

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Abdillah, M., 1999. *Demokrasi di Persimpangan Makna: Respon Intelektual Muslim Indonesia terhadap Konsep Demokrasi (1966-1993)*, Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana.
- Abdullah, I., 1997. "Dari Domestik ke Publik: Jalan Panjang Pencarian Identitas" dalam *Sangkan Paran Gender*, I. Abdullah, (ed.), Yogyakarta: Pustaka
- , 1999. "Dari Bounded System ke Borderless Society: Krisis Metode antropologi dalam Memahami Masyarakat Masa Kini" *Antropologi Indonesia*, 60 (1): 11-18.
- Abu-Lughod, L., 1990. "The Romance of Resistance: Tracing Transformations of Power Through Bedouin Women". *American Ethnologist*, 17 (1): 41-55.
- Acharya, Meena, 1994. "Political Participation of Women in Nepal" dalam *Women and Politics Worldwide*, Barbara J. Nelson dan Najma Chowdhury (eds.) New Haven: Yale University Press, 478-495.
- Achmad, U., 2008. "The Improvement of Entrepreneur Women's Role of Embroidery (Bordir) Industry in Increasing Her Participation to the Regional Income in Kudus Regency" dalam dalam *Women in Public Sector*, S.H. Sastriyani (ed.), Yogyakarta: Pusat Studi Wanita Universitas Gadjah Mada dan Penerbit Tiara Wacana, hal. 619-623.
- Adam, J., 1993. "Resistance to 'modernity': Southern Illinois Farm Women and the Cult of Domesticity". *American Ethnologist*, 20(1) : 89-113.
- Adelina, S., 2004. *Hambatan Calon Legislatif Perempuan dalam Partai dan Sistem Politik Menuju Lembaga Legislatif*, Tesis pada Program Studi Wanita Program Pasca Sarjana Universitas Indonesia.
- Agustina, H., 2009. "Keterwakilan Perempuan di Parlemen dalam Perspektif Keadilan dan Kesetaraan Gender" dalam *Gender and Politics*, S.H. Sastriyani (ed.), Yogyakarta: Pusat Studi Wanita Universitas Gadjah Mada dan Penerbit Tiara Wacana, hal. 163-170.
- Ahimsa-Putra, H.S., 1997. "Antropologi Koentjaraningrat: Sebuah Tafsir Epistemologi" dalam *Koentjaraningrat dan Antropologi di Indonesia*, E.K.M. Masinambow (ed.), Jakarta, Yayasan Obor Indonesia.

- Alesich, S., 2008. "Dukun and Bidan: The Work of Traditional and Government Midwives in Southeast Sulawesi" dalam *Women and Work in Indonesia*, Michele Ford dan Lyn Parker (eds.), London: Routledge, 104-119.
- Alexander, Laureen, 2004. "Gender Gap" dalam *Encyclopedia of Political Leadership*, London: Sage Publication.
- Amikawati, Anik, 2008. *Profil Perempuan Anggota DPRD Provinsi Jawa Tengah Ditinjau Dari Perspektif Politik Gender*, Tesis pada Program Pasca Sarjana Universitas Diponegoro Semarang.
- Amini, Mutiah, 2013. *Modernitas dan Perubahan Identitas di Perkotaan: Sejarah Sosial Keluarga Elite Jawa di Semarang pada Awal Abad ke-20*, Disertasi doktor pada Program Sejarah Fakultas Ilmu Budaya Universitas Gadjah Mada.
- Apthorpe, R., 1997. "Writing Development Policy and Policy Analyses Plain or Clear: On Language, Genre, and Power" dalam *Anthropology of Policy: Critical Perspectives on Governance and Power*, C. Shore dan S. Wright (eds.), London and New York: Routledge.
- Aretxaga, Begoña, 2003. "Maddening States" dalam *Annual Review of Anthropology* 32:393-410.
- Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G., dan Tiffin, H., 2006. *Post-colonial Studies Reader*, London: Taylor & Francise.
- Astuti, Puji, 2007. *Profil Legislatif Perempuan Periode 2004-2009 Di DPRD Propinsi Jawa Tengah*, Tesis pada Program Pasca Sarjana Universitas Diponegoro Semarang
- Balandier, G., 1996. *Antropologi Politik*, Jakarta: PT. Rajawali.
- Bari, Farzana, 2010. *Partisipasi Perempuan dalam Politik dan Pemerintahan: Makalah Kebijakan*, Jakarta: UNDP Indonesia
- Bashevkin, Sylvia, 1994. "Building a Political Voice: Women's Participation and Policy Influence in Canada" dalam *Women and Politics Worldwide*, Barbara J.
- Beneria, L., 2001. "Shifting the Risk: New Employment Patterns, Informalization, and Women's Work" dalam *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, 15 (1): 24-36.
- Benlamlih, El-Mostafa, 2010. "Pengantar" dalam *Partisipasi Perempuan dalam Politik dan Pemerintahan: Makalah Kebijakan*, Jakarta: UNDP Indonesia

