

THE POLITICAL HABITUATION OF WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP IN LOCAL ELECTION OF BARITO KUALA

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ABSTRACT

Electoral democracy has brought a consequence of the existence of multi actor in political contestation, such as the presence of women as a new comer in political arena. The existence of women in political contestation has been increasing since 1990th, where there has been four times increase of the total of the woman leader who successfully became president or prime minister. The women's leadership in Indonesia was marked by the emersion of Megawati Soekarno Putri in the reformation era. Most of women's studies saw that women existences were determined by the structure. this research however aimed to show a combination between the structure and the agent in determining the women's existences. There is a combination between capitals and the leadership habituation to get the victory in local election., this strategy is the main factor that makes a woman gain the most electoral votes and becomes the first woman Regent in Barito Kuala regency. this study is based on qualitative method with a case in Barito Kuala regency, South Borneo province. The primary data were collected using *in-depth interviews* and the secondary data was gathered from written documents or information and news from mass media.

Keywords: Women Leadership, Habitus, Strategy, Local Election

1. Introduction

The history of Greece democracy had been noted that there is political discrimination to women. In the heyday of the Athens democracy, the implementation of direct democracy was reserved just for Greek men (MIRIAM BUDIARJO). There are no women got the political right to participate for public policy making. For a long time, the discrimination against women has been existed in social and political life. The discrimination is going through a patriarchal system that refers to the unequal relationship between men and women, mainly because women

are considered to be more inferior than men (Chris Weedons, p.3). In the period 1550-1700, women with diverse backgrounds appeared to oppose patriarchal rule like Elizabeth I in 1558 to 1603, strong women such as Anna of Denmark (Queen of James IV and I), daughter of Bedford, daughter of Pembroke, and Mary Mary (Queen of Charles I). It shows that women are able to struggle in politics and art as long as the right and opportunity had been given to them (Sastriyani, 2009). In 1928, the struggle of women had already achieved all women had equal suffrage as men (Gamble, 2010).

The progress of women's achievement can be seen from suffrage to become political representative and nowadays some of them appear as political leaders in democratic country (Randall 2011: 3). Democracy is a political system that has been adopted and believed by the most of country around the world as the best form of the government. The impact of democracy is not only can increase the number of women in politics but also increases the quality of women participation especially in public policy making. Although the most countries around the world have ratified an agreement for upholding the right of women's participation in politics the politics is still dominated by men. This is due to women's life basically have been influenced by some issues which designed beyond of political life. (Eisenstein, 1984).

In Indonesia, the status and the role of women have existed since long time ago. So many figures of women have contributed to political activity, like be a combatant to combat the colonial, fight for the rights of women to get education, equal opportunities to get a job like men, and fight any kinds of violence on women (Bakti, 2012: 149). Although historically the involvement of women in Indonesia has already existed the reality the participation in politics is still dominated by men especially in electoral system. Social construction has been judged women are not capable of ruling and making clear decision in policy. Women has shaped to be sentiment beings by the patron so women cannot make decisions when using the feelings in judging a decision (Son, 2012: 99).

After the collapse of the new order, the presence of women in politics has been increasing because reformation era has opened up space for women to fight in the political sphere both at the central and regional levels. In regional level, the government policy that encouraged direct elections through Law No. 32 of 2004 makes bigger chance for women to compete seriously in the arena of Pilkada, such as: Haeny Relawati Rini Widyastuti, Ratu Atut Choisyah, Tri Rismaharini, etc. However, the presence of women in the election got the attention from political researcher to analyze and explained it. Example like the study of "Women In The Circles Of Political Dynasty" by Dr. Mohammad ArmoMM (2013) explained that women or wives who replace their husbands as heads of region hide under their husbands' charismatic image and social assets and the factors which support the victory of the wives in regional elections; They use their husbands' power while they were still the heads of region by participating in hidden campaigns, and generally paternalistic social environment where voters' use of their rationale is still low. (Dr. Mohammad Armoyu, 2013)

The raising of women in political participation phenomenon also invites another explanation from researchers with various points of views. However the main stream of studies that have been previously conducted indicates that political dynasty and family ties become the determinant factors in the women's victory for achieving executive and legislative position either in the developed country or in the developing country (Julien Labonne, Political Dynasties, Term Limits and Female Political Empowerment: Evidence from the Philippines, February 2017) (Olle Folke, Gender and Dynastic Political Recruitment: Theory and Evidence, 2016) (Farida Jalalzai, 2016).

