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# INDONESIAN WOMEN AND LOCAL POLITICS

Islam, Gender and  
Networks in Post-  
Suharto Indonesia

KURNIAWATI HASTUTI DEWI

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## Islam, Gender and Networks in Post-Suharto Indonesia

*Kurniawati Hastuti Dewi*

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*Cover image:* Ratna Ani Lestari, Regent of Banyuwangi (2005–10), in an interview with journalists after attending a plenary session with the regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) of Banyuwangi on 29 July 2009. (Personal collection of Kurniawati Hastuti Dewi)

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## ABBREVIATIONS

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AD	Anggaran Dasar, Basic Organizational Platform
ABIM	Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia, Youth Islamic Group of Malaysia
ANRI	Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, National Archive of the Republic of Indonesia
ANSIPOL	Aliansi Masyarakat Sipil untuk Revisi UU Politik, the Alliance of Civil Society for Revision of Political Legislation
APBD	Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah, Local Government Revenue and Expenditure Budget
APBN	Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Negara, State Revenue and Expenditure Budget
APPNP	Aliansi Partai Politik Non-Parlemen, Alliance of Non-Parliamentary Political Parties. This was intended to be the political vehicle of Ratna Ani Lestari in the 2010 direct elections in Banyuwangi
ART	Anggaran Rumah Tangga, Operational Organizational Platform
BARNAS	Partai Barisan Nasional, National Front Party
BLT	Bantuan Langsung Tunai, direct financial assistance for poor families
BPP	Bilangan Pembagi Pemilih, the Vote Division Number
BPUPKI	Badan Penyelidik untuk Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia, the Investigative Body for the Preparation of Indonesian Independence, founded by the Japanese colonial government and responsible for drafting the Constitution for the newly independent Indonesia
BUMD	Badan Usaha Milik Daerah, Local Government Enterprises
CEDAW	The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women

CETRO	Centre for Electoral Reform
CLD	Counter Legal Draft, to counter the Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI)
DAU	Dana Alokasi Umum, General Allocation Fund from the Central Government
DDII	Dewan Dakwah Islam Indonesia, Indonesian Islamic Propagation Council
DI/TII	Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia, rebel group led by Kartosuwiryo in West Java that declared the establishment of an Islamic state in Indonesia
DI/NII	Darul Islam/Negara Islam Indonesia, Darul Islam/Indonesian Islamic State
DPR	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, People's Representative Council
DPRD	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah, the regional People's Representative Council
FK3	Forum Kajian Kitab Kuning, Yellow Book ( <i>pesantren</i> texts) Learning Forum
FPI	Front Pembela Islam, Islamic Defenders Front
FPIS	Front Pemuda Islam Surakarta, Surakarta Youth Islamic Front
FUUI	Forum Ulama Ummat Islam, the Islamic Religious Scholars Forum
GBHN	Garis-Garis Besar Haluan Negara, the Broad Guidelines on State Policy
Gerwani	Gerakan Wanita Indonesia, the Indonesian Women's Movement, a women's organization affiliated with the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI)
Gerwis	Gerakan Wanita Indonesia Sedar, the Conscious Indonesian Women's Movement, an embryo of Gerwani
GOLKAR	Golongan Karya, a confederation of functional groups created by Suharto in the 1970s which became his political party and vehicle
GPPNP	Gabungan Partai-Partai Politik Non Parlemen, Coalition of Non-Parliamentary Political Parties. The political vehicle of Tri Ratna Ani Lestari in the 2005 direct elections in Banyuwangi
GPSP	Gerakan Perempuan Sadar Pemilu, the Movement for Educating Female Voters

H.	Haji, special title for Muslim men who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca
Hj.	Hajjah, special title for Muslim women who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca
HTI	Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, Indonesian Islamic Party of Liberation
IAIN	Institute Agama Islam Negeri, the State Institute of Islamic Studies
ICIP	International Center for Islam and Pluralism
ICMI	Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia, Indonesian Muslim Intellectual Association
ICRP	Indonesian Conference on Religion and Peace
IKIP	Institut Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan, Teaching and Education Institute
IPNU	Ikatan Pelajar Nahdlatul Ulama, Nahdlatul Ulama Student Association (NU)
IPPNU	Ikatan Pelajar Putri Nahdlatul Ulama, Nahdlatul Ulama Female Student Association (NU)
ITB	Institute Teknologi Bandung, Bandung Institute of Technology
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
JIL	Jaringan Islam Liberal, Liberal Islamic Network
JIMM	Jaringan Intelektual Muda Muhammadiyah, the Muhammadiyah Intellectual Youth Network
JPPOL	Jaringan Perempuan dan Politik, the Network for Women and Politics
JPPR	Jaringan Pendidikan Pemilih untuk Rakyat, the Peoples' Voter Education Network
KAMMI	Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia, the United Action of Indonesian Muslim Students
KPPSI	Komite Persiapan Penegakan Syariat Islam, Committee for Preparation of Syari'ah Implementation
KB	Keluarga Berencana, Family Planning Program
KH.	<i>Kyai</i> Haji, title for a religious scholar who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca (the <i>hajj</i> )
KHI	<i>Kompilasi Hukum Islam</i> , 'Compilation of Islamic Law
KOWANI	Kongres Wanita Indonesia, the Indonesian Women's Congress, established in 1945. The umbrella for Indonesian women's organizations