- Bennett, L.R., 2005. "Patterns of resistance and transgression in Eastern Indonesia: Single women's practices of clandestine courtship and cohabitation". *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 7(2): 101-112.
- Benu, E.D.N.A., 2009. *Keterwakilan Perempuan dalam Rekrutmen Politik Pemilu 2009: Studi di Kabupaten Timor Tengah Selatan NTT*, Tesis Pascasarjana S2 Administrasi Negara Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Gadjah Mada Yogyakarta.
- Berko, R.M, Lawrence, B.R., dan Larry, A.S., 1997. *Connecting: A Culture Sensitive Approach to Interpersonal Communication Competency*, Harcourt: Harcourt Brace College Publisher.
- Bianpoen, Carla, 2000. "Women Political Call" dalam *Indonesian Women: The Journey Continuous*, Canberra: RSPAS Publishing The Australian National University
- Bohannon, P. dan Glazer, M.(eds.), 1973. *High Points in Anthropology*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Brettell, C.B dan Sargent, C.F. (eds.), 2005. *Gender in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Brown, M.F., 1996. "On Resisting Resistance". *American Anthropologist*, 98(4): 729-735.
- Budianto, Arif Budi, 2008. "Perempuan Pelaku Pertunjukan Seni Tradisional dan Keadilan Gender" dalam *Women in Public Sector*, S.H. Sastriyani (ed.), Yogyakarta: Pusat Studi Wanita Universitas Gadjah Mada dan Penerbit Tiara Wacana, hal. 264-276.
- Budiman, K., 1997. "Subordinasi Perempuan dalam Bahasa Indonesia" dalam *Citra wanita dan Kekuasaan (Jawa)*, B. Susanto (ed.).Yogyakarta, Kanisius.
- Butler, J., 2002. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, New York: Routledge.
- , 2004. *Undoing Gender*, New York: Routledge.
- Cahyaningtyas, J, 2009. "Identifying Gender in Political Doxa and Heterodoxa" dalam *Gender and Politics*, S.H. Sastriyani (ed.),Yogyakarta: Pusat Studi Wanita Universitas Gadjah Mada dan Penerbit Tiara Wacana, 138-145.
- Carr, C. Lynn, 1998. "Tomboy resistance and conformity: Agency in social psychological gender theory" *Gender and Society* 12: 528-553.

- CETRO (Centre For Electoral Reform). 2002. "Data dan Fakta Keterwakilan Perempuan Indonesia di Partai Politik dan Lembaga Legislatif, 1999-2001" (Ringkasan Eksekutif). Jakarta: Divisi Perempuan dan Pemilu. 8 Maret (tidak diterbitkan).
- Chakraborty, A.S., 2008. "Emergence of Women from 'Private' to 'Public': A Narrative of Power Politics from Mizoram" *Journal of International Women's Studies*. 9 (3): 234-260.
- Chalfin, Brenda, 2006. "Global Customs Regimes and the Traffic in Sovereignty" dalam *Current Anthropology* 47(2):243-276.
- Chowdhury, Najma, 1994. "Redefining Politics: Patterns of Women's Political Engagement from a Global Perspective" dalam *Women and Politics Worldwide*, Barbara J. Nelson dan Najma Chowdhury (eds.) New Haven: Yale University Press, 3-24
- Clastres, Pierre, 1987. *Society against the State: Essays in Political Anthropology*, New York: Zone Books.
- Cohen, S. dan Laurie, T, 1992. *Escape Attempts: The Theory and Practice of Resistance to Everyday Life*, London: Routledge.
- Coleman, P.T., 2006. "Power and Conflict" dalam *The Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice*, M. Deutsch, P.T. Coleman, dan E.C. Marcus (eds.), San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Conley Robin, 2008. "At the Time She Was a Man": The Temporal Dimension of Identity Construction dalam *PoLAR: Political and Legal Anthropology Review*, 31(1): 28-47.
- Cooper, A., 2007. "Act of Resistance: Black Men and Women Engage Slavery in Upper Canada 1793-1803". *Ontario History*, 49 (1): 5-17.
- Crouch, Harold, 1978. *Army and Politics in Indonesia*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press
- Crouch, Harold. 1982. *Perkembangan Politik dan Modernisasi*. Jakarta: Yayasan Perkhidmatan.
- Davies, A. dan Thomas, R., 2004. *Identity Politics at Work: Resisting Gender, Gendering Resistance*, London: Routledge.
- Denzin, N.K dan Lincoln, Y.S., 1994. "The Methods of Collecting and Analysing Empirical Materials" dalam *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, N.K. Denzin dan Y.S. Lincoln (eds.), London: Sage Publication, hal. 353-362.

- Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Provinsi Jawa Tengah, 2011. *Risalah Rapat Paripurna Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Provinsi Jawa Tengah*, 29 Desember 2011
- Djelantik, S., 2009. "Gender dalam Hubungan Internasional" dalam *Gender and Politics*, S.H. Sastriyani (ed.), Yogyakarta: Pusat Studi Wanita Universitas Gadjah Mada dan Penerbit Tiara Wacana, hal. 99-119.
- Dozier, E.P., 1951. "Resistance to Aculturation and Assimilation". *American Anthropologist*, 51 (1): 56-66.
- Eisenstein, Z., 1997. "Women's Publics and the Search for New Democracies". *Feminist Review*, 57 (1): 140- 167.
- Elizabeth, Misbah Zulfa dan Darori A., 2008. *Konflik di Partai Politik* (Penelitian Kelompok), Semarang: Walisongo Mediation Center
- Emadi, Hafizullah, 2002. *Repression, Resistance, and Women in Afganistan*, Westport: Praeger Publisher.
- Emerson, Donald K., 1976. *Indonesia's Elite: Political Culture and Cultural Politics*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press
- Eriksen, T.H. 2002. *Ethnicity and Nationalism*, London, Sterling, Virginia: Pluto Press.
- Ezzamel, M., Willmott, H. dan Worthington, F., 2003. "Accounting and Management-Labour Relation: The Politics of Production in the 'factory with a problem'". *Accounting, Organization, and Society*, 2: 56-72
- Fakih, M., 1996a. *Analisis Gender dan Transformasi Sosial*, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- , 1996b. "Posisi Kaum Perempuan dalam Islam: Tinjauan dari Analisis Gender" dalam *Membincang Feminisme: Diskursus Gender Perspektif Islam*, Tim Risalah Gusti (ed.), Surabaya, Risalah Gusti, hal.37-68.
- Farley, J.E. 1988. *Majority-Minority Relation*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc.
- Featherstone, M, Lash, S., dan Robertson, R. (eds.)1995. *Global Modernities*, London: Sage Publication.
- Feith, H., 1954. "Toward Elections in Indonesia". *Pacific Affairs*, 27(3): 236-254.

- Fisher, Simon, et.al.,2000. *Working with Conflict: Skill and Strategy for Action*, London: Zed Books Ltd.
- Fonjong, Lotsmart , 2001. "Fostering Women's Participation in Development through Non-Governmental Efforts in Cameroon" dalam *The Geographical Journal*, 167 (3): 223-234
- Fontana, A dan Frey, J.H., "Interviewing: The Art of Science" dalam *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, N.K. Denzin dan Y.S. Lincoln (eds.),London: Sage Publication, hal. 361-376.
- Ford, M. dan Parker, L., 2008. "Thinking about Indonesian Women and Work" dalam *Women and Work in Indonesia*, M. Ford dan L. Parker (eds.), London dan new York: Routledge.
- Foucault, Michel, 1978. *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*. New York: Random House
- Frerks, G. dan Klemp, B. (eds.), 2005. *Dealing with Diversity: Sri Lankan Discourses on Peace and Conflict*, The Hague: The Netherlands Institute of Interational Relations 'Clingendael'.
- Friedman, J., 1995. "Global System, Globalization, and The Parameter of Modernity" dalam *Global Modernities*, M. Featherstone, et. al.(eds.) London: Sage Publication.
- Geertz, C., 1973. *The Interpretation of Culture*, New York, Basic Book.
- Giles, W., 1992. "Gender Inequality and Resistance: The Case of Portuguese Women in London". *Anthropological Quarterly*, 62 (2): 67-79.
- Goldstone, Jack A. 1991. *Revolution and Rebellion in the Early Modern World*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press
- Gottfried, T., 1994. *Privacy: Individual Right v. Social Need*, Minneapolis: Millbrook Press.
- Gupta, Akhil, and Aradhana Sharma, 2006. "Globalization and Postcolonial States" dalam *Current Anthropology*, 47(2):277-307
- Hadi, S., 1999. *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Harris, M., 1968. *The Rise of Anthropological Theory*, New York: Harper and Row Publisher.

- Harrison, L.E dan Huntington, S.P., 2000. *How Values Shape Human Progress*, New York: Basic Book.
- Hatley, Barbara (1990). "Theatrical Imagery and gender Ideology in Java" dalam Jane Monnig Atkinson dan Shelly Errington (eds.) *Power and Difference: Gender in Island Sotheast Asia*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 177-207
- Haviland, W.A. 2008. *Cultural Anthropology: The Human Challenge*, Belmont: Thomson Higher Education.
- Hegland, M.E. , 2003. "Shi'a Women's Rituals in Northwest Pakistan: The Shortcomings and Significance of Resistance". *Anthropological Quarterly*, 76 (3): 411-442.
- Helen, Rizzo, 2007. "Gender Equality and Democracy: Comparison of Arab Versus Non-Arab Muslim Societies". *Sociology*, 41(6): 1151-1170.
- Hidayati, Thantien, 2009. "Early Political Education: A Mean of Countering Policy which Based on Women Exploitation" dalam *Gender and Politics*, S.H. Sastriyani (ed.), Yogyakarta: Pusat Studi Wanita Universitas Gadjah Mada dan Penerbit Tiara Wacana, 153-162
- Hodder, I., 1994. "The Interpretation of Documents and Material Culture" dalam N.K. Denzin dan Y.S. Lincoln (eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, London: Sage Publication, hal. 393-402.
- Hollander, J. A. dan Einwohner, R. L., 2004. " Conceptualizing Resistance". *Sociological Forum*, 19 (4): 533-554.
- Howell, Jude, 1997 "NGO-State Relations in Post-Mao China" dalam *NGOs, States and Donors: Too Close for Comfort?*, D. Hulme and M. Edwards, eds. Pp. 202-215. New York: St. Martin's Press in association with Save the Children.
- Ibrahim, I.S. dan Suranto, H (ed.), 1998. *Wanita dan Media: Konstruksi Ideologi Gender dalam Ruang Publik*, Bandung: Remaja Rosda Karya.
- Ihromi, T.O., 1981. *Pokok-pokok Antropologi Budaya*, Jakarta: Gramedia.
- Iwanaga, Kazuki, 2008. "Women and Politics in Asia: A Comparative Perspective" dalam *Women's Political Participation and Representation in Asia: Obstacles and Challenges*, Copenhagen: NIAS Press.

