Gender and Leadership in Indonesia: Insight the Achievements of the Female Mayor of Surabaya

Eko Handoyo¹, Ninuk Sholikhah Akhiroh², Thriwati Arsal³, Lailasari Ekaningsih⁴

Abstract

This article aims to identify leadership style which implemented by Risma as a female mayor of Surabaya and its impact on the development of Surabaya. This article mainly based on literature research and interviews. Then, the verstehen method is used to revive the experiences of others, in this case, is Tri Rismaharini's experience as an object of research, and is projected onto the subject of the researcher. The result shows that she is not only the leader who serves but also a simple leader, does not like the formal way, a principled leader, and able to act quickly in accordance with the problems faced by the people of Surabaya. Moreover, during her leadership period, Risma obtained many prestigious achievements and raised the reputation of Surabaya. One of them is that Surabaya was selected as the best city in Asia Pacific in 2012.

Keywords: female mayor; gender; leadership; public policy; Surabaya.

Introduction

Development is undertaken by all components of the nation to realize better conditions than ever, such as from poor to rich, from backward to advanced, from uneducated to educated, and from unhealthy conditions to health (World Bank 2017). With development, people can manage their lives in the conditions able to meet their needs of food, clothing, home, education, and health. If the people can meet their needs, then the purposes of development are to improve the quality of life of the people can be achieved (Todaro and Smith 2006). In order to realize such condition, society needs a good leader.

In the past, the discussion about leaderships only focused on men. Women rarely become a consideration in the topic of public leaders (Eklund, Barry, & Grunberg, 2017). An effective leadership stance can only be assumed by the male species (Appelbauhm, Audet, and Miller 2002). Current condisions show different thing. The reality, women can lead like men. Communities that neglect the role of women tend to experience less rapid economic growth than societies that treat males and females more equally, and that social gender disparities produce economically inefficient outcomes (Bradshaw 2013; World Bank 2001). Kolb (1999) and Shimanoff and Jenkins (1991) as quoted by Appelbauhm, Audet, and Miller (2002) demonstrate in their research that there are far more similarities than differences in

ISSN 1869-0459 (print)/ ISSN 1869-2885 (online)

 ${\small @}$ 2020 International Research Association for Talent Development and Excellence http://www.iratde.com

¹ Department of Politics and Citizenship, Faculty of Social Sciences, Universitas Negeri Semarang, Indonesia E-mail: <u>eko.handoyo@mail.unnes.ac.id</u>

² Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Faculty of Social Sciences, Universitas Negeri Semarang, Indonesia. E-mail: <u>ninuk.akhiroh@mail.unnes.ac.id</u>

³ Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Faculty of Social Sciences, Universitas Negeri Semarang, Indonesia. E-mail: thriwaty_arsal@mail.unnes.ac.id

⁴ Department of Law, Faculty of Law, UNDARIS. E-mail: lailasarien@gmail.com

the leadership behaviors of men and women, and they are equally effective. Women are suspected to have the ability that is not less great in managing development activities, both as a participant and as a determinant of development policy. Nevertheless, todays, men and women are both equally expected to be a leader in societies.

In Indonesia, this changing trend of leaders happened after the reformation era. If during the New Order Era, women hardly hold important position in political and administrative positions due to political reasons of Presiden Soeharto. After the reformation era and the issue of the Regional Autonomy Law in 1999, many women held the number one position in the region. Some of these female regional leaders are positioned in a district or regent in Java and outside Java Island, for example: South Minahasa, Tangerang, Kutai Kertanegara, Banda Aceh, Indramayu, Kendal, Tabanan, Brebes, and Surabaya (Andriansyah 2015). Among those female regional leaders in Indonesia until today, Tri Rismaharini (later mentioned as "Risma") is the most prominent mayor and responsible in leading Surabaya, the 2nd largest city in Indonesia.

The general description of women over the years is weak, more emotional, easy to cry, vulnerable, more passive, less competitive, irritable, lacking in confidence, lack of ambition, and difficult to distinguish logic and feeling (Umar 1999). Conversely, men are stronger, more rational, more independent, more active, competitive, confident, ambitious, and easily differentiate between logic and feeling. This assumption is, in fact, a perception of gender stereotypes. However, women are found to be strong, hard, resilient, even able to lead men in the public domain. The figure of Risma shows the latter feature of a women which is tough and fierce as a mayor. However, such kind of personality typology is very much needed by her in leading the city of Surabaya which is very heterogeneous with a typical hard East Java (Dewi 2017).

Tri Risma is a rare female regional leader. To ascertain whether her instructions and partisanship to the community are followed, she often does a disguise to check or do something. Once she disguised as parents coming to a school meeting. At other times, Risma coming to the streets to set up traffic order. Since she became the mayor of Surabaya, the development of the city of Surabaya is very rapid (Andriansyah 2015). As a result, many of mayor and district head in Indonesia learned much from Risma in managing the city of Surabaya.

