FEMALE LEADERSHIP AND SOCIAL WELFARE POLICY:
Cases studies from Surabaya, Kutai Kertanegara and South Minahasa, Indonesia

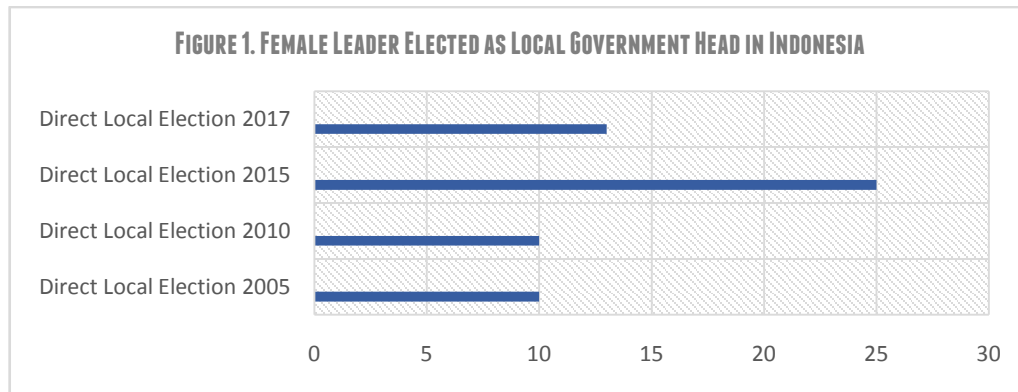Longgina Novadona Bayo, Universitas Gadjah Mada
Email: novabayo@ugm.ac.id

Abstract

Paper ini bermaksud mendiskusikan hubungan antara kepala daerah perempuan dan kebijakan kesejahteraan sosial di Indonesia. Asumsinya, kepala daerah perempuan akan memproduksi lebih banyak kebijakan yang ramah perempuan dibandingkan dengan pemimpin laki-laki. Dalam mendiskusikan hubungan kepemimpinan perempuan dan kebijakan kesejahteraan sosial, paper ini menganalisis tiga kepala daerah perempuan di Indoensia dari tiga daerah, yaitu Tri Rismaharini (Walikota Surabaya, Jawa Timur), Rita Widyasari (Bupati Kutai Kertanegara, Kalimantan Timur) dan Christiany Eugenia Paruntu (Bupati Minahasa Selatan). Konsep yang digunakan untuk mengukur kapasitas kepala daerah perempuan dalam mempromosikan kebijakan kesejahteraan adalah gender, democratic citizenship dan transformative politics. Hasil penelitian ini adalah kepemimpinan perempuan tidak mesti menjadi agen bagi kepentingan perempuan. Dari tiga kasus yang dipelajari, aspek agensi perempuan adalah aspek kunci dalam menghasilkan kebijakan kesejahteraan sosial. Di samping itu, merujuk pada konsep transformative politics, agar mencapai kesetaraan di antara warga negara, kajian ini menunjukkan bahwa ketiga kepala daerah masih menghadapi permasalahan setidaknya didalam dua aspek, yaitu dalam hal membangun unit politik/teritori yang mendukung mobilisasi energi bersama guna mewujudkan kebijakan kesejahteraan yang pro-perempuan (collectiveness), dan dalam hal mengorganisasi sumberdaya-sumberdaya politik guna mendukung upaya penguatan kewargaan yang setara.

Kata kunci: kepala daerah perempuan, kebijakan kesejahteraan sosial, gender, transformative politics dan demokrasi.

INTRODUCTION

After the fall of Soeharto Regime in 1998, the Reform Era in Indonesia began by promoted decentralization and democratization. The centralized approach based on the New Order's Act No. 5/1974 was replaced by the Act No. 22/1999 on Local Government Autonomy by encouraged local autonomy to regencies (kabupaten) and municipalities (kota or kotamadya). Some of the scholars labelled the Act No. 22/1999 as one of the world's biggest decentralization policies (Aspinall and Fealy 2003). After five years later, Act No. 22/1999 was replaced by Act No. 32/2004. The significant point in the Act No. 32/2004 which introduced direct local head election mechanism for electing local government head was the structural opportunities for women to take greater leadership in local politics. As result, the direct local election from 2005 until 2017 demonstrates the trend of increasing number female political leaders elected as governors/regents/mayors in local politics in post-Suharto (see figure 1).

Figure 1. Female Leader Elected as Local Government Head in Indonesia

Resource: the date managed by writer

However, the presence of women as local government head not automatically will change the policies that benefit for women interest. As mentioned by Boneparth (1984 in Eduards, 1991, p. 667) that "the greatest challenge facing the contemporary women's movement is the translation of its goals and objectives into public policy", hence, the problem for women's politics is how they be able to do transformative democratic politics (Stokke and Tornquist 2013) for realizing gender-equity. This statement also applies to women's possibilities of influencing political decision-making, and accordingly to participation, democracy, power, and agency. It is contribute to the debate of women representation that women representative as descriptive representation in some instance does not in line with substantive representation (see Phillips 1998). In this context, welfare means not only material benefits and socio-economic security but also the right to control and transform the design of public policy (Eduards 1991).

