



**TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP OF WOMEN POLITICAL ACTIVISTS
IN SPECIAL REGION OF YOGYAKARTA**

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Abstract

This research aims to find (1) self-evaluation of transformational leadership of women political activists (2) self-evaluation of transformational leadership factors that are dominant to women parliamentarians (3) self-evaluation of transformational leadership factors that are dominant to the women activists of political parties. The research test location was in the legislative institution and political parties in Special Region of Yogyakarta. The population of the research was all women parliamentarians and women political parties activists to the ten political parties in Special Region of Yogyakarta. The samples of the research were 126 people that consist of 42 women parliamentarians and 84 women political parties activists, as the data source about self-evaluation of transformational leadership of political parties' activists. Purposive sampling technique was used for the women parliamentarians, while quota sampling was used for women political parties activists. The data collection was questionnaires. The data analysis technique was percentage.

The research results (1) self-evaluation of transformational leadership of women political activists in Special Region of Yogyakarta shows inspirational motivation factors that are dominant, i.e. 31.82%, (2) from transformational leadership factors of women parliamentarians in Special Region of Yogyakarta shows inspirational motivation factors that are dominant, i.e. 31.15%, (3) from transformational leadership factors of the women activists of political parties in Special Region of Yogyakarta shows inspirational motivation factors that are dominant, i.e. 32.15%.

Keyword: women political activists, self-evaluation, transformational leadership

I. INTRODUCTION

For decades, the management and organization experts have done many researches on the leadership style (Pfeffer, 1977; Stodgil, 1990; Bass dan Avolio, 1994; Sosik dan Dinger, 2007). Meanwhile the empirical research on leadership in political field has not done much optimally, more about women leadership. Reformation era is assessed by many parties gives chance to the political changes in Indonesia, one of the changes is in the form of affirmative action implementation by the quota term 30% (Inpres No 9/2000) to give space to the women representative in the political field in this case is parliament.



The latest election constitution that was approved in 2017 is not far from the election constitution in 2012, where the women nomination remains. This means that women in the election 2019 will be able to seize success even more than in 2014. By the increase of Parliamentary Threshold into 20% positions or 25% votes as the constitution is assumed the amount of parties that get position is getting less, the chance of parties that get position is getting high, zipper system means there should be 1 woman of 3 people who will be the candidates and at last the chance of women to be elected is wider, meanwhile in reality the representation of women in DPR RI, DPD RI, DPRD is still low. The representation of women (2014-2019) in *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat RI* is 14%, which means it decreases from the previous period that is 17%. Women representation is still under the expected rate, that is 30%. (UNDP, 2015) As well the women position in the ten political parties organization in Special Region of Yogyakarta is still limited which has not been in strategic position. That is still in the position of treasurer and women empowerment.

The women representation in parlement has not reached 30%. This is because the internal policy of political parties has not given enough chance and space to women in the policy decision, recruitment and the women legislative candidates determination is not sensitive gender (pro-representation), and constitution of political parties and election have not still been assertive and supported affirmative action as one of the strategies to increase the women representation in parlement. Therefore, there are many women who can become the leader in political field even in political parties or in parlement.

Many researches about leadership can be classified into one of approaches as follows: *Trait Approach, Behavior Approach, Power- Influence Approach, Situational Approach, Integrative Approach*. (Yukl, 2006:31). Bass and Stogdil (1990) classify three basic theories that can be considered in understanding leadership broadly those are *Trait Theory, Behavior Theory, and Transformational*. Meanwhile, classifications that were made by Robbins (2001: 327-330) are *Atribution Theory, Charismatic Approach, Transactional Versus Transformational Approach*.

One of the leadership approaches that lately often becomes research focus since in the beginning of 1980's is transformational approach. This approach is part of "New Leadership" paradigm (Bryman, 1992:1). As its name, transformational approach is a process that changes and transforms an individual. In this situation, many qualities that are needed to have effective organizational leadership. Those should be qualified and associated generally with transformational leadership (Bass,1985; Burn,1978; Chia-Chen,2004), and also associated with the women leaders (Applebaun, Audet, Miller, 2002).

