Indonesian Women’s Rowing from 1986 to 2018: A historical, Social and Cultural Perspective

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Abstract
In 1954, the International Federation of Societes d'Aviron (FISA) organized the first European women's rowing championship in Macon, France. Female rowing athletes around the world had actively participated for years, competing not only in local and national competitions, but also in international level. Apart from the historical evidence that women could indeed compete at the international level, the FISA delegation found it more appropriate to limit women's international participation by shortening the distance of women's competitions to half of male athletes and limiting the number and the type of race. Although women's international athletes were limited, the introduction of women's races at European championships created opportunities for female athletes to show their abilities to the public while challenging social and historical discourse about Indonesian women's participation in rowing. Ever since this first race, female athletes and coaches had a desire to achieve gender equality in sports that are usually associated with men and masculinity. In 2003, their efforts culminated with the acceptance of women at European Championships, World Championships, and the Olympics, the change in the distance of women's rowing from 1,000 meters to 2,000 meters, and the introduction of women’s lightweight class at World Championships and the Olympics. This study examined the complex negotiations that had taken place since 1986 when Indonesian women's first rowing participated in the 1986 Asian Games until 2018 through collecting data from archival material and in-depth interviews, with current and previous athletes and coaches, to document and to examine the history of Indonesian women's involvement in rowing sports between 1987 and 2018.
INTRODUCTION

Rowing is one of the oldest sports in the world (Alteburg, Mattes, & Steinacker, 2012). Rowing, as one of the genuine sports in the modern Olympics, has a long and rich history. Rowing has developed great purpose over the past 100 years, but one thing remains the same: the spirit of innovation and teamwork as a part of every crew victory (Nolte, 2005). French Baron Pierre de Coubertin (1863-1937) has a place in history as the founder of the modern Olympics. However, his educational goals in the field of sports, explained through his very active life in twenty books and around 1,200 articles, remain unknown or often go unnoticed. When we become aware of reading countless texts, rowing holds a special place for Coubertin (FISA, n.d.).

Modern sports is an arena which is more than just games and contests. The sport was linked to social control and power relations. The Canadian feminist sports historian Ann Hall argues that the history of modern sport is the history of cultural struggle. Based on mutual agreement, special groups in our society are able to build their own culture which will practically be the most valued and legitimate part, while marginal groups, such as female, must struggle to gain and maintain control of their own experiences. At the same time, their alternative activities are legitimately recognized by dominant cultural groups (Amanda Nicole Schweinbenz, 2007).

Women's participation in rowing represents this statement. The power struggles that occur between coaches, athletes, and male and female administrators have played an important role in the development of women's rowing international competition. The president of the British Rowing Amateur Association (ARA) Diana Ellis notes that women had been carefully negotiating for the positions they hold now in the international of rowing arenas and examining the history of women's rowing international competition, "you must look at gender and power" (Amanda Nicole Schweinbenz, 2007). Traditionally, before the turn of the twentieth century, the men coming from elite social status were the only rowing participants in clubs or educational institutions, while working-class men were rowing along canals, rivers and lakes throughout the world for their livelihood. As a result, upper and middle class men were the ones who determine the rules and the only ones allowed to participate in rowing.

Women's rowing fans were not just spectators when male rowing organizations exclude female athletes or prevent them from participating. Those women athletes were actively trying to organize and control their own rowing activity. Male and female rowing fans who support them worked together in various ways through various channels and in various contexts to convince colleagues and rowing administrators that women were able to participate, guide, and manage the traditionally defined masculine sports activity. To understand the complexity of how women's international rowing competition has become formally accepted and organized, we must analyze the knowledge and discourse related to women's participation in rowing over the past fifty years; rules of female rowing competition at important times in the history of female rowing; the sacrifice, negotiation, and achievement of female athletes, administrators and coaches in the pursuit of national recognition.

Early Beginnings of Women's Rowing

The origins of rowing as a sport can be traced back to the ancient Greeks, Vikings, and Venetians. Rowing historian Christopher Dodd argues that, "rowing as a modern sport developed in England in the eighteenth century and began to be consolidated in the nineteenth century, and in the early years of the 20th century it had developed in other countries and spread over five continents (Dodd, 1991). England was the first to establish the rules of the race and determine who qualifies to participate in regattas by defining the difference between amateurs and professional athletes (Dodd, 1991). The British Henley Rowing Stewards set the first classification of amateur athletes in late 1870s, and produced an amateur rower as a person who was not, among others, related to trade or a mechanic, craftsman or laborer.8 Amateur rowers participated in sports for their benefit alone. While professionals participated for a number of further purposes, including money and prizes.

Race rowing is the oldest modern organized sport and originated in England during the reign of Henry VII (1509 – 1547) among the Thames professional waterman licensed by the Crown (1955). The first international fours regatta took place in 1825 between England’s Thames waterman and New York rowers in
American State, while the first international amateur eights race took place in 1858 between England and France (Secher & Vollanitis, 2007). The origin of sculling, a form of propelling a boat with a long-singleed oar off the stern, dated back to the early 1700s in London, England. Mark Sauer traced the sport’s roots in 1985, “The only bridges across the lower Thames were the London and the Chelsea. Those wishing to cross the river elsewhere had to hail a ferry, typically a light sculling boat operated by a ‘waterman.’”. The watermen began to wager on who could scull the fastest from bridge to bridge. In 1715, Doggett’s Coat and Badge, the occurred every year since.(Seymour, 1917) Oxford University established rowing in 1822, Cambridge in 1827 and the first boat race took place in 1839 over 7.75 kilometer on the Thames from Putney to Mortlake (Secher & Vollanitis, 2007).

The first boat race in the USA took place in New York in the middle of 1700s by professional bargemen from amateur clubs which were formed in Boston, New York and Philadelphia in the 1830s (Secher & Vollanitis, 2007). As in the UK, the development of rowing competitions in the United States is generally associated with private colleges and universities.14 Elite colleges developed men's rowing as a program to help encouraging the development of their students and hold dual meetings against rival schools as a way to encourage a healthy competition spirit (Wigglesworth, 2013). The University of Pennsylvania rowing history dated to 1760 when a 6-mile race challenge was issued to New York. However, the dominant organization of rowing in USA arose when Harvard and Yale University started rowing in 1843 and 1844 and first raced each other in eight-oared shells in 1852 over a distance of 7.4 kilometer. The first event was Oxford-Cambridge Race in 1829 and Harvard-Yale Race in United State in 1852 (Amanda Nicole Schweinbenz, 2007). The Head of the Charles in Boston was the world’s largest rowing event and was initiated on October 16, 1966 (Secher & Vollanitis, 2007). Class discrimination was clearly found here, where only men from elite and middle class could participate in those prestigious events.