The better image and reputation as well as receiving much awards, Surabaya become the center of attention under Risma's leadership. Therefore, this article aims to identify the type of leadership that implemented by Risma as a Mayor; and the impact of Risma's leadership on the regional development of Surabaya.

This paper will answer three issues, namely (1) how is Tri Rismaharini's career history, (2) how is Tri Rismaharini's leadership style, and (3) what is the influence of Tri Rismaharini's leadership on his success in leading the city of Surabaya

Literatur Review Gender and Political Leadership

Gender differences in leadership styles have been the most intensely studied topics in the field of leadership (Moran 1992). Gender, race, class, and other elements of social difference are acknowledged to play an important role in the development of leadership styles (Trinidad and Normore 2005). According to feminists, the view that women are weaker than men is the result of social construction that society does to women. Feminists believe that the stereotype takes place because of the influence of language, family atmosphere, economic life, and socio-political atmosphere, even it is shaped, socialized, reinforced and socially constructed through the teachings of religion and state (Umar 1999). The social construction of society towards women forms what is called the gender view.

In the political field, women often experience marginalization. Women's political rights have just been acquired recently. However, since women are given opportunity to acquire higher education, they later can improve their political bargaining in public domain. Women could be more powerful than man if they have access to power. As Johnson (Umar 1999) says that male dominance is not only because he is male, but also because he has much access to power to obtain status. Moreover, Vezossi (2012) reviewed the history of gender and leadership in political arena which aims to learn important lesson from generation to generation related to leadership.

Politics that once was a taboo for women is now part of their life. Politics has various meanings; it can be seen in the perspective of power, policy, decision making, value allocation, institution, conflict, moral, and function (Cholisin 2006). Politics refers to the concepts of state, government, power, political facts, community organizations, political activities, decision-making, policy, and distribution or allocation (Cholisin 2006). Regarding women's leadership, politics is understood as the power possessed by women in democratic ways to organize and settle the interests/needs of society through decisions or policies taken.

Women who are in charge or involved in political activities is a social change because of emancipatory activities conducted by female figures, such as Kartini from Indonesia. Kartini who then compiled the book *Habis Gelap Terbitlah Terang* has opened the eyes of men and society that women are not just can, but able to do something useful for the life of society. The change, in the eyes of is a gradual struggle that is done day by day against capitalism and patriarchy (Gamman and Marshment 2010).

The social change triggered by the resistance of women both in the discourse of language and ideology to the dominance of male masculinity causes many women takes part in society, not only on social and economic but also politics. In the political field, if women want to be the same as men who have a masculine monopoly, a reasonable way is to gain power and possess wealth (Gamman and Marshment 2010). In that way, a social construction that puts women as second-class citizens can be dismantled.

Margaret Thatcher is a real example of a mighty woman who breaks down men's masculinity and at the same time fight against the gender view that has been the mindset of society. She is a representation of powerless and powerful women; even she is considered a woman physically but a man of thought and spirit. Hence the view that true men are rich and

powerful and real women are young and beautiful cannot be applied in the case of Thatcher and many other mighty women who lead national and local governments. Now a new view emerges that a respected woman is a successful capitalist (Gamman and Marshment 2010). To achieve political goals successfully requires leadership. Leadership is an activity to influence others so they will be directed to do something to achieve a certain goal (Robbins 1996; Sujak 1990; Thoha 2009). Leadership is not only owned by people who are at the top level but can also be owned by individuals at all levels (Bass and Riggio 2006).

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

To achieve the expected goals, leaders can use different types of leadership. Several theories have and are being put forward to explain leadership effectiveness. Two of the most prominent leadership theories are Transformational and Transactional leadership theories (Odumeru and Ogbonna 2013). Also, there is also a type of principled leadership and servicing leadership.

Transactional leadership is leadership that explains what the subordinate's responsibilities or duties and rewards they can expect if the specified standards are achieved. In transactional leadership, leaders and followers act as bargaining agents in an exchange process that involves rewards and punishments (Munawarohand 2011). In transactional leadership, leaders lead through social exchanges (Bass and Riggio 2006). Politicians lead by exchanging with others, promising jobs for voters and contributing money to election campaigns by others. Similarly, transactional business leaders can offer financial rewards for productivity purposes or refuse to reward when not supporting productivity increases.

