

THE POLITICAL ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE LOCAL POLITICAL SCENE IN CENTRAL JAVA

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ABSTRACT

Discrimination based on gender occurred in all aspects of life, especially local politics. These days, gender equality has a rapid progress, however the nature and extent of discrimination vary greatly in different countries or regions. Other facts in the political sphere, there are conditions where political activism and political behavior is seen as masculine activities (male). Patriarchal culture that is rooted in Indonesia's political system and especially at the level of a local district, renders the male dominance in the realm of politics and the potential negative impact for women to get the right efforts in political participation, especially for holding a political position or public sphere. The election of the head of the region in the year 2012 in Sragen, Batang, and Cilacap, Central Java, followed by the female candidate, where political figures of women in local political level initially dominated the campaign on the elections, though later they suffered defeat by a male competitor. There are some factors which becomes a primordial political framework in the political behavior in view of women's leadership, which are the factor of religion, culture, social and gender. Therefore, the main objectives of this paper to observed what the key factors women has a chance of winning (selected) in the elections. This article was sourced from an examination of the behavior of voters at the elections in three districts in Central Java i.e. Sragen, Batang and Cilacap. This research was conducted in three counties with 300 respondents in each county plus the FGD and In-depth Interview local political stakeholders in their respective regions. The technique of the research was using the mixed method, i.e. a quantitative analysis of descriptive with survey data and qualitative analysis of interview and FGD. The result showed that affirmative action theory in Indonesia is failed because the society is not ready, they tend to engage the patriarchy system. This study expected to encourage woman to get involved in politics and make a contribution in women empowerment as well as a wake up call for the society to support gender equality.

Keywords : local politics, voter behavior, gender equality

1. INTRODUCTION

Development always brings changes. The dynamics of the development impact on the prevailing norms and values, customs, habits as well as attitudes of individuals and groups. In the stage of development, the active role of men and women are needed (Beaman et al., 2008). Partnership can be realized when equality rights and obligations between men and women is already a reality.

The United Nation Convention on the Elimination of all forms of discrimination against women (The UN Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women – CEDAW) has been accepted and ratified by the General Council of the United Nation in 1979. More than 30 years since he confessed the Convention internationally, more than 170 countries in the world have ratified it. This Convention could be a foundation for the realization of equality of women and men with open access and equal opportunities in the political and public life, including the right to vote and run for the election (Bhavnani, 2009). Besides, ratified the UN Convention on political rights of women in 1968, Indonesia also ratified CEDAW in 1984. In 1994, there were a working group of Trustees Convention along with a number of feminists, promote women's rights and advocating for the full implementation of the Convention on women. This process continued under President BJ. Habibie in 1999, by ratifying the protocol options as a part of the women's Convention.

However, over the decades since the independence of Indonesia, women issue remains the same. It always faced barriers in the public and private domain environment, where political, legal, social, cultural and economic inequality often get preferential treatment (Geis, 1993). Inequality in women participation on political scene embedded in structured community in Indonesia. Moreover, public spaces often put women in coercion conditions. A series of regulatory norms, religious reason to consciously or unconsciously has become the bars for women. Thus, an active role of men and women in the stage of development are needed. Partnership alignment can be realized when equality rights and obligations between men and women is already a reality. Women are expected to be able to play a double role, in households, society and in the workplace.

Currently, the number of Indonesian women that supported by high quality and productivity will be a potential capital for development. This can be seen when the gait of Indonesia women in a variety of roles and strategic position is

increased year by year. The diversity of these role shows that the Indonesia women is a potential resource, if they are given the same opportunity. Despite numerous advances in the role of women have managed to achieve, but the current percentage of the number of women who managed to occupy a strategic position as decision makers are still very low. The low number of women sitting in higher positions has been hampered by the absence of affirmative action policies by the Government to put women in strategic position (Jones and Navia 1999; Schmidt and Saunders 2004).

