

TRI RISMAHARINI'S ANDROGYNOUS LEADERSHIP: STRATEGIZING "HEGEMONIC MASCULINITY"ⁱ

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Abstract

This paper analyses the leadership style of Tri Rismaharini, the Mayor of Surabaya City (2010-2020) using feminist research methodology by centralizing on women's personal experiences in a specific context to gain knowledge based on their real life experiences. It employed a qualitative approach by using various videos and written materials of Risma's attitudes and experiences as a female political leader. The findings discover that unlike the common feminine leadership style of Indonesian female political leaders, Risma's shows a masculine leadership style. It can be seen from her assertive approaches while closing down Gang Dolly located in Surabaya as the biggest red-light district in Southeast Asia. Interestingly, Risma's masculinity is combined with motherly value which results in an androgynous leadership style. This paper shows that rather than merely accepting the western notion which believes that the more a woman shows masculinity, the more she hits the ground running for exercising power in the male-dominated political atmosphere. This paper would like to show that Javanese society's acceptance of Risma's leadership style indicates their approval for female leadership and wider tolerance towards new value of masculinity performed by a female leader despite inconsistency with the gender normative standard of feminine Javanese women. This paper concludes by emphasizing that Risma's masculine leadership traits can be seen as strategizing a move towards hijacking "hegemonic masculinity".

Keywords: *leadership style, masculine, feminine, Javanese, androgynous.*

A. INTRODUCTION

Surabaya City, which is one of the nine cities in East Java Province, consists of 31 districts and 163 villages/administrative villages with Muslim population in the majority in 2014 (BPS Kota Surabaya, 2014, pp. 9 & 174). Tri Rismaharini is the first female leader of Surabaya City (2010-2015), who was reelected for the second term (2015-2020). The rising of Tri Rismaharini (hereinafter referred to as Risma) in Indonesia's local politics is part of a wider phenomenon of the rising of female leaders in Indonesia's local politics following the introduction of the direct election to select the head of local government (Dewi 2015) under the Law No. 32/2004, then the Law No.8/2015, and currently the Law No. 10/2016.

Risma's achievement as the first female Mayor of Surabaya has been known widely. She pays special attention to attempts to create a smart, comfortable, and sustainable city by providing more green spaces. Surabaya once was known as a hot, harsh, and dangerous city. Under Risma's leadership since 2010, this city has gradually transformed into a smart and green city with at least 11 parks equipped with free Wi-Fi, playgrounds for children and for the elderly, and libraries. Many new tracks with lots of greenery are built along the street. Surabaya is now well known as a green and comfortable city. Because of her achievement, Risma won an award as the World Mayor 2014 even though she merely got a third place (www.aktualita.co, 4 February 2015). So far, lots of attention has been given to Risma's achievement as a female leader. However, there is an interesting aspect of Risma's that has not yet been explored deeply, namely her leadership style.

This paper aims to explore Risma's leadership style, which resembles masculine traits of leadership, which make it different from the other common feminine styles of leadership adopted by the other female leaders in Indonesia.

This paper consists of five sections. After the introduction, the second section presents a theoretical framework which provides important exploration of theories about masculine, feminine, and androgynous leadership styles. The third section explains the research method. The fourth presents the findings and discussion on Risma's career and interest, Risma's masculine leadership style in managing bureaucracy, and Risma's unique motherhood approach while closing down 'Gang Dolly', the Southeast Asia's *Largest Red-Light District* in Surabaya. Lastly, the fifth section presents the conclusions which sum up the analysis.

B. ANALYSIS

B.1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Theoretically, there are two images or styles of leadership. The first one is the masculine image of leadership which focuses upon the rational models of decision making and taking charge, and rests upon rationality and control (King, 1995, p. 86). A leader who shows a masculine image of leadership is also associated with masculinity such as assertiveness and aggression (King, 1995, p.72). The second one is the feminine image of leadership which emphasizes on cooperation and consensus which also reflects through femininity such as nurturance and submissiveness (King, 1995, pp.86&72). These two different images of leadership can be performed both by male and female leaders.

