From Women to Women: The Link between Women's Political Leadership and Pro-Women Policies in Indonesia

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Abstract: This study explores the relationship between women's political leadership and pro-women public policies in Indonesia. This study answers the critical question of whether women's political leadership necessarily influences the production of pro-women public policies. By using literature review methods and critical previous research, this study found that although there has been significant progress in women's participation in the field of political leadership (both executive and legislative) from the actor side, there are still major obstacles in terms of public policy production caused by women. by a deep-rooted patriarchal culture and production of pro-women public policies that are pro-women are incapable. This study concludes the importance of integrating gender perspectives into the public policy process to produce public policies that are pro-women in the context of women for women.

Keywords: Women's political leadership, public policy, and gender perspective.

INTRODUCTION

The study of women's political leadership is one of the interesting studies in Politics and Public Administration studies. There is much research on the influence of women's political leadership on policy change. One of them is research that provides an overview of women's leadership in the Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta Provincial Government Bureaucracy and its obstacles (Artisa, R. A., 2017). The position of women's representation in legislative institutions contributed greatly to the formation of the Gender Development Index/GDI (Kertati, 2019). Ferreira & Gyourko (2014) actually found no effect of mayor's gender on policy outcomes related to the size of local government, the composition of city spending and employment, or crime rates. Even though the mayor is a woman, she does not implement different policies compared to men. Research shows that women's quotas in elections have an impact on accelerating women's representation in leadership positions and helps dispel the myth that women's quotas are manipulated for short-term gain and not for long-term political power (O'brien, & Rickne, 2016).

Indonesia is one of the countries that supports the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) with the fifth goal being gender equality. The SDGs principle *"No One Left Behind"* emphasizes the importance of involving all stakeholders, including women, in implementing the SDGs. There are several regulations and policies related to gender equality at both international and national levels. At the international level, some of them are the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the Beijing Platform for Action, and SDGs 2030. At the national level, especially those related to women's representation in executive and legislative institutions are regulated in the Law. Law No. 2 of 2011 concerning Amendments to Law no. 2 of 2008 concerning Political Parties and Law no. 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections which mandates women's representation of at least 30%. (https://www.kemenpppa.go.id/page/view/NDgzOQ== accessed 9 October 2024).

Even though it has not yet fully reached 30%, in general, the percentage of women's representation in the DPR Elections has increased from 20.5% in the 2019 Election to 22.1% in the 2024 Election. (https://rumahpemilu.org/distorsi-keterbangunan-perempuan- in-election-2024/ accessed 9 October 2024). Meanwhile, there are still relatively few executive positions, currently there are only 24 regions led by female Regional

Heads or around 4% of the total regions in Indonesia (https://www.kemenpppa.go.id/page/view/NDY1OQ_== accessed 9 October 2024).

Increasing women's representation in politics, especially in elections, is at least through continuous struggle to achieve equality and justice. One of them is by realizing legislation that has affirmative action to increase women's representation in politics. Through women's representation, it is hoped that women's political leadership will significantly influence the production of pro-women public policies.

This study aims to explore the relationship between women's political leadership and the production of pro-women public policy in the sense of women for women.

METHODS

The method used in this study is a literature review and critical review of previous research which aims to explore the relationship between women's political leadership and pro-women public policy in Indonesia. Problem solving: the results and discussion in this study use the RAE (Rapid Assessment-Evidence) method, namely a systematic methodology for searching and critically assessing and providing a quick and balanced assessment of what is known (and not known) from scientific studies: results of a literature review and empirical studies on problem formulation, practical question formulation and intervention. To provide a balanced assessment, this study begins by determining the question formulation; What is female political leadership? And how to integrate a gender perspective into the public policy process?

After the questions are formulated and determined, the next process is selecting relevant literature to discuss or answer the formulation of this study question. The literature reviewed comes from various databases of journals of national and international repute published from 2014 - 2024. All data collected was analyzed using meta-analysis, which is a non-statistical technique for integrating, evaluating and interpreting the findings of several previous research studies.