In 2003, partnership research institution (the Partnership for Governance Reform) investigated about gender and local governance and found that women can achieve the political career of the bureaucracy through the democratic election but unlikely – very rarely- capable of reaching the peak of her career as the leader in the area of the administration and government policy. In other words, many women can achieve a position as a Regent/Governor/Mayor through direct election, but small number could be the Secretary. It is pointed out that culture of substantial equivalence has not been tempered by the bureaucratic governance although community do not see any obstacles women became leaders.

The bureaucracy that has the history ties of Mataram colonialist still put forward the superiority of men. Strong assumption of gender inequality that men are the leaders, have a wide range power in control human resources, and man leadership is far superior compared to woman. In order to enhance women participation in policymaking, Indonesia introduced norms reserving political positions (political reservations or gender quotas). Institutional changes are considered as a useful tool to increase women participations in politics, since cultural and social norms that seem to have hindered their political empowerment tend to evolve very slowly (De Paola et.al, 2009).

An interesting issue is whether affirmative actions (such as gender quotas) are able to break down negative stereotypes about the capabilities of women in politics. Moreover, exposure to women politician may change cultural attitudes on appropriate roles for women. The ideas is that the exposure to counterstereotypic individuals could reduce automatic biases (Dasgupta and Asgari, 2004). Therefore, in order to improved the development of Indonesia's bureaucracy and investigates various barriers of women to more active in bureaucracy that appeared as problems in this paper, we investigate what the factors that become obstacles for women to be elected as a Regent/Mayor/Governor, as well as how affirmative action policy influence the development of an Indonesia women in the bureaucracy?

The paper is organized as follows. In Section 2 discusses an overview of the related literature on affirmative action theory. In section 3, the materials and the methods as well as the data that we used and section 4 explain the results. We offer some concluding remarks in section 5.

2. AFFIRMATIVE ACTION THEORY

Affirmative action theory can define as “A policy or a program for correcting the effects of past discrimination through active measures to ensure equal opportunity in the employment or education of member of certain groups, as women, black, etc”. Affirmative action is a special policy to enhance the role of women in the social, economic and political world.

Lee Bacchi (1993) stated that the purpose of the affirmative action program is to strengthen women in non-traditional jobs, and to improve their access to positions that earn higher wages and status. Meanwhile, Norris and Lovenduski (1995) investigated that there are at least three obstacles for women in the political world to achieve the same position with men which are, structural obstacles such as education, employment, and social status. Other than that in institutional barriers are political system, democracy level, electoral system. While, in cultural barriers namely patriarchal political culture as well as public opinion on gender issues in politics.

On the other hand, from the historical side of Indonesia women's movement which begun after independence is to support the fighters in guerrilla warfare or combat to maintain independence. In 1946, women's organizations began to grow, both as new organizations as well as existing revivals. This post-independence women's movement, beside to fight for the agenda, including post-crackdown during Japanese colonized, they continue to fight for political equality, the right to education and employment opportunities. The problem faced is discriminatory acts between men and women. At this time, however, the same political rights are at least legally guaranteed in article 27 of the constitution 1945. When it was established Law 80/1958, which guarantees the existence of the principle of equal payment for equal work.

Furthermore, after in Indonesia allowed to establish a political party, then a number of women entered into members of political parties, even in 1948 had stood the Women's Party of the initiative of Mrs. Sri Mangunsarkoro in Yogyakarta. This party is based on God-Godliness, democracy, nationality and has a very militant struggle program. Likewise with the decisions of the Kowani congress in 1948 and 1949, was heavily loaded with political content and with a militant spirit to defend Indonesia's independence. Up to 1950, the political results achieved by women were quite a lot. Members of the House of Representatives also increased. This is what enables women to participate in decision-making and law-making. Similarly in the executives board, in 1950 has been appointed two women ministers, namely Mrs. Maria Ulfah Santoso as Minister of Social Affairs and Mrs. S.K. Trimurti as Minister of Labor.

After 1950, women's organizations developed along with the development of parties in Indonesia. Many women's organizations such as the Marhaenise Women, the Social Women's Movement, Gerwani, and others. There are also movable parties that are part of religious organizations, such as Aisyiah, Catholic Women, as well as independent women's organizations with no ties to other parties, such as Perwari, and many other women's organizations engaged in social and community welfare.