In leadership literature, the masculine image of leadership is perceived as the effective and appropriate character of a good leader. Many scholars such as Duerst-Lahti and Kelly (1995) and King (1995) have elaborated an argument that public leadership has always been distinctively marked by men and associated with the masculine identity.

King (1995, p. 69) documents four key factors of an analytical framework, namely organizations are a male domain, culture is a masculine domain, the state is a masculine domain, and leadership-management is a masculine domain. Appelbaum, Audet, and Miller (2003, pp. 44-48) classify the “body and sex” school of thought which believes that leadership is biologically determined and innate to the male species, so that effective leadership stance can only be assumed by the male species. Similar to this approach is the research conducted by Powel and Butterfield (1977), as cited from (King, 1995, p. 85) which suggests that effective managerial traits tend to be those that are traditionally associated with masculinity such as aggressive, decisive and rational. Likewise, Trinidad and Normore (2005, p. 576) make an elaboration on leadership and gender that shows a common association of masculinity or the masculine model of leadership as the universal and dominant model of leadership where female leaders should conform to it to escalate their rank. In other words, to be a leader, one is expected to possess effective traits of leadership that reflect and manifest themselves in the masculine image of leadership, despite criticism from Appelbaum, Audet, and Miller (2003, p. 49).

In general, men are commonly assumed as the carrier of masculine identity into leadership, and, likewise, the feminine identity in leadership is brought by women. As a result, this common belief provides a favorable condition for men resulting in public leadership which has been more exclusively limited to men than to women. Research on gender and leadership indicates that leadership is viewed as masculine in nature and attributed mainly to men who have been perceived of having more characters of assertiveness, dominance, decisiveness, rationality, and aggressiveness; while women are stereotyped as having communal attributes such as compassion, nurturance, helpfulness, and sensitivity (Vasavada, 2012, pp. 462-503). This masculine connotation creates greater challenges for female leaders in public administration. Unlike men who are not confronted with any significant issues to take charge as a leader as it is ‘his domain’, women who want to be a leader are supposed to possess masculine traits of leadership or ‘act like men’ or behave in ways that are explicitly and implicitly culturally masculine in nature (King, 1995, pp. 67-68). It is believed that the more women show masculine identity, the more they hit the ground running for exercising power in the male-dominated political atmosphere.

Vasavada’s research on female leaders in nonprofit organizations in India shows that prevailing masculine hegemony in Indian society prevents female leaders from utilizing their full potential (Vasavada, 2012, p. 469). The research which underlines the perspective of cultural feminism then suggests that an important step to propose more female leadership in the public arena is to challenge the masculine

organizational culture by raising awareness of the strengths of masculine and feminine value rather than attempting to make women more similar to men (Vasavada, 2012, pp. 494-495).

Besides these two standpoints of masculine and feminine traits of leadership, there is a theory of an androgyny individual, as the integration of both masculine and feminine characters within a single individual (Beam, 1977, pp.196-205). Korabik's elaboration of Beam's theory of androgyny points out that Beam's androgyny believes that both masculine and feminine traits of leadership can be found within a single individual female or male leader; for example androgyny men are not only masculine as men, but they also have higher feminine characters; similarly, androgyny women are not only feminine as women, but they also have many masculine personality characters as masculine men do (Korabik, 1990, p. 286). This androgyny individual, when applied to leadership, is called androgynous leadership style. By using these three theoretical frameworks for leadership, this paper analyses Risma's leadership style so as to better understand her.

B.2. METHOD

This paper uses feminist research methodology by centralizing on women's personal experiences in a specific context to gain knowledge based on their real life experiences. According to Harding (1987, p. 30), feminist research primarily believes "Women's experiences as a scientific resource", where "it generates its "problematics from the perspective of women's experiences", because ... "the questions that men have wanted answered all too often have arisen from desires to pacify, control, exploit or manipulate women, and to glorify forms of masculinity by understanding women as different from, less than, or a deviant form of men....In contrast, feminist inquiry asks questions that originate in women's experiences".

