Sears, 96 (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1996).

7 Suharto and his wife, Tien, were both of a Javanese background, and according to some scientists, this influenced his New Order gender ideology, as discussed earlier. For further reading about the influence of Javanese culture on the New Order gender ideology, see "Women, Family and Household: Tensions in Culture and Practice," in *Women and Households in Indonesia: Cultural Notions and Social Practices*, ed. Juliette Koning, Marleen Noltén, Janet Rodenburg, Ratna Saptari, 19 (Great Britain: Curzon Press, 2000); Sylvia Tiwon, "Reconstructing Boundaries and Beyond," in *Women and Households in Indonesia: Cultural, Notions and Social Practices*, ed. Juliette Koning, Marleen Noltén, Janet Rodenburg, Ratna Saptari, 71-4 (Great Britain: Curzon Press, 2000).

8 Norma Sullivan, "Gender and Politics in Indonesia," in *Why Gender Matters in Southeast Asian Politics*, ed. Maila Stivens, 64 (Australia: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies Monash University Aristoc Press, 1991).

9 KOWANI (Kongres Wanita Indonesia), *Sejarah Setengah Abad Pergerakan Wanita Indonesia* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1978), 279.

appointed under Law No. 22/1999: Rustriningsih as Kebumen District Head (2000-2005), Haeny Relawati Rini Widyastuti as Tuban District Head (2001-2006), Rina Iriani as Karanganyar District Head (2003-2008), and Tutty Hayati Anwar as Majalengka District Head (2003-2008). More women being elected as local leaders through an election mechanism run by the DPRD with less intervention from the president showed that if the authority to appoint local leaders was not entirely dominated by a figure or an institution, the chances of female politicians running for the positions and being elected are higher.

Secondly, the number of new female local leaders increased significantly after the promulgation of Law UU No. 32/2004, which introduced direct local elections as the mechanism for selecting local leaders (in Indonesian, it is referred to as *Pemilihan Kepala Daerah langsung* or *Pilkada langsung*). With this mechanism, people exercised voting rights to directly elect their local leaders. Direct local elections were in effect starting from 2005. Based on the data the author acquired from the Ministry of Home Affairs, throughout 2005-2008, there were at least 466 local direct elections: 355 elections took place outside Java, and 111 inside Java (Central Java, East Java, Madura, West Java, Banten, Jakarta, and Yogyakarta).<sup>10</sup> For this period and from these elections, 11 pairs or 9.91 percent of the local leaders elected in Java included women in their pairing (women as district heads/mayors/governors or deputy district heads/mayors/governors); meanwhile outside Java, there were 15 pairs or 4.22 percent.<sup>11</sup>

In other words, the mechanism of direct local elections in districts/cities/provinces has tangibly afforded greater opportunities for women to run for and then be elected as local political leaders. Thus, it is not an overstatement if the author – borrowing the words of Pippa Norris, “*the structure of opportunities*”, when she talked about one of the core components of recruiting legislative

members<sup>12</sup> – is of the opinion that ‘the structure of opportunities’ for Indonesian women to be recruited and to actively participate in local politics significantly improved with the direct local election mechanism under the Law No. 32/2004. Through this mechanism, women had more room for political maneuvers, considering the elites/parties at the DPRD tended to be oligarchic,<sup>13</sup> and dominated by men when it came to making strategic decisions for the DPRD and their internal political parties. One would say that direct local elections were ‘friendly’ to women, compared to elections by the DPRD.

In addition to women ‘friendly’ local elections, under Law No. 32/2004, the transformed policies of Reformation Era which strived for – borrowing the words of Maxine Molyneux – “*strategic gender interest*” (i.e. a series of efforts made to overcome women’s social backwardness by creating a more gender-equitable order and structure for men and women<sup>14</sup>) served as an important context for facilitating Indonesian women’s active participation in post-1998 politics. For example, the orientation of PKK shifted from Family Welfare Movement with a ‘wife as husband’s companion’ doctrine to Family Welfare Empowerment with a ‘man’s equal partner’ doctrine, under the administration of President Abdurrahman Wahid and State Minister of Women Empowerment Khofifah Indar Parawansa (1999-2001). The new doctrine implicitly encouraged women to be active

10 This classification is made based on raw data from the State Ministry of the Republic of Indonesia “*Daftar Kepala Daerah dan Wakil Kepala Daerah Yang Telah Diterbitkan Keputusannya Presiden Republik Indonesia Hasil Pemilihan Kepala Daerah Secara Langsung Tahun 2005, 2006, 2007, dan Tahun 2008*”.

11 Ibid.

12 Pippa Norris, “Introduction: Theories of Recruitment,” in *Passage to Power: Legislative Recruitment in Advanced Democracies*, ed. Pippa Norris, 11 (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

13 According to a team of General Election researchers at LIPI, direct local elections are necessary to break the chain of oligarchy in parties which characterizes politics at the DPRD, where the interests of these parties or their elites manipulate public interests. For more information, read Tim Pemilu LIPI (Syamsuddin Haris, Sri Nuryanti, Lili Romli, Edison Muchlis, Tri Rainny Syafarani), *Analisa Proses dan Hasil Pemilihan Kepala Daerah Langsung 2005 di Indonesia*, ed. Sri Nuryanti (Jakarta: LIPI Press, 2006), 8. Also, read LIPI, *Partai dan Parlemen Lokal Era Transisi Demokrasi di Indonesia*, ed. Syamsuddin Haris (Jakarta: LIPI Press, 2007).

14 Maxine Molyneux, “Mobilization Without Emancipation? Women’s Interests, the State, and Revolution in Nicaragua,” *Feminist Studies* 11, no. 2 (Summer 1985):232-33; Caroline Moser, “Gender Planning in the Third World: Meeting Practical and Strategic Needs,” in *Gender and International Relations*, ed. Rebecca Grant and Kathleen Newland, 89-90 (Suffolk: Open University Press, 1991).

participants alongside men in many fields.<sup>15</sup> This pro-woman support from the government for women’s progress in politics became one essential factor in facilitating structural changes, creating women-friendly political atmosphere and discourse, including in local governments.

Thirdly, the direct local election mechanism implemented previously under the Law No. 32/2004 was reverted to local elections by the DPRD, as set out in Article 3, Paragraphs (1) and (2) of the Law No. 22/2014 regarding Governor, District Head, and Mayor Elections. This option was taken as a result of a voting of DPR members at a plenary session on September 25, 2014. It was in so many ways, an anticlimax for a long and concerted effort to carry on with direct local elections, which had essentially placed the sovereignty at the hands of the people, as one of the pillars of democracy, since 1998. The drafting of this Law began in 2013 based on the government’s initiative. The government’s early version of this Draft Law was intended to reinforce the role and position of governors as the central government’s representatives in local governments. As such, governors were to be elected by the DPRD.<sup>16</sup> However, in April 2013 the government’s stance drastically changed. In the April 2013 version, the government proposed local direct elections for provinces in order to confirm the positions of governors, while local elections for districts/cities were to be held by the DPRD to avoid

conflict and optimize public services<sup>17</sup>. In this scheme, the DPRD elected only local leaders for districts/cities/provinces, instead of the local leader-deputy pairs as in the past. In short, until June 2013, the government proposed direct governor elections and district head/mayor elections by the DPRD, as well as not in pairs for the Draft Act. A variety of options and the stance of each fraction in the DPRD regarding the government-proposed local election Draft Law are illustrated in Table 1, as follows:

**Table 1. Map of DPR Fractions’ Stance on Local Election Draft Law (Per 4 June 2013)**

OPTIONS/ FRACTION'S STANCE	FRACTION
Direct governor elections District head/mayor elections by the DPRD	F-Partai Demokrat (not in pairs) F-Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (in pairs) Regional Representative Council or Dewan Perwakilan Daerah (DPD) (not in pairs)
Direct governor elections Direct district head/mayor elections	F- Partai Golkar F-PDIP F-Partai Keadilan Sejahtera F-Partai Amanat Nasional (not in pairs) F-GERINDRA F-HANURA
Governor elections by the DPRD Direct district head/mayor elections	F- Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (in pairs)

Source: The table is drawn up by the author based on raw data from the “Table of Government and Fractions’ Stance on Local Elections Draft Act” of June 4, 2013 from an anonymous source at the MoHA (Ministry of Home Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia). Source validity can be accounted for.