KPI	Kongres Perempuan Indonesia, Indonesian Women's Congress, established in 1935
KPP	Kaukus Perempuan Parlemen, the Women's Parliamentary Caucus inside parliament
KPPI	Kaukus Perempuan dan Politik Indonesia, the Caucus for Women and Indonesian Politics outside of parliament
KPU	Komisi Pemilihan Umum, General Election Commission
KPUD	Komisi Pemilihan Umum Daerah, Local General Election Commission
KSF	Kartika Soekarno Foundation
LBH APIK	Lembaga Batuan Hukum Asosiasi Perempuan Indonesia untuk Keadilan, the Legal Aid Foundation of the Indonesian Women's Association for Justice
LIPI	Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia, the Indonesian Institute of Sciences
LKAJ	Lembaga Kajian Agama dan Gender, Institute for Religion and Gender Studies
LKJ HAM	Lembaga Kajian Gender dan Hak Asasi Manusia, Institute for Gender and Human Rights Studies, in Semarang, Central Java
LKiS	Lembaga Kajian Islam dan Sosial, Institute for Islam and Social Studies
LP3ES	Lembaga Penelitian, Pendidikan dan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial, the Institute for Economic and Social Research, Education and Analysis
MIAI	Majelis Islam 'Ala Indonesia, a federation of Islamic organizations and political parties initially founded in 1935
MASYUMI	Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia, the evolution of MIAI from 1943
MMI	Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia, the Indonesian Mujahideen Council
MPR	Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat, Indonesian People's Consultative Assembly
MUI	Majelis Ulama Indonesia, Indonesian Council of Ulama
NU	Nahdhatul Ulama
PIS	Partai Indonesia Sejahtera, Indonesia Welfare Party

P. PELOPOR	Partai Pelopor, Pioneer's Party
P.P. Pancasila	Partai Patriot Pancasila, Pancasila Patriotic Party
PPRN	Partai Peduli Rakyat Nasional, Concern for the People National Party
PAD	Pendapatan Asli Daerah, Regional Revenue
PAN	Partai Amanat Nasional, National Mandate Party
PANGKOSTRAD	Panglima Komando Strategis Angkatan Darat, Commander of the Army's Strategic Command
PAS	Partai Islam se-Malaysia, the Pan Malaysian Islamic Party
P. Buruh	Partai Buruh, Labor Party
PBB	Partai Bulan Bintang, the Star and Crescent Party
PBR	Partai Bintang Reformasi, the Reform Star Party
PBSD	Partai Buruh Sosial Demokrat, Social Democrat Labour Party
PCNU	Pengurus Cabang Nahdlatul Ulama, Regional Branch of Nahdlatul Ulama
PD	Partai Demokrat, Democrat Party
PD Politik	Pusat Pemberdayaan Perempuan dalam Politik, Center for Empowering Women in Politics
PDI	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia, the Indonesian Democratic Party
PDIP	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan, the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle. New form of PDI under Megawati Sukarnoputri's leadership since 1997
PDK	Partai Demokrasi Kebangsaan, National Democratic Party
PDS	Partai Damai Sejahtera, Prosperous Peace Party
PERDA	Peraturan Daerah, local government regulation
PERSIS	Persatuan Islam, the Islamic Union
PERWAMU	Persatuan Wanita Murba, the Proletarian or Murba Women's Union
PGRI	Partnership for Governance Reform in Indonesia

PILKADA	Pemilihan Kepala Daerah, Election of Local Government Heads
PILKADA LANGSUNG	Pemilihan Kepala Daerah Langsung, Direct Elections
PK	Partai Keadilan, Justice Party
PKB	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa, National Awakening Party
PKDI	Partai Kasih Demokrasi Indonesia, Indonesian Love Democracy Party
P. Kedaulatan	Partai Kedaulatan, Sovereignty Party
PKI	Partai Komunis Indonesia, Indonesian Communist Party
PKK	Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga, Family Welfare Guidance. After 1998, its name was changed to Pemberdayaan dan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (Family Welfare and Empowerment)
PKKPA	Tim Penanganan Korban Kekerasan terhadap Perempuan dan Anak, Team Advocating for Victims of Violence against Women and Children
PKNU	Partai Kebangkitan Nasional Ulama Indonesia, the Indonesian Ulama's National Awakening Party
PKPB	Partai Karya Peduli Bangsa, Concern for the Nation Functional Party
PKPI	Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia, Indonesian Unity and Justice Party
PKS	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, Prosperous Justice Party, evolution of Partai Keadilan (PK)
PKP	Partai Karya Perjuangan, Functional Party of Struggle
PM	Partai Matahari Bangsa, National Sun Party
P. Merdeka	Partai Merdeka, Freedom Party
PNBK	Partai Nasional Banteng Kemerdekaan, Freedom Bull National Party
PNI	Partai Nasionalis Indonesia, Indonesian Nationalist Party
PNIM	Partai Nasional Indonesia-Marhaenis, Indonesian National Party-Marhaenist Front
PP	Partai Patriot, Patriotic Party