Despite criticism against feminist research methodology for its validity and subjectivity as explored by Hussain & Asad (2012), this paper employed feminist research methodology to capture Risma's personal experiences dealing with the widely-held view of Javanese and Indonesian society that associates leadership with masculinity in order to produce new understanding as well as empirical and theoretical resources based on Risma's experiences. In doing so, this paper employed a qualitative approach by using various videos and written materials containing Risma's opinions and attitudes to analyze her personal experiences and public experiences, especially while closing down 'Gang Dolly', the Southeast Asia's *Largest* Red-Light District located in Surabaya.

B.3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

RISMA'S CAREER AND INTEREST

Prior to the analysis of Risma's leadership style, this section will previously explain Risma's career and interest. Risma comes from a non-politician family. Risma, who was born on November 20, 1961 in Kediri, is the third of five children; the daughter of M. Chuzaini (father) and Siti Mudjiatun (mother) (Hakim, 2014, pp.1-2). Her father was a hard-working businessman and bureaucrat, while her mother was a gentle housewife (Hakim, 2014, pp. 1-2). Although Risma was born in Kediri, her grandfather YS, who was the leader of Laskar Hizbullah Surabaya fighting against the enemy during the Battle of Surabaya on November 10, 1945, was a native resident of Surabaya (Hakim, 2014, pp. 1-2). As the daughter of a businessman and bureaucrat, Risma enjoyed lucrative facilities from his father where her father taught her to care for the poor and children in need around her (Hakim, 2014, p. 4). Risma, who is smart, likes dancing and doing lots of sport, spent her childhood until Junior High School in Kediri (Hakim, 2014, pp. 5-8). In 1976, Risma moved to Surabaya and finished her undergraduate study at Institute Teknologi Sepuluh November majoring in Architecture in 1987 and her postgraduate study on city planning and development at the same university in 2002 (Susanti, 2014, pp.1-2). Risma married to DS, who works in a private company, and they are blessed with two children.

Risma has a special interest in creating and developing a green environment. Risma's educational background in architecture and city planning combined with her personal experiences and gender significantly influenced her professional choice to focus on transforming Surabaya City into a green and smart city. Risma was accepted as a civil servant of Surabaya City Government and started her professional career in 1997, and her first post was in Bojonegoro. Risma acknowledged that her pivotal initial experience as a junior bureaucrat, which was redesigning a City Park in Bojonegoro, had made her to decide to give special attention to parks (Susanti, 2014, p. 112). She was gradually promoted as the chief of the Park and Sanitation Bureau of Surabaya City (2005-2008) and then rose to the chief of the Development and Planning Agency of Surabaya City (2005-2010) before elected as the Mayor of Surabaya City (2010-2015). During her tenure as the chief of Park and Sanitation Bureau, she gradually developed strategic programs to create comfortable public spaces by building more green parks and pedestrian walkways.

In one of the interviews, Risma acknowledged that being a female leader gives her an advantage as it gives her a sense of motherhood; and thus she depicted herself as the mother for the entire City (*"kelebihan saya sebagai wanita, saya bisa merasakan seperti seorang ibu bagi seluruh kota"*) (Rini, 2014, p. 95). As Risma highlighted the point of motherhood, which signifies the existence of gender influence in her leadership, it is understandable that Risma's policy serves as the

extension of her individual position as a mother. This can be seen, for example, in her policy which focuses more attention on issues relating to women and children, namely: promoting establishment of lactation rooms in public areas and parks, creating special entrepreneurship programs for housewives of low-income family since 2010 (Fitri, 2014, pp. 132-134), having the Government Regulation No.6 /2011 on Protection of Children enacted, and founding shelters for abandoned children and children with special needs (Susanti, 2014, pp. 124, 141). Risma emphasized that the development of parks shall benefit society, especially children as they need fresh air and wider spaces to stimulate quality growth (Dinanta, 2014, p. 24). Moreover, her sense of motherhood also appeared in her approach while closing down Gang Dolly as explained in the next few sections.