Based on the table, at the beginning, there were 6 DPR fractions – F-Partai Golkar, F-PDIP, F-PKS, F-PAN, F-GERINDRA, and F-HANURA – advocating direct local elections for governors/district heads/mayors. However, in later developments, these fractions had a significant change of stance on the Draft Act, especially nearing the September 25, 2014 plenary session. This was mainly a direct impact of the April 2014 legislative elections, which placed PDIP as the majority with 109 seats at DPR for 2014-2019, followed by Golkar 91 seats, GERINDRA 73 seats, Demokrat 61 seats, PAN 49 seats, PKB 47 seats,

15 Another example of this orientation shift can be seen from the change of orientation of Family Planning or *Keluarga Berencana* (KB). In the New Order era, women were the main target of this program in order to suppress the rate of population growth. Meanwhile, under President Abdurrahman Wahid’s administration, the program also included men as its target. For more information about the shift of program’s orientation to women in the New Order and Reformation Eras within the context of gender ideology, see Kurniawati Hastuti Dewi, “Demokratisasi dan Dekonstruksi Ideologi Gender Orde Baru,” *Jurnal Penelitian Politik*, Vol.4, No. 1 (2007: 59-68)

16 “Pemerintah Siapkan 8 Instrumen untuk RUU Pemilu”, Monday, 28 January 2013, <http://www.metrotvnews.com/metronews/read/2013/01/28/1/126637/-Pemerintah-Siapkan-8-Instrumen-untuk-RUU-Pemilu-Kada> (accessed on 26 February 2013).

17 “Rusuh Palopo, Mendagri Percepat Pembahasan RUU Pilkada,” *Nasional*, 1 April 2013, <http://nasional.news.viva.co.id/news/read/401685-rusuh-palopo--mendagri-percepat-pembahasan-ruu-pilkada> (accessed on 3 April 2013)

PKS 40 seats, PPP 39 seats, NASDEM 35 seats, and HANURA 16 seats.<sup>18</sup> This new configuration triggered coalitions among political parties for the July 2014 Presidential Elections, which put GERINDRA, Golkar, PKS, PAN, PPP, PBB, and Demokrat in the same basket under the Red-White Coalition or *Koalisi Merah Putih* with Prabowo-Hatta as their nomination for president and vice president. Meanwhile, PDIP, NasDEM, PKB, and HANURA stood behind Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla (JK) as their president-vice president candidate under the Great Indonesia Coalition or *Koalisi Indonesia Hebat*. Jokowi-JK won the July 2014 presidential elections and was designated as president and vice president elect under the Decision Letter of General Elections Commission or *Komisi Pemilihan Umum* (KPU) No. 536/Kpts/KPU/Tahun 2014 with 53.15 percent vote,<sup>19</sup> while Prabowo-Hatta received 46.85 percent vote. PDIP's victory at DPR plus their presidential candidate's winning – with support from 3 other parties – forced the Red-White Coalition to think of a tactic to control and influence local governance.

In order to secure power in local governments, the most strategic measure available to this coalition was to propose local elections by the DPRD since they would have more room for political maneuvers at the DPRD to put their people in strategic positions in local governments. If per June 4, 2013, almost a year away from 2014 legislative and presidential elections, F-Partai Golkar, F-PDIP, F-PKS, F-PAN, F-GERINDRA, F-HANURA opted for direct governor/district head/mayor elections, as illustrated in Table 1, some of them changed their preference to local elections by the DPRD after joining the Red-White Coalition (GERINDRA, Golkar, PKS, PAN, PPP), nearing the September 25, 2014 plenary session. Meanwhile, the coalition behind Jokowi-JK, consisting of PDIP, PKB, HANURA, and

Demokrat (although at the end Demokrat walked-out of the session<sup>20</sup>) opted for direct local elections. After a voting at the plenary session, 361 votes went for local elections by DPRD, and 226 votes for local direct local elections. As a result, DPR validated the mechanism of local elections by the DPRD, later adopted in the Law No. 22/2014 regarding Governor, District Head, and Mayor Elections.

Regardless of the political maneuvers made by both coalitions, based on the discussions among these politicians, the two options, whether local elections by the DPRD or direct local elections, were more of a politically calculated strategy to benefit their own group. Apparently, gender equity, which strived for equal access, participation, and control for both women and men in local political leadership, was not of a major concern. In other words, this mechanism validation signifies a huge step backward for Indonesian local governance, not only from the perspective of democracy but also, for the most part, from the perspective of women's opportunities for active participation in local political leadership. The previously wide-open "structure of opportunities" through direct local elections has now been sealed shut by the validation of the local elections by the DPRD.

Whereas, the author is of the opinion that direct local elections from 2005, not only saw more women being elected as local leaders, but also opened new horizons on the positive roles of religion (especially Islam since most of these women were Moslems), gender, and a network behind the emergence of female local political leaders post-Suharto.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, the author's research concludes that the emergence of female local leaders through direct local elections has built up expectations for greater possibility for Indonesian women to have a role and position in deciding the direction of democratization.<sup>22</sup> Women's rights activists also supported direct local elections, so it is not surprising that a few days before the DPR plenary session, many

18 Achmad Zulfikar Fazli, "Ini Daftar Perolehan Kursi DPR RI Tiap Parpol," *Metro TV News*, 14 Mei 2014, <http://news.metrotvnews.com/read/2014/05/14/241830/ini-daftar-perolehan-kursi-dpr-ri-tiap-parpol> (accessed on 29 September 2014)

19 Decision Letter of KPU No. 536/Kpts/KPU/Tahun 2014 regarding the "Designation of President and Vice President Elects in 2014 President and Vice Presidential Elections," taken from [http://www.kpu.go.id/koleksigambar/SK\\_KPU\\_536\\_2272014.pdf](http://www.kpu.go.id/koleksigambar/SK_KPU_536_2272014.pdf) (accessed on 30 September 2014)

20 "Fraksi Demokrat Walk out," *Kompas*, 26 September 2014, page 1.

21 Kurniawati Hastuti Dewi, "The Emergence of Female Politicians in Local Politics in Post-Suharto Indonesia" (PhD Dissertation, Kyoto University, Japan, 2012), 295.

