

Hermeneutics of Women Leadership in Discourse of the Indonesian *Wayang Golek*

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Abstract

Puppets are not only entertainment but also reflect philosophical values. Arimbi Ngadeg Ratu, an Indonesian rod puppet, is full of wise advice, moral teachings, and philosophical phrases about politics and power. In the emphasis of gender and leadership, women occupy roles defined in their specific positions within the hierarchy and at the same time function within the constraints of their gender roles. This study uses the Gadamer hermeneutic for interpretation; the method is based on experience, history, and tradition from a cultural feminism perspective. Research findings show the role and position of women as mothers who nurture and educate their children to be good leaders. Women have complementary roles and positions in their families, but they must be able to be independent. Women also have the right to assemble, rehearse, lead an organization, and have the freedom to make their own choices. Women also have the same abilities as men to become political leaders and have equal opportunities to compete for power. Leadership roles for women are achieved by fighting in the realm of patriarchal norms.

Keywords: *Cultural feminism, hermeneutics, Indonesian wayang golek (rod puppet), women leadership discourse*

Introduction (12 pt bold)

The issue of women leaders is a constant debate. In Indonesia, women leadership remains filled with pros and cons, in which a part of the Muslim population still disputes halal (legal) and view women leaders as committing *haram* (forbidden). In the emphasis of gender roles and the role of leaders, the role of social theory argues that leaders occupy a defined role in their specific positions within the hierarchy and at the same time function under the constraints of their gender roles. Gender roles are consensual beliefs about the attributes of women and men.

Men and women are biologically and naturally different, based on sex as men and women. Based on psychological and social cultures, however, men and women are distinguished by characteristics of gender: masculine and feminine. Gender itself is defined by society and disclosed individually as they interact with others and the media in the community (Wood, 2009: 19-23). The term sex simply means biological/sexual reproduction, while gender is more psychological because gender perception is a social and cultural construct (Franklin, 2012: 11-12).

Just as feminism was born in the West, Indonesia has had female leaders who had a very strong influence in their time. Regarding a Chinese chapter titled 'Ch'iu-T Ang Shu',

Hsin T'ang Shu was mentioned around 674, when the Javanese people crowned a woman as Queen Hsi-Mo (Sima). Similarly, Queen Kalinyamat or Ratna Kencana is described as a mighty woman of the port of Jepara, and many other female leaders were very influential in her time.

Currently, journals and papers demonstrating research on women in various issues still show quite problematical conditions. Manan (2003) focuses on presuppositions and common-sense assumptions, as they are propositions that producers of texts take as already established or "given" knowledge with reference to women; these address which prevailing notions or femininity, masculinity and gender relations abound in this text, and which kinds of discourses help reshape and inform it. Salendra (2012) found that women infrequently occupy leadership positions, and possibly only in the assembly or auxiliary institution of leadership. Study in Weintraub (2004) emphasizes how *wayang golek* (rod puppet) and the *dalang* (puppeteer) are involved in power plays, especially between the state and wayang golek audiences. In *Women in the Shadows*, Goodlander (2016) draws on her own experience training as a *dalang* (puppeteer), as well as interviews with early women *dalang* and leading artists, to upend the usual assessments of such gender role shifts. Goodlander (2016) touches on the obstacles these women have faced and continue to face, such as their perceived physicality, training opportunities, family duties, and social responsibilities that affect their power and place in the structures of society as women *dalang*.

Method (12 pt bold)

The method in this research is hermeneutics to interpret a process of content review and the purpose that manifests from a text to the deepest and latent meaning (Basrowi and Sukidin, 2002: 152). The analysis use Gadamer's hermeneutics principle with the main principle is that a person always understands experience from the point of view of estimates and assumptions. Experience, history, and tradition give us ways of understanding everything and we cannot separate from the interpretive framework. Observation, thought, and understanding are not always truly objective, all colored by our experience (Littlejohn and Foss, 2009: 198).

The hermeneutic method was chosen because the researcher wanted to interpret the role and position of women in the leadership discourse contained in the story of the Arimbi Ngadeg Ratu. The text will not be separated from the events that occurred during the play on Sundanese and Islamic traditions that influenced the text. The unit of analysis of this study is the Arimbi Ngadeg Ratu in the form of story lines, dialogues, monologues, and other related components that can be presented such as puppet plat itself, cultural and political conceptualization, and women leadership in Sundanese community.