According to Burns, transformational leadership is a process in which leaders and followers promote each other to higher levels of morality and motivation. Transformational leadership has dominated the discussion among leadership scholars as it referred to a new leadership approach. This type leadership often use in the classroom context to help students improve their self in motivation, academic performance, and effectiveness learning (Balwant 2016). A transformational leader is those who stimulate and inspire followers to both achieve extraordinary outcomes and, in the process, develop their leadership capacity (Bass and Riggio 2006). Transformational leaders help followers grow and develop into leaders by responding to individual followers' needs by empowering them and by aligning the objectives and goals of the individual followers, the leader, the group, and the larger organization. More evidence has accumulated to demonstrate that transformational leadership can move followers to exceed expected performance, as well as lead to high levels of follower satisfaction and commitment to the group and organization (Bass and Riggio 2006).

Principled leadership is leadership that focuses on organizations and people based on true key principles (Covey 1992). The principle referred to is a natural law relating to human relations and human organizations. The true principal principles are like a compass that always shows the direction that we are not lost, confused, and deceived by conflicting values. In principled leadership, it is believed that any violation of the natural law will inevitably lead to adverse consequences (Covey 1992). The characteristics of a principled leader according to Covey (1992) are having a desire to continue learning, service-oriented, radiating positive energy, trusting others, giving priority to a balanced life, seeing life as an adventure, prioritizing synergy, and always practicing for self-renewal.

Servant leadership is a leadership model that prioritizes service to subordinates, others, and society (Reynolds 2011). This servant leader prioritizes respect for the individual, views the value of each, and has the responsibility to help others to become fully human. Based on the theoretical approached explained above, this article would like to identify the style of leadership which practiced by the Mayor of Surabaya.

Research Methods

This article employs literature research and interviews. Literature research method is done by utilizing library sources relevant to the topic to obtain research data (Zed 2004). Data were collected by interview with citizens of Surabaya and documentation about Risma's profile and achievements through magazines, books, and videos. At the time and after the data collection, the verstehen analysis is done to understand research object through insight, enfeebling, and empathy in capturing and understanding the meaning of human culture, values, symbols, thoughts and behavior of people who have double nature (Kaelan 2012). Verstehen in this study is reviving or re-realizing the experiences of others, in this case, is Risma's as the object of research, and projected to the subject of the researcher. In this study, the analysis phase with the method of verstehen begins with an inventory of empirical data objects related to the policy of the mayor of Surabaya. The second stage is to understand the dimensions, elements, and relevance of the existing value system. In this case, the researcher studies Risma's leadership by reviewing the programs and relating them to Risma's achievement. In the third stage, the researcher studies Risma's policy program, which program was able to improve the welfare of Surabaya city community. After these three stages, the last step is to interpret, that is, to make a meaning of the reality (vision, mission, and program of Tri Risma) using gender perspectives, feminist theory, and leadership theory.

Results and Discussion

From a Civil Servant to a Mayor

Risma was born in Kediri on November 20, 1961. She is the third child of a civil servant father of the tax office. His father also has several side businesses, such as shops and distribution services for staple goods. This work experience imprints on Risma's memory, that if you want to get something, you have to work hard and sincerely. Risma's character is formed from the character of his sincere father who fought the war of independence. Surely, her parents' values internalized well into a character of Risma.

Risma got her bachelor's degree from Sepuluh Nopember Technological Institute (ITS) in Surabaya. Later on, Risma applied for a civil servant position in the local government in Surabaya. Her hard worker's nature leads her to establish a promising career in the bureaucracy. In 1997, Risma became Section Head of Spatial Land Use, *Bappeko* Surabaya. In 2001, he was transferred to Head of Data Collection and Counseling and did not last long; he was appointed Head of Surabaya City Government Building. In 2005, Risma was appointed Head of Department of Hygiene and Gardening *Pemkot* Surabaya. Since becoming the Head of Service, Risma was very keen on building parks in Surabaya, and all corners of Surabaya city became green and clean because of her hard work until finally he was nicknamed "*Ibu Gila Taman*" or mother crazy about the park by Surabaya local media (Dinanta 2014).

Her experience, persistence in career, earnestness in work, high work ethic, honesty, and cleanliness attract PDIP party (a nationalist party) leader to propose her the candidate of Surabaya mayor (Fitri 2010). When being proposed, Risma only had 70 million rupiahs from selling rice fields (Dinanta 2014). Risma also did not want to pay the dowry as other candidates did because she had no money and also did not want to be bound by political contracts with the party and the party approved it.

Risma, as well as other candidates, did the campaign by visiting people, door to door. She did not set a target to win, because her candidacy did not come from her will, but promoted by the party. But she was quite relieved because of her future vice mayor already has experience in politics because previously he held the position of the mayor of Surabaya. Risma is a firm and anti-corruption person. It was shown when visiting a village; she was asked if the community chose him as mayor, what Risma will give them in return. Risma was angry, and she spoke to tell the people that she is going forward as a candidate not on her own and that citizens may not vote for her if the reason for choosing is money. Risma does not want to enter politics with dirty and unfair ways, for example with money politics. As a result, Risma along with his partner, won the mayoral election of Surabaya by obtaining 38.53% and became the first female mayor in Surabaya (Dewi 2017; Budiraharso 2014; Fitri 2010).