RISMA'S MASCULINE STYLE OF LEADERSHIP

This section explores Risma's masculine leadership style in managing bureaucracy. The main materials to examine Risma's leadership style were gained by streaming videos from YouTube which can be accessed and watched free. There are many YouTube videos available online depicting the ways Risma manages bureaucracy, oversees some governmental projects, or gives instructions to her subordinates. There are three YouTube videos used to examine Risma's leadership style, they are listed below.

The First Video: "Risma Sidak Pelayanan E-KTP Surabaya" – ("Risma Made a Sudden Inspection of E-KTP (electronic identity card) Service Provision in Surabaya"). The context of this video was Risma's morning routine to do an inspection oversee her bureaucrats. Among the inspections she did was the one at the Population and Civil Registration Agency of Surabaya City where she closely monitored the E-KTP service. Risma soon discovered that the software which did not work well led to poor service, resulting in a long queue of people. Risma asked her staff to summon the bureaucrat in charge. However, the said bureaucrat did not appear. Risma got really angry. She went upstairs the main office, gathered all staff and scolded them loudly by pointing out her hand to the staff's face to express her anger at their unprofessional work (KOMPAS TV, "Emosi Risma Meledak Saat Inspeksi E-KTP").

The Second Video: "Pembangunan Pasar Turi: Walikota Surabaya Sidak Pasar Turi" ("Construction of Turi Market: the Mayor of Surabaya Inspected Turi Market"). The context of this video was Risma gaining information from some traders in Turi Market where these traders expressed their disappointment at the design of the new Turi Market construction as it was different from the one specified in the mutual agreement between the developer and them. Upon receiving this complaint, Risma immediately conducted an impromptu inspection to the construction site, raised a number of questions to the developer, and got angry with him because there were many changes made by the developer

that were different from the original design agreed, which put traders at a disadvantage. Therefore, Risma ordered the developer to returning to the initial design and making necessary adjustments, including demolishing several buildings which had been founded, within one week, unless she would stop the project (*METRO TV*, “Pembangunan Pasar Turi: Walikota Surabaya Sidak Pasar Turi”).

The Third Video: “Risma Mengamuk Lagi” - “Taman Kota Rusak, Walikota Marah”. (“*Risma Got Angry Once Again*” - “*The City Park Was Destroyed, the Mayor Got Angry*”). The context of this video was a big promotion event held in Taman Bungkul by an ice cream company. The event turned into a disaster as too many people came to the site (Taman Bungkul) making many trees and plants there was destroyed. Taman Bungkul which initially was neat and green turned messy with lots of trash scattered everywhere and plants or trees dying off. Learnt of such an incident, Risma visited the site and got extremely angry after finding out that a great number of trees and plants in this park, which have flourished for the last ten years making Taman Bakul a neat and clean park, were destroyed. She scolded the organizing committee at the event site and told them that Taman Bungkul had been built and maintained for many years using people’s money (*‘uang rakyat’*). Afterwards, Risma had the event stopped and told the event organizer that she would take them to court as they did not get official permission to hold the event. It was Risma herself collecting the trees and plants dying off and asked staff from the Park and Sanitation Bureau of Surabaya City the clean-up of that mess (*METRO TV*, “Risma Mengamuk Lagi” - “Taman Kota Rusak, Walikota Marah”).

Through the videos, we can see clearly Risma’s masculine leadership such as straightforwardness, aggressiveness, and assertiveness. Risma is a typical leader who care about the problems at the micro level and wants to know them first-hand by conducting *‘blusukan’* (a Javanese term meaning visiting to the site to discover reality first-hand by seeing, observing, and interacting closely with society) in order to find the best solution.