Therefore, this research aims to give different perspective in seeing the capability of the women's leadership as the main factor of their victory on the electoral contestation in the local level.

2. Research Methods

The research method used in this study is qualitative study with case study approach. Case studies are used to delve deeper information about the case of the first women's victory strategy in Barito Kuala District Election in 2017. There are three rationalities why the author used case study methods. First, Hj. Noormiliyani is the first woman who became the chief of DPRD in South Kalimantan Province. Second, Hj. Noormiliyani is also the only female candidate who fight in the local elections of Barito Kuala Regent. Third, Hj. Noormiliyani became the first proof of a woman's political victory for the people of South Kalimantan and Barito Kuala in particular. This study was conducted in Barito Kuala District, located in South Kalimantan Province. This study is not limited to a single source of evidence in but rather using multiple sources of evidence. The use of multiple sources of evidence aims to give researchers the opportunity to focus on broader historical issues, attitudes, and observations. Here are steps by steps in this research:

a. Desk study

The desk study was chosen as a first step to help find out how the dynamics of social reality are the object of the study and how to cluster the reality on the basis of existing supporting data. However, these supporting data are secondary data, written data related to the report of the Noormiliyani movement and other concepts which is related and used in this study. Secondary data can be records, transcripts, ethnographic notes, books, notes, agenda, mass media, research reports, journals, magazines, and others that are certainly related to the Noormilyani as a subject in this study.

b. In depth interview.

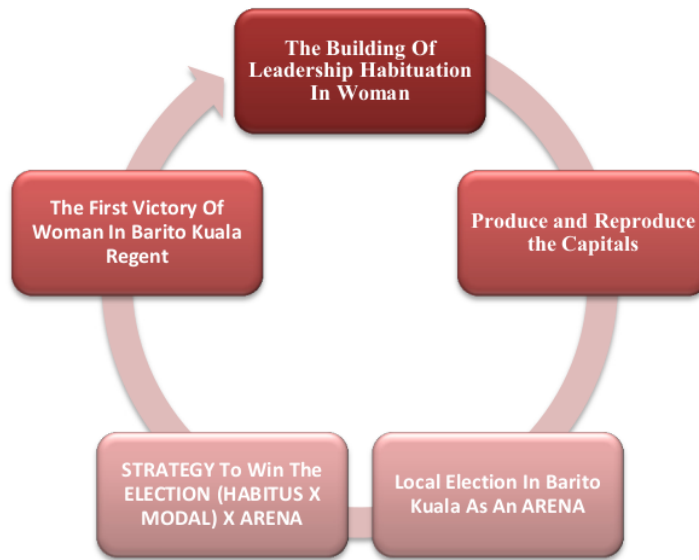
Interviews were undertaken to be emphasized in interviews that were dialogical and could be both formal and informal. the researcher will conduct a structured interview with Hj. Noormiliyani so that the atmosphere of discussion that was built could then be formal. However, when researchers conduct unstructured interviews with bureaucrats, PKK members, and researcher KPU members will build a more informal and spontaneous dialogue atmosphere in accordance with a problem or topic that the perpetrator is dealing with. The informants or respondents who became the target of this study include:

1. Noormiliyani as a Selected Regent in Barito Kuala Regent.
2. Chairman of DPRD of Barito Kuala Regency
3. Chairman of KPU of Barito Kuala Regency
4. Treasurer of TP-PKK of Barito Kuala Regency
5. Secretary of TP- PKK of Barito Kuala Regency
6. Golkar Party advisor to DPC Barito Kuala
7. Bureaucrats in the local government of Barito Kuala District.

c. Archive Records

The last step in searching data is the recording of the archive. Through this recording archives researchers can make observations through report books and print media published by the Regional Government of Barito Kuala Regency. This resource is useful to help researchers get an overview in view of events conducted by Noormiliyani in the past years.