Data analysis includes data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification. In the data reduction stage researchers will reduce the text based on the research focus, namely the role and position of women in the family, the role and position of women in the public sphere, and the role and position of women in politics. While secondary data focus is used as a reference when drawing conclusions. In the conclusion stage of drawing/verification, we use the hermeneutic method to find the meaning of this text. We will continue to dialogue by placing on three aspects to reveal the meaning of the text to be studied.

Results and Discussion

Cultural and Political Contextualization on Rod Puppet Shows

The Arimbi Ngadeg Ratu is a wayang golek play that tells the story behind the elevation of Arimbi as a queen in the Pringgandani Kingdom. This play is a wayang carangan performed by Dalang Asep Sunandar Sunarya and a fragment of the Mahabharata story. A carangan is a wayang play out of the standard of Mahabharata or Ramayana (<http://wayangindonesia.web.id/carangan-plot.wayang>). The setting of the story is after the attempted assassination of Pandawa by the Kurawa, long before the Great War of Baratayudha. The puppet play is divided into two parts in wayang performance, the galur and the carangan.



Bima



Arimbi



Arjuna



Semar



Abiyasa



Cepot

Source: Research results

Figure 1. Actors in the Arimbi Ngadeg Ratu Story

Puppet shows are often performed at any event and on any occasion by the community or government agencies. During the Wali Songo period, wayang was used as a medium of dakwah (missionary endeavour) by the propagators of Islam. Sunan Kalijaga used the art of wayang to attract people to embrace in Islam. By that time wayang became a communicative media to accelerate Islamic dakwah, especially in the Javanese community.

The wayang golek in the Babad Java occurs approximately 1548, when Sunan Kudus introduced a wooden puppet culture, which came to be called a puppet show. The development of wayang kulit (shadow puppet) resulted in wayang golek (rod puppet). Sunan

Kudus made wayang from wood material, and then staged the shows in the afternoon. This is believed to be the beginning of the emergence of wooden puppet art that was born and developed in the northern coastal area of Java Island at the beginning of the 17th century, where the oldest Islamic empire in Java grows, Demak Sultanate. According to a growing legend, this is where Sultan Kudus used wayang with Javanese dialogue as a medium to spread Islam in the community.

Wayang Golek has functions that are relevant to the community environment, both entertainment and spiritual needs. This can be seen from several activities in the community accompanied by the performance of the Wayang Golek, for example celebrations, weddings, festivals, harvests, grateful events, circumcisions, and others. One of the functions of wayang in Sundanese society is to "ngaruat", which is to cleanse everything, both people and the village environment from all disasters. The wayang golek show does not only act as a means of entertainment, but also contains values that can be learned for life that not only for spiritual or religious matters, but is also concerned with personal ethics of life, even politics.

There are several factors why wayang is used as an effective political propaganda media. First, wayang is a folk theatre to entertain the audience, especially the lower middle class. Secondly, the puppet shows absorb a lot from the lower middle class as a potential voter base in the upcoming elections. Third, the puppet show displays the knights choose a match that is the pride of the audience; it is very possible that the candidate identifies with the knight in the puppet show which the characters well known.

Wayang lovers come from the lower middle class. In the beginning puppets were purely folk-art entertainment. Wayang was performed by the priajais (aristocratic) in the palace or regency environment for personal or public purposes. Recently wayang performances have some varieties of purposes, ranging from the nature of ritual, or in the context of spectacle or mere entertainment. Wayang is *sidir jeung siloka*. It means that the wayang plays using indirect language in the delivery of its message and also uses parables that are symbolized of audience storyline.

Wayang is also used by regulators and political parties as a medium to pursue people to follow their ideology. Hundreds of people fulfilled the wayang stage which presented the people's entertainment. This kind of situation is often used to provide a campaign program during general election. For the Sundanese community, wayang golek can be an option for political media socialization.

During the New Order era (popular as Orde Baru is a government model that came to power under President Suharto after the end of the Old Order/Orde Lama in 1965.), former President Suharto used the services of the dalang for government propaganda. The government's intervention in wayang shows was very clear during the 1987 elections. In Orde Baru, the Pancasila, the ideology people of Republic Indonesia was disseminated in various educational media, both formal and informal. Wayang is a traditional art media that has a function to disseminate the values of the Pancasila. On January 21, 1995, the dalang, through the management of Persatuan Pedalangan Indonesia (Indonesian's Puppeteer Association) and Sekretariat Nasional Perwayangan Indonesia (National Secretariat of Indonesian Puppetry) were asked to compile a puppet that could describe the identity of the nation which is rooted in the value of self-control.