However, there are obstacles and challenges for improving women political participation due to personal, internal and external issues. For personal issues, the political awareness for women is relatively low which needs improvement. For internal perspective, not all available political parties gives space and opportunity for women political development, whereas externally, the improvement of women political participation is so limited that they do not participate in politics and do politics correctly. Islam provides equal opportunity for men and women in politics. This can be seen in many sex-neutral injunctions in the Holy Qur'an which commands amar ma'ruf nahi munkar (promote the good and prevent the

evil). This command encompasses all aspects of life, including politics and state issues. Women are also responsible in this respect. Based on that, Islam provide ground for women to actively in politics (Warjiyati, 2016).

When we discuss the political role of women, we do not interpret politics as narrowly as looking at politics in the formal, legislative, executive, and judicial perspective. Political existence is manifested in aspects of coexistence at the local level and sensitivity to existing problems. Women's participation in political thought, contributed actively to the high sensitivity towards political issues is absolutely necessary. Political participation according to H. Mc Closky is a voluntary activity of citizens through which they take part in the process of electing the ruler directly or indirectly in the process of formation of public policy (M. Budiarmo, 2008, p 367).

There are important reasons for women to participate in politics: Women have special experience that is understood and felt by women. Issues such as discrimination, marginalization, reproductive health, the issue of domestic violence, the violence of women and others. Then the participation of women is expected to prevent the unfavorable condition of women in overcoming stereotypical problems to women, discrimination in the field of law, social and work life, marginalization in the career world, and exploitation that occurred to women. Women's politics are expected to bring in balancing values that overcome fights with counseling solutions, turning competition into cooperation. Women's political participation is urgently needed in the effort of integrating gender needs in various public policies and passing on gender-sensitive legal instruments that have been neglected and hampered women's progress in various sectors of life.

Patriarchal culture positioning women in domestic roles such as the role of parenting, educators, and moral guardians. Meanwhile, the role of men as heads of households, decision makers, and breadwinners. The extension of the various roles attached to the women, then, the political arena laden with the role of policy makers is closely related to issues of power that are identical with the male world. When women went into the political scene is often considered something that is less common or inappropriate even the political arena is considered a harsh world, loaded with competition even seem very ambitious. If traced the level of representation of women in the legislature since 1950 until the election 1999, it has not shown significant changes.

3. MATERIALS AND METHODS

This article was sourced from an examination of the behavior of voters at the elections in three districts in Central Java i.e. Sragen, Batang and Cilacap. This research was conducted in three counties with 300 respondents in each county with purposive sampling technique and In-depth Interview local political stakeholders in their respective regions. The technique of the research is using the mixed method which are a quantitative analysis which based on case study with descriptive and explanatory method and qualitative analysis from in-depth interview and focus group discussion (FGD).

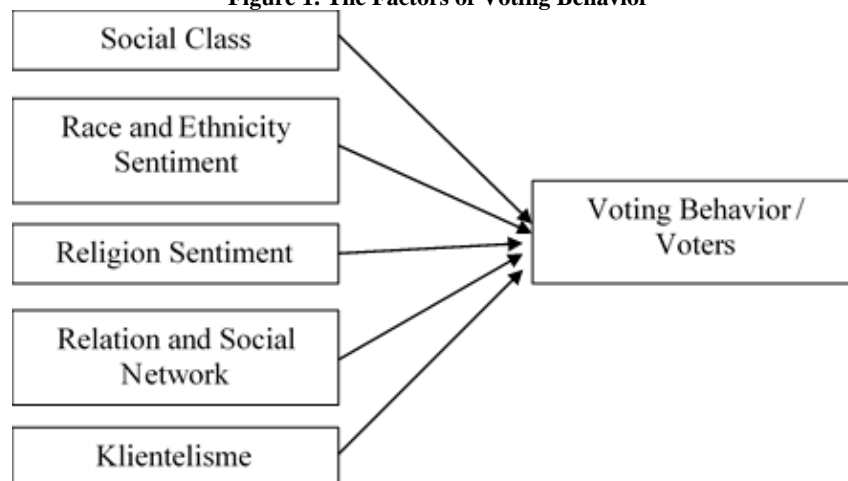
4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Law no.22 of 2007 brought in some important changes in the Indonesia electoral system especially for local election. While, since 1997 Indonesia has ratified The UN Convention that concerning the woman quotas in political scene. The quotas system within electoral registration is to reduce discrimination as well as exposing a female leader.