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, men began established rowing clubs along the banks of local rivers and lakes throughout Europe, North America, and in some parts of the southern hemisphere. In Barcelona, the first Spanish club was founded in 1821, and in 1934 Prague, Hungary, introduced its first club (Dodd, 1991). In 1935, the first amateur rowing club was introduced in Sydney, Australia, and in 1936 some Englishmen first founded the German rowing club in Hamburg (Dodd, 1991).

Throughout Europe and in the southern hemisphere, rowing had become a very popular social entertainment. However, non-university clubs were generally the winners of every championship. At the end of the Franco-Prussian war in Russia in 1870, rowing in France was considered an ideal sport for disciplining young men, and social elites sponsored the creation of club that exclusively supported the race event. During the late 19th century, rowing races dominated activities in Germany and Romania. This activity triggered the interest of various countries to join some competitions between countries and produced ideas to form a body that manages international amateur rowing races. The establishment of the International Federation of Societies d’Aviron (FISA) on June 25th 1892 with 11 delegates from 5 federations, namely Austria, Belgium, France, Italy and Switzerland led to the introduction and regulation of new international regattas for rowing, including European championships and the Olympics (Jean-Louis Meuret, 1992). All events were arranged by FISA and the princess was not present in the international competition program.

Arguments about amateur and professional status for athletes were a disputable issue throughout twentieth century. However, there was a fact agreed by both parties that rowing was a sport for men. There was a strong understanding of the physical demands of rowing that caused this sport was exclusively set in the male domain (Dodd, 1991). Ingrid Dieterle, a former FISA and Deutscher Ruderverband (DSV) official, points out that surfing is always considered a sport for men primarily "because it is dominated by strength and size, and this is of course the quality of men" (Amanda Nicole Schweinbenz, 2007). Rowing is a sport that requires strength and great endurance. The old-fashioned assumption argues that men have a domain for the appearance of muscular masculinity and women are deemed unfit for such physical activity because they are unable to withstand the pain of the demands of hard and strong sports. The general perception of activity compe-
tion as unfeminine also prevents women from participating in sports such as rowing. Unlike tennis, swimming and skating, a sport in which women are permitted to compete even in the Olympics before the First World War, rowing is considered a masculine sport and, therefore, is not suitable for conduct in women's competition.

However, many local, national and international rowing administrators around the world disagreed to women's involvement in rowing, especially because of the perceived masculinization by female athletes from all classes participating in sports (Dodd, 1991). During 1850, Ann Glanville and her fishermen crew from Saltash, England, competed in several regattas and she was known as the "The world champion of woman athlete". Glanville and his crew were not the first women to race in rowing. Historians have found references on the race of women dating back to the fifteenth century. Sports historian Allen Guttman notes that one of the most interesting annual events in Venice was the boat race for the farmers' daughters. Understandably, the women's regatta enjoyed special popularity. The participants were the daughters of farmers in the area - especially from Pellestrina - who had practiced a lot due to the weekly boat trips to the market in Venice. It was possible that the audiences were more interested in the participants' attractive costumes than their sporting performances. Antonio Gabellico also reported that the first women's regatta in 1493 was held to celebrate the arrival of Beatrice d'Este (Amanda Nicole Schweinbenz, 2007).

Rowing, unlike other sports, becomes socially exclusive. Only those women who have time and money to afford sports costs could join the rowing club. Not surprisingly, the growth of women's rowing organization in the western world was closely associated with the middle and upper classes, as well as those who were well educated or from universities. Women's rowing clubs and sports bodies or association were largely formed and controlled by middle and upper class women, and as such they can make rules and regulations about who can and cannot participate. The controversial issue of amateurism in male sports did not occur in women's rowing, because only a few lower-class female workers had access to elite rowing clubs and universities. For example, the earliest women German rowing club based in Friedrichshagener withdrew membership from those in the middle classes because membership fees were quite expensive in that era. In 1900, the club charged 20 Deutsche Marks (DMs) to join as members and 2 DMs per month for subscription fees, when the average weekly wage was below twelve DM (Dodd, 1991).

In 1875, Mount Holyoke and Wellesley established a recreational rowing program for women on the grounds that it promoted the grace and shape of the women's body. However, competition was strictly forbidden, and Wellesle's rowing program only allowed their female athletes to participate in intramural races for the first seventy-five years of their history (Amanda Nicole Schweinbenz, 2007). However this was the beginning of many women to enjoy the pleasure of rowing, thereby it also laying the foundation of women aspiring to become athletes, coaches, and administrators. At Oxford and Cambridge, rules were also applied to minimize the potential for interference that might occur to the women. In the early 1884 a female priest from Somerville College, Oxford, was given permission to use Cherwell on the Isis river where male crews were trained, but only at times when male students did not practice (Dodd, 1991). More rules were administered further for Oxford oars women including pulling the straps in their skirts so that no ankles were open, and if trained by men, permission must be obtained from their moral teachers and male caretakers or cox must act as a companion (Wigglesworth, 2013).

Other than academic institutions, women also showed an interest in participating in sports the men enjoyed in the rowing club and looked for opportunities to not only participate in recreational rowing, but also in rowing competitions. But still many of these clubs were reluctant to open their doors due to gender grounds. Those who allowed women to join must fight with the national rowing organization rules. In 1907, for example, the British Amateur Rowing Association (ARA) refused to recognize women's rowing competitions and those clubs that had women's membership were denied in affiliating with national sports bodies (Wigglesworth, 2013). As a result, female athletes created their own clubs and competitions in the Kingdom of Britain until the late 70s and early 80s, and all the club members were women only. (Amanda Nicole
Due to ARA's refusal to regulate female rowing in Britain, the pioneer of women rowing administrators Amy Gentry and Mrs. KL Summerton helped to set up the Women's Amateur Rowing Association (WARA) in 1923 (Wigglesworth, 2013). The founding of this organization marked an important round in women's rowing and the decision to use the term Women instead of Ladies signified the shift from recreational rowing to rowing competition. The newly established women's national rowing federation prohibited all women who work as laborers from being accepted into affiliated clubs and regattas (Amanda Nicole Schweinbenz, 2007). Once again, the social classes limited access to the participation in certain sports.