22 *Ibid.*, 298.



women's groups under Indonesian Women's Coalition for Justice and Democracy held a demonstration against local elections by the DPRD at the Parliament Building in Senayan, Jakarta on Monday, September 22, 2014. According to the Indonesian Women's Coalition for Justice and Democracy, local elections by the DPRD prevent women from choosing local leaders they think represent women's interests, so they prefer direct local elections.<sup>23</sup>

Therefore, validating the mechanism of local elections by the DPRD would have an adverse impact on women's participation and opportunities for local leadership. Fortunately, later development was rather positive. In response to the Law No. 22/2014, under which the mechanism reverted to local elections by the DPRD, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono issued a Government Regulation in Lieu of the Law No. 1/2014 regarding Governor, District Head, and Mayor Elections, stating that governors, district heads, and mayors are chosen through direct elections. With Government Regulation in Lieu of the Law No. 1/2014 entering into force, Law No. 22/2014 was declared invalid (following legal procedure, this

Government Regulation in Lieu of Law must be submitted to the DPR at their next session for either approval or rejection. However, until such time, this Government Regulation in Lieu of the Law applies). With this latest development, the author sees there is still hope for women's participation in local governance. The reason is this Government Regulation in Lieu of Law No. 1/2014 allows the "structure of opportunities", which was wide-open under Law No. 32/2004 for women in local leadership, to continue and hopefully improve in the future.

In relation to this latest development, the next part will discuss the profiles of female local leaders who were elected both by the DPRD under the Law No. 22/1999 and through direct local elections under the Law No. 32/2004 which saw a significant increase in the number of female local leaders.

#### Profile of Female Local Leaders

Explanation on the female local leaders will begin with the presentation and elaboration of data on the female local leaders elected through the local election system via the DPRD under the Law No. 22/1999, as presented in Table 2 below.

**Table 2. Profiles of Elected Female Local Leaders via the DPRD during the Effective Period of the Law No. 22/1999**

No	Name	Position	Supporting Party	Personal Data	Social Class/ Political Affiliation	Political History
1	Rustriningsih	Regent of Kebumen (2000-2005)	PDIP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Educational background at first candidacy: Bachelor (S1)</li> <li>- Muslim</li> <li>- Daughter of a PDIP prominent figure in Kebumen during the New Order</li> <li>- Started a newspaper agency during her youth, which later developed into a big business in Gombong, Kebumen</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Middle class</li> <li>- nationalist</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Vice-secretary of PDIP Kebumen since 1993</li> <li>- Elected as the Chair of regional branch council (DPC) PDIP (Pro Megawati) Kebumen 1996</li> <li>- Chair of General Election Committee in Kebumen 1999</li> <li>- Elected as a member of People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) from PDIP at General Election 1999</li> <li>- A candidate for Regent of Kebumen in regional elections 2000 (election via the DPRD), and elected as the Regent of Kebumen</li> </ul>

<sup>23</sup> "Koalisi Perempuan Tolak Pilkada Lewa DPRD," *Detiknews*, Monday, 22 September 2014, <http://news.detik.com/readfoto/2014/09/22/193227/2697844/157/3/koalisi-perempuan-tolak-pilkada-lewat-dprd> (accessed on 3 October 2014)

2	Haeny Relawati Rini Widyastuti	Regent of Tuban (2001- 2006)	Golkar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Educational background at candidacy: Master (S2)</li> <li>- Muslim</li> <li>- Active in organizations</li> <li>- Daughter of former influential bureaucrat in Tuban Regency</li> <li>- Wife of a prominent businessman in Tuban</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Middle class</li> <li>- Bureaucrat family</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Chair of <i>Himpunan Wanita Karya</i> Tuban</li> <li>- Vice-Chair of <i>DPD</i> II Golkar Tuban 1992</li> <li>- Chair of <i>DPD</i> II Golkar Tuban 1999</li> <li>- Chair of <i>DPRD</i> Tuban (1999-2000)</li> <li>- Elected as Regent of Tuban in regional elections 2001</li> </ul>
3	Rina Iriani Sri Ratnaningsih	Regent of Karanganyar (2003-2008)	PDIP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Education: Master (S2)</li> <li>- Muslim</li> <li>- An elementary school teacher in Karanganyar 1982</li> <li>- Wife of a businessman</li> <li>- Gradually became a businesswoman in property business</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Middle class</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- A candidate and elected as the Regent of Karanganyar for 2003-2008 period</li> <li>- Elected as the Regent of Karanganyar in regional elections 2003</li> </ul>
4	Tutty Hayati Anwar	Regent of Majalengka (2003-2008)	Golkar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Education: Master (S2)</li> <li>- Muslim</li> <li>- A younger sibling of Yogi S. Memet, former Governor of West Java (1985-1993), and former Indonesian Minister of Home Affairs (1993-1998)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Upper-middle class</li> <li>- Bureaucrat</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Elected as Regent of Majalengka for the period of 1998-2003 when Law No. 5/1974 was still in effect</li> <li>- A candidate and elected as the Regent of Majalengka in 2003 when Law No. 22/1999 was still in effect (2003-2008)</li> </ul>

Source: made by the author from various sources.

The Table 2 above shows that the number of women taking the post of local leaders through regional elections via the *DPRD* under the Law No. 22/1999 was relatively small, comprising only 4 people. However, they were politicians from the New Order era who already had prior experience in politics by being active in the political parties allowed to exist in the New Order era (Golkar, PDI, and PPP). This shows

that, although the regional election system via the *DPRD* in the early 2000's had undeniably positively impacted the emergence of female local leaders, it had not been able to fully facilitate the emergence of new women leaders with more varying backgrounds. A more positive change took place following the effectuation of the direct local election system since 2015 under the Law No. 32/2004, as presented in Table 3 below.

**Table 3. Profiles of Elected Female Local Leaders through Direct Local Elections during the Effective Period of the Law No. 32/2004 (2005-2014)**