To examine the effects of affirmative action theory to the involvement women in bureaucracy especially in Central Java, we choosing three counties which are Sragen, Batang and Cilacap. The district selection is based on the population size whereby Cilacap is the highest number of population in Central Java. While, Batang has the least number of population and Sragen is the average number of population.

In 2012, the election of the head of the region in those three counties, were followed by the female candidate. The role of female candidate in local political level initially dominated the campaign period, though later they suffered defeat by a male competitor. The factors which becomes a primordial political behavior framework in view of women's leadership are religion, culture, social and gender. Therefore, the main objectives of this paper is to observed what factors that women has a chance of winning (selected) in the local elections.

Figure 1. The Factors of Voting Behavior



In relation to social class and religious, racial and ethnic sentiments as the primary consideration in the election, the individual backgrounds to be elected are seen as important, as well as their relation to the social network context

(Huckfeldt, Johnson, and Sprague, 2005). In local political contestation, the aspect of regional sentiments is often the primary consideration of voters. Moreover, in various studies on voter behavior, religious factors can not be denied. Regardless of one's social class, religious people tend to support political parties or candidates for public officials who are viewed as being positive about religion. Both social class, religion, ethnicity, and regionalism can trigger the presence of collective power to support certain political parties or candidates in the election. Moreover, when patterns of patron-client relationships between voters and candidates are noticed (Mujani, Liddle and Ambardi, 2012). In cases of a regional election in some Southeast Asian countries, for example, this patron-client pattern is still common, for example, as Hodder's study, which occurs in the Philippines marked by a complex patronage phenomenon. Political clientelism, in which voters are closely influenced by elites or local leaders, takes place expressively in the Philippines (Hodder, 2014).

Table 1 are reported the population size by gender from each counties. The population here is the number of people who already 17 years old and above - people who already has the right to vote.

Table 1. Population by Gender in 2015

Counties	Population		Population	
	Men	%	Women	%
Sragen	303,381	48.14	326,854	51.86
Batang	224,803	49.32	231,006	50.68
Cilacap	586,552	49.37	601,497	50.63
Total	1,114,736	49.02	1,159,357	50.98

Source : Central bureau of statistics (BPS), 2016

Based on the table above we can see that the population of men and women in those three regions have the same proportion with average 49,02 percent for men and 50,98 percent women. The population of Women less than 2 percent higher than Men, however men participation in legislative are very dominant. Meanwhile, the number of people in parliament by regent and gender are as follow:

Table 2. Member of parliament by Regent & Gender

Regent	2009		2014	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Sragen	42	3	41	4
Batang	35	10	35	10
Cilacap	43	7	40	10

Source, : Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS), 2015

In table 2, showed that women participation in the parliament from two period of election was increased from 7 to 10 in Cilacap and from 3 to 4 in Sragen. Yet, women participation in Batang is 10 women. Based on affirmative action theory, the representative of women in politics – in this case in Batang – about 22,22%. Unlike Batang, the women participation in Sragen is very low only around 7 to 9%. While in Cilacap, there was a significant increase of women participation from 14% in 2009 and 20% in 2014.

Meanwhile, the number of respondent in each countie found that the number of men participant in Cilacap is 56,7% and 43,3% for women. While in Batang and Sragen, the number of women participant higher than men participant. On the other hand, the total respondent showed that the proportion of men and women respondent is about equal proportion. From the table 3 below, it can be seen that the proportion of men and women from respondent can reflect the number of population.