The Style of Risma's Leadership

Risma's leadership is not much different from the male leaders' who successfully lead the region. Risma is not much different from the characters shown by Joko Widodo (former mayor of Surakarta, now President of Indonesia), Ahok (former governor of DKI substituting Jokowi), Ridwan Kamil (mayor of Bandung, now the governor of West Java), and others male regional leader.

Surabaya is a metropolitan city, the 2nd largest after Jakarta, which has a similar vibe to Jakarta. The population is heterogeneous, from the aspect of race, ethnicity, religion, culture, education level, regional origin, class, and others. As a metropolitan city, Surabaya also has classic problems of unemployment, poverty, polluted environment, criminality, prostitution, and more. Moreover, Surabaya also has environmental degradation problems such as annual floods. Therefore, to handle those problems, this city needs a leader with extraordinary

commitment and capabilities. Risma is the figure of a hard and firm woman who is needed to organize the city of Surabaya.

Risma managed to lead the city of Surabaya for two periods, 2010-2015 and 2016-2021. During her first period leading the city of Surabaya, there are many excellent programs that aims to re-build the image of Surabaya and leads impact on the welfare of the community.

First, the clean and green city. To realize Surabaya as a clean and green city, Risma invites people to build city parks, clean the environment, and dispose of garbage in its place. Risma does not just give orders to subordinates, but also participate in helping the work of cleaning personnel, such as picking up garbage, cleaning sewers, and planting crops. So that the programs run well, she left for office at 05.30 in the morning and went home until late at night (Fitri, 2010). Public gardens come with places to relax, internet access and library. The parks built for elderly parks, friendship parks, express gardens, Skate & BMX parks, Bungkul parks and Sports parks. Because of the many parks built by Risma, many villagers flock to the park to unwind or recreation. It improves the inner welfare or happiness of Surabaya city residents. The success of Risma in managing the city of Surabaya is created by her exemplary, also her willingness to involve the participation of citizens in implementing the program

In addition to building parks, Risma has also increased the amount of green open space to 20.1% or 85.07 hectares in 2011. Besides, Risma also expanded the burial area to 157.51 hectares and urban forest area of 52.76 hectare (Fitri 2010). Because green open space also includes burial grounds, the burial area also functions as a park. In Surabaya, there are eight urban forests, scattered in Wonorejo Seed Garden, Balasklumprik, Pakal, Bundaran Major General Sungkono, Prapen Trengilis, and other places. In the coastal area, Risma invites people to plant mangrove trees. Besides as conservation, mangrove trees can also be used for economic activities by SMEs, such as producing mangrove syrup, food from mangrove, and mangrove batik. Thus, people can increase their income.

Second, urban farming program. To maintain the environment sustainably, the Surabaya government developed an urban farming program. In the framework of the program, the municipal government distributes seeds to poor families and provides capital assistance. Until now there are 16 urban villages that apply urban farming. This urban farming program can reduce the number of unemployment, create new jobs, and expand economic access. Proof of the success of urban farming is chili cultivation in the Made village; the harvest is sent to Tangerang and Palembang 40 tons every day (Fitri 2010).

Third, the closure of prostitution location. In Surabaya, there is a place of prostitution called Gang Dolly (Dolly Alley) which is the biggest prostitution place in Southeast Asia. This localization has been established since the Dutch colonial era. This localization hurts girls and boys, especially girls who are sold by their families to be prostitutes in the Gang Dolly. The bad impact of localization also concerns the school adjacent to the Gang Dolly. Many students from the school adjacent to the Gang Dolly are prostitutes in the Gang Dolly are from a teenager to 60 years old. With good communication and economic compensation for the homestead owners and their inhabitants, Risma had managed to close several other prostitution sites before closing the largest localization in

Southeast Asia, starting from the closure of Tambak Asri localization in April 2013, Klakah Rejo localization in August 2013, and Bangunsari localization.

For the effectiveness of the closure of the Gang Dolly, Risma turned the localization of prostitution into a business and trade center. The construction of this business building is coordinated by the Development Unit formed by Risma. To anticipate the future of pimps and prostitutes, the Surabaya city administration allocated Rp25 billion for the construction of public facilities, training activities. Ministry of Social Affairs assisted Rp. 858 million for capital stimulus for prostitutes and the provincial government of East Java to provide funds of Rp1 billion to give business capital for former pimps (Fitri 2010).