- Jacob, Marie-Andree, dan Annelise Riles, 2007. "The New Bureaucracies of Virtue: Introduction" dalam *Political and Legal Anthropology Review*, 30 (2): 181–191.
- Jaquette, J.S., 1997. "Women in Power: From Tokenism to Critical Mass", *Foreign Policy*, 108 (1) : 23-37.
- Jatman, D., 1999. *Politik Jawa dan Presiden Perempuan*, Yogyakarta: Yayasan untuk Indonesia.
- Jones, D., and Stablein, R., 2006. "Diversity as Resistance and Recuperation: Critical Theory, Post-Structuralist Perspectives and Workplace Diversity." dalam *Handbook of Workplace Diversity*, A.M. Konrad, P. Prasad, dan J.K. Pringle (eds.), London: Sage Publications.
- Joseph, Molly, 1997. *Women Participation and Development Strategies*, New Delhi: Kanishka Publishers
- Kahiga, M., 1995. *Socio-cultural Obstacle to Participation of Women in the Democratization Process*, Nairobi: Kenya Human Right Commission.
- Kaplan, D., 2000. *Teori Kebudayaan*, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Karam, Azza, red. 1999. "Kesimpulan", di dalam *Perempuan di Parlemen, Bukan Sekedar Jumlah, Bukan Sekedar Hiasan*. Jakarta: International IDEA & Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan.
- Karlstrom, Mikael, 1998. "Civil Society and Its Presuppositions: Lessons from Uganda" dalam *Civil Society and the Political Imagination in Africa: Critical Perspectives*. J. L. a. J. Comaroff, ed. Pp. 104–123. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Katila, S dan Merilainen S., 2002a. "Metamorphosis: From 'nice girls' to 'nice bitches': Resisting Patriarchal Articulation of Professional Identity". *Gender, Work, and Organization*, 9 (3): 336-354.
- Katila, S dan Merilainen S., 2002b. *Making Inclusion Work: Experiences from Academia Around the World*, Denver, Edward Edgar Publishing.
- Keesing, R., 1992. *Antropologi Budaya: Perspektif Kontemporer (Cultural Anthropology: A Contemporary Perspective)* terj. Drs. Samuel Gunawan, Jakarta: Penerbit Erlangga.
- Kerfoot, D. and David K., 2003. *Management, Organisation, and Masculinity*, London: Sage Publications.

- Kerfoot, D., 2003. "The Problematic Professional: Gender and the Transgression of 'professional identity'" dalam *Gender and the Public Sector*, J. Barry (ed.), London: Routledge.
- Keyton, Joann, 2011. *Communication and Organizational Culture: A Key to Understanding Work Experiences* (ed.2), California: Sage Publication Inc.
- Kingsley, Charles. 2007. *Women and Politics*, London: London National Society for Women's Suffrage
- Kodiran, 1999. "Kebudayaan Jawa" dalam *Manusia dan Kebudayaan Indonesia*, Jakarta: Penerbit Djambatan, hal. 329-352.
- Komisi Pemilihan Umum Daerah Jawa Tengah, 2009. Hasil Penghitungan Akhir Pemilihan Anggota Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Propinsi Jawa Tengah.
- Kondo, D. K., 1990. *Crafting Selves: Power, Gender, and Discourse of Identity in Japanese Workplace*, London: The Chicago University Press, Ltd.
- KPUD Propinsi Jawa Tengah, 2010. *Hasil Pemilihan Legislatif, Pemilihan Presiden 2009*.
- Kristmundsdottir, S. D., 2005. "Power, gender and globalisation in Europe" dalam *The Anthropology of Power: Empowerment and disempowerment in changing structures*, Angela Cheater (ed.) New York: Routledge.
- Kroef, J. M van der, 1950. "Social Conflict and Minority Aspirations in Indonesia". *The American Journal of Sociology*, 55(5): 450-463.
- Kusujarti, S., 1997. "Antara Idiologi dan Transkrip Tersembunyi: Dinamika Hubungan Gender dalam Masyarakat Jawa" dalam *Sangkan Paran Gender*, Irwan Abdullah (ed.), Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Lahelma Gordan, Tuula dan Elina, 2004. "Who Wants to Be a Woman? Young Women's Reflections on Transitions to Adulthood" dalam *Feminist Review*, 78: 80-98
- Lahiri, D. Dan Mitra, S., "Who Will Empower the Better Half?: Social Dynamics in Operation". *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 4 (1): 43-67.
- Leach, E.R, 1954. *Political Systems of Highland Burma: A Study of Kachin Social Structure*, London: The London School of Economics and Political Science.