Soeharto also gave instructions that the dalang could present the puppet play whose main role was Semar. Semar is a symbol of the lower class; common people who have the power and wisdom; he is a clerk/servant of the Amarta Kingdom who is always oriented to virtue, truth and justice. If knights are in trouble, Semar advises; if he is too aggressive and emotional, he is braced by Semar and withdrawn from less thoughtful steps (Magnis-Suseno, 1993: 187-188).

Each puppet has its own character which are generally grouped into 2 large groups good and bad characters. In each puppet show, these two groups of characters with different characters are always confronted with each other. There are two seminary puppet stories, those taking from the Mahabharata war, which confront figures from the Amarta Kingdom with figures of the Astina Kingdom who are confronted as two opposing groups. The Amarta Kingdom figures with their Pandawa figures are grouped in the protagonist group, while the figures of the Astina Kingdom with their Kurawa figures are classified as an antagonist group. A good character (protagonist) always appears from the right side, while the opponent (antagonist) from left.

Puppet characters are one of the tools used by dalang to express criticism. The use of puppet figures is actually a symbolism of the social and political realities that existed at that time. The state is symbolized by conditions in the Amarta or Astina kingdom. The main character on a puppet show was also connected with the dynamics of the social and political conditions that existed. For example, how a complicated journey must be passed when Megawati Soekarnoputri became the fifth president of Republic Indonesia.

Megawati Soekarnoputri became history as the first female president in Indonesia. Megawati served as Chair of PDIP (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia-Perjuangan/Indonesian Democracy Party of Struggle) for several periods. Although PDIP won the highest vote in the 1999 general elections, Megawati did not automatically become president. At that time, Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) was elected by the MPR (Majelis Permusyawarata Rakyat/People's Consultative Assembly) as president, and Megawati as vice president. The riot that occurred during Gus Dur's leadership made some people angry. In a special session of the MPR on July 23, 2001 was by acclamation Megawati replacing Gus Dur.

The most logical explanation for why the story of Arimbi makes its similarity with the events that occurred at the beginning of the reform because the PDIP, led by Megawati Sukarnoputri who won the 1999 election, was unable to become president because of losing the presidential election due to the coalition in the presidential election in the MPR. Therefore, Arimbi's story becomes inspired by what makes a woman's requirements to be a leader is in the support of the people. Gender differences do not make the position of women and men in politics different rights but are considered equal and have opportunities to achieve power.

Women Leadership in Sundanese Community

The majority of Sundanese are Muslims in the atmosphere of everyday life, education, and culture is full of Islamic values. Strong family ties and the role of the Islamic religion that greatly influenced the customs coloured the entire their life. Sundanese community kinship system is based on bilateral or parental principles. In small families consist of fathers, mothers and children. Father acts as the head of the family and wife supports husband's role. But the

position of the mother is higher than the father. According to Hasan Mustapa (2010:50), Sundanese customs respect (honour) the mother over the father and assign all models (something considered more important is called the indung).

Refer to history; Sundanese women get a noble place as the following expression: “indung tunggul rahayu, bapa tangkal kadarajatan”. That is, the mother is the key to safety; father is the carrier of prosperity. The purpose of this understanding is no happiness and safety without a mother's prayer. This is reinforced by another phrase “indung nu ngandung bapa nu ngayuga, nya munjung lain ka gunung tapi ka indung, muja lain ka sagara tapi ka bapa”. The significance of this expression implied there would be no child without a mother, if flattering should go to the mother, adore should go to the father. But here the word mother takes precedence over the father.

The concept of Sundanese expressions above is in line with the Islamic values. In Islam it is also mentioned that heaven is at the foot of the mother. Even as a form of respect for women, the name of the mother in clause holy Quran was released three times and father only once. The Sundanese values taught since long ago also contain or breathe Islamic values that were taught by the Prophet Muhammad.

The philosophy of life of the Sundanese people that have been recognized as having deep meaning is cageur, bageur, bener, pinter, tur singer (Engkoswara, 2002). Cageur means healthy physically and spiritually. Bageur behaved well, polite, friendly, and well manners. Bener is honest, trustworthy, merciful, and pious. Pinter is knowledgeable. Singer means creative and innovative. The Sundanese values raised from the characteristic of women are “moher”. Moher is demplan or a picture of a good and beautiful woman. This characteristic of women is then interpreted broadly to something beautiful, pleasing and because of the creativity of each person in accordance with the personal characteristics.