3. Research Highlight



d. Research Result

Several concepts from Bourdieu, such as Habitus, capital and arena is an instrument of reproduction of power. Those all concepts were used to analyzed the woman's victory in local elections. Habitus is a set of tendency that generate social practice and perception. [Cari chapter 2] The concept of habitus is used to see the formation of leadership characters in women where there is a causal process of the individual with his position within the social structure through long historical and practice processes. The process of establishing leadership habitus through 4 stages, which is: family, formal education, organization, and also the process of building a new family. Capital is specific, it is always bound and dependent on a particular arena (Adib, 2012). PKK are not only seen as capital but also as an instrument to produce and reproduce capitals for Noormiliyani in Barito Kuala District. The field in this study is represented by the local elections in Barito Kuala Regent, where there are power relation and battle to struggle for resources, capitals, and also to gain access the power hierarchy. And the winning strategy is a collaboration of calculating the Habitus and capitals in the arena of local election to get the position of regional head in Barito Kuala Regency.

a. Woman's Leadership Habituation: A Process of History and Capital Reproduction in Character Building of Individu

Women's Leadership is a historical product that is supported by various capital and objectivity ability of an individual. So, every formula will affect each other in the character building for individu. According to Pierre Bordieu, habitus is a long-lasting and fluid disposition system that serves as a generative base for objectively structured and integrated practices (Richard Harker, 2009). In line with the concept of habitus, female leadership can be seen not as something that happens naturally but a combination of objective structure and personal history.

Family is the first and basic structure in creating the character of Noormiliyani. Based on Normiliyani's statements, the most influential figure in shaping the character of leadership and make her interest in politics is her father. Her father name is Aberani Sulaiman, who was a soldier and also a Governor of South Kalimantan period 1963-1968. Her father, also known as the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Proclamation, a Commander of the 621 / Manuntung Infantry Battalion in 1961-1963, a pioneer of procurement Antasari Ship with local shipping company "Wasaka" and Chairman of the Committee for the Establishment of the State Islamic Institute (IAIN) Pangeran Antasari Banjarmasin. Her father is not only as the main inspiration but also a social and political teacher for her to learn how the real life in governmental system. Because among her eight siblings, Noormiliyani was the only person who most often discussed with his father especially about politics. Sometimes her father also told stories about her father's childhood and the figure of her grandfather. Noormiliyani said that "my father told me that her grandfather is a son of rich man and a religious figure in Birayang, Hulu Sungai Tengah District. My grandfather is known as a generous and religious person in Birayang. He always upholding the Islamic Shari'a law with honesty and fairness for doing business" (Noormiliyani, 2018). even her grandfather is the businessman but he likes to help other people and sometimes he gives her profit to her partner so that makes her grandfather got respected in Birayang people. One day, her grandfather has a dream to sending his son to study in in Al-Azhar at Egypt, but Aberani Sulaiman against his father because he wants to be a combatant which fighting for Indonesia to against the colonizers. Because of the braveness and good faith of Abrani Sulaiman her grand father give approval for his son to be a soldier. Normiliyani said "all of that stories give her so many lesson and inspiration for her life" (Noormiliyani, 2018). Her father had been taught so many things about life, like be an honest person, always remember religious values, be a perseverance, courage, teach how to discuss, and also be a disciplined and assertive person.

Formal education is an objective structure which build cognitive knowledge and also habitus of an individual. In 1970 Normiliyani has completed elementary education in SDN Rajawali. In 1973, she also has completed his high school education at SMPN Taruna Jakarta. Then in 1976, she continued her studies at SMA 24 Jakarta and successfully obtained his Bachelor of Law (SH) degree at Lambung Mangkurat University in 1986. According to the interview with Hj. Noormiliyani, Education at Lambung Mangkurat University in law faculty, especially in governance law concentration is really useful and helpful to make herself understand and be more critical about political science and political practice.