Fourth, the arrangement of the city zoo. Surabaya Zoo (KBS) at the beginning of Risma became the mayor not well maintained, like a broken cage and many animals died because neglected. The root of the problem is the conflict between managers or those who feel they have the right to manage. The issue was taken over by the Ministry of Forestry but not completed. To overcome this protracted problem, Risma took over management of Surabaya Zoo. The Ministry of Home Affairs supports Risma's policy by issuing conservation land permits. The efforts of Risma to organize the zoo of Surabaya are (1) to increase the security of the animals and improve the condition of the cage, (2) to expand the wildlife reservoir area with excessive population, (3) holidays for Surabaya zoo. For that, Risma preparing a budget of Rp54 billion for capital improvement for KBS Animal Zoo Local Company who manages the Surabaya zoo. Also, Risma the establishes cooperation with the governments of China, the United Kingdom, and the United States, especially for the improvement of Surabaya zoo management.

Fifth, women care program. The program initiated by Risma is implemented to raise the degree of women who have been left behind compared to men. According to Risma, the program is directed at gender equality that empowers women as an important part of development. Among women care programs are the provision of a special room for breastfeeding in Surabaya City Hall building, mother and child health service for a pregnant mother to 3-year-old child, and economic hero activities which invite Surabaya women to be more creative by producing works that can be marketed to build the family economy. The activities are also intended to alleviate poverty.

Development programs initiated and worked by Tri Risma can run well due to the participation of citizens of Surabaya city and also the leadership shown by Risma. Risma is a figure of the all-round leaders and physically "half male." According to Professor Warsono, former Rector of Unesa Surabaya, Tri Risma is a strict and hard-working leader, as evidenced by the physical development of the city of Surabaya that has gone well and is recognized worldwide (interview on 20 November 2019). Risma's leadership is no less than the leadership shown by Margaret Thatcher (England) and Hillary Clinton (US). His assertiveness resembles Thatcher, while his work vision is beyond time, like Hillary Clinton. If Clinton wants to build America stronger in spirit to improve the city of Surabaya for the better.

All programs launched by Risma are successful because they are supported by electronic governance and development system based on electronics and community involvement in development activities. In Surabaya there are many electronic based systems that are e-Musrenbang, e-Budgeting, e-Project, e-Procurement, e-Delivery, e-Controlling, e-Performance, e-Payment, e-Tax, e- Monitoring, e-Education, e-Office, e-Permit, and e-Health. The system reinforces Surabaya city government, thereby achieving effective, efficient, transparent and accountable governance by involving community participation (Setianto 2016).

She is the type of leader who serves. Servant leadership is a leadership model that prioritizes service to subordinates, others, and society. This servant leader prioritizes respect for the individual, views the value of each, and has the responsibility to help others to become fully human. This type of leadership is evident from Risma's quick and direct nature and actions to the community to serve the community, including teaching in schools, managing traffic, planting trees, etc.

Risma is also a principled leader. According to Stephen Covey, one of the criteria of principled leaders is their willingness to continue learning (Covey 1992). Risma is willing to learn from experience, willing to read, follow the training, listen, and learn with both ears and eyes. Although she is a graduate of architecture, Risma learned many things from anyone. Risma is willing to assume responsibility and workload even though it must be outside working hours, solely to provide the best service to the community

Risma is an out of the box leader type, does not want to act formally and sometimes break the barrier (Maxwell 2011). Risma wants always to find a better way to manage the city of Surabaya. She is also ambitious to make improvements and progress for the city, although sometimes it has to get rid of old rules and create new procedures. That's what makes her able to create a beautiful city of Surabaya with the gardens. It makes sense if her toughness to build parks make her nicknamed "*Ibu Gila Taman*." the mother who is crazy about the garden.

Risma is also a leader who thinks simple but act fast or think small, act fast. Her power is that she listens to people's concern attentively. According to Djamal (2014), Risma is a leader who does not give up easily. She does not want to say "we give up" including when she handles the problematic Surabaya zoo issues. Of all the types of leader she has, Risma is a visionary, transformative, principled, simple leader who does not like the formal way, and a servant leader who is loved by Surabaya city residents. Risma also showed a criterion of performing sustainability leaderships, in which she showed the ability to present as a sign of awareness of surrounding situation in Surabaya become the important aspects to address. (Koskela and Schuyler 2017). Therefore, under her leadership as a mayor, Surabaya and Risma itself have received many prestigious awards from the national government and also from international institutions.

Risma's Achievements

Risma's firm, principled, people-oriented leadership make her programs appreciated by the Indonesian government as well as the international institution. During her leadership in Surabaya, there are many achievements she gained, ranging from city management, environment, to an ideal figure of a mother.