Next, problem solving through meta-analysis results is combined to identify the core elements and general themes of this study. The core elements and general themes are divided into the basic concept of women's political leadership, the existence of women's political leadership and finally the initial idea of integrating a gender perspective into the public policy process.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Women's Political Leadership

Since at least the 1930s, the definition of leadership has been a topic of hot and popular scientific debate, but a generally agreed upon definition has not yet emerged (Northouse, 2015 in Hill, et al, 2016). Warren Bennis and Burton Nanus (in Hill, et al, 2016) identified 850 different definitions of leaders and leadership: strategies for taking responsibility. Leadership dimensions cannot be categorized simply. Leadership contexts can occur between friends, colleagues, and communities; within formal hierarchies and informal groups; inside or outside the organization; and with or without management responsibilities. Leadership can appear momentarily, such as in an emergency, or can be exercised over a long period of time Leadership can appear in various situations, and can occur when momentarily responding and adapting to change (Keohane, 2012 in Hill, et al, 2016).

According to Artisa (2017), leadership continues to develop along with various environmental changes and needs. Currently, leadership is no longer synonymous with men's roles, but women have also become leaders. Leaders, both men and women, have their own unique characteristics in leading. This has implications for variations in leadership styles and patterns that are carried out and the impact on the person or situation and context they lead. The role of a leader, regardless of gender, ultimately becomes the central point in determining the direction to achieve certain goals.

Hill, et al, (2016) in their research in American countries on *Barriers and Bias: The Status of Women in Leadership* explained further that although there are stereotypes about macho leaders who are dominated by male traits, leadership is not inherently masculine. According to him, white men have a long history of holding most leadership positions in society, but the concept of leadership continues to absorb and actualize masculine stereotypes: aggression, assertiveness, willingness to engage in conflict, strength, and so on. Of course, this stereotype is not only available to white men and is a dominant personality trait in all men, but also generally in female leaders. Researchers have explored the important elements of leadership and found no gender differences in leadership effectiveness (Hyde, 2014 in Hill, et al, 2016). The question of whether women and men have different approaches to leadership has been the subject of much published research, both in books and scientific articles. Women can use leadership styles and

patterns that are usually used by men. For example, in a medical emergency, leaders (both men and women) need fast and coordinated action that requires firm and authoritative leadership.

Researchers found that women tend to adopt a transformational leadership style: motivating followers through charisma, intellectual stimulation, and individual consideration (Bass & Riggio, 2006, Matsa & Miller, 2013 as cited in Hill, et al, 2016). Race, ethnicity, age, income, health, and sexual orientation all influence women's leadership opportunities, and these factors can result in very different experiences among different groups of women. Not only do women of color face racial and ethnic discrimination that white women do not, they also experience gender bias differently than white women—and they experience racial bias differently than men in their racial or ethnic group (Williams et al., 2014 in Hill, et al, 2016). Scholars use the term "intersectionality" to describe this phenomenon.

UN Women (2024) found facts about women's leadership and political participation:
1. Balanced political participation and the sharing of power between women and men in decision-making are internationally agreed targets set out in the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action.
2. Although most countries in the world have not yet achieved gender equality, gender quotas have contributed greatly to progress over the years. In countries with candidate quotas set by law, women's representation is five percentage points and seven percentage points higher in parliament and local government, respectively, compared with countries without such laws.
3. There is strong and growing evidence that women's leadership in political decision-making processes can improve their quality. For example, research on panchayats (local councils) in India found that the number of drinking water projects in areas with women-led councils was 62 percent higher than in areas with male-led councils. In Norway, a direct causal relationship was found between the presence of women in city councils and childcare coverage.
4. Women demonstrate political leadership by working across party lines through women's caucuses in parliament—even in the most politically aggressive environments—and by fighting for gender equality issues, such as the elimination of gender-based violence, parental and childcare leave, pensions, legislation -gender equality legislation, and electoral reform. (https://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/leadership-and-political-participation/facts-and-figures accessed 10 October 2024).