PPD	Partai Persatuan Daerah, Regional Unity Party
PPDI	Partai Penegak Demokrasi Indonesia, Indonesian Democratic Vanguard Party
PPDK	Partai Persatuan Demokrasi Kebangsaan, National Democratic Unity Party
PPI	Partai Pemuda Indonesia, Indonesia Youth Party
PPPI	Partai Pengusaha dan Pekerja Indonesia, Indonesian Workers and Employers Party
PPPI	Perikatan Perkumpulan Perempuan Indonesia, the Indonesian Women's Association. A women's organization created in the first Indonesian Women's Congress in Yogyakarta on 22 December 1928
PPII	Perikatan Perkumpulan Istri Indonesia, the Indonesian Wives Association, formed in 1929.
	Evolution of PPPI
PPKB	Perempuan Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa, Women of the National Awakening Party
PPNUI	Partai Persatuan Nahdlatul Ulama Indonesia, the Indonesian Nahdlatul Ulama Unity Party
PPP	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan, the United Development Party
PROPENAS	Program Pembangunan Nasional, National Development Program
PSI	Partai Sarikat Indonesia, Indonesian Unity Party
PSII	Partai Sarikat Islam Indonesia, Indonesian Islamic Unity Party
PUSKESMAS	Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat, Community Health Center
RAKERDASUS	Rapat Kerja Daerah Khusus, special meeting of PDIP branches in which a minimum of two pairs of candidates are chosen and whose names are then sent to the PDIP Central Board
RENSTRA	Rencana Strategis Daerah, Local Strategic Development Plan
RKPD	Rencana Kerja Pemerintah Daerah, Local Government Development Plan
RPJMD	Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Daerah, Local Government Mid-Term Development Plan
RRI	Radio Republik Indonesia, Indonesian Radio Broadcasting Company

SBMI	Serikat Buruh Migran Indonesia, Indonesian Migrant Workers Association
SDI	Sekolah Dasar Inpres, Presidential Instruction primary schools
SIP	Suara Ibu Peduli, the Voice of Concerned Mothers
STAIN	Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Negeri, Indonesian State College of Islamic Religion
SUPERSEMAR	Surat Perintah Sebelas Maret, Letter of 11 March
UGM	Universitas Gadjah Mada, Gadjah Mada University
UI	Universitas Indonesia, University of Indonesia
UIN	Universitas Islam Negeri, State Islamic University
UMY	Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta
UN ESCAP	United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
UN	United Nations
UNDIP	Universitas Diponegoro, University of Diponegoro
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

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I owe a great deal to Benedict R.O'G. Anderson's books *The Idea of Power in Javanese Culture* (1972) and *Language and Power: Exploring Political Culture in Indonesia* (1990). The embryo of this book originated from my critical reading of Anderson's book. As a Javanese Muslim woman raised with strong Javanese values in Yogyakarta, it is fascinating to read about ways in which outsiders, including Anderson, view and comprehend Javanese society. While fascinated by Anderson's book, I was left unsatisfied because the various examples he cited included only powerful male figures in Java, in fact, many Javanese noble women with super-abundant power played crucial roles throughout the Javanese history. Besides that, I was also curious to know how the idea of power in Javanese culture has become transformed in contemporary Indonesia. Anderson's work mainly encompasses the dynamics over ideas of power in Javanese culture and its manifestation in the Old Order and the early New Order Indonesian political context. I question the basic premise he offers on the quest for and the signs of power, as this question may reveal different features when considered from a woman's perspective in the changing social context of Islamization and democratization in Indonesia now. This is the initial research topic that I wanted to write for my PhD thesis at Kyoto University. However, I quickly realized my own limitations. I had not yet mastered the Old Javanese language that would be crucial for this kind of research. Ideally, I needed more years to learn, but my scholarship scheme was only for three and half years. I left the topic. But, the critical question is still stuck in my mind, about how Javanese women viewed and exercised power in contemporary Indonesia. From there, I turned to the very interesting phenomenon of the increasing success of Muslim women in local politics.

I must admit that this book owes its spirit to many women friends of mine across Indonesia whom I met doing research from 2001 until 2014. Throughout years of research and personal interactions, I have learnt a number of values and insights that helped me to expand my

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The bulk of this book, with some revision and updating, is from my doctoral dissertation for the Department of Southeast Asian Studies, Graduate School of Asian and African Area Studies (ASAFAS) of Kyoto University in 2012. A three and a half year scholarship (October 2008–March 2012) from Japan's Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) made it possible for me to finish my doctoral degree at Kyoto University. I would like to thank Kyoto University-Global COE Program for sponsoring my fieldworks in Java. Although I spent a lot of time on the manuscript in Indonesia, in its final stages JASSO (Japan Student Services Organization) granted me a Follow-Up Research Fellowship at the Center for Southeast Asian Studies (CSEAS), Kyoto University, Japan, from September through October 2013, which greatly enabled me to prepare for the publication process.

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