Women who want to perform as leaders like Bass (1990) and Klenke (1996) describe as glass ceiling phenomenon which are obstacles that can be seen and transparent but in reality those become obstacles to women access and other minorities to get on the top leadership. When women perform as leaders, there will appear leadership style problem like what should be performed in order to become effective in leadership. Should the leadership style be more masculine, assertive, rational, ambitious, like what has been declared by Sargent (1981)

To the date, assessment and expectation to the women leaders are still bias. Eagly and Karau (2002) stated that there is an anomaly between women role and leader role, so that that causes 1) a perception that women are not better to run the role as leader than men and 2) the way men run the leadership is not appropriate to women. Therefore women are difficult enough to be a success leader than men because environment applies double standards to



them. Because of that, women political activists need to increase their leadership among others through self evaluation.

Self-evaluation is an evaluation technique that can be used by women political activists to measure and increase their leadership ability or individual behaviour independently. In accordance to Priestley (1982:86) *self-evaluation* is an evaluation technique that utilizes self-evaluation to see the intellectual behaviour that is applied. Self-evaluation is self-studying means that can be used to develop ourselves. In order that, self-evaluation is a process to evaluate self even the performance, skill or other attribute to many purposes. Self-evaluation can also be used as information source in implementing the evaluation, in selection activity, and in development.

Therefore, self-evaluation not only measures the achievement but also diagnoses and increases the women political activists, i.e. women parliamentarians and women political parties activists. In the organisational politic context, the research on the topic “self-evaluation of transformational leadership of women political activists” has not been studied much, mainly in Indonesia.

Formulations of the Problem

Based on the background of the problem above, the formulation of the problem can be seen as follows.

- How is self-evaluation of transformational leadership of women political activists?
- Which self-evaluation factor of transformational leadership is the most dominant to the women parliamentarians?
- Which self-evaluation factor of transformational leadership is the most dominant to women political parties activists?

The Objectives of the Research

The research aims to find:

- Self-evaluation of transformational leadership of women political activists.
- Self-evaluation factor of transformational leadership which is the most dominant to the women parliamentarians.
- Self-evaluation factor of transformational leadership which is the most dominant to women political parties activists.

II. THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

Transformational Leadership

According to Burns (Northouse 2007:176) transformational leadership is a process of strengthening among the leaders and the followers to higher morality and motivation level. Transformational leadership is not only directly and top-down but also is able to be observed indirectly, from bottom to up and horizontally. Leaders here are not only for them who are in the highest managerial-level in an organization but also for them who are in the formal and informal, without noticing their position.

Bass and Avolio (1994:28) stated that transformational leadership as an influence of the leader to the followers where the followers feel that there are trust, pride, loyalty, and respect and they are motivated to exceeded what are expected before. Transformational leadership must be able to describe clearly a vision to the organization, so that the followers



will accept the leader's credibility. Moreover Bass (1995:20) stated that transformational leadership motivates the followers to do something more than the expectation by doing the following things: (a) increase the followers' awareness about the importance and purpose values that are determined and wanted, (b) ask the followers to give priority to the team or organization interest above the individual's interest, and (c) run the follower to higher level of needs. Transformational leadership helps the followers including the women political activists (women parliamentarians and women political parties activists) to give the organization's interest priority (Bass & Avolio, 1994:4).

In addition, Sosik & Godshalk & Yammarino's opinion (Bass & Riggio, 2006:55), the core element of transformational leadership is developing the followers to increase the capability and their capability in leading. Sosik *et al* noted the similarity between transformational leadership and effectivity construction.

Transformational Leadership Factors

Transformational leader acts with the ways that allow to reach superior result by using Four I's, i.e. *Idealized Influence, Inspirational Motivation, Intellectual Stimulation and Individualize Consideration* from Bass (1985), Howell and Avolio (1993), and Bycio, Hackett, and Allen (1995) Avolio, Bass, and Jung (1997) (Bass & Riggio, 2006:5-6). Furthermore, Pillai (Northouse, 2007:181-184) also declared that transformational leadership has important factors. Those are presenting characteristics that show charismatic behaviour, growing inspirational motivation, giving intellectual stimulation and treating the employees by giving attention to each individual.

1). Idealized Influence

Charisma or idealized influence, this factor describes the leaders act as model who acts firmly to the followers; the followers recognize their leader and really want to be like them. These leaders usually have moral standard and etiquette organizing that are very high and can be counted in doing the right things. They are respected fully by their followers, who usually place big trust to them. They give a mission and a vision to the followers.

2). Inspirational Motivation

Inspirational motivation is a leader description that conveys high expectations to the followers, inspires them through motivation to commit and becomes the part of vision along with the organization such as political parties. Practically, the leaders of political parties use the symbol and emotional relationship to focus on the group members effort to reach more than expectation as personal interest.