- Leijenaar, Monique dan Kees Niemoller, 1994. " Political Participation of Women: The Netherlands" dalam *Women and Politics Worldwide* , Barbara J. Nelson dan Najma Chowdhury (eds.) New Haven: Yale University Press, HAL. 496-511
- Lloyd, M., 2005. *Beyond the Identity Politics*, London: Sage Publications.
- Luhtitianti, U.A., 2010. *Kaukus Perempuan Politik Indonesia dan Pemberdayaan Politik Perempuan*, Tesis Pascasarjana S2 Sosiologi Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Gadjah Mada Yogyakarta.
- Lumban Raja, Emmy Santa Margaretha dan Yuniarti Nur Hanifah, 2008. *Kaukus Perempuan Politik Indonesia: Peluang Dan Tantangan*, Jakarta: Program Studi Kajian Wanita, Program Pascasarjana, Universitas Indonesia
- MacDonald, Mandy, Sprenger, E., dan Dubel, I., 1997. *Gender dan Perubahan Organisasi*, Jogjakarta: INSIST.
- Maguire, M., 2006. " Gender and Movement in Social Policy" dalam *The SAGE Handbook of Gender and Education*, C. Skelton, B. Francis, dan L. Smulyan (eds.), London: SAGE Publications.
- Manderson, Lenore, 1991. "Gender and Politics in Malaysia" dalam *Why Gender Matter in South East Asian Politics*, Clayton: The Publication Officer Centre of Asian Studies Monash University
- Matland, Richard E. 2001. "Sistem Perwakilan dan Pemilihan Kaum Perempuan: Pelajaran untuk Indonesia", di dalam *Keterwakilan Perempuan dan Sistem Pemilihan Umum*. Jakarta: National Democratic Institute dan Kantor Menteri Negara Pemberdayaan Perempuan, hal. 22
- Mayasari, S., 2010. *Peningkatan Peran Politik Perempuan dalam Partai Politik di Kabupaten Gayo Lues Propinsi Aceh*. Tesis Pascasarjana S2 Administrasi Negara Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Gadjah Mada Yogyakarta.
- Mead, M., 1928. *Coming of Age in Samoa: A Psychological Study of Primitive Youth for Western Civilisation*, California: W. Morrow & Company.
- Megawangi, R., 1999. *Membiarkan Berbeda: Sudut Pandang Baru tentang Relasi Gender*, Bandung: Mizan.
- Meyer, Bente, 2002. "Women's Time, Women's Space: Reflections on the International Network of Women's Studies". *NWSA Journal*, 14 (2): 148-152

- Miller, Daniel, Rowlands, M., dan Tilley, C.Y. (eds.), 2005. *Domination and Resistance*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Miller, Daniel, 2005. "The Limit Of Dominance" dalam *Domination and Resistance*, London and New York: Routledge, hal. 63-79.
- Millets, K., 1970. *Sexual Politics*, New York: Ballantine Books.
- Mollin, M., 2004. "Communities of Resistance: Women and the Catholics Left of the Late 1960s". *The Oral History Review*, 31 (2): 29-51.
- Moore, H. L., 1998. *Feminisme dan Antropologi*, Jakarta: Penerbit Obor.
- Morse, J.M., 1994. "Designing Funded Qualitative Research" dalam *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, N.K. Denzin dan Y.S. Lincoln (eds.), London: Sage Publication, hal. 220-235.
- Mosse. Julia Cleves, 2007. *Gender dan Pembangunan*, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Moursund, Anne dan Øystein Kravdal, 2003. "Individual and Community Effects of Women's Education and Autonomy on Contraceptive Use in India" . *Population Studies*, 57 (3): 285-301.
- Murniati, A. Nunuk P., 2004. *Getar Gender: Perempuan Indonesia dalam Perspektif Sosial, Politik, Ekonomi, Hukum, dan Ham*, Jakarta: Yayasan Indonesia Tera.
- Muszynski, 1991. "What is Patriarchy?" dalam *Race, Class, Gender: Bonds and Barriers*, J.Vorst (ed.) Toronto: Socialist Studies, hal. 64-87.
- Muzita, C.A, 2009. *Partisipasi Politik Perempuan: Studi tentang Faktor-faktor yang Mempengaruhi Rendahnya Keterwakilan Politik Perempuan di Propinsi NAD dalam Periode 2004-2009*. Tesis Pascasarjana S2 Administrasi Negara Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Gadjah Mada Yogyakarta.
- Nagengast, C., 1997. "Women, Minorities, and Indigenous Peoples: Universalism and Cultural Relativity". *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 53 (3): 349-369.
- Napsiah, 2009. "Nilai-nilai Profetik dan *Affirmative Action* di Partai Politik" dalam *Gender and Politics*, S.H. Sastriyani (ed.), Yogyakarta: Pusat Studi Wanita Universitas Gadjah Mada dan Penerbit Tiara Wacana, 171-177.