Women's political leadership referred to in this study is leadership based on women's political positions obtained based on the results of general elections (DPR/DPR members) and regional head elections (Governor/Deputy Governor, Regent/Deputy Regent and Mayor/Mayor). With her position as a political leader, attributes inherent in her as a female political leader are influenced by the political, economic, social and cultural context and status which influence her in decision making or public policy, whether it is different from the construction of men in producing pro-women public policies. or the same thing.

Integrating Gender Perspectives into Public Policy Processes

From women to women in this study focuses on the study of women's political leadership who are able to transform their leadership into pro-women public policies or policies with a gender perspective. Public policy is a policy developed by government institutions and government officials (Winarno, 2014: 20 as quoted in Rasyidin, & Fidhia, 2018). These policies are expected to be brought about by actors in the formulation of public policies, such as government officials, regional and central legislative members, or it could be said by actors who are stakeholders in society. Public policy with a gender perspective is a strategy carried out to achieve and realize gender equality and justice in a number of aspects of human life through policies and programs that take into account the experiences, aspirations, needs and problems of women and men in the implementation planning, monitoring and evaluation of all policies. and programs in various fields of life and development, especially in gender mainstreaming programs (Rasyidin, & Fidhia, 2018).

With women's representation in parliament and political participation, it is hoped that it will be able to ensure the existence of policies that support and empower women, as well as contribute to real and felt change by women. The only success of women's political leadership in parliament through a long struggle to produce policy is the successful passing of Law Number 12 of 2022 concerning Crimes of Sexual Violence (UU TPKS) to ensure protection for women. In other sectors, there are still challenges and obstacles for women's leadership. BPS data shows that the number of violence against women is still quite high with a total of 431,471 cases in 2019. Data on Gender Mainstreaming (Pengarusutamaan Gender/PUG) in the regions shows that there is no correlation between the performance of Gender Mainstreaming (Pengarusutamaan Gender/PUG) policies and programs and the Women's Development Index (GPI) with political leadership Women in Indonesia. In fact, we already have strengths and opportunities because the National Long Term Development Plan (RPJPN) 2005-2025 has designated PUG as one of

the development strategies. Likewise, the 2020-2024 National Medium Term Development Plan (RPJMN) has established PUG as a strategy to realize justice and gender equality in national development (https://www.kemenpppa.go.id/page/view/NTM4Ng== accessed 10 October 2024)..

There are several research results that show obstacles to the integration of gender mainstreaming policies in the regions. For example, Rahayu's research findings (2016) at least show that the PUG policy implemented by BP3AKB Central Java Province is still unable to overcome gender problems. Things that tend to influence PUG include traditional values, women's willingness and ability to realize gender equality, and the existence of mass media in promoting gender equality. The research results of Khaerah & Mutiarin (2016) indicate that the gender specific budget allocation is 4% with 26 budget posts, and the budget allocation for gender equality is 3% with 3 budget posts, whereas for the general gender mainstream budget allocation no allocation was found. or budget post or 0% of the total direct expenditure budget for the Makassar City Health Service in 2014. In implementing gender responsive budgeting at the Makassar City Health Service, there are several obstacles, namely policy obstacles, structural obstacles and cultural obstacles.