First, Risma was awarded the Major of the Month for February 2014 (Hasmirna 2016). In early 2014, Risma was confirmed by the Coty Mayor Foundation as Major of the Month for February 2014. Besides Risma, Jokowi was once crowned while still active as Mayor of Solo. Risma's achievement in the spotlight is the revitalization and development of a port role that has traffic up to 200 percent. Risma is also known for fixing city parks, opening green open spaces to providing free education and health-care for poor people in Surabaya.

Second, Risma got Bung Hatta Anti-Corruption Watch (Hasmirna 2016). With Risma's breakthrough in bureaucracy in Surabaya, Transparency International Indonesia (TII) placed East Java Province Capital on the second rank of corruption perception index 2015. Risma's hard effort to eradicate corruption to its roots causes Risma to be awarded Bung Hatta-Anti Corruption Award.

Third, Surabaya as the best city of Asia Pacific Citynet version (Hasmirna 2016). Surabaya once hosted a meeting of the Mayor of Asia Pacific or Citynet. Not only the host, but Surabaya also won the title as one of the best cities in Citynet Award. Risma can-not believe that Surabaya is aligned with the city of Seoul, Yokohama, and Makati as a prestigious city to be appreciated by the organization of 24 countries in Asia Pacific.

Fourth, Taman Bungkul Surabaya achieved The 2013 Asian Townscape Award (Hasmirna 2016). Risma is famous with the nickname "*Ibu Gila Taman*." who hands down directly in improving green open space in Surabaya. One of the results of her work with the people of Surabaya is Taman Bungkul. For her hard work, Bungkul Park was awarded the 2013 Asian Townscape Award (ATA) Asia's Best Parks category from the United Nations.

Fifth, Risma was the nominee of 10 most inspiring women by Forbes magazine in 2013 (Hasmirna 2016). On the myriad of innovations that bring Surabaya into a better city, Risma is even the media spotlight. Even the prestigious Forbes Indonesia Magazine had slipped the name of Risma as the most inspiring woman in 2013. This is in line with the testimony of the citizens of Surabaya, Mr. Ahmad M. as follows.

"Risma is the best figure in the Indonesian leader I've ever seen, leading with the heart and dedication. Risma aware that her position as a major is a mandate from God that should be run as well as possible. Risma devote himself entirely with full sincerity to make the better of Surabaya city, not merely to rule from behind the desk, but went directly to see the problems of the people, then solved the problems. And everyone admits now Surabaya be cleaner, greener, and much more comfortable place to live. Free education for all children Surabaya, and also free health care for all people of Surabaya. I do believe that Risma could be an inspiration for other leaders in Indonesia, even in the world (interview on 15 November 2018)."

Elvi also gave similar testimonials.

"I born, grow up and lived in Surabaya till now. When I so young surabaya is a big city with a lot of garbage strewn everywhere, especially in public area and in the river. But now I'm very proud as Surabaya citizen, because Surabaya already green and clean, as mayor Mrs Risma have good leadership, strong women, have transparancy and the interesting one is mrs. Risma build many public city garden for Surabaya citizen so poor family also can spend their time on the weekend, many people really enjoy and love it. Mrs Risma...i proud of you (interview on 15 November 2018)."

Sixth, the city of Surabaya won the ASEAN Environmentally Sustainable Cities Award (Hasmirna 2016). Surabaya representing Indonesia won the ASEAN Environmentally Sustainable Cities Award in 2011. Although the ASEAN ESC award was handed over to the

Indonesian Minister of Environment at that time, Risma's interference can-not be ignored. Similar pricing was also obtained in 2014.

Seventh, Risma acquired FutureGov Award (Hasmirna 2016). At the FutureGov Award 2013 event, Risma succeeded in winning two categories, that is, data center through Surabaya City Government Data Center and Data Inclusion through Broadband Learning Center (BLC) which succeeded in getting rid of 800 cities in Asia Pacific.

Eighth, Risma was awarded as Ideal Mother Award in 2016 (Hasmirna 2016). This award was given by Islamic Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (ISESCO) Cairo University, Egypt. Ninth, Surabaya as the second of the best city in Indonesia in Indonesia's Attractiveness Award 2017.

Rahmi (2015) noted there are 111 achievements both local, national, and international achieved by Risma during Surabaya's 2010-2014 lead. There are still many achievements of Risma that are not recorded here, but not the achievements or rewards sought by Risma, she views the city of Surabaya as its own house that must be cleaned and beautified so that citizens of Surabaya feel comfortable and relaxed to live in the city of Surabaya.

