

Leadership of Women in Local Politics: A Study of the Three-Selection of Women Regents in Kendal Regency

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Abstract. The purpose of this study was to reveal the phenomenon of the change in leadership of three different women as regents in Kendal Regency which occurred sequentially. The object of the analysis is the pattern of the political shift phenomenon in Kendal in the 2000-2015 period, namely the emergence of Nurmakesi, Widya Kandi Susanti, Mirna Annisa as Kendal regent. This research is classified as a mixing method that combines library research with interviews with selected respondents. The analysis technique uses the Parsonian functional analysis method to reveal political, economic, social, community fiduciary systems, and also government. This analysis technique is used to identify the shift in paternalistic patterns that exist in Kendal due to the strengthening of the issue of feminism and changes in the political constellation in Indonesia, and to describe the relationship between power theory and network theory and exchange theory. The results of this study indicate the existence of a paternalistic pattern of strength which then gives rise to the strength of the oligarchy. However, the loss of the egalitarian nature of the paternalistic pattern has led to the collapse of oligarchic domination. Popular support for the incumbent regent decreased, and instead shifted to newcomers. This shift in support was triggered by the desire of the community to make Kendal district better. The results of this research analysis are presented in a descriptive narrative with a qualitative approach.

Keywords: Female Regent, Oligarchy, Feminism, Paternalism

1 Introduction

After the Reformation Order in Indonesia, awareness of gender bias politics began to strengthen. In line with that, the flow of feminism is strengthening in the legislature, which is marked by demands for an increase in the portion of representation in the legislature. At that time, the accessibility of women in government seemed to be neglected, so that the role of women was still very minimal in government. Quantitative women's representation in the legislature is increasing, it's just that if you calculate the percentage of women's representation in the legislature, it's still very small. Then, the demand for the emancipation of women in politics has strengthened. This strengthening of feminism also resulted in women being able to occupy positions as President, Vice President, Governor, Regent, Mayor, members of the national or regional Legislature, which until 2015 had been increasing. It's just that, if we look at it quantitatively, the ratio of women to men is still very small, not yet reaching 30%. Then, the women's alliance demanded a 30% quota for legislative candidates covered by a standard rule, so a 30% quota requirement for women legislative candidates emerged.

This strengthening of feminism cannot be separated from the factor of the level of education that is already equal to that of men. This educational equality then gives rise to critical reasoning power to criticize the dominant paternalistic patterns in life. The demand for equal rights and accessibility in politics or in leadership becomes even more massive after examining the essence of leadership. The existing leadership patterns, which have been dominated by men, basically can also be manifested by women. The essence of leadership is generally oriented towards creating prosperity, equality of rights, justice, and various other virtues, such as the identification of Kant [1] and Mill [2] which are already very popular, not only can be done by men, but actually women can also make it happen. Likewise, the dominant basis of legitimacy, which Weber identified in 1968 [3] into three things, namely traditional, charismatic, bureaucratic, can also be obtained by women as long as the system provides for this. this condition which strengthens the reasons for bringing up the role of women in leadership.

The phenomenon described above has a correlation with the emergence of female candidates for regional leadership. So, since the Reformation Order, more and more women have participated in leadership competitions in the regions. The result is that more and more regional leaders are female. Regarding the phenomenon of women's electability as regional leaders in Indonesia as regents or mayors after the Reform Order period, the data can be seen in the table below.