In the United States, women who came from outside the academic system also find limited access to rowing equipment and facilities. Ernestine Bayer, a female athlete, had to sit and watch her husband, Ernest Bayer, rowing along the Schuylkill River in Philadelphia because rowing clubs along the famous Boathouse, prohibited women from entering their dock. Frustrated, Bayer looked for a place where she, along with sixteen other female friends who were fans of rowing, could launch their boat. The women rented the Ardmore Skating Club by the river and organized one of the East Coast's first rowing clubs for women run in 1938, the Philadelphia Women' Rowing Club (PGRC).(Amanda N. Schweinbenz, 2010)

The belief that all women are the key to the nation's future is not limited in Europe. Cahn has noted that American Bernarr MacFadden, an innovator in women physical education believes that a strong and powerful woman is vitally needed to build a generation. He stated that healthy women is very important for the future progress of the nation (Review, 2016). Meanwhile, in Russia women was forbidden to join State Rowing Association prior to the turn of twentieth century. Likewise in Australia, dedicated female rowing athletes from South Australia, New South Wales, and Queensland who found themselves cut off from rowing competition came together to establish the Australian Ladies' Rowing Council in 1920, then renamed as the Australian Women's Rowing (Amanda N. Schweinbenz, 2010).

Rowing has the potential to develop unsightly muscles and were thought to threaten the reproduction organs; ultimately it leads to gender based division. However, not all national male and female rowing federations really hate to include women under their mandate. A number of European federations, for example France and the Netherlands, were progressive in their attitude towards women's rowing competitions after introducing the women's section to their federation and arranged women's competitions in the early twentieth century (Amanda Nicole Schweinbenz, 2007). Not surprisingly, the same federation became an integral part of developing women's international rowing competition. At the end of the Second World War many European national rowing federations made the decision, often incessantly, to include women's rowing in their national competitions. For example, the Danish national rowing federation introduced a women race at their national championship in 1941 after years of negotiations with female rowing athletes. In 1960, the women's national rowing championships were held in Germany, France, Greece, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland and Czechoslovakia (Amanda Nicole Schweinbenz, 2007).

At the same time as women's negotiations to enter the national championship, female rowing fans are also looking for opportunities to participate in international championships through negotiations with FISA delegates. Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, FISA delegates had little interest in introducing women's events to international competition programs. The federation was originally established as an international sports body that organizes and celebrates the rowing of the male elite and some delegates consider the women able to participate at the international level. However, people considering women's rowing competition at the local and national level were growing and FISA had the chance to have authority over international rowing of women if they bring the women's race under their mandate. In August 1951, the first FISA regulated women's international regatta was held in Macon, France. The female athletes from four countries: Denmark, France, Great Britain and the Netherlands, competed in four events. After the success, FISA delegates discussed the introduction of the women's events at the 1954 European Rowing Championships (Amanda N. Schweinbenz, 2009). With encouragement from male administrators at the local, national, and international level, the women...
athletes finally got permission to join the FISA international championship in 1954 (Amanda N. Schweinbenz, 2010).

Further, FISA’s decision to introduce women races at the European championship in 1954 opened the door to a wider audience of female athletes and provided evidence that women were able to compete in this traditionally-defined masculine sport field. However, the significant turning point also marked the introduction of new obstacles for women. All male FISA delegates agreed that rowing could be seen as an activity for men and women (Amanda N. Schweinbenz, 2009). Delegates agreed to establish international regulations for women rowing competitions that involved "physiological and cultural considerations," limit the distance of women competitions to 1000 meters (half the distance from men events), as well as the number and types of events available to them (Amanda N. Schweinbenz, 2009). The decision to limit the distance of women competitions also required the organizing committee to have a pontoon start that can be set at the 1000 meter to mark the start in the women race. As a result, the women's championship was held one week before the men race (Amanda N. Schweinbenz, 2009).

The introduction of the women's international rowing competition in 1954 also had a significant impact on women's rowing administrators. In order for women athletes to be accepted into international competitions, women rowing administrators knew that they must have the support of their male colleagues. After all, men are gatekeepers and control access to international rowing. By getting the help of male rowing organizations and finally joining them, the women often find that they have to give up some of the control they have over women rowing. The women national rowing federation was immediately forced to join the men’s or disperse completely, and many female rowing administrators found that their positions were eliminated or already filled by men. For example, the merger of WARA and ARA in 1963 was designed to allow British women athletes access to national sports which govern physical training facilities and managerial expertise. However, in doing so, WARA became part of the ARA, and lost control of the women's rowing competition (Curry & Hargreaves, 1995). All men took control of the selection and management of national women's competition programs, while women were allowed to discuss issues related to women's domestic rowing, such as local regattas and membership fees (Curry & Hargreaves, 1995). With men holding the majority of rowing administrative decision-making positions, both for male and female rowing, they were able to maintain their grip on rules and regulations that they deemed appropriate for international women rowing.

The Current Situation of International Women’s Rowing

After FISA took control of the international regulations on women rowing competition, rowing began to grow internationally, with the growing importance of women success. Between 1954 and 1973 the number of countries competing in European women championships rose from fourteen to nineteen countries, and the number of entries increased from thirty-four to fifty-three (Amanda N. Schweinbenz, 2009). This increased the interest of international rowing to support the FISA proposal to the International Olympic Committee (IOC) where women rowing should be introduced to the Olympic program. However, the international sports organizing body had not yet completed one element needed by the IOC to be introduced to the Olympic Games, namely the formation of the women world rowing championship. In 1971, FISA President Thomas Keller recommended the Ordinary Annual Congress rowing federation to approve the introduction of the 1974 world championship competition for women. Through the congress, FISA fulfilled their obligations to the IOC, which helped ensure the introduction of women rowing in the 1976 Olympic program (Jean-Louis Meuret, 1992).