Table 3. The Participants in local election

Counties	Participants		Participants	
	Men	%	Women	%
Sragen	128	42.7	172	57.3
Batang	92	30.7	208	69.3
Cilacap	170	56.7	130	43.3
Total	437	48.6	463	51.4

Source : primary data, 2016

Political conditions in Central Java are also described in each areas of research, which are Sragen, Batang, and Cilacap District. Within the scope of residency in the general election of 2009, the members of the parliament (DPRD) Sragen district, has been won by *Indonesian Democratic Party-Struggle (PDI-P)* to obtain 17 seats, followed by the *Democratic Party (PD)* with 7 seats and Golkar party at third place, i.e. 6 seats. Thus, although based on religious beliefs about 98 percent Muslim, but the Islamic-based party such as *the National Awakening Party (PKB)* and the *Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)* was not dominates the vote. In the political constellations in the Sragen district, 'abangan' – according to Geertz terminology - or nationalists still dominates. This is in line with the various studies that issues of concern to voters is the economy and social issues. It is also in line with the levels of need (Abraham Maslow) that basic human needs are physical needs. After the physical needs are met, the human tendency is to meet the needs of the other that is nonphysical until at last turn on the highest needs, for instance self-actualization.

There are several facts concerning Affirmative action in the representation of women in the government bureaucracy. As Pippa Norris states there are at least three barriers for women in politics to achieve equal status with men:

Structural barriers, Institutional barriers, as well as cultural barriers. The three facts concerning the representation of women in the government bureaucracy are:

First, women find it difficult to reach the highest position of bureaucratic career because of their feminine status. In local governance, especially in the regions, it is very difficult or even impossible to compete for the top position of the bureaucracy. The reason, the feudalism and patriarchal culture that is still the domain of male power. Women work is always questioned in the society that still holds a patriarchal culture. Women are often regarded as complementary to various social activities and relationships. Women never sanctioned to appear to be leaders in the field work in cultivation. The democracy that enables the adaptation of gender equality values in the public sphere, its application still runs halfway in equalizing the position of women with men. Women continue to experience a phase of marginalization in the public sphere.

Second, the brilliant career and hard work of any woman, still not considered "fit" and ideal when becoming a figure of a leader in the bureaucracy. Gender stereotypes put women as if they do not have a strong character and qualified as a leader. Women are idealized simply as civil servants who deal with administrative matters. Thirdly, women are constrained by the "biological" issue and the definition of their sexuality because social construction causes their time often to be confiscated by domestic problems. It is considered as an obstacle to reaching career ladder for women.

Many regions in the era of regional autonomy have not yet accommodated local government programs that are paradoxically gendered. Although the paradigm of local governance and bureaucracy is closely approached to the idea of gender justice, the practice is still half-hearted. No sincerity from men who dominate career ladder gives "highways" for women's career breeding.

In 2011, local election in Sragen district has been implementing local election (Electoral Districts) and followed by four pairs candidates of Regent and vice regent, however the PDI-P cannot promoted candidates as a winner on the local election. The election won by the couple of Agus Fatchurahman-Daryanto (ADA) which supported party are Golkar, *the United Development Party (PPP)* and *the National Mandate Party (PAN)* with the number of voters is 265,648 (50.66 percent). Meanwhile, PDI-P without coalition with another party brings Kusdinar Untung Yuni Sukowati-Darmawan Minto Basuki (YUDA) obtained 231,844 (44.22 per cent). PDIP promote the female candidate as regent and male candidate as vice regent. Meanwhile, two pairs of independent candidates, such as Sularjaka-Kusharjono and Danang Wijaya-Sumiyarno each acquired 5,100 (0.97%) and 10,146 voters (1.97%). As for Wiyono-Khaled endorsed by 16 small party and has no seats in parliament gets the voice of Sragen 11,606 voters (2.21 percent) (Sragen district Election Commission, 2011).

If associated with obtaining seats in Parliament Elections results in 2009 for Sragen district, then the number of seats of the Golkar, PPP, and PAN is only 10 seats, far below the seats of parliament obtained from PDI-P which was 17 seats. Nevertheless, the candidate who carried by Golkar, PPP, and PAN, (ADA) got support from most of the people in the election 2011. This symptom is confirmed that the choice of a political party in the election not to be a bond that they must choose a candidate carried by the party.