Organization is not only one of the factors in forming self character but also a maturation factor of self-actualization after gaining cognitive knowledge of formal education. Normiliyani is not only became an active member of Student Executive Board (BEM) in the Faculty of Law, University of Lambung Mangkurat. She is a member in various youth organizations (OKP) such as Pemuda Panca Marga (PPM), Indonesian Young Generation Youth (AMPI), communication

forum of Retired daughter and child of military and police (FKPPI), and Indonesian National Youth Committee (KNPI). Although she never served as chairman in various organizations but become a member in various organizations has make herself to be a person who easy to mingle, good listener, and create a character like a “chameleon” that can adjust herself in various situations and conditions and also know how to act as the needs of the persons she faced.

New family, Noormiliyani are married with Hasanuddin Murad who is the Head of Student Representative Body (BPM) of Universitas Lambung Mangkurat and her senior in University. Noormiliyani and Hasanuddin Murad are friend who like to discuss and debate together. She saw Hasanuddin Murad was like her father who has a good vision for the country and for his hometown, he also likes to discuss, has a good knowledge about politics, and has the same way of thinking with her father. Because of that she feels comfortable and match with Hasanuddin Murad so they decided to get married. After 15 years Hasanuddin Murad became a lecturer at the Faculty of Law, University of Lambung Mangkurat, he with Normiliyani tried to participate in legislative elections for DPR RI (House of Representatives for Indonesia Republic). However, the party policies were not allowed husband and wife be legislative candidate in the same time. So, Noormiliyani decided for not be a candidate and give full support to her husband. After eight (8) years as wife of member of House of Representative from Golkar political party, her husband decided to run as candidate of region head of Barito Kuala Regency, then successfully selected as Regent of Barito Kuala for two periods.

b. Empowerment and Family Welfare (PKK): Produce and Reproduce Capitals and exchange into Symbolic Capital.

The success of Hasanuddin Murad as Regent in Barito Kuala District automatically made Hj. Normiliyani as chairman of Family Empowerment Empowerment (PKK) in Barito Kuala District, which is one of the women’s organizations in the district. PKK is a village community organization that grows from below with women as the driver in building, fostering, and forming family to realize the welfare of the family as the smallest unit of society. There are ten programs are owned by PKK, namely understanding and practicing values of Pancasila, “gotong royong” which means mutual cooperation, food, clothing, housing and household management, education and skills, health, cooperation living development, environmental sustainability and healthy planning.

PKK brings women as an agent with a great importance to the welfare of families and community, therefore PKK is managed and mobilized by the PKK Driving Team headed by the wife of Regional Leaders (Governors, Regents/Mayors, Heads of Villages). Functionally the key to the development of PKK programs and activities is the realization of the real role of the Regional Head’s wife.

Since November 2007 Hj. Noormiliyani was inaugurated as head of the PKK in Barito Kuala District, this is become the starting point of applying self-leadership skills in making decisions within an organization. In a very short time, Hj. Noormiliyani studied the PKK from memorizing the Mars PKK songs to the tasks and functions in the planning, implementing, guiding, empowering and facilitating the Four Working Groups (POKJA) flexibly and coordinately (Arfah, 2018), Hj. Noormiliyani concluded that the PKK is like a mini government that works in partnership with several SKPD such as Department of Education, Department of Health, Department of Women’s and Children’s Empowerment and others. But for Hj. Noormiliyani studying the duties and functions of the PKK is not enough in determining a policy, so she conducted inspections to all villages in Barito Kuala District.

The main priority of Noormiliyani is to know the condition and situation in all of regent before determine the policy, therefore she carry out various inspections to the corners of the village (Noormiliyani, 2018). One day she told the story of finding a house almost collapsed in the area Belawang, the inhabitant is an old grandmother aged 80 years who is suffering from cataracts and works as a broomstick seller and live with her two grandsons who still attended elementary school. From that experience, Hj. Noormiliyani got an idea to do the house restoration program but still based on the household management contained in the JAokja 3. Before discussing with the PKK members, she consulted first with the Head of Public Works Department, Mr. Manaf about the house restoration program by the PKK. The discussion resulted in the design of a healthy house that is easy to build size 36 m² and in 2009 the house restoration program was realized. In addition to house restoration program there is also a village improvement program consisting of three qualifications namely light rehab, heavy rehab, and total rehab. But the house restoration program is one of the most favored programs by PKK in the Barito Kuala District at that time. The Budget of the house restoration program is the result of the collaboration of the budget from PKK, Housing Department and Social Department as well as for other equipments such as electrical installation and home furnishing was coming from personal fund of the Regent and PKK team leader. There are requirements for house restoration program: proposal from the head of the village, focus on elder and toddler residents and get approval from neighbors and surrounding communities. In the end of term Hj. Noormiliyani as chairman of PKK there are approximately 140 houses restored (Jannah, 2018).