In the early 1980s, FISA became aware of certain problems related to the distance of women competitions; the problem was magnified because the eastern block of the country dominated women's international rowing between 1954 and the end of the 1980s. Although the number of countries entering the female crew in international regattas was increasing, many were worried about the number of medals won by eastern European countries. Ellis points out that during the Cold War it was common for five ships from the eastern block countries to compete against one ship from the western block countries in the final (Amanda Nicole Schweinbenz, 2007). Tricia Smith, the most successful
female rowing athlete in Canada during the 1970s and 1980- agreed with Ellis and added that dominance in the final round always arose from the eastern bloc countries: Romania, Bulgaria, East Germany, Russia and Poland. Most of the finals were from eastern block countries. There were sometimes good players from the UK, the Netherlands, or the United States, but the norm was all eastern bloc, except us (Amanda Nicole Schweinbenz, 2007). It was speculated that these countries were very successful because the women race of 1000 meter distance had the characteristic of dominant power, which was strongly influenced by the use of anabolic steroids. DeFrantz argued, "I think the country should be sanctioned due to the doping system there and it makes the athletes in many ways taking advantage for such a system because it is a sprint flat. FISA initially limited the distance of women's competitions to 1000 meters because it was believed that women were unable to bear the full distance of 2,000 meters, but in 1985, it was decided that a change in women's rowing was needed (Amanda Nicole Schweinbenz, 2007). Extraordinary Congress FISA January 10th - 13th 1985 in Rome Italy emphasized that, women rowing requires endurance and technique, not just strength. Therefore it was agreed that the distance of the women's competition must be changed from the original distance of 1000 meters to 2000 meters (Jean-Louis Meuret, 1992).

At the same time, FISA became interested in spreading rowing sports around the world by attracting rowing athletes from Asia, Africa, and Latin America (Jean-Louis Meuret, 1992). The American rowing association suggested that women lightweight class of rowing to be introduced because that will make sport more attractive to a wider audience (Jean-Louis Meuret, 1992). It was said that an event designed for women weighing less than 60 (sixty) kilograms will be open to the sport of Asia, a continent where the majority of women matches this category. Eager to see sport developing in all parts of the world, FISA agreed to introduce the women lightweight class event at the 1985 world championship (Jean-Louis Meuret, 1992). The IOC also saw the potential of women lightweight class rowing to open up larger market and agreed to introduce women's lightweight class rowing at the 1996 Olympics program. But with the number of events in the Olympics growing rapidly, only one event was agreed to be replaced, namely lightweight double sculls replacing women four without coxswain (Jean-Louis Meuret, 1992). The decision to remove one women heavyweight event for the women lightweight class event did not occur without controversy. The results of the voting were very close, but still the lightweight class had already been decided. It was a huge burden for many European countries, they did not want to eliminate the number of heavyweight athletes because it meant they could not increase the number of athletes to the Olympics. So it seemed very difficult to get rid of women four without coxswain (FISA, 2013). Although initially there was little interest in building women lightweight classes at the Olympics, the introduction of women lightweight double scull numbers at the 1996 Olympics in Atlanta, United States, had encouraged many national rowing federations, even in eastern Europe, to promote women lightweight class in international competitions.

**Tabel 1.** Rowing Events for Both Women and Men in World Rowing Championship. (FISA, 2013)

| No | Event                  | Men | Women |
|----|------------------------|-----|-------|
| 1  | Single Sculls(1x)      | V   | V     |
| 2  | Double Sculls (2x)     | V   | V     |
| 3  | Pair (2-)              | V   | V     |
| 4  | Coxed Pair (2+)        | V   |       |
| 5  | Quadruple Sculls (4x)  | V   | V     |
| 6  | Four (4-)              | V   | V     |
| 7  | Eight (8+)             | V   | V     |
| 8  | Lightweight Single Sculls (1x) | V | V |
| 9  | Lightweight Double Sculls (2x) | V | V |
| 10 | Lightweight Pair (2-)  | V   |       |
| 11 | Lightweight Quadruple Sculls (4x) | V | V |
| 12 | Lightweight Four (4-)  | V   | V     |
| 13 | Lightweight Eight (8+) | V   |       |

**Tabel 2.** Rowing Events for Both Women and Men

| No | Event                  | Men | Women |
|----|------------------------|-----|-------|
| 1  | Single Sculls(1x)      | V   | V     |
| 2  | Pair (2-)              | V   | V     |
| 3  | Double Sculls (2x)     | V   | V     |
| 4  | Four (4-)              | V   |       |
| 5  | Quadruple Sculls (4x)  | V   | V     |
| 6  | Eight (8+)             | V   | V     |
| 7  | Lightweight Double Scull (2x) | V | V |
| 8  | Lightweight Four       | V   |       |
Thus, the women international rowing competition has gone through several obstacles since the start of the first European women championship in 1954. In 1996, a number of women competitions were included in the race program at European championships, world championships, and the Olympics. In addition, women lightweight class was also added to the program at world championships and the Olympics, and the distance of the women race increased from 1000 meters to 2000 meters. Throughout the history of international women rowing competition, female rowing athletes had negotiated all possible access to international competitions, facilities and equipment; female coaches were able to work to build and maintain authority over female athlete training in male-dominated fields; and female administrators had negotiated to regain control they had in the initial stages of the women rowing competition.

The Future of International Women’s Rowing

Women is involved in international level rowing competition but have not received equality in the full sense. Women have a fewer race numbers in international competitions at world championships and Olympics; nine women events compared to fourteen men events at the world championship, and six women events compared to eight men events at the Olympics (Table 1 and 2). In many ways, we can see that the history of women international rowing competition is similar to the history of women's participation in other modern sports. Before the mid-nineteenth century, most women were discouraged from all forms of physical activity for fear of reproductive damage, such as displacement of the uterus. The main role of the women was to become a wife and mother of her children and it was feared that her reproductive organs would be destroyed or may make her useless. Women were encouraged to participate in activities that promote elegance and beauty, and which can develop the body physically and mentally for the responsibilities of being a wife and mother, such as a brisk walk.