As a matter of fact, political activists have revealed for quite sometimes the relationship between the presence of female incumbents and the nature of political agenda. A hand of important feminist movement has been campaigning the female incumbent for several decades. National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC), established in 1971, and Women's Campaign Fund (WCF), established in 1974, work to increase the number of women for the election for a position, chosen and pointed out despite the affiliated party. Both groups believe that female leaders will increase public attention and give innovative solution for many social issues including poverty, life quality, quality child care, and healthcare, equal wages, affordable housing, maternal and child welfare (Beck 1997, in Bennion 2001, in Qomariyah dkk. 2016).

According to Sue Thomas there are 5 rationalities why women should increase their participation in the politic or to improve the proportion of their representation in political position (Thomas and Wilcox 1998, in Bennion 2001, in Qomariyah dkk. 2016, pp. 39-40). First, the same opportunity for both sexes, male and female, to hold political position can improve the legitimacy of democratic government that claims to represent all citizens. Second, citizens believe that all citizens have the same opportunity to participate in making political decisions. If it can be achieved, the level of trust and support toward the government will be increasing, and it can help to create more established government. Third, women are a group of great talents. Their capacity, point of view, ideas can be beneficial for society by involving both male and female incumbents. Fourth, the government who embraces both male and female leaders sends message to male and female youth as well as grown up citizens from all age groups, that political world is open for all people and all classes, and it is not only male exclusive domain. The reason is based on the legitimacy, stability, and resource utilization. Fifth, the reason for the importance to include women in the line of political leaders is based on the fact that both male and female have different life experience. Having the differences, male and female will mutually complete and perfect their respective roles. In particular, division of

tasks based on sex types that still occurs at work and at home can change into special way to see different legislation proposal and political agenda, since the their devotional, cultivation, and religiosity spirit are expected will give different manners in their leadership.

In examination the relation between female leadership and social welfare policy, I will analyze three female leader in Indonesia from three different region. *First,* Tri Rismaharini, the current Mayor of Surabaya, East Java. Risma represented female leader from Java and urban area. *Second,* Rita Widyasari, the current Regent of Kutai Kertanegara, East Kalimantan. She represented female leader from the rich natural resources region. *Third,* Christiany Eugenia Paruntu, the current regent of South Minahasa represented both eastern Indonesia culture and Christian dominated region.All of the three female leader was elected as regent in 2010. Then, all of them was elected again as regent in local election in 2015.

In order to assess the capacity of female leadership to promote social welfare policies, I use the concept of gender, democratic citizenship and transformative democratic politics (Stokke and Tornquist 2013). In this term, transformative politics and policies means political agendas, strategies and alliances to introduce more effective democratic institutions, which may further promote ordinary people's capacities and chances to alter predominant structures and the capacity of elites to dominate politics (Stokke and Tornquist 2013, p. 6). The paper defines ordinary people as women and child; hence, the paper try to explore how political agendas, strategies, and policies of three female leaders *(kepala derah perempuan)* favor for women and child. The paper also defines social welfare policy limited to policies that related to the family and child. Therefore, this paper will focus on how women make decisions that positively effect children and families. Refer to the Rwanda experiences, when the women entered and dominated the parliamentary, there were several implications to the policy outcomes on family and children issues.

Based on the explanation above, my paper will explore two fundamental questions. Firstly, how do the three female leaders encourage social welfare policies? What are the social welfare policies produced by the female leaders? Secondly, what are the challenges and options for realizing social welfare policies?

THE DEBATE: FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE AND POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE

Many studies of women and politics have focused on women's involvement in parliament, such as quotas issues (Dahlerup and Leyenaar 2013), the rise of female leaders, and female leadership at the local level (Dewi 2012). This is because the issue of women's representation in parliament and the elected of women as local leader -- especially the number of women members of parliament or female leaders -- have been used as indicators to measure women's success in the public arena/politics. However, does the female leader will produce social welfare policies that favour for women and child? It should be more careful to saying that female leader tend to release gender-based policies. This is something that needs to be researched again.

Regarding to the explanation above, in my opinion, there are two mainstream perspectives in debating women and politics: the feminist perspective and the political perspective. The feminist perspective believes that the holding of public office is a vital dimension for assessing the role of women in politics. The descriptive representation in formal politics has a positive correlation with substantial representation because women have power in promoting women's interests and gender equality. Ones of the best works from the feminist perspective is "The Politics of Presence" by Anne Phillips. According to Phillips (1995), women politicians are best equipped to represent women's interests because everyday life experiences are significant to the formation of their political views and behaviors. Furthermore, because women politicians, to a greater extent than men politicians, share life experiences with women voters,

they are presumed to be better representatives of women's interests. Phillips' "politics of presence" has become phenomenal in the study of women's politics, leading many academics to follow her example in their research (Dahlerup and Leyenaar 2013, Wängnerud 2000, 2009). Accordingly, feminist literature indicates that women award higher priority to gender equality and social/family policy than men.