No	Name	Position	Supporting Party	Personal Data	Social Class/ Political Affiliation	Political History
<b>JAVA</b>						
1	Rustriningsih	Regent of Kebumen (2005-2010)	PDIP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Educational background at first candidacy: Bachelor (S1)</li> <li>- Muslim</li> <li>- Daughter of a PDI prominent figure in Kebumen during the New Order</li> <li>- Starting a newspaper agency during her youth, which later developed into a big business in Gombong</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Middle class</li> <li>- Nationalist</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Same as the previous Table.</li> <li>- Regent of Kebumen (2000-2005)</li> <li>- A candidate in direct local elections in Kebumen in 2005, elected as the first female regent in Kebumen, and in Indonesia, as the first woman to be elected through the direct local election system</li> </ul>
2	Haeny Relawati Rini Widyastuti	Regent of Tuban (2006-2011)	Golkar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Education: Master (S2)</li> <li>- Muslim</li> <li>- Daughter of former influential bureaucrat in Tuban Regency</li> <li>- Wife of a prominent businessman in Tuban</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Middle class</li> <li>- Bureaucrat family</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Chair of <i>Himpunan Wanita Karya</i> Tuban</li> <li>- Vice-Chair of <i>DPD II</i> Golkar Tuban 1992</li> <li>- Chair of <i>DPD II</i> Golkar Tuban 1999</li> <li>- Chair of <i>DPRD</i> Tuban (1999-2000)</li> <li>- Regent of Tuban (2001-2006)</li> <li>- Elected as Regent of Tuban in direct local elections 2006</li> </ul>
3	Rina Iriani Sri Ratnaningsih	Regent of Karanganyar (2008-2013)	PDIP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Education: Master (S2)</li> <li>- Muslim</li> <li>- An elementary school teacher in Karanganyar 1982</li> <li>- Wife of a businessman</li> <li>- Gradually became a businesswomen in property business</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Middle class</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Regent of Karanganyar (2003-2008)</li> <li>- A candidate for Regent of Karanganyar in direct local elections 2008 and elected as Regent of Karanganyar (2008-2013)</li> </ul>
4	Siti Qomariyah	Regent of Pekalongan (2006-2011)	PKB	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Education: Master (S2)</li> <li>- Muslim</li> <li>- A lecturer in Islamic University in Pekalongan</li> <li>- Daughter of an NU <i>kyai</i> (religious teacher) owning a small <i>pesantren</i> in Wonoyoso, Buaran, Pekalongan</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Middle class</li> <li>- <i>Santri</i> (pesantren student)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Active within the NU muslims community in Pekalongan, and known as a modern and smart NU muslim woman</li> <li>- Scouted by PKB Pekalongan since regional elections 2001</li> <li>- In regional elections 2001, she was nominated as Vice-Regent of Pekalongan by PKB Pekalongan with a regent candidate from PDIP</li> <li>- Siti was elected as Vice-Regent candidate of Pekalongan (2001-2005) through regional elections system via <i>DPRD</i> under Law No.22/1999</li> <li>- Later on, Siti was nominated by PKB as a regent candidate in direct local elections 2006 and was elected as a regent</li> </ul>

5	Ratna Ani Lestari	Regent of Banyuwangi (2005-2010)	Coalition of non-parliamentary parties (18 parties)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Education: Master (S2)</li> <li>- Muslim</li> <li>- Family owns a business in Banyuwangi</li> <li>- Wife of a Regent of Jemberana, then a top-official within PDIP Jemberana</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Middle class</li> <li>- Nationalist</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- A member of <i>DPRD</i> Jemberana from PDIP (2004-2009)</li> <li>- A candidate for Regent of Banyuwangi and was elected in direct local elections 2005 in Banyuwangi</li> </ul>
6	Ratu Atut Chosiyah	Governor of Banten (2006-2011) (2011-2016)	Golkar, PDIP, PBB, PBR, PDS, PPI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Education: Bachelor (S1)</li> <li>- Muslim</li> <li>- Daughter of Chasan Sochib, a prominent local figure in Banten who built a political dynasty in Banten</li> <li>- Wife of a businessman, who is also a prominent Golkar politician in Banten</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Upper-middle class</li> <li>- Bureaucrat</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- A Golkar politician Banten</li> <li>- Elected as Vice-governor of Banten (2001-2006)</li> <li>- Standing in direct local elections 2006 in Banten and elected as the Governor of Banten for two terms.</li> </ul>
7	Haryanti Sutrisno	Regent of Kediri (2010-2015)	PDIP, PPP, PKNU, Golkar, Hanura	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Education: Bachelor (S1)</li> <li>- Muslim</li> <li>- The first wife of Sutrisno, Regent of Kediri (2000-2005) (2005-2010)</li> <li>- Medical practitioner</li> <li>- Successful businesswoman</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Upper-middle class</li> <li>- Nationalist</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Her profession as a medical practitioner has helped her interact with the community making her well-liked</li> <li>- Active in women organizations</li> <li>- In direct local elections 2010, she competed against Hj. Nurlaila, the second wife of Sutrisno, and was elected as Regent of Kediri.</li> </ul>
8	Sri Surya Widati	Regent of Bantul (2010-2015)	PDIP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Education: High School</li> <li>- Muslim</li> <li>- Wife of Idham Samawi, Regent of Bantul (2000-2005) (2005-2010)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Middle class</li> <li>- Bureaucrat</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Active in women organizations during her time as the wife of Regent of Bantul</li> <li>- After her husband, occupied the post for two terms, she stood in the direct local elections 2010, and was elected as Regent of Bantul</li> </ul>
9	Widya Kandi Susanti	Regent of Kendal (2010-2015)	PDIP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Education: Master (S2)</li> <li>- Muslim</li> <li>- Starting her career as a medical practitioner</li> <li>- Wife of Hendy Boedoro, the Chair of DPC PDIP Kendal</li> <li>- Wife of former Regent of Kendal (2000-2005) (2005-2010)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Upper-middle class</li> <li>- Politician</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Vice-chair of PAC PDIP Kendal District (2001-2006)</li> <li>- Chair of DPC PDIP Kendal (2008-2010)</li> <li>- Chair of DPC PDIP Kendal Regency (2010-2015)</li> <li>- Member of <i>DPRD</i> Kendal Regency (2004-2009)</li> <li>- Vice-chair of <i>DPRD</i> Kendal Regency (2009-2014)</li> <li>- Elected as Regent of Kendal in direct local elections 2010</li> </ul>
10	Anna Sophanah	Regent of Indramayu (2010-2015)	Golkar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Education: High School</li> <li>- Muslim</li> <li>- Wife of Irianto M.S. Syafiuddin, Regent of Indramayu (2000-2005) (2005-2010)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Middle class</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Active in <i>PKK</i> during her time as a wife of Regent of Indramayu, increasing his interaction with community members, particularly housewives</li> <li>- Member of <i>DPRD</i> Indramayu from Golkar (2009-2014)</li> <li>- Standing as a candidate direct local elections 2010 and elected as Regent of Indramayu</li> </ul>

11	Airin Rachmy Diany	Mayor of South Tangerang (2011-2016)	Golkar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Education: Master (S2)</li> <li>- Muslim</li> <li>- Married to Tubagus Chaeri Wardana, a businessman and younger sibling of Governor Ratu Atut Chosiyah of Banten, which makes her a part of Banten's political dynasty</li> </ul>	- Upper-middle class	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Starting her career as a notary in Tangerang</li> <li>- Active in various women groups and social activities in Tangerang</li> <li>- Standing as a candidate and elected as Mayor of South Tangerang in direct local elections 2011</li> </ul>
12	Tri Rismaharini	Mayor of Surabaya (2010-2015)	PDIP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Education: Master (S2)</li> <li>- Muslim</li> <li>- Successful bureaucrat in Surabaya who started her career as the Head of Spatial Planning and Land Use, Municipal Development Planning Board of Surabaya in 1997</li> <li>- Wife of an employee in a private company</li> <li>- Daughter of a war veteran, tax official and businessman</li> </ul>	- Upper-middle class	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Branch Head of Park Agency of Surabaya (2002)</li> <li>- Head of Research and Development Division (2003-2005)</li> <li>- Head of Park and Waste Management, Agency of Surabaya (2010)</li> <li>- Her education background in Architecture and Master (S2) in Urban Development Management has boosted the application of innovative program in developing Surabaya</li> <li>- Elected as Mayor of Surabaya (2010-2015) in direct local elections 2010</li> </ul>
13	Idza Priyanti	Regent of Brebes (2012-2017)	PDIP, PKS, Demokrat, Gerindra	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Education: Master (S2)</li> <li>- Muslim</li> <li>- Daughter of a successful businessman in transportation sector, whose business was inherited by Idza Priyanti</li> <li>- Younger sibling of Mayor of Tegal (2009-2013)</li> <li>- Wife of a middle-ranked police officer</li> </ul>	- Upper-middle class	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- A successful businesswoman in transportation sector whose business has increased her social-financial capital to engage in political sector</li> <li>- Elected as Vice-Regent of Brebes for the remaining term of 2007 – 2012, via a plenary session of the <i>DPRD</i> Brebes, since the former Regent, Indra Kusuma, was suspected in an alleged corruption case.</li> <li>- Elected as Regent of Brebes in direct local elections 2012</li> </ul>
14	Puput Tantriana Sari	Regent of Probolinggo (2013-2018)	PDIP, PKB, PKIB, PKNU, Gerindra, Hanura	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Education: Bachelor (S1)</li> <li>- Muslim</li> <li>- Wife of Hasan Aminuddin, Regent of Probolinggo (2002-2007) (2007-2012)</li> </ul>	- Middle class	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Chair of NU Advisory Board of Probolinggo</li> <li>- Elected as Regent of Probolinggo in direct local elections 2013</li> </ul>
15	Rukmini	Mayor of Probolinggo (2014-2019)	PDIP, PKS, PAN, P. Pelopor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Education: Bachelor (S1)</li> <li>- Muslim</li> <li>- Wife of HM Buchori Mayor of Probolinggo (2004-2009) (2009-2014)</li> </ul>	- Upper-middle class	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Active in di Fatayat NU Probolinggo</li> <li>- Member of <i>DPR RI</i> from PDIP (2009-2014)</li> <li>- Standing as a candidate and elected as Mayor of Probolinggo in direct local elections 2014</li> </ul>