In POKJA II, PKK Barito Kuala District has a pre-eminent program which is Festival of Early Childhood Education (PAUD) called Gebyar PAUD. Gebyar PAUD is a fun day for PAUD children in Barito Kuala every year through organizing various competitions for children study groups and kindergartens. Hj.Noormiliyani also serves as the mother of PAUD in Barito Kuala District who is always consistent in supporting and organizing various activities for early childhood education progress, such as organizing cheerful gymnastic competition for children and teachers of playgroup and kindergarten at the office of Regent Barito Kuala, conducting seminar or training for educators in Early Childhood Education (PAUD), Playgroup (KB), Kindergarten (TK), STS and TPA in Batola District which taking place in the Parliament Hall then carry out the mass release of school children in Kindergarten (TK) and Early Childhood Education (PAUD).

PKK programs innovation is also found in JAokja IV which organizes a festiveal of Integrated Health Service Post (Posyandu) every year in Kab. Barito Kuala called Gebyar Posyandu. The Gebyar Posyandu was coming to existence caused by the insecurity of the PKK Team Leader who found the fact that Barito Kuala District has no specialist doctors. So that in 2012 the Gebyar Posyandu program was launched in the Rumah Pintar in Berangas Barat Village, Alalak District. The program contains general health services, elderly health, child specialists, obstetricians, internal medicine specialists, eye health, dental hygiene and nutrition consultations. This program is one of the superior programs TP PKK Barito Kuala in addition to house restoration program. This program is able to present hundreds of residents Barito Kuala to conduct examination and treatment with dozens of medical personnel who have been provided by TP PKK Barito Kuala

c. Barito Kuala Election as Arena

Barito Kuala Regent is one of the local governments in South Kalimantan Province, Indonesia. Geographically, Barito Kuala has an area of 2996.96 km² or 7.99 percent of the total area of South Kalimantan Province. Barito Kuala has boundaries in the north with Hulu Sungai Utara and Tapin

District, East borders with Banjar Regency and Banjarmasin City, in the south borders with the Java Sea, and Regency of Kapuas (Central Kalimantan Province) in the west.

Barito Kuala District has leading by a Regent, with Marabahan as the capital city. The administrative area of Barito Kuala District consists of 17 districts, 6 sub-districts and 195 villages. The Barito Kuala population consists of three major ethnic groups, namely Banjar, Bakumpai and Java. The majority religion of Barito Kuala residents are Muslim as many as 301,164 people (99.37%). Based on data from BPS, Barito Kuala District has 149.619 of men population and 148,663 of women population.

Barito Kuala General Election for period 2017-2022 held on February 15, 2017. There are 3 pairs of candidates for Regent and vice Regent who enrolled be Mayor / Regent candidate. The number one of candidate pair is Noormiliyani A.S. and Rahmadian Noor which supported by the Golkar Party. The number two of candidate pair is Bahrian Noor and Suwandi which supported by the coalition of PKB political party and Gerindra political Party. The number three of candidate pair is Hasan Ismail and Fahrin Nizar which supported by the coalition of five major parties which is PDIP, PKS, PAN, Hanura, and PPP. In 2015, the local legislative election in Barito Kuala has bring in 35 people from political parties become a representative in local House of representatives (DPRD) of Barito Kuala. the number of members of the DPRD of Barito Kuala District based on the party consist of Golkar Party has 13 representatives, While Gerindra, PDI-P, PKS and PKB has the same number of 4 people, and PAN has 3 representatives. The total number of members I the house of representatives in Barito Kuala consists of 6 factions and 3 commissions

d. The Victory of Woman: The Strategy of Habitus, Capitals, and Arena Calculation

The victory of Noormiliyani in the local election of Barito Kuala Regency with 74,169 votes can not be seen only from capital ownership and the supportive political arena but also there are the good strategy to maximize the various capital and how to do in some position of political arena. Although the strategy can not be separated from the concept of the structure like arena and also capitals, but every capital in the arena should by taken by the strategy and ability. That's why Noormiliyani are one of prove that shown how to combine the habitus, capitals, and arena to create a strategy and get the victory or symbolic capital.