Table 1. District/City with a Female Regional Head

No	District/City	Province	Position Period	Name of Regent/Mayor
1	Bekasi Regency	West Java	2012-2017 2017-2018	dr. Hj. Neneng Hasanah Yasin dr. Hj. Neneng Hasanah Yasin
2	Brebes Regency	Central Java	2012-2017 2017-2022	Hj. Idza Priyanti, A.Md., S.E. Hj. Idza Priyanti, A.Md., S.E.
3	Gunungkidul Regency	Yogyakarta	2010-2015 2016-2021	Hj. Badingah, S.Sos. Hj. Badingah, S.Sos.
4	Karawang Regency	West Java	2014-2015 2016-2021	dr. Cellica Nurrachadiana dr. Cellica Nurrachadiana
5	Kebumen Regency	Central Java	2000-2005 2005-2008	Dra. Rustriningsih, M.Si. Dra. Rustriningsih, M.Si.
6	Kendal Regency	Central Java	2007-2010 2010-2015 2015-2020	Dra. Hj. Siti Nurmarkesi dr. Hj. Widya Kandi Susanti dr. Mirna Annisa, M.Si
7	Klaten Regency	Central Java	2016-2017 2017-2022	Hj. Sri Hartini, S.E. Hj. Sri Mulyani
8	Kutai Kartanegara Regency	East Kalimantan	2010-2015 2016-2017	Rita Widyasari, S.Sos., MM., Ph.D Rita Widyasari, S.Sos., MM., Ph.D
9	South Minahasa Regency	North Sulawesi	2010-2015 2016-2021	Christiany Eugenia Paruntu, S.E. Christiany Eugenia Paruntu, S.E.
10	Tabanan Regency	Bali	2010-2015 2016-2021	Ni Putu Eka Wiryastuti Ni Putu Eka Wiryastuti
11	Banjar City	West Java	2013-2018 2018-2023	Hj. Ade Uu Sukaesih, S.IP., M.Si. Hj. Ade Uu Sukaesih, S.IP., M.Si.
12	Surabaya City	East Java	2010-2015 2016-2021	Tri Risma Harini Tri Risma Harini
13	South Tangerang City	Banten	2011-2016 2016-2021	Hj. Airin Rachmi Diany, S.H. Hj. Airin Rachmi Diany, S.H.
14	Tanjungpinang	Riau islands	2001-2003	Suryatati A Manan

No	District/City	Province	Position Period	Name of Regent/Mayor
	City		2003-2008 2008-2013	Suryatati A Manan Suryatati A Manan

Source: KPU RI, 2019.

Based on the data above, there are interesting things behind the writing of this article, namely the phenomenon of women's leadership in Kendal Regency, which experienced three different changes in women's leadership, which did not happen in other regions. The emergence of women's leadership in Kendal Regency is marked by the presence of Nurmakesi as the Regent of Kendal. Nurmakesi started his career as a regional leader from his previous position as Deputy Regent accompanying Hendy Boedoro. Nurmakesi replaced Hendy Boedoro after Hendy Boedoro was found involved in a corruption case and dismissed as Regent. In the next election period Nurmakesi, who was then the incumbent, was defeated by his competitor, namely Widya Kandi Susanti, who was the wife of Hendy Boedoro. In the 2015 elections, Mirna Annisa won the election against Widya Kandi Susanti, who was then the incumbent. Related to this, there are interesting things that can be revealed, through analysis of paternalism, oligarchy, and populism in government in Kendal. These three things are the focus of discussion in this article.

2 Methodology

This research is classified as a mixing method that combines library research with interviews of selected respondents. The data analyzed is a combination of secondary data collected from various literatures, such as scientific journals, books, research reports, or relevant research reports, which are strengthened by the results of interviews with respondents who fully understand the incident. The analysis is based on information and various data obtained through the literature [4]. The analysis process began with the emergence of Nurmakesi's leadership, followed by Widya Kandi Susanti, and continued with Mirna Annisa. The results of the analysis were compiled and written to become this paper.

3 Results and Discussion

3.1 Analysis of the Emergence of Nurmakesi's Leadership

Winters [5] identifies 5 sources of support for power, namely: formal political rights, official positions, coercive power, power to mobilize, and material power. The first four factors are called the political elite factor, while the fifth factor is called the oligarchy factor. Hidayat et al. [6] argue that these five factors are very dominant in the election of the head of government in Indonesia. The power of the oligarchy which is shown by the power of money is directly proportional to the power of political elitism. The use of the power of money is increasingly prevalent because the potential for a return when in office is also very large.

The four initial modalities compiled by Winters [5] will be connected to the four domains of power compiled by Anderson [7] including abstract and concrete power, sources of power, morality of power, and the amount of power [6][7]. These four Anderson factors

will strengthen Parsonian structural functionalism which is built on the fiduciary system, economic system, government system and social community [8].