Since her first tenure as the Mayor of Surabaya City in 2010 until reelected in 2015, Risma’s masculine leadership has manage to steal people’s heart and attention. Theoretically, as explained earlier, women who want to be a public leader have to possess masculine characters or ‘act like men’ or behave in ways that are explicitly and implicitly culturally masculine in nature. The more women show masculine identity, the more they hit the ground running for exercising power and achieving the public leader position as a predominantly male world. However, in the case of Risma’s leadership, the explanation is not that simple.

Why do the people of Surabaya, who are Javanese, accept Risma’s masculine leadership? There are two possible explanations for this phenomenon. *First*, the gender normative standards specifying the

appropriate behavior for each sex in Javanese culture have changed. According to R. W. Connell, gender is not only concerned with the cultural differences between women and men, based on the biological division of women and men; gender is “a matter of social relations within which individuals and groups act” (Connell, 2008, p.9). This is similar to Kimmel, who states that gender implies not only differences, but also *gender relations* namely “gender is about the power that men as a group have over women as a group, and it is also about the power that some men have over other men, or some women have over other women” (Kimmel, 2004, p. 99). Thus, gender patterns vary from culture to culture, gender arrangements are reproduced socially by the power of structures, though where men in general benefit from the inequalities of the gender order, but gender changes over time and context.

In Javanese culture, men are perceived as the core of the Javanese family, as having quality to be the leader in the family and public sphere, while women come second to support their husband. The Javanese proverb *konco wingking* (“the friend in the back”, literally the kitchen, which is usually at the back of the house, which is a concept used to refer to the less than prominent position of women) typically illustrates this subordinate role of Javanese women (Handayani and Novianto, 2008, pp. 117-118). For the sake of her husband’s dignity, a Javanese woman is expected to undertake *cancut tali wanda* (taking the initiative to do everything necessary particularly when her family is facing troubles) and to protect as well as provide a foundation for her husband’s accomplishments (Handayani and Novianto, 2008, p. 139). In Javanese culture, women are stereotyped as having feminine characters such as speaking politely, calm, avoiding conflicts, and prioritizing harmony (Handayani and Novianto, 2008, p. 130).

However, now the Javanese culture that used to put Javanese women at the back of society and stereotype them merely as feminine quality has changed (Sukri & Sofwan, 2001). There are various factors which contribute to such changes, including globalization, democratization atmosphere, education, internet, international networking, and the rising of young generations with new value and thought. Thus, Risma’s masculine leadership style signifies dynamics in Javanese society and their openness to more women’s participation in the public sphere, a domain previously dominated normatively and empirically by Javanese men.

Second, the appeal of Risma’s leadership lies in the fact that her leadership style contradicts with the common feminine traits of leadership expressed by the majority of female Javanese leaders. The majority of female local leaders have shown a more feminine leadership characteristic or style, such as lacking direction, cooperation, nurturance, and sensitivity, for example RS the regent of Kebumen (2000-2010) and the vice governor of Central Java (2008-2013); SQ the regent of Pekalongan (2006-2011); RAN the regent of Banyuwangi (2005-2010);

and NPE the regent of Tabanan (2010-2020) (Dewi, 2016). This is also generally the case among other female local leaders who had been elected in the concurrent direct local election on December 15, 2015 (Perludem, 2015).

Indeed, Risma's masculine leadership style makes her stand out from the majority of feminine leadership styles performed by other female leaders. Risma's masculine leadership style, especially her aggressiveness and assertiveness, is often compared with the leadership style of other strong male leaders such as Basuki Tjahaya Purnama (Ahok), the vice governor of DKI Jakarta (2012-2014) and, now, the governor of DKI Jakarta (2014-2016) as well as Ganjar Pranowo, the governor of Central Java (2013-2018) (*TV ONE Kabar Siang*, "Trend Pejabat Marah"). Put into this wider context of the predominantly masculine style of leadership possessed by male leaders, Risma's masculine leadership traits can be seen as strategizing move to hijack - what Connell (1987) refers as- the "hegemonic masculinity" construction, as in Indonesia, public leadership remains dominated mainly by male political leaders. Interestingly, despite her dominant masculine characters, Risma also shows motherly value as elucidated subsequently.