3). Intellectual Stimulation

Intellectual stimulation includes leadership that supports the followers to be creative and innovative, and to challenge the faith and their values of the leaders and the organisation. Intellectual stimulation supports the followers because they try new approaches and develop innovative ways that relate to the organisation. Intellectual stimulation supports the followers, i.e. the members to think and solve the problem thoroughly.



4). Individualize Consideration

Individualize consideration is transformational factor that represents the leaders in giving the supportive climate and listening to the individual's need of the follower thoroughly. A leader acts as a trainer and an advisor while trying to help individuals in order to fully actualized. These leaders can use delegation as means to help the followers, i.e. the members to grow through individual's challenge. The example of individualize consideration is a leader who directs the member of organization uniquely and caring. For some leader's members can give firm relationship, meanwhile for the members who are not the followers of the leader can give special directions with high structure level.

Gender and Transformational Leadership

In brief, transformational leadership can be described as a process to change and transform individual or group in order to increase themselves, including motivation, need fulfilment and appreciation to the followers. Bass & Avolio (1994:3-4) defined transformational leadership covers *idealized influence*, *inspirational motivation*, *intellectual stimulation*, and *individual consideration* that are called as "Four I's".

The literature review result done by Northouse (2007:175) concluded that a person who is able to show the transformational leadership, in fact, they can show as a leader who is effective with better work results. Therefore, it is beneficial to the leaders who are able to implement the transformational leadership in the organization.

The research about gender relationship and leadership conveyed by Sara Levinson, property president of NFL, Inc in New York. She asked question directly in a talk show with all men employees in her team. She asked them: "Is my leadership different to men?" they answered: "Yes." (cited in Schermerhorn, 1999: 276). This answer gives enough support that there is difference in leadership style between women and men.

Bass, Avolio, and Atwater (Dalam Groves, 1996) found that men generally show transactional leadership than women. In contrast, women show transformational leadership than men. Carless (In Groves, 1998) found that women managers use transformational leadership more than men managers. Hackman, et al (1992) found positive relationship between feminism and transformational leadership, especially in *idealized influence* and *individualized consideration*. Women are also tend to have democratic and participative behaviour, like respect to others, caring to others, this leadership style refers to interactive leadership, this style has leadership elements that are transformational, i.e. *inspirational motivation*. Different from men who are tend to go directive behaviour (based on instruction) and assertive (tend to aggressive and dogmatics), and use the authority that they have had to do "control and command" (Schermerhorn, 1999).

The meta-analysis result that was done by Eagly and Johnson (1990) to the scientific reports (journal articles, research report that is not published, dissertation) also state that women are tend to adopt style that more democratic or participative and less autocratic or directive style than men. Some other studies show that there are some inherent differences between women and men in the leadership style. That women are tend to adopt leadership style that



is more democratic, men use style that base on control and command. They base on the formal authority position more as the basic of them to conduct their influence.

All those researches state that women are tend to implement transformative leadership. This is because of some concerns as follows: (Eagly and Karau, 2002: 826-828). Women change, educational access change women are more confident for working in public sector. They develop important ability in order to become assertive, dominant, risk-taking leader.

- Leader role changes, gradually the anomaly of women's role disappears. Leader is not only interpreted as traditional characterization that is based on charisma but also changed tend to managerial ability appreciation. In this case, women can cover it.
- The organization environment changes, various formula regulatory pressures give chance to women to participate to be leaders. Other than that organization becomes flatter/ not hierarchical so that organization tends to give appreciation based on talent and ability than seniority. Women can cover it.
- Culture change, because there is leader role change and women organizational practice are considered as changing symbol. Organization that is ready led by women regarded having effective and synergistic leadership. The organization is considered as innovative and progressive. Therefore, the women leaders are acceptable.

Self-evaluation of Transformational Leadership

Evaluation can be implemented to review program, process, product, procedure or personnel. Evaluation that is used in this research is an evaluation to review personnel. One of the personnel evaluations that can be used to evaluate the leadership is self-evaluation model. According to Priestley (1982:86) *self-evaluation* is an evaluation technique that utilizes self-evaluation to see the intellectual behaviour that is applied and developing self.

