

These Propositions are made according to *Promotiereglement* 2015 (article 12) and they belong to the PhD dissertation entitled **Contemporary Interpretation of *Kodrat Perempuan: Local Discourse of Muslim Women's Leadership in Indonesia***, authored by Kusmana.

1. If religious and local cultural values are restrictive towards gender relations, female leadership will most likely face barriers that typically derive from this resource of reference, such as placing women's ideal role at home. (this thesis)
2. In Indonesia, like in other countries, women's inclusion and exclusion as engaged members of society was and is determined by both internal and external factors. The internal factors may refer to their knowledge, skills, networks, and the mentality of the women themselves. External factors may include 'the general nature of the practices and contexts' which were and are patriarchal. (this thesis)
3. As their capacities increase over time, women's social engagement evolves more dynamic. They started with gaining support, usually from their spouses and families, and then they themselves tried to improve their abilities and enhance their influence by pursuing education at higher levels, as some women did, or by resorting to the learning-by-doing strategy. At the same time, they received training, participated in cadre workshops and competitions as in the case of *Posyandu* (Integrated Health Service Post) cadres. (this thesis)
4. Modern Indonesian history shows that *kodrat perempuan* has always been nurtured and used as a part of people's view and imagination in formulating women's ideal roles and status. The presence of both Islam since 1300s and the West in the archipelago since the 1600s and the emergence of hinterland kingdoms in 1800s developed a more hierarchical construction and stratification as the ideal model for society influenced the autonomous and dependent characters of Indonesian women, pushing women to exist mainly at home. (this thesis)
5. Tasikmalaya Regency and Tasikmalaya City appear to demonstrate gender equality within the nation's ideology, and Sundanese and religious values. Though the State ideology represented in its basic constitution treats men and women equally, the State still places both in such a position that it accords with the national and religious tradition. The State adopted State *Ibuism* as its ideology, which meant in the New Order era that the wife was the supporting agent of the family and in the *Reformasi* era a partner of the family. (this thesis)
6. By the 1980s, women's increasing access to education and the rise of the middle class, as a result of growing prosperity in Indonesia, contributed to the appearance of a new cohort of politically aware Islamic women. What was most noticeable was their willingness to challenge conservative Islamic views on women. Armed with good educational qualifications, usually from Islamic institutions funded by the state, these young women enthusiastically embraced the more woman-friendly reinterpretations of Islamic texts that were emerging globally and in Indonesia from the 1980s onwards. Many of them linked these interpretations to issues of concern to women, like reproductive health and domestic violence. (Susan Blackburn, 2008)
7. Within political Islam it is often difficult to find evidence of direct influence by women on decision-making. In the past, much of their influence seems to have been applied behind the scenes, but in recent times it has become much more overt. (Susan Blackburn, 2008)
8. Apart from its own gender regime which tends to exclude women from positions of power/authority, the state's policies also regulate gender relations in society, in the Indonesian case through the marriage law, policies on population and education, and through labour force regulation for example. (Kathryn Robinson, 2009)

9. Women have been pivotal players in unfolding political scenarios, and gender inequalities and ideologies have been central to sustaining the exercise of political and economic power by a male-dominated elite. (Kathryn Robinson, 2009)
10. Today, Aisyiyah women enjoy the freedom to participate in the public sphere. However, the struggle for women's leadership confirms the difficulties involved in putting this revolutionary approach into practice. The radical spirit that perceives Muslim women identity as *wanita solihah* (pious woman) is still evident at the elite and lower leadership level. That is not yet the case at the lowest levels. (Kurniawati HD, 2008)
11. Ulama's response to new Muslim practices is always one step behind from the existing social practices as they are usually trapped in the feeling of being obliged to maintain Islamic heritages and traditions before determining the adoption of a new practice or modification of the old one.