RISMA'S MASCULINE AND MOTHERLY VALUE WHILE CLOSING DOWN 'GANG DOLLY'

Surabaya is a metropolitan city situated in East Java. Many people, skilled or unskilled, come to Surabaya to stay and work. Among the unskilled workers are sex workers in the prostitution industry. Prostitution is illegal in Surabaya City. The Local Government Regulation No. 7/1999 on the Use of Buildings stipulates that not a single building is allowed to be used for immoral activities, including prostitution. Despite its illegal status, prostitution in Surabaya City still existed, operated normally, and became a famous attraction in this City.

There were five prostitution districts in Surabaya City, even though they have been closed down now, namely: (i) Gang Dolly in Putat Jaya village Pasar Kembang, (ii) Sememi Jaya or Moro Seneng in Sememi District, (iii) Klakah Rejo in Klakah Rejo village, (iv) Bangunsari in Dupak village, and (v) Kremil in Monokrembangan village. Several areas around East Java supply girls and women to be employed as prostitutes in Surabaya. Poverty due to the absence of employment opportunities in their hometown have pushed them to go to Surabaya City to find jobs and earn money. Many people, especially girls and women, get involved in the prostitution industry though the number slightly declines. In 2008, there were a total of 3,518 prostitutes and 915 pimps in Surabaya City and this number declined into 2,117 prostitutes and 584 pimps in 2012 (Hakim, 2014, p. 95).

Risma has a serious commitment to get rid of prostitution in Surabaya City. Since her initial term of office as the Mayor of Surabaya City, there were approximately 20 *kyais* (Islamic religious leaders) asking her to close down prostitution districts immediately (Dinanta, 2014, p. 40). To do so, Risma took careful consideration. She did not only think of the moral aspects, but more importantly she also anticipated the economic and social impacts on the prostitutes and the affected community. Here, it can be seen that Risma used the humanity approach dominantly rather than the morality and law approaches to close down the prostitution industry in Surabaya.

In order to understand the real situation of the prostitution industry including its effect on the livelihoods of the surrounding community, Risma visited various prostitution areas. She met prostitutes, pimps, local community, and schools nearby. In one of the occasions, she even taught at schools nearby the prostitution areas which she visited. Risma discovered that there were many children at those schools experiencing psychological problems such as feeling sad, tight-lipped, and crying when asked about their feeling. Later, it was revealed that these students were feeling oppressed as in their daily lives, they closely interacted with and watched the practices of prostitution near their home and school (Hakim, 2014, p. 92). These children did not feel happy and did not have dreams for their future. Based on this alarming finding, Risma gave priority to the safety of children and closed down four prostitution areas. Four prostitution areas had been closed down since 2012, namely: (i) Dupak Bangunsari complex in Morokrembangan Village, Krembangan District, where there were 61 houses, 50 pimps, and 163 prostitutes, which was closed on December 21, 2012; (ii) Kremil Tambak Asri complex in Morokrembangan Village, Krembangan District, where there were 96 houses, 96 pimps, and 354 prostitutes, which was closed on May 28, 2012; (iii) Klakahrejo complex in Krembangan District, where there were 70 houses, 65 pimps, and 219 prostitutes, which was closed on November 20, 2014; and (iv) Sememi complex in Benowo District, where there were 32 houses, 22 pimps, and 208 prostitutes, which was closed on December 23, 2013 (Hakim, 2014, p. 93).