Therefore, Self-Evaluation of Transformational Leadership is an evaluation technique that utilizes self-evaluation to see intellectual behaviour that is applied in its transformational leadership such as Idealized influence, Inspirational motivation, Intellectual Stimulation, and Individual consideration.

III. RESEARCH METHOD

Research Design

The research design is ex-post facto which study women political activists variable to Self-Evaluation of Transformational Leadership that has been conducted well by women parliamentarians or women political parties activists without doing manipulation directly by the researcher (Isaac and Michael, 1981:42- 448).

Population and Sample

The research population to all women legislative/parliament members and women political parties activists on the ten political parties in Special Region of Yogyakarta and Regency/City, i.e. PDIP Perjuangan, Golkar, Gerindra, Demokrat, PAN, PKS, PKB, Nasdem, Hanura, dan PPP. The total samples are 126 people consist of 42 women parliamentarians and 84 women political parties activists, who are also as the data source about Self-Evaluation of Transformational Leadership of women political activists. The purposive



sampling technique was used on women parliamentarians, while the sampling is for women political parties activists. (Cochran,2005:154).

Operational Definition

Women political activists are the women parlementarians and women political parties activists in Special Region of Yogyakarta. Self-evaluation leadership of women political activists on this research is self-evaluation to transformational leadership.

The Research Instrument

The instrument which was used in this research is *Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire* (MLQ) from Bass & Avolio (1995) that consists of factors that have been modified as the culture of Special Region of Yogyakarta.

The Data Analysis Technique

The data analysis technique which was used is precentage to test the Self-Evaluation of Transformational Leadership of women parliamentarians and women activists data from ten political parties in Special Region of Yogyakarta.

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Research Results

1. Self-Evaluation of Transformational Leadership of Women Political Activists

Transformational leadership of women political activists on this research, i.e. women parliamentarians and women political parties activists is transformational leadership that includes four factors, i.e. idealized influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation,dan individual consideration. Meanwhile, self-evaluation of transformational leadership is an evaluation technique that utilizes self-evaluation to see the intellectual behaviour totally that is implemented in transformational leadership factors.

The total value of Self-evaluation of transformational leadership factors on Women Political Activists as seen on table 1 as follows:

Table 1: The total value percentage of Self-evaluation of of transformational leadership factors on Women Political Activists as seen on table 1 as follows:

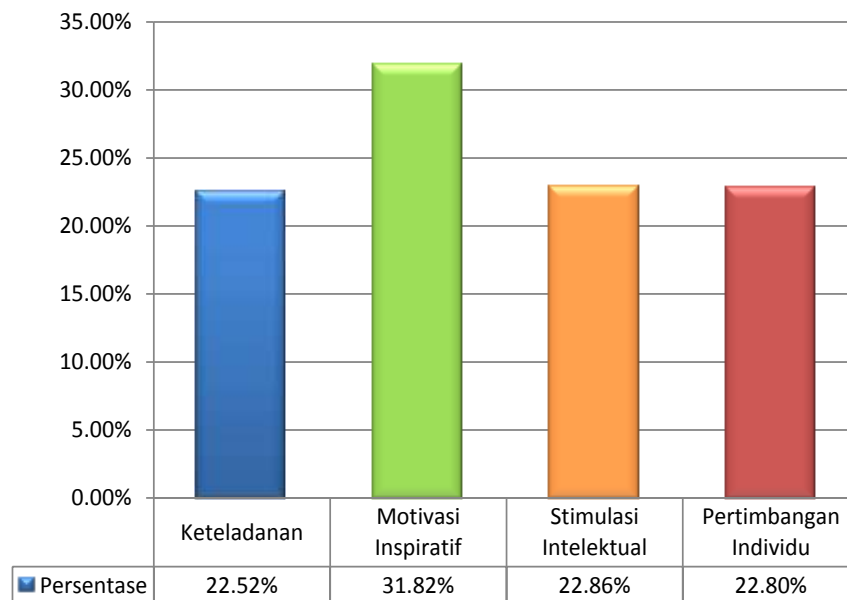
No.	Transformational Leadership Factors	Total value	Percentage
1.	Idealized Influence	2.010	22,52%
2.	Inspirational Motivation	2.841	31,82%
3.	Intellectual Stimulation	2.041	22,86%
4.	Individual Consideration	2.035	22,80%



Total	8.927	100%
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From table 1, it can be seen that the total value of each factor of self-evaluation of transformational leadership of women political activists in Special Region of Yogyakarta shows the inspirational motivation factor that is dominant, i.e. 31.82%, then followed by intellectual stimulation, i.e. 22.86%, individual consideration factor 22.80%, and the lowest is Idealized Influence 22.52%.