Economic capital ownership from the three pairs candidates of regent and vice regent for Barito Kuala Regency has different amount of wealth and donation for campaigns. Wealth of the pair of candidate number one, Noormiliyani has Rp 8.823.754.234 and Rahmadian Noor has Rp 1.317.725.006, pair of candidate number two Bahrian Noor has Rp 3.516.016.188 and Suwandi has Rp 1.738.24.549, and pair of candidate number three, Hasan Ismail has Rp 1,163,829,749 and his representative Fahrin Nizar has Rp 6,657,038,050.

Based on the report from general election commission (KPU) about the receipts and the spent of campaign funds, on the pair of candidate Noormiliyani AS, SH & Rahmadian Noor, ST have gotten a donation amounts of Rp 1.884.455.000. for the pair of candidate number two H. Bahriannoor & H. Suwandi, S.Pd., M.M. have gotten the donation amounts of Rp 650.000.000, and the pair od candidates number three Hasan Ismail S.Far., M.M., Apt & Fahrin Nizar, ST., MT. have gotten the donation amounts of Rp 300,000,000. Based on the report from KPU, the economic capital ownership from the pair of candidate number one are the largest than the other tcandidates even in the amount of wealth or donations for campaign. Despite having the greatest

economic capital but not the guarantee of winning on the electoral stage because, it takes strategy and other capital to support the battle in elections Barito Kuala District.

Noormiliyani as individu is not only has more economic capital but she is also having more knowledge and experience than other candidates. Her knowledge and experienced can't get from an instant process because both of that she gets from 10 years become the wife of the head of the regent and as the head of TP PKK Barito Kuala District and various of social organizations. According to Bourdieu, Struggle and strategy depend on knowledge, which has both active and materialist aspects. Knowledge is a system of schemes that are internalized and manifested from the collective historical journey formed on the individual. Noormiliyani said "she already has visited more villages than her husband which is a regent in Barito Kuala". for 10 years, Noormiliyani was intensively and routinely came and met the people of villages in Barito Kuala. that interaction not only give her information and knowledge but also reproduce the capitals of herself.

The first battle of Noormiliyani in local election of Barito Kuala is struggling for getting support from the Golkar party which has the number of legislative seats in Barito Kuala Regency for 13 seats. Golkar Party is a party which capable of carrying candidates for regents and vice regent candidates in Barito Kuala District without making coalition with other political party. In 2014, Golkar Party's political machine touched the number, 57,839 votes so that this party gets 13 seats in DPRD (house of representatives) Barito Kuala from 35 board of the total members. But getting support from the Golkar party to be a candidate of regent in Barito Kuala is not as easy as when he was elected to be a Golkar party candidate for DPRD (house of representatives) of South Kalimantan Province. Although at that time Golkar has bring a new policy to prioritize woman cadres for struggling in the election.

As a Golkar cadre, even Noormiliyani are qualified woman to become Regent candidate but she gets many resistances from internal Golkar party at that time. At before, there are six (6) candidates who registered their self to be supported by Golkar Party in local election at Barito Kuala Regency. Those all of six persons who are struggle in Golkar Party are H. Yuni, Nanang, Wawan, Fahrin, Rahmadi, and Hj. Noormiliyani. H. Yuni and Nanang are the first who register for to be Golkar Party candidates. Both of them are successful and have supported from local strongman in businessman in South Kalimantan Province. Background of H. Yuni is the son of H. Sulaiman HB who is the owner and founder of Barito Putera soccer club, former chairman of DPP Golkar Party for 15 years, former chairman in KONI (National Indonesian sport committee), owner of Global Islamic boarding school and owner of Hasnur Group company which work for forestry, mining, transportation, shipping, coal special port, docking, property, multimedia, and plantation. Background of Nanang is the nephew of Sahbirin Noor who is the Governor of South Kalimantan. Beside it nanang also supported by H. Andi Syamsudin Arsyad who is the owner of PT. Jhonlin Baratama, PT. Jhonli Air Transport, and PT. Jhonlin Marine and Shipping.¹