Rowing was introduced as a way for middle and upper class women to enjoy free time on water without the need of physical pressure as it does in rowing competition. But working class women actively participate in strenuous physical activities, especially for their
livelihoods and not for recreational purposes. Their social status class is lower, but their physical ability allows them to be slightly superior in sports participation. The fisherman's daughter, for example, was granted permission to enter the local regatta before the turn of the nineteenth century. While their involvement primarily serves as entertainment for male audiences, it also gives participants the opportunity to prove that women are indeed capable of doing physical activities that are usually done by men. While the initial stages of women's involvement in rowing are very different from the sports we know today, they did predict the start of rowing in women's international competitions.

They have been granted permission to enter the local regatta before the turn of the nineteenth century. While their involvement primarily serves as entertainment for male audiences, it also gives participants the opportunity to prove that women are indeed capable of doing physical activities that are usually done by men. While the initial stages of women's involvement in rowing are very different from the sports we know today, they did predict the start of rowing in women's international competitions.

Tabel 3. Rowing Events for Both Women and Men in World Rowing Championship. (FISA, 2017) before Olympic Games 2020 (FISA, 2013)

| No. | Event                        | Men | Women |
|-----|------------------------------|-----|-------|
| 1   | Single Sculls(1x)            | V   | V     |
| 2   | Pair (2-)                    | V   | V     |
| 3   | Double Sculls (2x)           | V   | V     |
| 4   | Four (4-)                    | V   | V     |
| 5   | Quadruple Sculls (4x)        | V   | V     |
| 6   | Eight (8+)                   | V   | V     |
| 7   | Lightweight Single Sculls (1x)| V   | V     |
| 8   | Lightweight Double Sculls (2x)| V   | V     |
| 9   | Lightweight Pair (2-)        | V   | V     |
| 10  | Lightweight Quadruple Sculls (4x)  | V | V |

Tabel 4. Rowing Events for Both Women and Men before Olympic Games 2020. (SENDA, 2018)

| No. | Event                        | Men | Women |
|-----|------------------------------|-----|-------|
| 1   | Single Sculls(1x)            | V   | V     |
| 2   | Pair (2-)                    | V   | V     |
| 3   | Double Sculls (2x)           | V   | V     |
| 4   | Four (4-)                    | V   | V     |
| 5   | Quadruple Sculls (4x)        | V   | V     |
| 6   | Eight (8+)                   | V   | V     |
| 7   | Lightweight Double Sculls (2x)| V | V |

From the start, the growing interest in women's participation in rowing which was largely reserved for men from the middle and upper classes eventually led to the introduction of women in European championships, world championships and the Olympics and the development of other women rowing competitions. The development of the women international rowing competition is very slow and often find hard times. Some female and male rowing administrators argue that rowing in international competition must remain for male territory, with the physical reasons of women's and their moral sensitivity as reasons for prohibiting them from participating in sports.

However, it is the tireless work of rowing athletes, coaches, and female administrators in conjunction with several male rowing administrators who support it eventually that lead the female rowing athletes, both heavy and lightweight, to gain access to international rowing. It was proven in the same number of male and female events at the 2000 Tokyo Olympic Games (Tables 3 and 4).

Early Beginnings of Indonesian Rowing

Rowing entered Indonesia before the World War II, brought about by the Dutch. At that time there were already rowing associations in Semarang, Jakarta, and Surabaya whose members consisted of only white people, which then also accepted members from the Indonesians. The famous rowing club was the "Roli Verening Brantas" in Surabaya which was the forerunner to the establishment of the Surabaya "PORAS" rowing club (Sumarto, Ardiwinata, Harahap, & Ny. BG. Sri Wiharjani Prastowo, 1986) In 1965 an organization was formed to manage five sports fields of sails, rowing, diving, water skiing and wower boating under the name PEROPI (Persatuan Olahraga Perairan Indonesia - Indonesian Water Sports Association). Rowing itself began to be competed in the PON VII of 1969 at Gunung Sahari, Surabaya, for a very limited event and only for male groups, namely Pair with Coxwain (M2 +), Four with Coxwain (M4 +) with a distance of 2000 meters and Eight (M8 +) with a longer race distance of 3000 meters (“Budiman Setiawan, interview by Dede Rohmat Nurjaya,” 2019). In PON 1973 rowing was also contested only for male groups with fewer numbers, namely Pair with Coxwain (M2 +), Four with Coxwain (M4 +) with shorter race distances of 1500 meter (“Budiman Setiawan, interview by Dede Rohmat Nurjaya,” 2019).

In 1975, in Pasir Putih East Java the first National Championship was held altogether with four other sports. PON IX in 1977 was the most severe period for rowing, because only one number was contested (M2 +) and the athletes also had to play in number Kayak 1 and...
Kayak 2 whereas the athlete's quota was only 3 people for each region (Budiman Setiawan, interview by Dede Rohmat Nurjaya, 2019). Along with the 1977 PON IX, the 2nd PEROPI Congress was attended by twenty provinces in Indonesia and PEROPI changed its name to FOPINDO (Federation of Indonesian Aquatic Sports) and ordered its members to form a autonomous management (Sumarto et al., 1986). From then on FOPINDO was only a forum for cooperation in water sports and automatically caused FOPINDO membership in KONI to drop out. After passing through several central KONI plenary sessions, at the 11th Plenary Session in 1980 the All Indonesian Paddle Sports Association (PODSI) officially became a permanent member with Decree No. 029/1980, dated April 15, 1980 (Sumarto et al., 1986).

At the 1985 PON, rowing began to be contested with more events and venues and distances in accordance with the rules of the international organization of rowing (FISA). But women were still not involved in this activity. In PON 1989 women's rowing was first contested, although with very limited numbers and fewer athletes than men (KONI Pusat, 1994). The growth of rowing in Indonesia after PON in 1989 to the year 2016 shows a positive trend, although the number of women race numbers is still lower than for men (Table 5).