The Sundanese leadership requires at least three basic things that must be owned, namely: “nyantri, nyakola, and nyunda”. The leader must be spiritually intelligent, which is described by the phrase nyantri (behaving like a santri)—spiritual mental maturity makes a trustworthy leader. Nyakola is thinking like an educated human being becomes a representation of intellectual intelligence. The leader always thinks by using healthy reason in every action. Nyunda is fulfilling the meaning of a set of delay values that must be possessed by leaders and prospective leaders.

Women reflect leaders who can unite with members sincerely (ngumawula ka wayahna), individuals who do not behave badly (teu ningkah), do not show an attitude of pride to others (teu adigung kamagungan), do not like to be enlivened with splendour (teu paya diagreng-agreng), wise and fair (agung maklum sarta adil), and impossible corruption (cadu basilat).

In particular, the ideal figure for leadership of Sundanese women includes being virtuous, kind, independent, and maintaining honour. Sundanese women leadership avoids from “haripeut ku teuteureuyeun”. That is staying away from greed, corruption, or collusion. In other cases, leaders must also undergo a decision-making process. There is a value in the extravagant Sundanese kept philosophy, meaning that a leader should not make a quick or hasty decision (Iskandar, 2006). The key in Sundanese philosophy in term of women leadership can be found in phrase, “nyalindung ka gelung”. Nyalindung means protection to take refuge, give up, entrust your life to something or to someone's wife. The widely meaning

of the expression *nyalindung ka gelung*, does not want to try, rely on, self to the income of his wife, or mother-in-law.

The dialog depicted the reluctance of Bima as a husband to depend on a wife by deciding to leave Pringgondani: “Emung cicing di tempat awewe, bari jeung diparaban ku awewe. Bari aing teu usaha, bisi disebut *nyalindung ka gelung*. Nya kapaksa we init nyangsara apruk-aprukan, sabab lamun cicing wae di nagara Pringgondani bari jeung eweuh gawe bari jeung barang hakan ladang hasil kesang awewe, hukumna nu kitu dayus.” (I do not want to stay in this place and be supported by women. I do not work, later called life pass. I am forced to go through difficult times, because if you stay silent in the State of Pringgondani without work and only eat because of your wife, the law is dishonourable). This dialog indicates that there are times when the leadership of the husband or man does not run optimally, in this condition woman have extraordinary abilities to maintain the continuity of men leadership. The women potential leadership gives good opportunity doing meaningful contributions both in domestic and public domain.

Politics is a strategic vehicle for improving the quality of women resources. Women leaders certainly know more about what their people need. Women leadership is worth delay in the political field has been exemplified by the predecessors who became proud. The firmness of leadership of a woman in the political field also cannot be doubted. The characteristics of women who are firmly average with a sense of humor as a mother in the household can be found in female leaders. Female leaders undergo a dual role that is a natural obligation such as housewives and working woman who could act decisively. Arimbi can be a role model for women leaders; she can manage her family and the state in all the minimum support. Her experience should be the inspiration for women leaders in the future.

Women leadership will be an alternative model of leadership based on the superiority of local culture to face globalization. Women leadership in politics is something that must be achieved, not gifts or distributed. Women leadership emerges and can align itself with men when the female leader has a high competence. Women leadership is recognized just if their achievement shown by bringing the organization goals. Reflecting on Sundanese women leadership which is seen from the characteristics of women is “moher”, which is a picture of good and beautiful but can also be relied upon as partners of men. These characteristics of women are then interpreted broadly to something beautiful, pleasant, and cool for various parties because of their creativity as a result of them to manage competences.

Discussion

Wayang golek reflects human life in historical context by the development of its stories and supporting elements of production, including setting, characterisation, music, and dramaturgy; it must always be topical (Weintraub, 2004: 227). The puppet is a *sidir jeung siloka*; this is a phrase or a saying with a beautifully worded word with a broad meaning. The origin of the *siloka* was delivered so that the message is not understood directly by ordinary people. What is illustrated in the wayang golek tale Arimbi Ngadeg Ratu reflects the Indonesian people, especially the Sundanese culture, in which the role of women is taken seriously, and their position is equal to men.