Picture 1: The total value percentage of Self-evaluation of of transformational leadership factors on Women Political Activists



1. Self-evaluation of transformational leadership factors on Women Parliamentarians

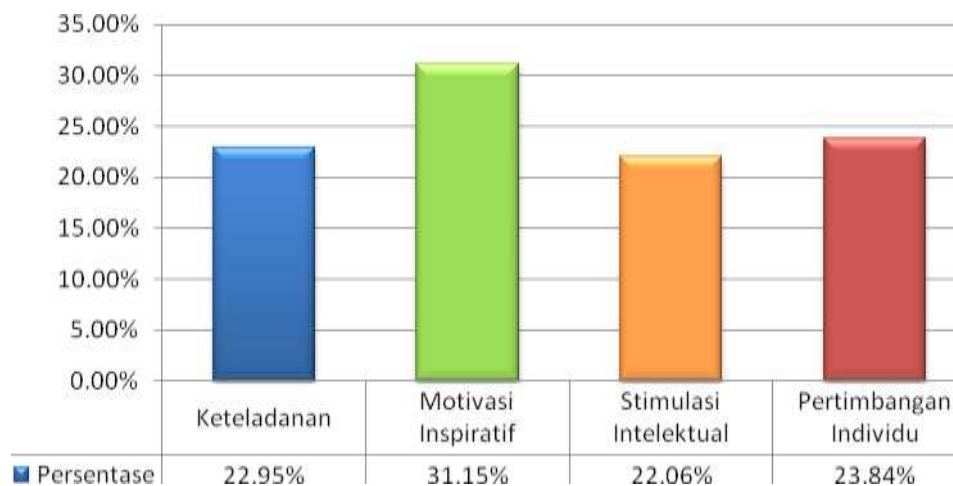
The Total Value Self-evaluation of transformational leadership factors on Women Parliamentarians as seen table 2 as follows:



Table 2: Percentage of The Total Value Self-evaluation of transformational leadership factors on Women Parliamentarians

No.	Transformational Leadership Factors	Total value	Percentage
1.	Idealized Influence	669	22,95%
2.	Inspirational Motivation	908	31,15%
3.	Intellectual Stimulation	643	22,06%
4.	Individual Consideration	695	23,84%
Total		2.915	100%

From the table 2, it can be seen that the total value of self-evaluation on each factor of transformational leadership of women parliamentarians in Special Region of Yogyakarta shows that inspirative motivation that is dominant, i.e. 31.15%, then followed by individual consideration 23.84%, idealized influence 22.95%, and the lowest value is intellectual stimulation, i.e. 22.06%.



Picture 2.: The Total Value Self-evaluation of transformational leadership factors on Women Parliamentarians

2. Self-Evaluation of transformational leadership factors on Women Political Parties Activists

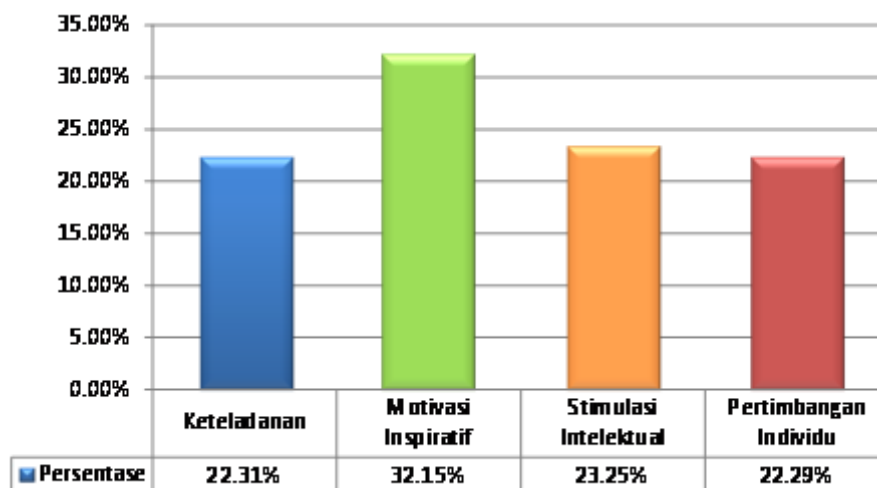
The total value **Self-Evaluation** of transformational leadership factors on Women Political Parties Activists on table 3 as follows:



Table 3 : Percentage of *value Self-Evaluation* of transformational leadership factors on Women Political Parties Activists

No.	Transformational Leadership Factors	Total value	Percentage
1.	<i>Idealized Influence</i>	1.341	22,31%
2.	<i>Inspirational Motivation</i>	1.933	32,15%
3.	<i>Intellectual Stimulation</i>	1.398	23,25%
4.	<i>Individual Consideration</i>	1.340	22,29%
Total		6.012	100%

From the table above, it can be seen that the total value of self-evaluation of each factor of transformational leadership factors on Women Political Parties Activists in Special Region of Yogyakarta shows that inspirational motivation that is dominant, i.e. 32.15%, then followed by intellectual simulation factors 23.25%, idealized influence 22.31% and the lowest value is in individual consideration 22.29%. What make the individual consideration factor low is because the women political parties activists are not be able to act as trainer as well as the advisor to the organization members or constituent candidates.



Picture 3.: *The Total Value of Self-Evaluation* of transformational leadership factors on Women Political Parties Activists



Disussion

Overall, self-evaluation of transformational leadership of women political activists has been conducted well in parlement or political parties, although there is still influenced by characteristics of each political party that are variative enough. The use of self-evaluation give influence to transformational leadership of women political activists factors. In line with Northouse (2007:175) who stated that a person who can perform the transformational leadership, in fact, this can perform more as an effective leader with better work result.

Based on the finding results on self-evaluation of transformational leadership of women political activists show that the use of self-evaluation gives dominant influence to the inspirative motivation. Inspirative motivation factor refers to the leadership behaviour of women political activists continuously and can increase its inspirative motivation factor. The low of idealized influence factor of women political activists shows that most of leadership behaviour of women political activists in Special Region of Yogyakarta has not been as a role model to the members or its contituents, so it does not support to increase their idealized influence ability well.

The finding results in self-evaluation of each transformational leadership of women parliamentarians factor in Special Region of Yogyakarta shows tat inspirative motivation factor is dominant 31.15%, the inspirative motivation factor refers to the leadership behaviour of women parliamentarians in motivating theirselves and also constituent that is based on high visions. Through the self-evaluation implementation, the women parliamentarians continuously and can increase their inspirative motivation factor. The low factor of intellectual stimulation, i.e. 22.06% is because the women parliamentarians are less implementing the creative, innovative ways and critical thinking to the organisation members or contituents.

The finding result in self-evaluation of each factor of transformational women political parties activists in Special Region of Yogyakarta shows inspirative motivation that is dominant, i.e. 32.15%. Inspirative motivation factor refers to the leadership behaviour of the women political parties activists in motivating theirselves and constituents that are based on high visions. By implementing self-evaluation of women political parties activists continuously can increase their inspirative motivation factor and the lowest factor is individual consideration, i.e. 22.29%. The low factor of individual consideration is because women political parties activists are less giving attention and less acting as trainer as well as advisor to the organization members and the constituent candidates.

The finding result in self-evaluation factors of transformational even women political activists, women parliamentarians, or women political parties activists in Special Region of Yogyakarta shows inspirative motivation factor is dominant. This case is in line with the finding of Hackman,et al (1992) who stated that women tend to have democratic behaviour more and partisipative, like respect to others, caring to others, this style refers to the interactive leadership, this style has leadership elements which are transformational, inspirative motivation.



V. CONCLUSION

- Self-evaluation of transformational leadership of women political activists in Special Region of Yogyakarta shows inspirational motivation factor is dominant, i.e. 31.82%, and the lowest factor is idealized influence, i.e. 22.52%.
- From the total value of self-evaluation of transformational leadership of women parliamentarians in Special Region of Yogyakarta shows inspirational motivation factor is dominant, i.e. 31.15% and the lowest factor is intellectual stimulation 22.06%.
- From the total value of self-evaluation of transformational leadership of women political parties activists in Special Region of Yogyakarta factor shows inspirational motivation is dominant, i.e. 32.15% and the lowest factor is individual consideration 22.29%.

Moreover, the women political activists (in the parliament or in the political parties) with self-evaluation to the transformational leadership factors will be able to be built and increased through self-behaviour or the constituents or constituents candidates such as commitment to the political organization.

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