On the other hand, the candidate from PDI-P, YUDA, especially female regent candidate (Kusdinar Yuni) is a daughter of previous regent, Untung Wiyono, who involved in corruption at the end of his tenure. Beside that, The voters already willed leaders who outside of the vortex of political dynasties. Agus Fatchurahman, elected regent actually was Vice Regent's two previous period or Vice Regent of the regime's father of Kusdinar Untung Sukowati Yuni. Since serving as Vice Regent for 10 years, so he was already widely known by people in Sragen. Because of this, Agus Fatchurahman got more support than any other candidate.

In the election 2015 in Sragen followed by four candidates, the Regent and Vice Regent, namely (i) Sugiyanto and Joko Saptomo or SUKO (PDI-P, and PD), (ii) Agus Fatchurahman and Djoko Suprpto or AMANTO (Golkar and *the People Conscience Party (Hanura)*), (iii) Kusdinar Untung Yuni Sukowati and Dedy Endriyatno or Yuni-Dedy (*the Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra)* and PKS), and (iv) Jaka Sumanta and Surqiogo PB or JAGO (PKB and PAN). In 2015, the election won by the candidate of Yuni-Dedy supported by Gerindra and PKS which total representatives in parliament is 12 seats based on the 2014 election results. Thus, the political conditions in Sragen quite dynamic due to the legislative election-winning party (which held one year earlier) i.e. PDI-P, was supposed become the prospective head of the region, only got 13 percent votes. This condition confirmed the results of the qualitative or quantitative study that selects the party in election not suddenly will support candidates from the same party. According to the results of the in-depth interviews and FGD with the voters, people are more interested with the populist regent (visiting the society's activities, takziah, jagong etc.)

As the implementation of the first general elections in the reform era, PDI-P won the trust of the Batang people over 42 percent. Meanwhile, Golkar as the party rulers and supporters of the new order during 32 years in power, in the elections this time get 9.17 percent and is fourth after a PDI-P, PKB, and PPP. But as the party that is the beginning of the Reformation was the target of the mass with a slur and get voters nearly 10 percent is an extraordinary accomplishment.

The implementation of the election (2010 and 2014), in the District of Batang has held direct election in 2011 with carrying three pairs of candidates of prospective Regent and Vice-Regent namely (1) Yoyok Riyo Sudibyo and Sutadi (Yodi) bolstered by Golkar, PPP, PAN, PD, PDP, PPRN, PKNU, Pelopor, Barnas, PBR, PNIM, and Republicans; (2) Susi Iriani and Lafran Panca Putranto (Bersusila) supported by the PDI-P; and (3) Dhedy Irawan and Mujarwo (Dhewo), which carried by the PKB, Hanura, Gerindra, PKS, and PKPB. Based on the voting results, Yoyo-Sutadi (Yodi) gets 171,184 votes (40.42 percent), Bersusila got 22,71 percent, and Dewo 36,87 percent. According the vote, so Yodi elected as Regent and Vice-Regent for 2011-2016 period.

In addition to implementing local election, in 2014 election was held to elect members of the legislature, both the Central, provincial or county, including the election of the members of the Batang legislative. The implementation of the legislative election in the District of Batang, involving 580,188 voters. From the turnout, votes that were declared valid 428,941 is distributed in five electoral regions. Obtaining the most votes was PDI-P that got 84 thousand fewer so getting 10 seats. The second order is the PKB who gained almost 70 thousand so get eight seats and third place gets the same number of seats, that is, five seats each for Golkar, Gerindra, and PD. Islamic-based party that gets significant seats in addition to the

PKB is PPP, i.e. four seats. If you see a tally of votes are absolute, five ranks from Golkar, once the PPP with insignificant difference but because of gains on different region, then Golkar get gains seats in parliament more than the PPP, the difference in one seat. Profile close to this vote shows that the performance of Golkar in Batang District needs to be fixed. However, the women participation in Batang parliament are still below (22,22%) the standard in affirmative action theory.