16	Utje Ch Hamid Suganda	Regent of Kuningan (2013-2018)	PDIP	- Education: Master (S2) - Muslim - Wife of Aang Hamid Suganda, Regent of Kuningan (2003-2008) (2008-2013)	-Upper-middle class	- During her time as a Regent's wife, she was active in a number of social activities and in various programs aimed at improving children and community's welfare, which made her well-known among community members - Won numerous awards - Elected as Regent of Kuningan in direct local elections 2013
17	Hj Atty Suharti Tochija	Mayor of Cimahi (2012-2017)	Golkar, PPP	- Education: Bachelor (S1) - Muslim - Wife of Itoch Tochija, Mayor of Cimahi (2002-2007) (2007-2012)	-Upper-middle class	- During her time as a Mayor's wife, she was active in promoting various social justice issues in health and children welfare sectors, which made her well-known among community members - Elected as Mayor of Cimahi in direct local elections 2012
18	Neneng Hasanah Yasin	Regent of Bekasi (2012-2017)	Golkar, Demokrat, PAN	- Education: Bachelor (S1) - Muslim - Daughter of a successful rice businessman, Hasanah Yasin, in Bekasi	-Upper-middle class	- Her father's social influence paved her way to political stage - Golkar politician - Chair of <i>DPD</i> Golkar Bekasi Regency - Elected as Regent of Bekasi in direct local elections 2012
<b>OUTSIDE JAVA</b>						
1	Vonny Anneke Panambunan	Regent of North Minahasa (2005-2010)	PP, PKPI, PPD	- Education: High School - Christian - Coming from ordinary family - Ex-wife of a man from a rich family, divorced and became a single parent - Becoming a rich businesswoman with a number of businesses in Jakarta, Kalimantan and foreign countries	- Middle class	- Elected as Regent of North Minahasa in direct local elections 2005
2	Hj. Marlina Moha Siahaan	Regent of Bolaang Mongondow (2006-2011)	Golkar	- Education: Bachelor (S1) - Muslim - Daughter of a politician - Wife of H. Syamsudin Kudji Moha, a businessman, a Golkar politician, and chair of the <i>DPRD</i> from Golkar di South Bolaang Mongondow.	- Middle class	- Golkar politician - The political career of her husband paved her way to compete for political posts in Bolaang Mongondow - Elected as Regent of Bolaang Mongondow in direct local elections 2006

3	Hj. Suryatati A. Manan	Mayor of Tanjung Pinang (2008-2013)	PDIP, Golkar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Education: Bachelor (S1)</li> <li>- Muslim</li> <li>- Career bureaucrat with a degree from <i>Institut Ilmu Pemerintahan</i> Jakarta</li> </ul>	- Middle class	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- District Head of West Tanjungpinang (1993-1995)</li> <li>- Head of Local Department of Revenue (<i>Dispenda</i>) Riau Islands (1995-1996)</li> <li>- Mayor of Tanjungpinang (1996-2001)</li> <li>- Acting Mayor of Tanjungpinang (2001-2003)</li> <li>- A candidate and elected as Mayor of Tanjung Pinang in direct local elections 2008</li> </ul>
4	Telly Tjanggalung	Regent of Southeast Minahasa (2008-2013)	Golkar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Education: High School</li> <li>- Christian</li> <li>- Member of <i>DPRD</i> North Sulawesi from Golkar</li> <li>- Wife of former Regent of Talaud for two terms, who was allegedly involved in a corruption case</li> </ul>	- Upper-middle class	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Elected as Regent of Southeast Minahasa in direct local elections 2008</li> </ul>
5	Ni Putu Eka Wiryastuti	Regent of Tabanan (2010-2015)	PDIP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Education: Bachelor (S1)</li> <li>- Hindu</li> <li>- Daughter of Nyoman Adi Wiryatama, a prominent figure in PDIP and former Regent of Tabanan (2000-2005) (2005-2010)</li> </ul>	- Upper-middle class	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- PDIP Politician in Tabanan</li> <li>- As the daughter of a former Regent of Tabanan, Eka Wiryastuti has been familiar with political activities, and it is likely that her father has influenced her career development in a certain degree.</li> <li>- Elected as Regent of Tabanan in direct local elections 2010</li> </ul>
6	Rita Widyasari	Regent of Kutai Kertanegara (2010-2015)	Golkar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Education: Master (S2)</li> <li>- Muslim</li> <li>- Daughter of Syaokani HR, former Regent of Kutai Kertanegara (1999-2004) (2005-2006)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Upper-middle class</li> <li>- Bureaucrat</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Chair of <i>DPD</i> Partai GOLKAR Kutai Kertanegara (Kukar) Regency</li> <li>- Chair of <i>DPRD</i> Kukar Regency (2009-2014)</li> <li>- Regent of Kutai Kartanegara (2010 - 2015)</li> <li>- Elected as Regent of Kutai Kertanegara in direct local elections 2010</li> </ul>
7	Christiany Eugenia Paruntu	Regent of South Minahasa (2010-2015)	Golkar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Education: Bachelor (S1)</li> <li>- Christian</li> <li>- Daughter of Jopie Tarutu, former Rector of Universitas Sam Ratulangi and a Golkar politician from Manado</li> <li>- Her mother is a Golkar prominent politician in Manado</li> <li>- Becoming a successful businesswoman in South Minahasa and Jakarta</li> </ul>	- Upper-middle class with a good educational background	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Golkar politician from Manado</li> <li>- Functionary of <i>DPP</i> Golkar, namely Vice-Treasurer I of Golkar South Sulawesi branch</li> <li>- Active in various social activities</li> <li>- A candidate and elected as Regent of South Minahasa in direct local elections 2010</li> </ul>