The only prostitution complex left was Gang Dolly. Gang Dolly is located in Jarak Village of Putat Jaya, Pasar Kembang, Surabaya. Gang Dolly was the biggest Red-Light District not only in Surabaya, but also in Southeast Asia because it was bigger than Geylang in Singapore or Phat Pong in Thailand. It was believed that Gang Dolly has existed since Dutch colonization and was set up and managed by a Dutch woman named Dolly van der Mart. Some sources stated that it has operated since 1967 (Kristanti, global.liputan6.com). It was called Gang Dolly not only because it was named after its founder Dolly van der Mart as many

people believe, but also because it was located in a narrow long street (in Indonesia, it is called 'gang') mixed with community settlements in the heart of Surabaya City. Gang Dolly was famous not only due to its strategic location, but also because of numerous prostitutes from Indonesia and some Asian countries, and more importantly its unique method in displaying prostitutes inside the glass ceiling in each house, where customers could choose a girl they wanted.

There were more than 8,000 houses, cafés, and massage parlors in Gang Dolly with approximately 9,000 prostitutes offering their services every night (Hakim, 2014, p. 100). According to the data from the Social Service Bureau of Surabaya City in 2014, there were 1,062 prostitutes and 312 *brothels* (Dessury, 2015, p. 251).

Despite her success in closing down four prostitution areas in 2012 to 2013, she still needed to find peaceful ways to close down Gang Dolly. It was not only due to pressure from religious leaders. Risma's eagerness to put an end to the operation of Gang Dolly was underpinned by her surprising discovery, such as trafficking of children and women. Risma's close observation discovered that not all of the prostitutes wanted to work as prostitutes. Rather, some were tricked by pimps into entering the prostitution business. Even, the worse, many of them who remained in junior or senior high school were forced to work as prostitutes by their parents. The rate of the trafficking of girls and children was very high. The UN's International Labor Organization estimates that 40,000 to 70,000 children become victims of sexual exploitation in Indonesia each year (jakartaglobe.beritasatu.com). Thus, considering that Gang Dolly was the biggest red-light district in Indonesia, it can be imagined that there must be numerous children who became the victims of sexual exploitation at the height of this prostitution area.

In addition, prostitution involves school children and elderly prostitutes. In one of the occasions, Risma met an elderly prostitute aged 60 year old. The prostitute told Risma that she had worked as a prostitute since she was 19 years old. As she got older, it became difficult to find customers. Thus, as an elderly prostitute, her only customers were elementary and junior high school children who could only pay a small amount of money ranging from a thousand to two thousand rupiahs (Hakim, 2014, p. 99; Fitri, 2014, p. 63). Aware of the negative impact of the prostitution industry on women, girls, and children, Risma could not stop her plan to close down Gang Dolly. Here, a strong motherly value can be seen behind her consideration to close down Gang Dolly. Her personal depiction as the mother for the entire City (*Ibu bagi warga Kota Surabaya*) is clearly reflected from her concern over the negative impacts of prostitution areas on children. In an interview with a TV program, *Mata Najwa* (*Metro TV*, on February 15, 2014), Risma cried to express

her sadness to learn that prostitution involved school children, a reason that motivated her to close down Gang Dolly, no matter what.

Risma continued her plan to close Gang Dolly. In fact, this plan did not work that well as it involved many elements that either supported or opposed such a plan. Dessury (2015, p. 254) explains that among the elements that supported the plan to close off Gang Dolly were the Government of Surabaya City, the Local House of Representatives of Surabaya City, Islamic community groups, Security apparatus/the Head of Sawahan District, and the Head of Putat Jaya Village; as for those who opposed this plan, they were the neighborhood and community associations (RT/RW), NGOs, brothel owners, pimps and the affected community who would no longer have sources of income.

To respond to such pros and cons, Risma used what Hakim (2014, p. 97) called a “human-focused design” to illustrate the approach she employed in attempts to close down Gang Dolly. She used a step-by-step strategy to put an end to the operation of Gang Dolly through amicable settlements by focusing on people’s needs and the long-term plan, rather than using physical violence. Figure 1 below describes the summary of Risma’s step-by-step approach while closing down Gang Dolly.