This Parsonian structural functionalism is not static, but dynamic. The adjusting factor in the dynamic is called the behavioral organism. The dynamic nature itself is distinguished by two theories, namely the theory of evolution and the theory of general exchange media. Evolution itself explains things that are natural and non-by-design. Meanwhile, change through this general medium of exchange is faster and designed. The factor in the form of a general medium of exchange is applied in the form of material strength or financial strength [8]. In the context of politics in Indonesia, the strength of this material has proven to be massively implicated and gave birth to the oligarchy of Hidayat et al. [6].

This material power gives rise to oligarchic power which in reality shifts from the power of the political elite to the power of the economy. This happened in both regional and legislative elections. The power of oligarchy in Indonesia has existed since the New Order. Even though the Reformation Order has an agenda to displace the power of the oligarchy, in reality the oligarchy continues to thrive and is strong until today [5][9]. Even with this trend, many politicians pursue material resources at the local, national and international levels [6][9].

The operational pattern of oligarchy in Indonesia has the characteristics: predatory power, liquid coalitions, patronage network patterns, the use of money politics, and the practice of coercive power (coercive power/thuggery). This can work because of weaknesses in civil society [6][9].

The conditions above are the same and congruent with what happened in Kendal Regency since the Reform Order. The indicator revealed by Winters [5] illustrates what happened to Hendy Boedoro's power, which was also the foundation for the birth of power for Nurmakesi (his former deputy) and Widya Kandi Susanti (his wife) to occupy the position of regent after the end of Hendy Boedoro's power. Hendy Boedoro's electability was inseparable from his condition as a local strongman [10], which led to his election as a representative of the PDIP party, or local bossism [11], which led to his getting popular support. Boedoro's political modality was then able to create a dynasty of power.

The Boedoro dynasty, when referring to the dynasty classification formulated by Djati [12], was formed based on populism. Because, during his reign, Boedoro was able to realize his political promises, by carrying out developments that were truly felt by the people. Boedoro was also able to create social cohesion and at the same time the political network that solidly underpins his dynasty. This achievement made his name even more popular in the Kendal community, so that in the end he was able to win the direct head of blood election, with Nurmakesi as his running mate.

In order to create strong domination and popularity, Boedoro carried out paternalistic communication patterns and populist program redistribution to influence aspects of affection that were able to foster trust, solidarity and solidity. In political language, this practice is known as the pork barrel politics scheme whose impact is even stronger when accompanied by the politicization of the budget cycle (policy budget cycle) [12]. It's just that, in the end Boedoro stumbled on this budget which later caught him as a corruption case, which led him to prison and the end of Boedoro's reign, then replaced by Nurmakesi who at that time served as his deputy.

Nurmakesi's leadership style is very different from Boedoro's. Nurmakesi was unable to maintain a populist rhythm like its predecessors. In fact, it seems that they are being very careful in using the budget, so that development has stopped, and seems unsustainable. Nurmakesi's political pattern is not populist but closer to clientelism [13]. He is closer to his party group, namely Golkar. These patterns reduce public confidence in the next regional head

election. So, in the next contestation he was defeated by Widya Kandi Susanti who was the wife of Boedoro.

3.2 Analysis of the Emergence of Widya Kandi Susanti's Leadership

The populism built by Boedoro proved strong. As a corruptor who trapped him in prison and ended his rule, it turned out that he did not automatically reduce his popularity. Nurmakesi's leadership was also unable to shift Boedoro's popularity. In fact, dissatisfaction with Nurmakesi's leadership crystallized support for the Boedoro family to run for competition with Nurmakesi in the 2010 Regional Head Election. This crystallization of community support led to Widya Kandi Susanti to compete in regional head elections through the support of the PDI Perjuangan party. Basically, this support for Susanti is not by accident, but by design [12]. This pattern of succession is common in Indonesia. Succession design by carrying out romantic populism and familism is aimed at perpetuating domination and power [13].

Allen [13] explains that political dynasties can be divided into 3 types, namely familism, clientelism, and tribalism. In the context of Susanti's election in the 2010 Pilkada in Kendal, it is characterized more by the type of dynasty familism. The characteristics of this familism are closely related to indicators of romanticism, populism, and oligarchy aspects [6][12], all of which are related to the power network relations established by his predecessor, Boedoro. Therefore, Susanti's election can be said to be the impact of the populism oligarchy, which was formed by combining the five aspects of power support formulated by Winters [5] above.