- Naswati, S., 2008. "A Paradox of Women Politician in Matrilineal Society and Mulim Patriarchy" dalam *Women in Public Sector*, S.H. Sastriyani (ed.), Yogyakarta: Pusat Studi Wanita Universitas Gadjah Mada dan Penerbit Tiara Wacana, 430-438.
- Nelson dan Najma Chowdhury (eds.), 1994. New Haven: Yale University Press, 143-160 *Women and Politics Worldwide*, Barbara J. Nelson dan Najma Chowdhury (eds.) New Haven: Yale University Press,
- Ng, Roxana, 1991. "Sexism, Racism, and Canadian Nationalism", dalam J. Vorst (ed.) *Race, Class, Gender: Bonds and Barriers*, Toronto: Socialist Studies
- Noibau, P., 2010. *Proses Rekrutmen Calon Anggota Legislatif Perempuan Partai Persatuan Pembangunan dalam Pemilu 2009 di DIY: Studi di Tingkat DPW dan 5 DPC*. Tesis Pascasarjana S2 Ilmu Politik Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Gadjah Mada Yogyakarta
- Nurhayati, R.T., 2009. "The Influence of International Norms on Gender Equality in the Advancement of Women's Political Participation in Indonesia" dalam *Gender and Politics*, S.H. Sastriyani (ed.), Yogyakarta: Pusat Studi Wanita Universitas Gadjah Mada dan Penerbit Tiara Wacana, 131-138
- Nurmalasari, D., 2010. *Modalitas Perempuan dalam Kontestasi Politik Lokal: Studi Kasus pada Calon Legislatif Perempuan dalam Pemilu 2009 di Kabupaten Indramayu Jawa Barat*, Tesis Pascasarjana S2 Ilmu Politik Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Gadjah Mada Yogyakarta
- Okely, J., 1991. "Defiant Moments: Gender, Resistance and Individuals". *Man*, 26 (1), pp. 3-22
- Ortner, S.B., 1984. "Theory in Anthropology Since the Sixties". *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 26(1): 126-166
- , 1996. *Making Gender: The Politics and Erotics of Culture*, London: Bacon Press
- Parker, Martin, 2000. *Organizational Culture and Identity: Unity and Division at Work*, London: Sage Publication Ltd.
- Pelto, P. J., 1970. *Anthropological Research*, New York: Harper&Row Publisher.
- Permatasari, A., 2009. *Hambatan-hambatan Partisipasi Politik Perempuan: Studi Kasus di Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta*, Tesis Pascasarjana S2 Ilmu Politik Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Gadjah Mada Yogyakarta

- Piliang, Y.A, 1998. "Kata Pengantar" dalam *Perempuan dan Media*, I.S. Ibrahim dan H. Suranto (ed.), Bandung: Penerbit Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Pollert, A., 1981. *Girls, Wives, Factory Lives*, London: Macmillan.
- Pritchard, E. E., dan M. Fortes, 1940. *African Political System*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rabo, A., 1997. "Policy as Cultural Agent" dalam *Anthropology of Policy: Critical Perspectives on Governance and Power*, C. Shore dan S. Wright (eds.), London and New York: Routledge.
- Rahardjo, Y., 1996. "Seksualitas Manusia dan Masalah Gender: Dekonstruksi Sosial dan Reorientasi" dalam *Seksualitas, Kesehatan Reproduksi, dan Ketimpangan Gender*, A. Dwiyanto dan M. Darwin (eds.), Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan.
- Rais, Amin, 1995. "Pengantar" dalam Peter Calvert, *Proses Suksesi Politik*, Misbah Zulfa Elizabeth (terj.), Jogjakarta: PT. Tiara Wacana.
- Ramsbotham, O., Woodhouse, T., dan Miall, H., 2005. *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Ray, R dan Korteweg, A.C., 1999. "Women's Movements in the Third World: Identity, Mobilization, and Autonomy" . *Annual Review of Sociology*, 25 : 47-71.
- Riauwati, 2008. "Partisipasi Perempuan Maluku Utara di Sektor Publik" dalam *Women in Public Sector*, S.H. Sastriyani (ed.), Yogyakarta: Pusat Studi Wanita Universitas Gadjah Mada dan Penerbit Tiara Wacana, hal. 91-99
- Ricklander, Louise , 1993. "Women and Politics" dalam *Women at Work: Psychological and Organisational Perspective*, Jenny Firth Cozens dan Michael A. West (ed.), Philadelphia: Open University Press, 185-199.
- Robertson, 1994. *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*, London: Sage Publication.
- Robinson, Kathryn dan Sharon Bessel. 2002. *Women In Indonesia, Gender, Equity & Development*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Roger, B., 1980. *The Domestication of Women: Discrimination in Developing Societies*, London dan New York: Tavistock Publication.