In 2004, the election in District of Cilacap, PDI-P still shows the power of its influence on voters because it has put 16 representatives in the Cilacap Regency legislative, while in the second-order is Golkar to win 11 seats. However, Golkar as the party that has been well-established and raised with the full support of the Government of the new order also still shows its strength. According to the results of the in-depth interviews with voters, the power of Golkar in Cilacap Regency is also supported by traditional or loyal voters, especially the elderly who understand that the election means choose Golkar. Although in the Cilacap area known as abangan, but at the election 2009, the party that affiliated on religion (Islam) also shows the power of influence, namely the PKB and PAN place a representative of his party in parliament as much as five seats and PPP puts four seats.

In the elections 2009, PDIP-P as a leader in the parliament, with 14 seats, followed by the Golkar party 8 seats. In the third place demokrat and Gerindra respectively 7 seats, the PAN gained 6 seats, the PPP get 5 seats, PKS got 3 seats, as well as PNBKI one seat. In addition to the first direct election in 2007, The local election was followed by two candidates, which are Probo Yulastoro-Tatto Suwarto supported by PDI-P acquired 446,589 votes (51.14 percent) and Fatimah-Sayyidi promoted by the Golkar Party, PAN, PD, and PBR gained 426,703 votes (48.86 percent).

Based on the results, the candidate who bolstered by the PDI-P won over a candidate who endorsed by four parties. This shows that the public still have a trust to the nationalist party as well as known as party for a poor people (PDI-P). Meanwhile, five years later, the election in 2012 involves turnout remained as many as 1,498,215 people. The candidate for Cilacap Regency are Novita Wijayanti-Mochamad Muslich and Tatto Suwarto paired with Akhmad Edi Susanto. Based on the results of the recapitulation of votes, the pairs candidate Tatto Suwarto - Akhmad Edi Susanto was declared as the winner or as an elected Regent of Cilacap Regency period 2012-2017 with the vote number is 555.044 votes (60.75 percent) while the Novita Wijayanti-researcher Mochamad Muslich obtained 358,562 votes (39.25 per cent). Couples Tatto-Edi bolstered by Golkar and PAN while Novita-Muslich supported by the PDI-P, PD, PKB, PPP, PKS, Gerindra, PNBKI, and PNI, Marhaenism.

In the bureaucratic scope, women are still regarded as “winging witches” in working relationships that still seem to plainly dominate the role of men. His form, often a dead-end career when exploring the road to the top of the bureaucracy. Few women are able to tread as candidates for leadership in government bureaucracy, let alone be their leader. This is a problem in accommodating gender equality programs in governance.

In the context of gender, affirmative action policies means giving a chance women to occupy a particular position on behalf of the representation. For regent position in the three counties, the community still prefer to choose the male candidate, however female candidate have a chance to choose after that female candidate running for the election for the second time.

5. CONCLUSION

The movement of Indonesian women has been started since the independence's day of Indonesia. even in 1950, Indonesia already has 2 women as ministers. However, after 70 years of Indonesian independence, discrimination against women is primarily bureaucratic and the political field is still occur. Women who were given the opportunity and participated as well as elected as regional heads were still very low. Similarly, the results of our research show the same results.

The election of the head of the region in Sragen, Batang, and Cilacap, Central Java, started to followed by the female candidate, where political figures of women in local political level initially dominated the campaign on the elections, though later they suffered defeat by a male competitor. There is some factor which becomes a primordial political framework in his political behavior in view of women's leadership, which are the factor of religion, culture, social and gender. However, the number of women in the parliament tend to increase from less than 10 percent in 2009 to more than 20 percent in 2014. While the effectiveness of affirmative action in achieving gender equality in some cases cannot be assessed and it is necessary to speed up the achievement of equality. To conclude, the affirmative action theory cannot increase the chance of women to be elected as head of the region.

However, It is the time to end the situation with a change of culture and structural policies that are pro-gender justice. A culture of equality is a necessity if the community and the managers of the state have a strong desire to advance the function of bureaucracy as the institution of the bearer of the mandate of public service. It is also important to establish relations between social movements, especially women movements and political parties.***

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