**Indonesian Rowing in International Regatta**

Rowing in Asia began to develop in the late 1970s. Countries that already have a long tradition of rowing are China with the coaching of its Olympic Sport, Japan because of the preparation for the 1964 Tokyo Olympics, India due to the British colony, Pakistan (Karachi Boat Club), and 2 Koreas (South and North). Rowing clubs that still survive today are University Boat Club (Rangon) and Manila Boat Club (Manila). In addition there are expatriates in Brunei establishing the Kuala

### Tabel 5. Rowing Events for Both Women and Men in World Rowing Championship (FISA, 2013)

| No.  | Event               | Male                        | Female                     |
|------|---------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1.   | PON 1969            | M2+ and M4+                 |                            |
| 2.   | PON 1973            | M2+ and M4+ 1500 meter      |                            |
| 3.   | PON 1977            | M2+ 1500 meter              |                            |
| 4.   | PON 1981            | M2+ 100 meters and 2000 meter|                            |
| 5.   | PON 1985            | M1X, M2-, M2+, M4+ 2000 meter|                            |
| 6.   | PON 1989            | M1X, M2-, M2+, and M4+      | W1X, W2- and W4+           |
| 7.   | PON 1993            | M1x, M2X, LM2X, M2-, M4-, M2+| W1x, LW2x, W2x, W2-, W4-   |
| 8.   | PON 1996            | M1x, M2X, LM2X, M2-, M4-, Rowing Ergometer (HM and LM)| W1x, LW2x, W2x, W2-, W4-, Rowing Ergometer (HM and LM) |
| 9.   | PON 2000            | M1x, M2X, LM2X, M2-, M4-, M8+ Rowing Ergometer (HM and LM)| W1x, LW2x, W2x, W2-, W4-, Rowing Ergometer (HM and LM) |
| 10.  | PON 2004            | M1x, M2X, LM2X, M2-, M4-, M8+ Rowing Ergometer (HM and LM)| W1x, LW2x, W2x, W2-, W4-, Rowing Ergometer (HM and LM) |
| 11.  | PON 2008            | M1x, M2X, LM2X, M2-, M4-, M8+ Rowing Ergometer (HM and LM)| W1x, LW2x, W2x, W2-, W4-, Rowing Ergometer (HM and LM) |
| 12.  | PON 2012            | M1x, M2x, M4x, M2-, LM4-, M8+, LM1x, and LM2x | W1x, W2x, W4x, W2-, W4-, LW1x, and LW2x |
| 13.  | PON 2016            | M1x, M2x, M4x, M2-, LM4-, M8+, LM1x, and LM2x | W1x, W2x, W4x, W2-, W4-, LW1x, and LW2x |
Belait Boat Club, the Singapore Royal Yacht Club and the Royal Yacht Club Hong Kong which is supported by the Jockey Club. Therefore the development of rowing in Asia and Southeast Asia is not too difficult compared to canoeing, because there is already a forerunner. In Indonesia, there was a rowing club with foreign members in the 1930s, such as the Brantas Roeien Club in Surabaya, a Dutch club which broke up and only existed after 1965 under the name Poras (in AAL) (Setiawan, 2020).

The Indonesian rowing team firstly competed in international event at the 1982 Asian Games IX in New Delhi, India for the men's category, namely M1X, M2+, 2+ and M4+, with the athletes on behalf of Budiman Setiawan, Suranto, Maselan and Sofii with cox George Muntu (Oom Boy) concurrently as a coach together with Ismail Karback (Setiawan, 2020). Rowing at the Asian Games was preceded by the Rowing, Canoeing and Yachting Branch meeting in Nagoya to form the Asian federation in 1981. This activity was sponsored by Japan in the form of board lodging and 5 (five) ticket for each sport branch to attend the meeting. The results of the caucus was that Rowing was successfully involved in the 1982 Asian Games in New Delhi (Harahap, 1987). At the same time ARF (Asian Rowing Federation) was established in Jaipur and Indonesia was a founding member of ARF together with China, South Korea, India, Hong Kong, Japan and North Korea. Meanwhile, Indonesia's membership in FISA began in 1986 (Setiawan, 2020).

Indonesia's participation continued at the 1st Asian Championship in Hong Kong 1985 (after India failed to become an organizer in 1983 and 1984 in Calcuta India due to lack of participants), Indonesia participated with the same athletes and officials as it was in the 1982 Asian Games. Indonesia sent the athletes in 3 events: LM1X, LM2- and LM4- with 1 bronze on LM2-. It was the first Indonesia’s medal in international competition (“Budiman Setiawan, interview by Dede Rohmat Nurjaya,” 2019).

In preparation for the 1986 Asian Games, the Indonesian National Rowing Team received modern training with full support from KONI (Indonesian National Sports Committee). The training was held for 3 months in Mamaia Romania, 10 kilometers from the city of Constantza on the Black Sea edge. The team consisted of 5 women (Jariah / Central Kalimantan, Tuah / Central Kalimantan, Suparmi / Central Java, Salmah / South Sulawesi and Jumina / Southeast Sulawesi) and 5 men (Sofii / Central Java, Sunardi / Central Java, Janata / DKI Jakarta and Rosadi / DKI Jakarta), accompanied with coach Budiman Setiawan and Ismail Karback. At the 1986 Asian Games, women rowing athletes began participating in international competitions, even though their previous background was canoeing athletes (“Budiman Setiawan, interview by Dede Rohmat Nurjaya,” 2019).

Subsequently in 1987 Indonesia participated in the 2nd Asian Championship at the Shanghai Regatta Course, although at that time diplomatic relations had not yet been established between Indonesia and China. The contingent consisted of Rayvaldo (M1X), Sofii, Sunardi, Janata, Rosadi (LM4-), Suparmi (LM1X) and Ari Dinartiari (M2-) accompanied by officials consisting of George Muntu, Budiman Setiawan and Ismail Karback as well as Mr. Basoeki as Indonesia's representative at the Rowing Asia Congress (“Budiman Setiawan, interview by Dede Rohmat Nurjaya,” 2019).

Indonesia's participation in international competitions carries on even the number of participational events went up and down, which really depends on the potential of the medals targeted by the KONI (Indonesian National Sports Committee). Being active in the Asian region competition, in order to catch up with other countries, Indonesia has also actively participated in several training camps under the coordination of FISA as well as world-class competitions such as; World Junior Championship in Milan Italy in 1988, Universiade at Duisburg German 1989, Olympic Qualification in Shanghai China 1995, Nagunama Japan 1999. At the World Rowing Championship, Indonesia also participated several times in 1997 at Aguibellete France, St. Catharine Canada in 1999, Gifu Japan 2006, Lake Dorney England 2007, Munich German 2009, Poznan Poland 2013, and at Chung Ju Korea in 2016. At the multi event Olympiade, Indonesia qualified in Athens 2004 for Women Single Scull (W1X) on behalf of Pere Karoba and Rio, then in 2016 for the Women Single Scull event on behalf of Dewi Juli and the Men Single Scull (M1X) on behalf of Memo through the Regional Asian Oceania Rowing Qualification. Male rowing still dominates Indonesia's participation in
the competitions.