- Rosaldo, M.Z. dan Lamphere, L., dan Bamberger, J.(ed.), 1974. *Woman, Culture, and Society*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Rosenwasser,S.M., 1987. "Attitudes toward Women and Men in Politics: Perceived Male and Female Candidate Competencies and Participant Personality Characteristics". *Political Psychology*, 8 (2): 191-200.
- Roviana, S., 2010. *Pendidikan Politik Koalisi Perempuan Wilayah Yogyakarta 2000-2008*. Tesis Pascasarjana S2 Sosiologi Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Gadjah Mada Yogyakarta.
- Ryan, Josephine Caldwell, 2005. "Encountering the State: Cross-Cultural Perspective on Women's Political Experience" dalam *Gender in Cross Cultural Perspective*, Caroline B. Brettell dan Carolyn F. Sargent (eds.), New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall.
- Sanit, Arbi. 1985. *Perwakilan Politik di Indonesia*. Jakarta: CV Rajawali.
- Sanit, Arbi. 1995. *Ormas dan Politik*. Jakarta: Lembaga Studi Informasi Pembangunan.
- Sanit, Arbi. 1995. *Sistem Politik Indonesia: Kestabilan Peta Kekuatan Politik dan Pembangunan*. Jakarta: PT Raja Grafindo Persada.
- Sanli, S., 2011. "Public Sphere and Symbolic Power: 'Woman's Voice' as a Case of Cultural Citizenship". *Cultural Sociology*, 5(2): 281–299
- Sapiro, V., 1982). "If U.S. Senator Baker were a woman: An experimental study of candidate images". *Political Psychol.* 3: 61-83
- Sawer, M., 2000. "Parliamentary Representation of Women: From Discourses of Justice to Strategies of Accountability". *International Political Science Review* , 21 (4): 361-380
- Schuller, Mark, 2007. "Seeing Like a "Failed" NGO: Globalization's Impacts on State and Civil Society in Haiti". *PoLAR: Political and Legal Anthropology Review*, 30 (1): 67–89.
- Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie A. 2010. *Political Power and Women's Representation in Latin America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Scott, J., 1985. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, New Haven dan London: Yale University Press.

- , 1990. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcript*, New Haven dan London: Yale University Press.
- , 1998. *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, New Haven dan London: Yale University Press.
- Sekretaris DPRD Jawa Tengah, 1992. *Memori Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Provinsi Jawa Tengah Tingkat 1 Masa bakti 1992-1997*
- Sharma, A. (ed.)2002. *Perempuan dalam Agama-agama Dunia*, Jakarta: Direktorat PTAI Departemen Agama RI-CIDA McGill Project
- Shore, C. dan Wright, S., 1997. "Policy: A New Field of Anthropology" dalam *Anthropology of Policy: Critical Perspectives on Governance and Power*, C. Shoredan S. Wright (eds.), London and New York: Routledge
- Singarimbun M. dan Sofyan E., 1987. *Metode Penelitian Survey*, Jakarta: LP3ES
- Siregar, Wahidah Zein Br. 2007. *Gaining Representation in Parliament: A Study of the Struggle of Indonesian Women to Increase their numbers in the National, Provincial, and Local Parliaments in the 2004 Election*. Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD at the Australian National University
- Sobirin, Achmad, 2007. *Budaya Organisasi: Pengertian, Makna, dan Aplikasinya dalam Kehidupan Organisasi*, Yogyakarta: Unit Penerbit dan Percetakan Sekolah Tinggi Ilmu Manajemen YKPN
- Spradley, J., 1999. *Metode Etnografi*, Misbah Zulfa Elizabeth (terj.), Jogjakarta: PT Tiara Wacana.
- Sriasih, S.A.P., 2008." Perempuan Bali dalam Kehidupan Berkesenian" dalam *Women in Public Sector*, S.H. Sastriyani (ed.), Yogyakarta: Pusat Studi Wanita Universitas Gadjah Mada dan Penerbit Tiara Wacana, hal. 253-263.
- Stiven, Maila, 1991. "Introduction" dalam *Why Gender Matter in South East Asian Politics*, Clayton: The Publication Officer Centre of Asian Studies Monash University
- , 1991. "Why Gender Matter in South East Asian Politics" dalam *Why Gender Matter in South East Asian Politics*, Clayton: The Publication Officer Centre of Asian Studies Monash University