8	Juliarti Djuhardi Alwi	Regent of Sambas (2011-2016)	Demokrat, PPP, PAN	- Education: Master (S2) - Muslim - Professional Medical Practitioner turning to a successful bureaucrat within the Health Agency of Sambas Regency	- Middle class	- Head of Community Health Centre ( <i>Puskesmas</i> ) in Sambas on December 1989 - Acting-Director of <i>RSUD</i> Sambas in 2001 - Head of Sambas Health Agency - Her successful career led her to be elected as Vice-Regent of Sambas (2006-2011) in direct local elections 2006 - A candidate for and elected as Regent of Sambas in direct local elections 2011
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Source: made by the author from various sources

Table 3 above shows that there have been 18 women elected as local leaders in Java. Meanwhile, in other regions outside Java, 8 women have been elected as local leaders. Mostly, they were elected as Regents/Mayors. In total, there have been 26 female local leaders elected through direct local election system in the period of 2005-2014 under the Law No. 32/2004. This figure constitutes a significant rise compared to the number of female local leaders elected through the local election system via the *DPRD* in 2000-2005, which only amounted to 4 people. Therefore, judging from the quantity and gender equality perspective, it is apparent that direct local election system provides higher opportunity for women to participate in politics and to be elected as a local leader. This system, in turn, encourages gender equality in the political sector.

In addition, from their profile, it can be observed that most of the elected female leaders are Muslims, with a few Protestant female leaders outside Java, coming from diverse social background (Nationalists, bureaucrats, *santri*), with an average educational level of university undergraduate degree (S1). Thus, it can be said that the newer generation of female local leaders possess better potential and more diverse backgrounds than their counterparts elected through the election system via the *DPRD* during the effective period of the Law No. 22/1999. Based on their personal backgrounds, the author puts those 26 female local leaders into four categories: *first* is female career bureaucrats/politicians with influential familial ties; *second* is female local leaders who assume

positions with influential familial ties; *third* is women with non-political/non-bureaucratic backgrounds with influential familial ties; *fourth* is female career bureaucrats/politicians without influential familial ties.

Female politicians in this article are defined as women who began their professional political career with a political party, which facilitated the development of their political career. Female career bureaucrats are women who began their political career through their works as bureaucrats, and at a particular time, their work led them to become active in a political party which consequently facilitated their political career.

Meanwhile "familial ties" in this article refers to the term used by Linda K. Richter (1990-1991). Richter analysed the emergence of female political leaders in South Asian and South East Asia (Benazir Bhutto, Indira Gandhi, Sirimavo Bandaranaike, Corazon Aquino, Aung San Suu Kyi, and Sheik Hasina Wajed) and suggested that one particularly significant factor behind their political rise to power were their "familial ties", that is the influence of their male relatives (father, step-father, older brother, younger brother).<sup>24</sup> These connections helped these female politicians to build and achieve their specific political leadership roles.

In the author's understanding, when 'familial ties' stretch several generations, an accumulation and domination of social, economic and political

<sup>24</sup> Linda K Richter, "Exploring Theories of Female Leadership in South and Southeast Asia," *Pacific Affairs* 63, no. 4 (1990-1991): 525-8. For a comparison, see also Mark. R. Thompson, "Female Leadership of Democratic Transition in Asia," *Pacific Affairs* 75, no. 4 (2002-2003): 535.



resources in a certain region occurs, 'familial ties' evolve into political dynasties.

The first type is the female politicians/career bureaucrats that have influential familial ties. Included in this category are: (i) Rustriningsih, because she began her political career in the PDIP at an early age. Her father was a senior PDI politician (pro Megawati) during the New Order, he was her main mentor and helped in her political career; (ii) Haeny Relawati Rini Widyastuti with her father's influence as a bureaucrat and Golkar politician in Tuban, began her career as a politician in Golkar in the Regency of Tuban. She was elected as the Chair of *DPRD* Tuban Regency and was nominated as candidate for Regent before being elected as the Regent of Tuban in 2006; (iii) Ratu Atut Chosiyah, whose father is a famous *jawara* in Banten, Ratu Atut slowly but surely created a political career in Golkar and became the vice-governor of Banten in 2001 before being elected as the governor in direct elections in 2006 and 2011; (iv) Idza Priyanti is the daughter of a successful transport entrepreneur which helped her political position. Furthermore, her older brother, the Mayor of Tegal (2009-2013) may have also assisted her.. He led her to be nominated for the vice-Regent of Brebes for the remaining period of governance (2007-2012) before being elected as the Regent of Brebes (2012-2017) in direct local elections; (v) Neneng Hasanah Yasin, having the status of the daughter of a successful business man, was assisted as an already elected Golkar politician to become the head of *DPD* Golkar Bekasi Regency and then the Regent of Bekasi (2012-2017) in direct local elections in 2012; (vi) Hj. Marlina Moha Siahaan, whose father is a politician and husband an influential Golkar politician in South Bolaang Mongondow, was helped through various political positions before finally being elected as the Regent of Bolaang Mongondwo (2006-2011); (vii) Telly Tjanggalung is a Golkar politician who has been a representative member in the North Sulawesi parliament. Her husband was then also the Regent of Talaud. All of this helped to facilitate her candidature and election as the Regent of Minahasa Tenggara (2008-2013); (viii) Rita Widyasari is a politician Golkar Kutai

Kertanegara, helped with the influence of her father, Syaokani HR, a famous Golkar politician and Regent of Kutai Kertanegara (1999-2004) (2005-2006), into the position of the Regent of Kutai Kartanegara (2010-2015) in direct local elections in 2010; (ix) Christiany Eugenia Paruntu, had an early advantage with both her mother and father being well-known Golkar politicians in Manado. This helped facilitate her political career in Golkar-Manado. Combined with her career as a young and successful entrepreneur, Christiany was elected as the Regent of South Minahasa (2010-2015) in direct local elections in 2010.

The second type is women who already hold positions as local heads due their influential familial ties. This is because their husbands or fathers have already served as local heads for two consecutive periods. According to the Article 58 (o) of the Law No. 32/2004, local heads that have already served two terms in one region cannot stand themselves again to be local heads. So, to get around this law, these incumbent local heads nominated their wives/daughters to be the local heads in direct local elections. Several examples of female local leaders who were elected in this manner include Haryanti Sutrisno, Regent of Kediri (2010-2015); Sri Surya Widati, Regent of Bantul (2010-2015); Widya Kandi Susanti, Regent of Kendal (2010-2015); Anna Sophanah, Regent of Indramayu (2010-2015); Puput Tantriana Sari, Regent of Probolinggo (2013-2018); Rukmini, Mayor of Probolinggo (2014-2109); Utje Ch Hamid Suganda, Regent of Kuningan (2013-2018); Hj Atty Suharti Tochija, Mayor of Cimahi (2012-2017); and Ni Putu Eka Wiryastuti, Regent of Tabanan (2010-2015).