Puppet stories taken from the epic Ramayana and Mahabharata contain a lot of sources of knowledge and learning for humans to understand the meaning of life. Puppet characters

known to the public are usually male gender characters. In fact, many female figures can actually be used as role models or a reflection of life. In the wayang world, there are many women who have a noble spirit.

Arimbi Ngadeg Ratu is one of the plays in wayang golek staging that is the most suitable for use in interpreting the events of leadership in Indonesia at the beginning of the reform period (1998). As the Wayang Carangan play, the story plot of this play takes the setting of a story similar to during the election of the fourth president of Indonesia in the early of reformation (Abdurrahman Wahid—Gus Dur, who later was replaced by Megawati Soekarnoputri). The discourse about wayang language and dialog embodied the shift between the New Order and Reform model. In this era of reform, it has a chance for dalang to narrate the nation's conflicts by debating problems openly and transparently.

The significant task a dalang actualized the wayang plot is through tropicalizing political issues by telling stories that reflected actual figures and events. Dalang maintains that all plots can be made topical to the time, refers to how they shape wayang performances. Some plots are naturally more political issues, such as the topic of Indonesia's presidents in the post-Suharto era. Gus Dur was impeached in July 2001 and replaced by Megawati Soekarnoputri, Indonesian's first president. The plot of Arimbi Ngadeg Ratu could not possibly miss the links between wayang characters and Megawati's political figures.

The plot is rarely staged, because the dalang prefers to perform plot carangan a wayang golek puppet result of the puppeteer creations. The dalang are "information officers" for the government, which is one of their major sponsors, yet "their popularity and appeal"—which they need to become successful dalang—"...largely depends on their ability to represent the voices of ordinary people" (Weintraub, 2004: 12).

The story makes it clear that Arimbi's legitimacy as a queen, although in this case foiled by her brother who fulfilled the qualification, must be endorsed by the gods. This means that Gods as a manifestation of supreme power is also considered as the voice of the people, who validate and crown Arimbi as Queen. Women participation in politics legally is recognized and validated. The affirmation of the text above explains that the role and position of women in politics cannot be denied because it has been recognized spiritually and legally.

Affirmations and the validity of Arimbi's leadership are also recognized and implemented by everyone, whether by state, family, and society. Purbakesa declares that all decisions now are in the hands of Arimbi as queen. Ability and punishment can be done only by Queen Arimbi. With this, government, law, and state regulations do not see gender at all but are concerned only with the legitimacy of government. This means that both men and women can become leaders, and the decision is considered equal.

This case is quite unique, as usually, although the royal descendant is a woman, the husband is also crowned. Therefore, the husband will also become the king. However, this text does not make Bima the king automatically. Bima, as the husband, gives support so that any decision Arimbi makes, as the queen, will not be interfered with by anyone, including her own husband.

Recognition of the role and position of women in politics is seen in the depiction of the wayang story, as Cepot, as the people, invites other fellow societies to support the government and support the policies that will be issued by Queen Arimbi. An affirmation by the people is a compliment and affirms the legality and equality of women in politics. The

story of wayang golek Arimbi Ngadeg Ratu does not specify gender differences in political affairs.

In the story of Mahabharata, dominated by patriarchal culture, Arimbi Ngadeg Ratu's plot breaks the patriarchal culture with the figure of Arimbi. None of the female characters in the Mahabharata story who have a significant role can obtain a position as a queen who has independence in her power. Although Kunti and Drupadi are queens, their rule was obtained only because of their husbands' positions as kings.

Dewi Kunti is a tragic character who has a heroic nature. Dewi Kunti emerged from the time of the explosion of ancient history of Mahabharata. Kunti is the wife of Maharaja Pandu and the mother of five famous sons, named Pandawa. Dewi Kunti is one of the important figures in a complicated political dispute. Political fights culminated in the Kuruksetra war fifty centuries ago, a fierce war of power that changed the course of world history. Although the suffering is much heavier than what can be withheld by ordinary people, Kunti does not ask for relief. Instead, Dewi Kunti prayed that she could suffer more, for she considered her suffering would increase her devotion to Krsna, who eventually granted her release.

Dewi Drupadi is the symbol of a faithful and resilient woman against all kinds of suffering, even though she is actually the king's daughter. There was no complaining after marriage to Puntadewa. Dewi Drupadi had time to live as a traveller outside the jungle. In Indian mythology, Drupadi became the wife of the five Pandavas. Even then, it is was not unusual for a woman to marry five husbands, but they share a wife on behalf of the promise of knights of the Pandawa.