- Storrs, John Mihelich Debbie, 2003. "Higher Education and the Negotiated Process of Hegemony Embedded Resistance among Mormon Women". *Gender & Society*, 17 (3): 404-422
- Sulaiman, A., 2009. *Kebijakan Partai Politik dalam Mempersiapkan Calon Legislatif Perempuan pada Pemilu 2009 di Bangka Belitung*. Tesis Pascasarjana S2 Sosiologi Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Gadjah Mada Yogyakarta.
- Suryadinata, Leo, 1989. *Military Ascendancy and Political Culture: A Study of Indonesia's Golkar. Monographs in International Studies South Asia Series No. 85*, Ohio University
- Suryochondro, Sukanti, 2000. "Development of Women's Movement in Indonesia" dalam *Indonesian Women: The Journey Continuous*, Canberra: RSPAS Publishing The Australian National University
- Sutton, B., 2007. "Naked Protest: Memories of Bodies and Resistance at the World Social Forum". *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 8 (3): 241-260.
- Swarup, Hem Lata, et.al, 1994. "Women's Political Engagement in India: Some Critical Issues" dalam *Women and Politics Worldwide*, Barbara J. Nelson dan Najma Chowdhury (eds.) New Haven: Yale University Press, 361-379.
- Thomas, R dan Davies A., 2002. "Gender and New Public Management: Reconstituting Academic Subjectives". *Gender, Work, and Organization*, 9 (4): 372-396.
- Thomas, R. et. al., 2004. "Introduction" dalam *Identity Politics at Work: Resisting Gender, Gendering Resistance*, London: Routledge.
- Tilaar, H.A.R., 2003. *Kekuasaan dan Pendidikan: Suatu Tinjauan dari Perspektif Kultural*, Magelang: Indonesia Tera
- Tilly, Louise A dan Patricia Gurin, 1990. "Women, Politics, and Change: Introduction" dalam *Women, Politics and Change*, New York: Russel Sage Foundation
- Tinker, Irene, 2004. "Many Paths to Power: Women in Contemporary Asia", dalam Christine Hünefeldt, Jennifer Troutner and Peter Smith (eds). *Promises of Empowerment: Women in Asia and Latin America*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Tjahjono, HK. dan Palupi, M., 2008. "The Challenge of Indonesian Female Managers in Business Sector Toward Global Global Business Competition" dalam *Women in*

Public Sector, S.H. Sastriyani (ed.), Yogyakarta: Pusat Studi Wanita Universitas Gadjah Mada dan Penerbit Tiara Wacana, hal. 549-559.

- Touraine, A dan David, M., 2000. *Can We Live Together?: Equality and Difference*, Stanford California: Stanford University Press.
- Triwanto, Herry, 2007. *Analisis Gender pada Kinerja DPRD Provinsi Jawa Tengah Periode 2004 – 2009 (Studi Kasus Pelaksanaan Program DPRD Provinsi Jawa Tengah pada Bidang Sosial Khususnya Pemberdayaan Perempuan)*, tesis pada Program Studi Magister Ilmu Politik Program Pasca Sarjana Universitas Diponegoro Semarang
- Tuchman, G., 1994. "Historical Social Science: Methodologies, Methods, and Meanings" dalam *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, N. K. Denzin dan Y.S. Lincoln (eds.), dalam N.K. Denzin dan Y.S. Lincoln (eds.), hal. 306-323.
- Undang-undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 12 Tahun 2003 tentang Pemilihan Umum, Anggota DPR, DPD dan DPRD.
- Undang –undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 10 Tahun 2008 tentang Pembagian Daerah, pemilihan Anggota DPR-RI, dan DPRD Propinsi.
- Utari, 2008. "Meaning of Work for Female Media and Communication Workers" dalam *Women and Work in Indonesia*, M, Ford dan L. Parker (eds.), London: Routledge, 136-154
- Utomo, Iwu Dwisetyani dan Sri Harijati Hatmadji, 2004. "Empowerment of Indonesian Women: From Kartini to the Reform Era" dalam *Empowerment of Indonesian Women: Family, Reproductive Health, Employment and Migration*, Jakarta: Demographic Institute, Faculty of Economics University of Indonesia.
- Utomo, Iwu Dwisetyani, 2006. "Kehidupan Perempuan: Lima Puluh Tahun Perubahan dan Kontinuitas" dalam *Masyarakat, Kependudukan, dan Kebijakan di Indonesia*, Jakarta: Equinox Publishing Indonesia.
- Vreede-de Stuers, Cora, 2008. *Sejarah Perempuan Indonesia: Gerakan dan Pencapaian*, Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu.
- Wagemann, Mildred, I.A., 2000. " Indonesian Women: Between Yesterday and Tomorrow" dalam *Indonesian Women: The Journey Continuous*, Canberra: RSPAS Publishing The Australian National University

Wardani, S.B.E., 2010. "Perempuan dan Pilkada Langsung: Meretas Jalan Kesetaraan dalam Politik" *Jurnal Ilmu Politik*, 21: 93-115.

Wardatun, Atun, 2007. *Negosiasi Ruang: Antara Ruang Publik dan Ruang Privat*, Mataram: PSW IAIN Mataram.

Warouw, N., 2008. "Industrial Workers in Transition: Women Experiences of Factory Work in Tangerang" dalam *Women and Work in Indonesia*, M. Ford dan L. Parker (eds.), London: Routledge, 104-119.

Yahya, Imam, 2008. *Perekrutan di Partai Politik*, Penelitian Individual, Semarang, Lembaga Penelitian IAIN Walisongo.

Yuval-Davis, Nira, 1997. "Women, Citizenship and Difference" dalam *Feminist Review*, 57: 4-27