**Table 6. Indonesia Participation at International Regatta**

| Year | Sea Games | Asian Games | Olympic |
|------|-----------|-------------|---------|
|      | Men’s     | Women’s     | Men’s   | Women’s |
| 1982 | v         | v           |         |         |
| 1986 | v         | v           |         |         |
| 1987 | v         | v           |         |         |
| 1990 | v         | v           | v       | v       |
| 1994 | v         | v           |         |         |
| 1997 | v         | v           | v       | v       |
| 1998 | v         | v           | v       | v       |
| 2001 | v         | v           | v       | v       |
| 2002 | v         | v           | v       | v       |
| 2003 | v         | v           | v       | v       |
| 2004 | v         | v           | v       | v       |
| 2005 | v         | v           | v       | v       |
| 2006 | v         | v           | v       | v       |
| 2007 | v         | v           | v       | v       |
| 2010 | v         | v           | v       | v       |
| 2011 | v         | v           | v       | v       |
| 2013 | v         | v           | v       | v       |
| 2014 | v         | v           | v       | v       |
| 2015 | v         | v           | v       | v       |
| 2016 | v         | v           | v       | v       |
| 2018 | v         | v           | v       | v       |

**Current Situation of Indonesian Women’s Rowing**

In the 1987 SEA Games in Jakarta, when Indonesia was the host, the women's rowing was started being contested. In every Sea Games event, Indonesia always outperformed in achieving medals, except for the 2005, 2007 and 2011 Sea Games, where the Filipino and Thai teams outperformed the Indonesian medals (Table 3). The dominance of Indonesian rowing athletes in the Sea Games multi event colors the growth of rowing sports in southeast Asia, including the participational contribution of female athletes.

Indonesian rowing medals won at the Asian Games multi-event was not as much as Sea Games. The dominance of China in multi-level events in Asia colors the growth and development of rowing in Asia. The first Indonesian rowing medal in the level of Asia multi-event is 1 bronze from the number W4- (women coxless fours) in the name of Tuah, Neliemati, Yuly and Tuti at the 1990 Asian Games in Beijing China. Then Asian Games 1998 in Bangkok Thailand, Indonesia got 1 silver on behalf of Lasmin (M1X), Asian Games Busan South Korea 2002, 1 bronze on behalf of Aldino Maryandi, Agus Budi Aji, Rodiaman and Rahmat (LM4_), Doha Qatar 2006 Asian Games 2 bronze on behalf of Jamaludin, Iswandi, Thomas Halattu, and Sumardi (M4-) and Pere Karoba (W1X), the 2014 Korean Incheon Asian Games 1 bronze on behalf of Ihram, Ardi Isari, Yakin and Tanzik (LM4X) and the 2018 Asian Games when Indonesia became the host of 1 gold (LM8 +), 2 silver (M4X and LM4-) and 2 bronze (W2- and W4-). The achievement of the Indonesian medal is inseparable from the contribution of female athletes, aside from the W4 event at the 1990 Beijing Asian Games and the W1X at the Doha Asian Games in 2004, the next generation of Indonesia women athletes also contributed significantly in the 2018 Jakarta Asian Games with 2 bronze achievements on behalf of Yayah Rokayah, Julyanti (W2-) and Yayah Rokayah, Julyanti, Chelsea Corputi and Maode Fitri (W4-).

**Table 7. Indonesian Rowing Performance in Sea Games**

| Years | Gold Medals | Number of Event |
|-------|-------------|----------------|
| Sea Games 1987 Jakarta | 6 | 6 |
| Sea Games 1997 Jakarta | 7 | 11 |
| Sea Games 2001 Kuala Lumpur | 5 | 8 |
| Sea Games 2003 Hanoi | 4 | 8 |
| Sea Games 2005 Manila | 2 | 9 |
| Sea Games 2007 Nakhon | 2 | 9 |
| Sea Games 2011 Jakarta | 3 | 11 |
| Sea Games 2013 Naypyidam | 5 | 9 |
| Sea Games 2015 Singapore | 8 | 18 |
| Sea Games 2019 Philipina | 3 | 6 |

Whereas in the higher multi-event, Olympic, Indonesia's rowing performance is still far behind China and Japan for Asia level. Indonesia rowing passed three olympians: Pere Koroba (ranked 14th Women Single Scull Olympic Athens 2004), La Memo (ranked 16th Men Single Scull), and Dewi (Women Single Scull) in Rio 2016.

**The Future of Indonesian Women’s Rowing**

Indonesian women have vastly developed in Muslim-majority and male-dominated societies. Although gender inequality is still significant, the dynamics of women's participation in the economy are changing. Women always contribute to the economy, but only to a lesser extent as unpaid workers at home or in low-paid jobs. Now they hold more positions in the professional fields, business and government. The male share of total income earned is still 62 percent versus 38 percent...
of women, but the figures are skewed by the absence of women's income from the informal economy (where they are disproportionately represented) and from subsistence agriculture. Poor women are always very economically active because their contribution to family finances is crucial for their wellbeing. Indonesia is basically a patriarchal society, where women are expected to play traditional roles as daughters, wives and mothers. For this reason, they face many problems such as gender discrimination in education and employment, sexual harassment, domestic violence, polygamy, and exploitation by their own male family members (“Indonesia: Society & Culture,” n.d.).

In the 2019-2024 parliament member elections (DPR), 118 seats or 21 percent of the total 575 seats in the DPR were occupied by women. That number increased by 22 percent from the previous election which only occupied as many as 97 seats (“Isi Kursi DPR 2019-2024, Porsi Perempuan Meningkat - Tirto.ID,” n.d.). Thirty percent of all political party nominations must be reserved for women. In addition, from a total of 136 DPD (Regional Representatives Council) members appointed, 42 are women (“Isi Kursi DPR 2019-2024, Porsi Perempuan Meningkat - Tirto.ID,” n.d.). President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) has appointed five women out of 34 ministers (15%) to sit in the Indonesian Cabinet for 2019-2024 (“Kabinet Jokowi-Ma’ruf 2019: Mengapa Representasi Perempuan Minim? - Tirto.ID,” n.d.). The representation of women in the current cabinet is lower compared to the previous cabinet with eight women. The number of women in the President Jokowi’s cabinet was the highest during the reformation. Data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) in Political Statistics 2016 states that there are 23.53 percent of female ministers in the cabinet (“Proporsi Perempuan di Kabinet Jokowi Tertinggi Selama Reformasi | Databoks,” n.d.). The number is the highest compared to the former cabinet of President Abdurrahman Wahid, Megawati Soekarnoputri, and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono.