The oligarchic populism factor built by Boedoro proved to be a very strong modality for Susanti's election as Regent of Kendal. However, this modality was not fully utilized by Susanti to continue her dominance. Boedoro's program and leadership style cannot be replicated by Susanti. Even the performance of the Regent was considered by the community to be unsatisfactory, because the standard was too far from the success that had been realized by Boedoro. Susanti's inability to match Boedoro's achievement has been proven to erode public trust, the impact of which was the decrease in the amount of support for Susanti in the 2015 Regional Elections.

Susanti actually also wants to form a populist image, it's just that her approach is too centralized to the family. Her failure to embrace all of networking this caused the loyalty and affinity built become fall apart. In addition, the physical development of the infrastructure in Kendal was not carried out massively, so that the community considered this a form of the regional leadership's lack of concern for the community. This public assessment is the basis for the weakening of the dynasty populism in Susanti's government. The impact is to weaken the fiduciary system, the economic system, the government system and the social community. The weakening in these four aspects is evidenced by the significantly reduced number of votes for Susanti during the 2015 Pilkada, which is compete with Annisa.

3.3 Analysis of the Emergence of Leadership of Mirna Annisa

Epstein and Buhovac [14] introduced the concept of sustainability, which basically says that for a business to be sustainable it is necessary to carry out an operational process that does not only focus on these matters, but also must not ignore environmental and social factors. This is in line with the opinion of Hanifa and Cahaya [15] which says that when there is no harmonization of a department with the local community, an affair will experience many obstacles. This condition generally occurs in developing countries. These opinions are very relevant when linked to the condition of Susanti's government. Susanti's lack of closeness to

the people caused obstacles to win public sympathy in order to win the 2015 regional election. Even during the campaign period, there were strong popular voices that said they would vote for anyone who became Susanti's rivals. This condition was favorable for Annisa, so that in reality Annisa won the 2015 regional election contest with a fairly dominant vote, 62.2%.

Mirna Annisa's victory symbolizes many meanings. The main meaning is that the people actually want a leader who is able to provide hope for the creation of prosperity. The hopes of the Kendal people that were not fulfilled by Susanti's leadership led to a shift in leadership support from the incumbent to the challenger. The next symbol is the cracking of pork barrel politics made by Boedoro due to Susanti's failure to combine paternalistic patterns and servant leadership practices. This failure has led to the weakening of power relations with paternalistic approaches, familism, and populism, which have previously been developed [16]. This is proven, that even though Susanti has a strong political background domination, when she is unable to promise a prosperity for the community, she eventually loses against Annisa, who at that time came in a political contest without sufficient political experience background. The politics of oligarchy eventually collapsed when it was unable to promise the welfare of society.

The shift in political support as happened in Kendal is a common phenomenon that occurs in developing countries. This is in line with Oner's [16] statement which explains that people in developing countries have the characteristics of political support for parties that are able to promise prosperity, which are carried out with paternalistic characteristics combined with a serving leadership style. The combination of the two is characterized by the nature of altruism, relations, empowerment, and participation.

Mirna Annisa, who is still young, has a high level of education, and has not been contaminated with practical politics, and is supported by a new party, even though it is not a majority party but has a lot of community support, namely Gerindra, is able to generate new optimism for the community. If we look closely, during that period personal roles shifted institutional roles. This has happened in various countries that have implemented a multi-party system. Because to carry a candidate requires joint support of several parties [17][18]. In this condition, the role of personal characteristics and online media support is more dominant in determining support [19].

4 Conclusion

The Boedoro government is able to create a good government structure. Sub-subsystems can support each other so that the structure of society can function properly and support each other. I was able to integrate the fiduciary system, the economic system, the government system and the social community in a steady manner. The formation of the structure is done through a pork barrel politics approach combined with paternalism. This success was used to create a dynasty of populism and familism. It's just that his successor was unable to continue that success, so he ended up losing in the next regional head election. This happened both during the time of Nurmakesi or Widya Kandi Susanti. Mirna Annisa, who is an immigrant and comes from outside the structure, actually benefits as a result of the destruction of the existing structure.

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