Discussion

In Indonesia, there are many women who become the head of the region either regent, mayor, or governor. However, not many have the ability beyond the majority of head of the regions. Tri Rismaharini is one of them. Risma is seen successfully leading the city of Surabaya by building a better image of Surabaya as a comfortable and safe city as acknowledged by other parties with awards. Surabaya, which was once dirty and chaotic, has now become a clean and beautiful city, becoming the destination of other regions head to learn to Risma to manage the city of Surabaya. Achievements not only related to physical issues, such as urban cleanliness, beautiful parks, urban forestry, environmental management, but also nonphysical, such as government-based information governance and government management without corruption. Risma is an anomaly of male-dominated leadership. This phenomenon is, in fact, consistent with recent developments that more women may be better leaders than men. This is supported by the statement of the former Chancellor of Surabaya State University, Professor Warsono: Risma is strict and hardworking, so that she is fit to lead Surabaya. This is probably caused by women's leadership style more suited to modern organizations (Paustian-Underdahl, Walker, and Woehr 2014).

The success of leading the city of Surabaya is of course not only depend on Risma's leadership as head of the region but also the participation of citizens of Surabaya city. Leading Surabaya with full of economic, political, social, and security issues relying solely on government bureaucracy is unlikely to be possible by Risma. The community as the beneficiaries of the policy made by the head of the region has an important role in the development of the city of Surabaya. Community participation will not appear by itself without any intervention from the government. Risma has an expertise in mobilizing society to help build Surabaya city. Leadership that is informal and exemplary of Risma make people willing to work with the mayor to build the city of Surabaya.

Risma is a modest, informal, but powerful leader. A strong leader is a consistent leader. She is consistent with her words and attitudes, so she is not easily bribed when there are investors will invest in Surabaya. The Bung Hatta Award that Risma received is proof that he is an anti-corruption leader. She also consistently worked hard for the community, proving every day she woke up early to check the condition of the city and the community before she left for office.

Risma's success in organizing, building and improving Surabaya's achievements not only in the national level but also at the international level shows that women's leadership could be succeed as well and there is no difference with male's leadership. It shows that Risma shows a successful type of masculine leadership, even though she is a woman. In the future, leadership women no doubt and will help more and more women who take part in controlling the lives of people, nations, and countries.

Conclusion

Leading the city of Surabaya is not as easy as leading a small town. The big city with its problems requires a strong, firm, hard, dedicated, and noble leader. Surabaya is fortunate to have a mayor as powerful as Risma who the competencies does not only have acknowledged by Surabaya's people but also outside Surabaya and even international citizens.

Development programs designed by Risma can go well because she has the leadership that society needs. She is not only the leader who serves but also a simple leader who does not like the formal way. She is a principled leader who can act quickly on the problems faced by the people of Surabaya.

Over the leadership, Risma obtained many prestigious achievements and raised the reputation of the city of Surabaya. The exemplary thing about Risma's leadership is that she is a simple figure who leads wholeheartedly, not to seek appreciation or praise. Her thoughts, time and energy are devoted to the people of Surabaya.

References

- [1]. Andriansyah. (2015). *Kepemimpinan Visioner Kepala Daerah*. Jakarta, Indonesia: Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Prof. Dr. Moestopo Beragama.
- [2]. Appelbaum, Steven H., Lynda Audet, and Joanne C. Miller. (2002). "Gender and Leadership? Leadership and Gender? A Journey Through The Lanscape of Theories." In *Leadership & Organization Development Journal 24/1 (2003). Pp. 43-51.*
- [3]. Balwant, P. T. (2016). Transformational Instructor-Leadership in Higher Education Teaching: A Meta-Analytic Review and Research Agenda. *Journal of Leadership Studies* 9 (4): 20-42. DOI: 10.1002/jls.21423.
- [4]. Bass, B. M., and R. E. Riggio. (2006). *Transformational leadership*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.
- [5]. Bradshaw, S. (2013). "Womens role in Economic Development: Overcoming the Constraints." Background Paper for the High-Level Panel of Eminent Persons on the Post-2015 Development Agenda.
- [6]. Budiraharso, S. A. (2014). *Risma Perempuan Hebat & Fenomenal*. Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Sinar Kejora.
- [7]. Cholisin, D. (2006). *Dasar-dasar Ilmu Politik*. Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Fakultas Ilmu Sosial Uiversitas Negeri Yogyakarta.
- [8]. Covey, S. R. (1992). Principle centered leadership. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- [9]. Dewi, K. H. (2017). Tri Risma's Androgynous Leadership: Strategizing "Hegemonic Masculinity."

ISSN 1869-0459 (print)/ ISSN 1869-2885 (online) © 2020 International Research Association for Talent Development and Excellence http://www.iratde.com POLITIKA: Jurnal Ilmu Politik 7 (2): 143–158.