In the end, from six candidates are filtered into two person that is Noormiliyani and H. Yuni. But the Golkar party's decision is in the hands of the Golkar party chairman. So, the battle of Hj. Noormiliyani and H. Yuni continued in Jakarta and both of them are do lobbying and presented about their own capital in Barito Kuala. although, Hj. Noormiliyani has great social capital in Barito Kuala society and network in many organization in Barito Kuala, but she still not sure will get supported from Golkar Party. So, Noormiliyani has already prepared a backup plan to be an independent candidate in local election for Barito Kuala. Hj. Noormiliyani revealed in

¹ kompasiana

some media that she is ready to go forward independently if not supported by Golkar Party. On the last day of registration at KPU Hj. Noormiliyani has prepared 40,000 ID cards to be verified by the KPU, but on the last day the Golkar Party are released a decision to give support for Hj. Noormiliyani and Rahmadian Noor.

The elections of Barito Kuala Regency in 2017 are followed by 3 pairs of candidates through the support of political parties. The candidate pair number one Noormiliyani US with his representative named Rahmadian Noor is supported by the Golkar Party with a total of 13 seats in parliament, candidate pair number two Bahrian Noor and his deputy Suwandi who carried by the National Awakening Party (PKB) and Gerindra with a total of eight seats, and candidate number three, Hasan Ismail and his deputy Fahrin Nizar, were promoted by five major parties namely the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS), Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN), Conscience Party People (Hanura), and the United Development Party (PPP) with a total of 14 seats.

The strategy of political mapping the most important things to do by the couple Hj. Noormiliyani and Rahmadian Noor and also for another candidates. Mapping of votes is the basic strategy to decide the next strategy to get votes from people in Barito Kuala. for the election, the pocket of votes is the most important resources to get the victory. More pocket the candidate gets so more the chances they get power to be elected. All candidate was counted the distribution of the dominant voice pocket which dominated by its competitors. The candidates also will target potential pocket of votes based on geographical, age, gender, social status, ethnic, religion, race and class. The political machine of candidates will calculate all of factor that influence the political votes in society. The pair of candidate number one in Pilkada Baritokuala, Hj Noormiliyani AS-Rahmadian Noor also have their own strategy to get the winning in the election for Barito Kuala Regency.

Hj Noormiliyani AS-Rahmadian Noor and their team are maximized the map of pocket votes of Golkar's based on the result of votes at legislative election in 2014 and the pocket votes for the candidate. The first strategy of mapping is calculated and browse the pocket votes for the member of House Representatives from Golkar in 2014, so it can be calculated as support votes for Noormiliyani and Rahmadian Noor. Candidates and legislators from Golkar are working together in raising and stabilizing the supported and votes in the grassroots. The second strategy is mapping the pocket votes of Noormiliyani which based on survey data and the votes that she get when got elected to be a member of house of representatives for South Kalimantan Province. The survey results from several survey institutions that show the level of popularity of candidates and political behavior of people in Barito Kuala District. After mapping the pocket of votes, Noormiliyani and Rahmadian Noor are building the relation and connection with the voter. They intensively communicated by dialogue and face-to-face meetings with the support masses. And the last strategy is always make evaluations report for the progress and the possibility of changes base on the information and the situation on the society.

Beside that, Noormiliyani-Rahmadian Noor used social media especially facebook for campaigning their vision and mission. The slogan "One word, one sense to build the village to organize the city" and various agenda of them are published and posted in social media to help them socialized their vison and mission broader to all of society. All agenda like campaign, visited to the villages, and other social activities they post by pictures, video, and written as status on social media. Rahmadian Noor has been said "There are our accounts on facebook to upload our activities on the field, even become viral and many positive respon and giving encouraging

comments for us. Although massive on facebook but for us more effective to directly face to face with the community," (Huda, 2017).