Dewi Arimbi is a figure known as a beautiful princess who has an honest, faithful, and caring character. The figure of goddess Arimbi is described as a manifest giant female. Arimbi is a person who teaches that sincerity is more beautiful than physical manifestations of beauty, and perhaps a virtue that women have forgotten in the modern era today. The Arimbi figure that became a story of folklore and growth in this homeland would need to serve as an example for women to refine further attitude and character, rather than simply highlight the physical advantages and be grateful for them.

The original Mahabharata sees the role and position of women in politics. As Sharma (2013: 149) explains in his book of Mahabharata women, female characters in the Mahabharata story only seize power de facto, and husbands and children are only a means of attaining goals. Unlike them, this plot makes Arimbi not only capable of seizing de facto power but also of obtaining de jure power.

The development of the era has been proven, recognizing the ability and equality in politics (Salenda, 2012: 377). He explained that ulama (religious leaders) in classical times view the position of women as second-class citizens and that they are not entitled to be appointed leaders. However, in changing times, women have been able to show this ability as equivalent to men. Therefore, there is no reason for scholars to view women as part of marginalized society. This is influenced by the condition of society, so that perceptions about women experience changes by receiving female leadership. That cannot be separated from influential changes and patterns of life for the community on the development of thought scholars in Islamic law, especially regarding leadership. Competing on an equal footing with men in the modern sectors of the economy, women have to be "confident", "assertive" and

"independent", and perhaps individualistic, and to put self before community (Manan, 2003: 116).

Arimbi's leadership is obtained because of heredity and social status. She is a daughter and descendant of the Pringgondani royal leader, certainly has the right and quality of leadership. However, behind its advantages as a king's child, Arimbi still has to struggle to prove that she is capable of being leaders even though she is a woman and mother. In addition, community support can also be needed to build a perspective that women deserve to be appointed as leaders.

Absolute roles are given to men as family heads, main worker, so that other roles such as childcare and education, as well as other domestic roles become the absolute role of women. This is a problem in women leadership; there is gender inequality in life in family and society. Gender equality is intended to be the same condition and position for women and men to get the opportunity and their rights as human beings, to be able to play a role and participate in political, economic, sociocultural, educational, defence, national security and similarities in gaining balanced outcomes. The female leader is worthy currently must be able to answer the challenges of the times. A responsive, accommodating and appreciative attitude is needed to face global competition. Local wisdom is the main provision in maintaining national character through political roles. The female leader is worth delay in the political field, of course, must master self-management reflected in leadership in the community.

Conclusion

Arimbi's story reflects the political events that occurred during Indonesia's reform era. As the popular winner of the 1999 general election, with the most seats in parliament, Megawati Soekarnoputri was the greatest president of Indonesia. However, a middle center line group scenario does not want Megawati to become president of the Republic of Indonesia, on the grounds that women becoming president is still a debate among religious leaders, especially in this country where most of the population is Muslim.

Although wayang golek is a small part of a larger social process, these micro-social struggles can help us understand what occurs in cultural practice. The production of meaning in wayang golek through language, discourse, and music are intersected by social struggles over culture and power. These injustices indicate that women's position within social life is still weak. The position of men is still dominant and strong in social life, politics, and culture. Aristotelian philosophy views women as inferior human beings. This perspective is based on the creation of Eve as the last and least "posterior et inferior".

Women have an equal role and position of to gather and organize, as well as to form organization and lead an organization. The wayang golek of Arimbi Ngadeg Ratu constructs equality and equal opportunity with men in their roles and positions in politics, equality, and opportunity, and gained legal recognition so that both men and women have equal opportunity to compete de facto and de jure. The movement of feminism as a wave of the women movement aims to create a just and caring society of gender equality. Only in such a society can women and men develop themselves. This feminist view assumes that there is no difference between men and women; it is culturally difficult to align the role of women so that they have the same rights as men.

In summary, it seems appropriate to refocus or re-framing the picture of political leadership with a gender perspective that is sensitive to values and principles and pays attention to daily practice. In the context of a changing and dynamic world, the presentation can be used as an example of other leaders' success stories and can strengthen the importance of feminine values at the core of women leadership. Further studies, a critical paradigm or other research methods are recommended so that another point of view can be obtained in understanding the role and position of women sourced from other cultural. In enriching the study of communication science, researchers should further examine the source of cultural and local wisdom so that results can be applied in everyday life.

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