Women are also represented at the local government level by occupying several Regent positions. They are relatively well represented in professions such as law and medicine. More than 16 percent of judges, 23 percent of State Administrative Court judges, and 15 percent of Supreme Court Justices are women (“Indonesia: Society & Culture,” n.d.). It is estimated that women run around 60 percent of all micro, small and medium business enterprises. Urban women, especially those who are educated and working, play a more important role than their rural counterparts who considered that education is still something luxurious. Many of those who pursue education at university level limit themselves to "feminine" courses in science and humanities which reduce their chances of competing for better jobs.

In conventional point of views, sports were considered to belong only to masculinists, but women's involvement in sports had also followed that assumption. In the past women were given responsibility around household chores only, such as house cleaning and taking care of children. The desire of women to be free to participate more in various dimensions including sports encourages the emergence of women's emancipation. Even in America, women's freedom only arose around the end of the 16th century (Astuti & Parulian, 2018).

Indonesians see sport as an integral part of daily life to achieve physical fitness and recreational pleasure. People are also enthusiastic about participating in various traditional and modern sports on professional levels. KONI (the Indonesian National Sports Committee) organizes most sports events in the country. Popular traditional sports in Indonesia include bull racing (Karapan Sapi), bullfighting (Adu banteng), cockfighting (adu ayam), boat racing and kite flying, all of which are usually held as part of cultural and social festivals. One of the more popular traditional events is the Renggong Horse Contest (Kuda Ronggeng), which is held every year in September, where the horses are beautifully decorated and the jockeys riding them show their dancing skills. It attracts a large number of tourists and horse lovers from all over the world. Another popular sport is silat, namely a form of martial art that is similar to kungfu or karate. Football, table tennis and badminton are the most popular modern sports in the country and are played by all ages. Other sports that are gaining in popularity include golf, tennis, squash, swimming, sailing, scuba diving and surfing.

Indonesians are increasingly becoming health conscious and consider personal fitness as an important part of their lives. The survey shows that people of all ages in this country generally regard sports and physical exercise as important things. As an evidence in the new
housing complex in the country is now usually equipped with a fitness and recreation center where residents can find indoor and outdoor facilities for various sports and physical activities such as tennis, badminton, squash, swimming, aerobics, jogging, and bicycling. These neighborhood centers are family oriented, encouraging participation from women and children too.

In Indonesia, young and middle-aged people, especially men, have a big preference for soccer. Badminton and field tracking are the most popular sports among Indonesian young and adult women ("Indonesia : Society & Culture,” n.d.). Silat is popular with both young men and women. A popular sport among students is taekwondo which is also conducted by men and women. Surveys show that nearly 800,000 people practice taekwondo in this country. In addition, the Government of Indonesia hold a National Sports Day in September in order to encourage participational involvement in sports. Indonesians generally play sports in public sports centers, on the streets, and the open grounds in their neighborhood. The main urban areas, especially Jakarta (the capital), have many golf courses, swimming pools, tennis courts, stables, and well-equipped fitness clubs which open to the public for an additional fee. Jakarta has many family sports clubs specifically for expatriates.

Indonesian culture presumes that women are identical with tenderness, beauty, and elegance. However, the inclination of women to have equal position to men continues to grow, so that they often declare themselves to be the same as a man. Sport is still considered a male domain where men can pursue their masculinity identity. Individuals who have a masculine gender orientation will avoid the choice of feminist sports participation and vice versa. So it can be assumed that women will not participate in any kind of masculine sports. It is very difficult to reconcile the nature of competition in sports with growing femininity. Competitive sports give a strong impression of masculinity and femininity. The view that sports is a male activity has a strong influence on how men and women view sport, as well as determining the reasons that will encourage participation in sports. The figure of women who excel and can balance between family and career is very rare to find. Women are often afraid to pursue a career because of the demands of their role as housewives.

Some former female rowers talk about the changes they want so that the development of Indonesian rowing is increasingly competitive in international event. For example, talking about the importance of increasing the profile of Indonesian women's rowing athletes in various forms of media; issues that they consider necessary for FISA to address. Unlike the other commissions, the FISA Women's Commission is served as a support network for the women involved: I think we have one of the most pleasant Commissions to be on. We really took an interest in each other, it was very supportive, but we also took the opportunity to experience the culture of sports of the place where we happened to be meeting. I think we had to be aware of these things because our overriding goal was promoting women in rowing and the tactics might vary from culture to culture.89 To increase the number of women in fostering achievement and to increase the number of women in rowing managerials also becomes the prayers of Indonesian female rowers. Sport sociologist Jim McKay has argued that when sport organizations create opportunities to increase the number of women in administrative roles, these positions actually tend to hold little power and responsibility.

Implications for Further Research

This is not a complete history of Indonesian women's involvement in rowing. I chose to focus on what I consider a decisive moment in the history of the growth and development of Indonesian women's rowing, from the introductory moment when women's events were conducted at the Indonesian National Sports Week, the 1987 Sea Games in Jakarta, the 1986 Asian Games in Korea, and the Olympics Athens 2004. There is still much research to be conducted in this field, and I encourage the other researchers to continue this work. Research does not have to be limited to the international level; it is also possible to tell all the history of women's participation in rowing at the national and local levels. Research is needed on women's participation in developing country rowing sports, including Indonesia. In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, the success of Chinese female athletes shows that the parent organization of Chinese rowing has learned and made the most successful women's rowing program in the history of the development of women's rowing in...
international competitions. Even though China is the center of attention and successful in international women's rowing competitions, many female athletes from other developing countries that participate have not received similar support in the search for elite competition experience. Of course, they need to be facilitated.

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