The third type is non-political/non-career bureaucrats with influential familial ties. Included in this category are (i) Rina Iriani Sri Ratnaningsih who was an elementary school teacher and a wife of a businessman. She progressively became a successful business woman in Karanganyar and was elected as the Regent of Karanganyar (2003-2008) and then re-elected as the Regent of Karanganyar (2008-2013) in direct local elections in 2008; (ii) Siti Qomariyah was a lecturer at an Islamic tertiary education institution in Pekalongan

with a modern education, an NU women's activist, her father was a prominent NU *kyai* in Buaran Pekalongan. She was recognised by PKB Pekalongan and was elected as the vice-Regent of Pekalongan (2001-2005) and won the direct local elections to become the Regent of Pekalongan (2006-2011); (iii) Ratna Ani Lestari was an ordinary woman from a family of entrepreneurs in Banyuwangi. She became a housewife after marrying the Regent of Jembrana, who was also an influential politician in Jembrana. This facilitated her political activity as a PDIP politician, and she became a member of DPRD Jembrana for PDIP (2004-2009). This helped her Regency nomination in 2005 and she was elected as the Regent of Banyuwangi (2005-2010); (iv) Airin Rachmy Diany was a notary who married Tubagus Chaeri Wardana, an entrepreneur and younger brother of the Governor of Banten, Ratu Atut Chosiyah and also son of a prominent figure, Chasan Shohib, entering their family political dynasty in Banten. With time, Arin became active in politics. She was nominated by Golkar and elected as Mayor of South Tangerang (2011-2016) in direct local elections in 2011.

Using these three typologies, the author intends to show that "familial ties" in an Indonesian context is not limited to the political influence of the father or male relatives on the rise of women in politics. Familial ties can also have a broader meaning as women can also get political promotions due to their father/male relatives' background or strong social, cultural or religious influences despite the fact that they are (their father/male relatives') not politicians in the traditional sense, such as *kyai* and other prominent figures.

The fourth type is female politicians/career bureaucrats that do not have influential familial ties. This type is ideal because women from this group began their political career as professional politicians or bureaucrats in their respective fields. The background of their father or husband is not that influential in the development of their career. Their career development is primarily determined by their own achievements and commitment during their terms as politicians or bureaucrats. This in turn led to their promotions

in public office as vice-local or local heads. Included in this category are Tri Rismaharini, Vonny Anneke Panambunan, Hj. Suryatati A. Manan and Juliarti Djuhardi Alwi. Female local leaders from this category usually have their own unique appeals as they have a strong ability in a particular field which has been nurtured and sharpened during their years as career bureaucrats or politicians. This consequently influenced how they developed their respective region during their terms as local heads.

After reviewing the profiles and types of the female local leaders that have been elected in direct local elections since 2005-2014 in this section, we will examine the policies and programs designed during their periods of governance, specifically those related to women's issues in their respective regions, in the next section.

### Performance of Female Local Leaders

This part will not discuss the performance of all female local leaders, but the descriptions of a few women mentioned here is intended to provide information and spot any pattern of policy/program during their term as local leaders. The women discussed here are those who won direct local elections since 2005, so a five-year term minimum or more has provided enough performance data for evaluation. As background information on local governance, especially related to gender issues, in 2012 our government partnered up with AusAID to issue an Indonesia Governance Index (IGI) for 33 provinces and local development in Indonesia. In detail, the IGI measured to what extent gender equality between men and women's rights prevails in every province by using gender indicators in a number of areas: governance, bureaucracy, civil society, and economic society.<sup>25</sup> The IGI noted that in terms of gender mainstreaming institutionalization, most provinces had a women and children protection and empowerment agency in place, but its performance was substandard. As a result, the

<sup>25</sup> AusAID dan Kemitraan, "Temuan-temuan Utama IGI" dalam *Indonesia Governance Index 2012: "Menuju Masyarakat yang Cerdas dan Pemerintah yang Responsif"*, 23 (Jakarta: Kemitraan bagi Pembaruan Tata Pemerintahan, 2013)

**Table 4. Female Local Leaders and Their Policies/Programs on Women and Children Issues**

Name and Position	Policy/Program	Result/Achievement
<b>Rustriningsih</b> Kebumen District Head (2005-2010)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- In 2006-2010 Kebumen District Local Government Work Plan, gender equality was under the same programs as inequality and poverty eradication.<sup>1</sup> However, after a careful inspection, the local government focused more on providing basic needs for women and population control, but overlooked violence against women and children.</li> <li>- An interview with PR, Head of Kebumen District Women Empowerment and Family Planning Agency or <i>Badan Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Keluarga Berencana</i> suggested that Rustriningsih was rather passive and not proactive in addressing women issues, so the agency staff must actively initiate programs and activities of their own.<sup>2</sup> On a similar note, IR, an INDIPT (Institute for Social Strengthening Studies) Kebumen activist, said that having a female district head did not necessarily mean that her administration would automatically be more gender sensitive.<sup>3</sup></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The number of violence against women and children cases in Kebumen was still relatively high: 67 cases (2006), to 86 cases (2007), and climbed to 93 cases (2008).<sup>4</sup></li> </ul>
<b>Siti Qomariyah</b> Pekalongan District Head (2006-2011)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- In Pekalongan Local Medium Term Development Plan (2006-2011), women empowerment was not one of its 8 development priorities, even though the document acknowledged a lack of awareness of women's rights, violence against women, and poor institutionalization.<sup>5</sup></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- In Pekalongan District, Maternal Mortality Rate increased from 85/100,000 live births (2005), to 149 (2006), 176 (2007), and 173 (2008).<sup>6</sup></li> <li>- Gender inequality still existed in education, in which female illiteracy was higher than that of male: for men, 8.75 % (2002), 9.41 % (2003), 8.61 % (2004), and 6.53 % (2007); for women, 17.70 % (2002), 17.69 % (2003), 16.07 % (2004), and 16.48 % (2007).<sup>7</sup></li> <li>- Many of the issues regarding violence against female migrant workers or <i>Tenaga Kerja Wanita</i> (TKW) were not seriously addressed by the relevant agencies, considering that Pekalongan District was one of the originating areas of TKW and migrant workers in Central Java.</li> </ul>
Ratna Ani Lestari Banyuwangi District Head (2005-2010)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- In Banyuwangi Local Medium Term Development Plan (2006-2010), improving women's quality of life and meeting women and children's needs were two of its 11 development priorities; the local government wanted to focus on 4 key issues: violence against women and children, making available data on gender inequality, improved women's role in politics, and health.<sup>8</sup> However, this excellent document lacked in terms of implementation and in the end caused many problems.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- There was an increase in HIV/AIDS cases because Banyuwangi had many red-light districts and Ratna Ani Lestari's administration failed to close/organize these areas.</li> <li>- There were many problems related to TKW or migrant workers because Banyuwangi was one of the originating areas of TKW and migrant workers in East Java.</li> <li>- Maternal Mortality Rate increased from 6/1,000 live births (2005) to 20/1,000 live births (2006).<sup>9</sup></li> </ul>