Research by Tazkia & Cadith, (2022) shows that the implementation of PUG in development in Pandeglang Regency has not been as planned. This is because the availability of human and financial resources is inadequate, the OPD is less participatory and disciplined in carrying out Gender Responsive Budgeting Planning (PPRG), the lack of socialization and coordination between implementers and the economic and social environment does not yet support the implementation of PUG in Pandeglang Regency, making development unresponsive. gender. Interesting research from Amanah, et al. (2023) concerning the Dynamics of the Role of Sundanese Women in Political Leadership in the Modern Era which found that in this modern era there has been a positive shift in the socio-cultural construction of women's leadership in the world of politics. The public's view is increasingly open that women can be good leaders in the public sphere, which is supported by the performance of Sundanese female legislative members who demonstrate political values such as awareness, openness, deliberation and flexibility in communication. Despite this, Sundanese women still face obstacles in entering the world of politics, especially problems of courage and self-confidence. Therefore, efforts are needed to increase women's awareness, knowledge and skills in politics through community environments, education and organizations that support women as political leaders.

Apart from the barriers and biases of social status, economics and patriarchal culture which are still inherent in the construction of women, they have limitations in producing pro-women public policies. This study also found that contestation by elite actors in fighting for their interests through the public policy process also contributed to the neglect of pro-women public policies. The contestation of interests between actors in the process of formulating public policy shows that women's interests are often marginalized by the interests of local elites who are dominated by officials and businessmen (generally men) who are quantitatively and qualitatively more powerful than women. In fact, public policy is oriented towards all parties (the public) including women, but along the way it is often manipulated to serve the interests of certain parties.

At least, these findings are in accordance with the findings of Suhardiman (2024) who analyzed the dynamics of the implementation of Samarinda City DPRD legislative policies which showed that there was a tug of war between interests that were biased by the public, pseudo-participants and elite-oligarchic in nature, where the influential actors were dominated by executive heavy ones. supported by an elite group of businessmen as well as leaders of mass organizations as the basis of the Mayor's political power in building bargaining power vis-à-vis members of the DPRD. It was found that there was no emergence of meaningful opposition and no constructive discourse between DPRD members from different political parties, from different electoral districts and there was no dividing line between parties supporting the government and parties not supporting the government. As a result, there is no check and balance in legislative discussion rooms. The public in this position becomes quasi-participants, they are invited to plenary meetings, but do not have the power to speak. The model for implementing the legislative function of the Samarinda City DPRD shows an elitist-oligarchic model of democracy. This model shows the dynamics of interaction and political configuration in the formation of regional regulations in Samarinda City, dominated by elites, namely the Mayor of Samarinda who is supported by the entry of strong and influential informal figures (local entrepreneurs) who also dominate the initial ideas and substance of regional regulations and policy changes. others in Samarinda City.

Overcoming these gender barriers and biases in producing pro-women public policies, it is important to integrate gender perspectives into the public policy process. Deputy Chair of the Indonesian MPR 2019 – 2024, Lestari Moerdijat highlighted the role of women in parliament. According to him, women's representation must be increased so that the resulting policies can realize more equal justice and prosperity for every citizen by (1) encouraging political education efforts for women consistently so as to realize increased women's participation in every public policy making; (2) political education for women is expected to be able to foster sensitivity, awareness and commitment in upholding gender justice and (3) increase understanding of policy advocacy and increase women's interest in playing

an active role in political organizations/institutions. (https://news.detik.com/berita/d-7195798/waka-mpr-push-keterbangunan-perempuan-di-parlemen-ditingkatkan accessed 10 October 2024).

CONCLUSION

Based on these results and discussions, this study concludes that there is no guarantee that women's political leadership through women's representation in the executive and legislative branches will significantly influence the production of pro-women public policies. There are several factors that hinder pro-women public policies through women's political leadership: (1) the existence of social, economic and patriarchal cultural status biases that are still inherent in the construction of women; (2) There is contestation of actors' interests in the public policy process, where women's interests are often marginalized by the interests of local elites who are dominated by officials and businessmen (dominated by men) who are quantitatively and qualitatively more powerful than women. This study suggests the importance of strengthening women's capacity, both in the quality of their human resources and in terms of quantity, which should be increased in political positions so that they have the ability to integrate public policies that are pro-women.

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