- [10]. Dinanta. (2014). Ibu Risma Memimpin Dengan Hati. Yogyakarta: Giga Pustaka.
- [11]. Djamal, J. S. (2014). Notes on Leadership From Dealer in Hope to Problem Solver. Jakarta, Indonesia: ReneBook.
- [12]. Eklund, K. E., E. S. Barry, and N. E. Grunberg. (2017). Gender and Leadership. "Gender Differences in Different Contexts". Chapter 8: 129-150. DOI: 10.5772/65457. Publisher: Intech Open.
- [13]. Fitri, A. A. (2010). Serpihan Kisah Bu Risma. Yogyakarta: Real Books.
- [14]. Gamman, L., and M. Marshment. (2010). *The female gaze: Women as viewers of popular culture*. USA: Real Comet Pr.
- [15]. Gunawan, S. (2017). Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign rhetoric: Making America whole again. *Kasetsart Journal of Social Sciences*, 38 (1): 50–55.
- [16]. Hasmirna, A. (2016). Sederet Prestasi Membanggakan Risma Wajib Diacungi Jempol. Retrieved April 30, 2017, from http://www.gulalives.co/2016/07/22/prestasi-yang-diraih-risma/#
- [17]. Kaelan. (2012). Metode Penelitian Kualitatif Interdisipliner bidang Sosial, Budaya, Filsafat, Seni, Agama, dan Humaniora. Yogyakarta: Paradigma.
- [18]. King, C. S. (1995). Sex Role Identity and Decision Making Styles: How Gender Helps Explain the Paucity of Women at the Top. Gender Power, Leadership and Governance. USA: The University of Michigan Press.
- [19]. Koskela, V., and K. G. Schuyler. (2016). Experiences of Presence as a Key Factor Toward Sustainability Leadership. *Journal of Leadership Studies*. 9 (4): 54-59. DOI: 10.1002/jls.21427.
- [20]. Maxwell, J. C. (2011). *The 360 Degree Leader with Workbook: Developing Your Influence from Anywhere in the Organization*. USA: Thomas Nelson Inc.
- [21]. Moran, B. B. (1992). Gender differences in leadership. Library Trends, 40 (3): 475-491.
- [22]. Munawaroh. (2011). Pengaruh Gaya Kepemimpinan Transformasional dan Transaksional terhadap Kinerja Guru. Jurnal Ekonomi Bisnis, 16 (2): 136–144.
- [23]. Odumeru, J. A., and I. G. Ogbonna. (2013). Transformational vs. transactional leadership theories: Evidence in literature. *International Review of Management and Business Research*, 2 (2).
- [24]. Paustian-Underdahl, S. C., L. S. Walker, and D. J. Woehr. (2014). Gender and perceptions of leadership effectiveness: A meta-analysis of contextual moderators. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 99 (6): 1129–1145.
- [25]. Rahmi, P. A. (2015). Kepemimpinan Kepala Daerah (Studi Kasus Walikota Surabaya, Tri Risma dalam Perspektif Emotional Intelligence). Jurnal Kebijakan Dan Manajemen Kebijakan, 3 (2): 112– 121.
- [26]. Reynolds, K. (2011). Servant-Leadership as Gender-Integrative Leadership: Paving a Path for More Gender-Integrative Organizations through Leadership Education. *Journal of Leadership Education*. 10 (2):155-171.
- [27]. Robbins, S. P. (1996). Organizational culture and leadership. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- [28]. Setianto, W. A. (2016). Inovasi e-Health Dinas Kesehatan Kota Surabaya. dalam Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi 14 (3):165-178.
- [29]. Sujak, A. (1990). Kepemimpinan Manajer (Eksistensinya dalam Perilaku Organisasi). Jakarta: Rajawali Pers.
- [30]. Thoha, M. (2009). Kepemimpinan dalam Manajemen. Jakarta: PT. Raja Grafindo Persada.
- [31]. Todaro, M. P. and S. S. Smith. (2006). *Economic Development Volume 1 of the Ninth Edition*. Jakarta: Erlangga.
- [32]. Trinidad, C., and A. H. Normore. (2005). Leadership and gender: a dangerous liaison? *Leadership & Organization Development Journal*, 26 (7): 574–590.
- [33]. Umar, N. (1999). Argumen Kesetaraan Jender Perspektif Al Quran. Jakarta: Paramadina.
- [34]. Vezzosi, E. (2012). Gender, Generations, Leadership. *The Journal of American History*.9 (3): 835-838. Doi: 10.1093/jahist/jas489
- [35]. World Bank. (2017). World Development 2017 Report Governance and The Law. Washington DC: IBRD The World Bank.
- [36]. World Bank. (2001). Engendering Development through Gender Equality in Rights, Resources, dan Voice. New York: Oxford University Press.
- [37]. Zed, M. (2004). Metode Penelitian Kepustakaan. Yayasan Obor Indonesia.