<p><b>Tri Rismaharini</b> Mayor of Surabaya (2010-2015)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Pro-women and children policies, such as women-only buses, smoking areas, lactation rooms in public spaces and city parks, <i>Ramah Anak</i> (Kid-Friendly) Award sub-districts, Local Government Regulation Number 6 of 2011 regarding Children Protection Implementation, Local Government Regulation Number 2 of 2012 regarding Social Welfare Problems or <i>Penyandang Masalah Kesejahteraan Sosial</i> (PMKS), Local Government Regulation Number 4 of 2013 regarding HIV and AIDS mitigation.<sup>10</sup></li> <li>- Building green, convenient, hi-tech and integrated parks for citizens and children, as well as restoring sidewalks.<sup>11</sup></li> <li>- Building Local Government's shelters for orphans and children with special needs, including renovating Taman Surya for people with special needs.<sup>12</sup></li> <li>- <i>Pahlawan Ekonomi</i> (Economic Heroes) Program to encourage housewives from lower class to become creative entrepreneurs since 2010.<sup>13</sup></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Gender Empowerment Index (IDG) is an index that measures women's active roles in economy and politics, including their political participation, economic participation and decision making, as well as control over economic resources<sup>14</sup> in Surabaya City. This index increased from 58.28 (2008) to 58.55 (2009), and continued climbing to 77.53 (2010).<sup>15</sup></li> <li>- Surabaya City received Parahita Ekapraya<sup>16</sup> in 2011, 2013 (Utama).</li> <li>- Surabaya City received ASEAN Environmentally Sustainable City Award in 2011 and 2012</li> <li>- Future Government Award for Asia Pacific in 2013</li> <li>- Receiving City Fit for Children Award for 3 consecutive years: 2011, 2012, and 2013.</li> <li>- Risma received "Mayor of the Month" award (February 2014) from The City Mayor International.</li> </ul>
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Source: compiled from sources listed in the footnotes.

IGI Report suggested the urgency for women to be placed in strategic positions as decision makers.<sup>26</sup> The IGI reached a conclusion that more women in executive positions or acting as policy makers did not necessarily mean they focused themselves on gender issues, so more women in politics should go hand in hand with more capacity for making strategic decisions.<sup>27</sup> The condition in district/cities was not much different. A study in 2010 of 41 districts/cities suggested inadequate gender consideration in development planning and implementation in these districts/cities.<sup>28</sup> So, what are the examples of policies/programs on women and children issues during a term of female local leaders? See the following table for more information.

Although Table 4 only lists four female local leaders from direct local elections, we can at least have an overview of what their policies were during their term and how they responded to women and children issues. Through various local formal documents, we can see that some of the administrations did include women/children issues as their agendas and development priorities under female local leaders, but the rest showed no significant alignment with these issues. In some cases, theory was different from

practice, in which female local leaders tended to be passive and not proactive, as well as relied so much on other relevant parties' initiatives.

However, in another case, a female local leader in Surabaya showed strong commitment and real alignment with women and children issues even before her appointment as district head/mayor. In this case, her performance after being elected as local leader greatly improved, bringing positive changes and reformations, especially in the areas of women, children, environment, and health. Female leaders certainly have inherent capital as women and mothers, who in general can quickly understand the needs and problems of other women and children, including their ability to show empathy and use their intelligence to adopt a gentle-but-firm approach to every problem. As Surabaya Mayor Tri Rismaharini said, being a woman and a leader had its own advantages, "My advantage is as a woman, I can identify myself as a mother to the entire city".<sup>29</sup>

These various findings represent dynamics and challenges of developing pro-children and women policies when a local government is led by a woman. The problems are indeed never simple. In-depth research into Rustriningsih, Siti Qomariyah, and Ratna Ani Lestari suggests that

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 25.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 25.

<sup>28</sup> At <http://www.menegpp.go.id/V2/index.../policy-brief-versi-indonesia>, page 3 (accessed on 13 July 2012)

<sup>29</sup> A quote from Tri Rismaharini, as quoted by Ira Puspito Rini, *True Spirit Ibu Risma* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Indoliterasi, 2014), 95

there are a number of factors which influence the policy stand of a female local leader, especially on handling women's issues at the local level. Some among these factors are their personal experiences in women organizations and networks throughout their political processes, leadership qualities, and individual commitment on gender equality when handling women's issues at the local level. Thus, it can be concluded that the existence of a female local leaders does not necessarily guarantee that their political policies will be gender sensitive and having women's perspective.<sup>30</sup>

### **Closing: Future Political Agenda**

This paper finds that women's roles in Indonesian local governance have never been simple. The quantity and extent of women's participation as local political leaders are heavily influenced by a broader sociopolitical context surrounding them. For example, during the New Order when Suharto's regime maintained full authoritarian control over the country's sociopolitical context, gender ideology at the time discouraged women from being engaged in politics, including local leadership. At the time, Indonesian women were mostly encouraged to devote themselves as mothers and wives who supported their husbands in serving their country. In the New Order era, local elections were held under the Law UU No. 5/1974 by the DPRD with only three political parties (Golkar, PPP, PDI) allowed to join the competition. This way, it was easier for the central government (Suharto) to control the election results in favor of their "people" as local leaders. As a result, only few women were elected as local leaders, and most of them were members of Golkar. Positive changes started to take place in 1998 when democratization began to spread after the downfall of Suharto. The next presidential figure (Abdurrahman Wahid) had strong gender sensitivity, and this made gradual shift towards women's programs' orientation (such as Dharma Wanita, PKK, KB) empowering broader political roles. In this context, the Law No. 22/1999 was also issued to arrange for

significantly smaller president's intervention in local elections by the DPRD. After the Law's implementation, four female local leaders were elected, although most of them were from Golkar or PDI(P) with no new face among them.

More significant changes took place after the Law No.32/2004 took effect, introducing the mechanism of direct local elections. In terms of women's participation, the author is of the opinion that this mechanism opened broader "structure of opportunities" for women to engage and be proactive in politics as local leaders. It was proven by 26 female local leaders (from Java and beyond) winning the local elections, mostly as district heads/mayors, in 2005-2014. If we look at their profiles, we can see that new faces were in the mix alongside some familiar ones, and that they took part in shaping local politics at the time. Moreover, we can see that they came from various political parties, instead of being dominated by Golkar and PDIP, such as PKB, PPP, PKS, and other minority parties. Therefore, in terms of participation, number of women elected as local leaders, and political diversity, direct local elections under the Law No. 32/2004 were more agreeable to and provided more room for new types of female local political leaders. Based on the foregoing, it is safe to say that Indonesian local politics (at the time) was an 'enabling critical locus' for women to reach higher at political leadership ladder.

Then, what does the future hold for us after the ratification of Law No. 22/2014 regarding Governor, District Head, and Mayor Elections? By reverting to local elections by DPRD under this Law, we, in general, have made a huge step backwards in terms of women's participation and leadership in local governance. However, with the Government Regulation in Lieu of the Law No. 1/2014 which advocates direct local elections for governor, district head, and mayor seats – and simultaneously cancels the Law No. 22/2014 – we can still hold out hope for continued and broader opportunities for women's participation in local governance, especially as local leaders.

Even though there is no guarantee that women elected as local leaders will automatically improve the condition of women and children

30 Kurniawati Hastuti Dewi, "The Emergence of Female Politicians in Local Politics in Post-Suharto Indonesia," 292. 296.

in their area, since there are a million factors at play here that influence performance,, more female local leaders means more opportunities for gender perspective that is aware of women and children's various needs and issues to be adopted in local governance. Especially, taking into consideration that challenges and problems ahead will grow more complex, such as the issue of climate change affecting major cities and in close relation to aspects of gender, as women

would suffer the most from this phenomenon. Problems regarding childcare, especially in the developing regions and major cities, require attention, and women in local governments should think of developing regulations and legal platforms for these issues, including the increasingly widespread violence against children and women even in formal educational institutions. These are actual, urgent problems that desperately require attention and solutions.

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