After all of that strategy like used all of the knowledge, capitals, mapping pocket of votes, calculating of votes, intensive interaction with voter, till evaluating and socialization in various media makes Noormiliyani and Rahmadian Noor gain victory and be elected as the Regent and vice regent of Barito Kuala District. Based on the Result of Vote Acquisition Selection of Regent and Vice Regent of Barito Kuala 2017, candidate pair Hj. Noormiliyani AS, SH & Rahmadian Noor, ST got 74,169 votes (48.76%), candidate pair H. Bahriannoor & H. Suwandi, S.Pd., M.M. got 25,587 votes (16.82%), and candidate pair Hasan Ismail, S.Far.M.M., Apt & Fahrin Nizar, ST., MT. got 52,359 votes (34.42%) (Noormiliyani – Rahmadi Raih Suara Tertinggi, 2017). So, based on that result Noormiliyani and Rahmadian Noor have the most vote and automatically they become the elected Regents and Vice Regents for Barito Kuala Regency.

5. Conclusion

Democrare is always changes, so does in Indonesia after new ordged. The reformation era makes politics as an arena and opened wider space to compete for new political actors including women. Indonesia already applied affirmative action strategy for political parties to give and protect at least 30% for women's representatio%. Reformation also gave birth to local democracy of democracy in Indonesia is no longer centralize Tthe arena of political contestation is increasingly expandend the contestation space is getting bigger, aen the political actor is also more diversbtTthe participation of women is also increasing in the legislative ain the executive sector, especially at the local level. Inceasiof participation of women in Indonesild especialon whom to be elected for political leaders, howeveroid not get much positive appreciation. Most political experts and observers justify that the presence and success of women in politics is highly dependent on the political factor of the dynasty. Social construction in the community still views women as an object determined by the social structure that is outside of the woman's self.

Be the first female elected for head of district in Barito Kuala is proved that woman is capable enough to be a leader. The capability is the combination between habitus and capital that the woman had. leadership Habituation of the Noormiliyani had been through 4 stages, first stage is the family which give her basic knowledge and basic life education for that woman. Second stage is school and university that teach her to have critical and sharp analysis especially in the field of constitutional and governmental law beside science and the objectivity knowledge. Third stage is her involvement i oOrganization..be a member of various organizatioe she learned about the responsibility and maturity to act with other peoplN Tthe fourth stage is new family, when she became a wife of politiciare the member in House of representative for 8 years ame the regent in Barito Kuala for 10 years, she learned about how political practiced in the real life.

Local election, there were two political battlbe faced by Hj. Noormiliyani before she get electte in Barito Kuala. The first batter sis in Golkar Party, she ads to struggle and compete with another cadre of Golkbe candidate from Golkar Partn Tthe second battle sis in the direct Barito Kuala local election. In both of battle, the strategy of Hj. Noormiliyani focused is her capacity, power any capitahas. she usem these to build to her networer and ske it to be a symbolic power.

Local election is not only how many the capital that every candidate had but al a her/his strategi to be elected. The bashe strategy is "knowledgge about local people and their region. Hj. Noormiliyani with hing 10 years experienced as a he of PKK any social organizations in

Barito Kualonevisit to 201 villages and hing intensively direct interaction with society, made h ll understand well about the character, culture, aso the ned of society in Barito Kuala. So, knowledge is not only giving information but also could help Noormiliyani to decide the strategy of mapping the ballot pockets and calculating capital and arena for reproduced and converted to be people support for her in the local election of Barito Kuala.

In the end, this study wants to proved that woman with the leadership habituation and strategy could be elected in political election, even this study also not neglecting the factor of capitals and structure like a networking, family ties, and also the economic capital. To gain the victory, this stuen shsed the dominaor factorsto win political competition aby the strategy and capability ng manage knowledge and capitals. Reproduction and exchange capitals strategy are used by Noormiliyani to gain more capitals. According to Pierre Bourdieu, economic capital was the easiest capital in conversion into symbolic capital. But on the local electoral stage economic capital is not the only factual but all of capitals can be converted into social capital ain into new symbolic capital like the first woman who get the position of Head of Region in Barito Kuala.

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