Figure 2. The Approach Used by Risma to Close down Gang Dolly



Source: created by author based on various sources mentioned in this paper. The term “human-focused design” is cited from (Hakim, 2014, p. 97)

First, Risma made approaches to community in prostitution areas by breaking the fast together during Ramadhan Month from August 3 – 5, 2012. She visited the community in Gang Dolly, Benowo, Sawahan and Krembangan (Dinanta, 2014, p. 44). During the event, she informed them

about her plan to close prostitution areas in Surabaya City, where the government would help them with training and financial support after they stopped working in the prostitution industry.

Second, she held Islamic religious propagation to promote and explain her plan to close down gang Dolly in front of the residents of Gang Dolly. She emphasized the community's responsibility, together with the local government, to take care of children by creating a comfortable environment for them to live.

Third, she delegated *kyai* or *dai* (Islamic religious leader) to visit Gang Dolly to initiate talks with and meet pimps and prostitutes. There were at least 70 *dais* sent to Dolly. It was claimed that this program had successfully reduced the number of prostitutes from 5,000 in 1998 to only 1,022 in 2013 (Fitri, 2014, pp. 67-68).

Fourth, the Government of Surabaya City promised to give them compensation of 7 million rupiahs for each brothel (Fitri, 2014, p. 64), while the central government promised to distribute a total of 858 million rupiahs as venture capital to ex-prostitutes (Hakim, 2014, p. 93). The Government of Surabaya City allocated a total of 5 billion rupiahs to buy ex-prostitutes home (*wisma*), to set up parks as well as sport and public facility, to establish business and trade centers where roads would be widened 25 meter for easy transportation access (Fitri, 2014, p. 68-69).

Risma's firm plan to close down Gang Dolly faced opposition from many actors mentioned earlier, including her vice Mayor WSB who was a prominent politician from PDIP. She stuck to her plan to close off Gang Dolly through amicable settlements as she did not want to create conflicts among the actors and society members (Widarti, *Bisnis.Com, Jawa Timur*). Risma announced that the commencement of the attempts to close down Gang Dolly would begin on June 18, 2014. Risma along with the Minister of Social Affairs Salim Segaf Al Jufri, the Governor of East Java Soekarwo, and Islamic organizations gathered on the day when Gang Dolly was being closed down. Eventually, Risma's motherly value and approach, combined with her assertive action of masculine quality, had successfully closed down Gang Dolly through amicable settlements. National and religious leaders appreciated her for making such efforts as none of them succeeded in closing down Gang Dolly. Here, this paper's elaboration of Risma's leadership style while closing down Gang Dolly has showed that Risma's androgynous leadership style is the integration of both masculine and feminine characters.

C. CONCLUSION

By exploring Risma's leadership style, especially while closing down Gang Dolly, the biggest prostitution district in Southeast Asia, this paper

shows that Risma's androgynous leadership is characterized by masculine characters combined with motherly value in everyday interactions with her people. By doing so, this paper provides a dissenting empirical view different from the mainstream Western theoretical perspectives which mainly propose clear-cut segregation between masculine and feminine traits of female leaders' style of leadership.

By analyzing Risma's personal story of her leadership style in the context of Javanese society, this paper enriches the understanding of leadership perspectives based on the empirical experiences of female Javanese leaders in post-Suharto Indonesia. Rather than simply adopting the Western understanding which believes that the more women show masculine identity, the more they hit the ground running for exercising power, Risma's leadership case has more to say than that simple notion. The Javanese community's acceptance of Risma's masculine leadership style signifies dynamics and their openness to more women's participation in the public sphere, a domain previously dominated normatively and empirically by Javanese men. More importantly, the appeal of Risma's leadership lies in the fact that her leadership style contradicts with the common feminine traits of leadership expressed by the majority of female Javanese leaders. This paper concludes by emphasizing that Risma's masculine leadership traits can be seen as strategizing a move towards hijacking "hegemonic masculinity" as in Indonesia, public leadership remains dominated mainly by male political leaders.

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