Also, many studies on women's politics indicate that, if women become policymakers, this will influence other women to enter the political process and also encourage other women in promoting women's issues (Banerjee and Somanathan 2001 in Beaman, Duflo,, Pande, and Topalova 2006, p. 2). As a result of women's closeness with social welfare issues, women will be better in formulating policies for social welfare issues and family policy. In child welfare, for example, as children do not participate directly in the electoral process, their influence on policy decisions depends on who represents them. Numerous studies suggest that women represent children's interests more keenly than men (Lundberg, Pollak, & Wales 1997, Thomas 1990, Thomas 1997, Duflo 2003, in Beaman, Duflo, Pande, and Topalova 2006, p. 2). Another example in daily life is identified by Banerjee and Duflo (2011, in Clark 2015); some evidence indicates that local female politicians in India are more likely to support proposals for better water access and education than male politicians. The close relations between women's interests and social welfare creates a social democracy that is favorable to women in terms of welfare. However, in terms of power, the welfare state has been paternalist in the sense that women are dependent on the state and are the objects, not subjects, of public policies (Hernes 1987, Siim 1988, Hirdman 1990, in Siim 1994, p. 289).

The feminist perspective also argues that the presence of women as policymakers will stimulate women's political behaviors at the local level. A study by Karp and Banducci (2008) acknowledged that female representation at the national level affects female political engagement at the local level. It enlarge women to be more mindful of politics associated with the social issues that are close to women's daily life. Hence, women are willing to join political activism at the local level.

On the other hand, the political perspective suggests that we cannot automatically assume whether politics—in term of democracy—are good or bad for women. It is because democratization does not necessarily improve the conditions for women (Di Stephano 1997, p. 206). Quoting Suzanne Dovi, democratic institutions, from the perspective of women's experiences, can be tools of domination or tools of liberation. Hence, it is important to find a rationale why democratic institutions do not work for women as well as they work for powerful men, and we need to know what conditions contribute to democracies working better for women. From a political point of view, women's presence as policymakers does not essentially result in policy outcomes that are favourable for women's interests. Many women leaders practice a masculine approach or men's politics in doing politics. For that reason, it is important to discover what conditions should be supported to create a democracy that works better for women.

Nevertheless, neither the feminist nor the political perspective delivers definite definitions of what women's politics is. In my view, women's politics are subject to responses to patriarchy structure. Following Dahlerup & Leyenaar (2013), women's involvement in the political arena has replaced the old democracy, which is marked by a male monopoly. In this context, concern for women's politics is transmitted from the understanding of male politics. For instance, women politicians are connected with their male relatives (Kincaid, 1978). This is incidental and reactive. Women politicians in the United States so affected have included Nancy Kassebaum, the country's first women senator. In Asia, women top leaders in Asia have

included Indira Gandhi, Corazon Aquino, Bandaneira, Megawati, etc., have also been associated with the famous politicians in their family. A similar pattern is followed by women politicians in Indonesia at the national and local level.

However, the paper not focus on how the birth of female leaders in local level. The paper try to explain how the female leaders can produce social welfare policies. It based on hypothesis that social welfare policies are regarded as being of special value to women's need. The paper argue that women is the key to promote the social democracy. Social democrat is the new of gender system. From this perspective, democratic citizenship is about women's collective abilities to determine their own lives, influence society, and create "woman-friendly" policies (Jonasdottir, 1991, Skjeie, 1992, in Siim, 1994).

THE SOCIAL WELFARE POLICY IN THREE REGIONS

This part presented social welfare policy in three different region: Surabaya, Kutai Kertanegara, and South Minahasa. The paper using local government expenditure on social welfare and RPJMD (*Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Daerah/*Regional Mid-Term Development Plan) from three region to mapping the social welfare policy.

Risma and 'Regime PMKS'

Tri Rismaharini (known as Risma) was elected as Mayor in 2010-2015. Then, she was elected again as Mayor in regional election in 2015-2020. Prior to becoming the Mayor of Surabaya, Risma has background as a bureaucrat. It is mentioned in the vision and mission, to which her administration refers, that the spotlight of the policies related to women during 2010-2015 period can be seen from the target of the programs that is the improving service on Women Empowerment and Child Protection. The program is continued by Risma in the second period of her administration.

It can be concluded that under the two periods of Risma's leadership, there are several priority policies that represent the attention of Risma to the women and child concern: (1) Providing Services for Social Welfare Problems *(Pelayanan Masalah Kesejahteraan Sosial/PMKS)* by improving societal empowerment; (2) Surabaya as *Kota Layak Anak* (Child Friendly City); (3) The Improvement of Institutionalization for Mainstreaming Gender and Child; (4) Protecting child and women from violence and trafficking.

In general Risma's social welfare program is particularly innovative and it attempts to help, protect, and empower women, for example by the occurrence of Economy Hero, Surabaya Gender Award and the initiation of women friendly city. However Risma still uses old an old approach that considers the social issues as a disease especially related to red light districts that involving women. Therefore, the programs that are offered and implemented are likely to judge social issues as an individual mistake. As the consequence the solutions offered by the program for PMKS (Services for Social Welfare Problems) are just about social rehabilitation and the equivalent. Observing table 1 in detail we can see that the focus of Risma's social welfare program is not in detail reaching up to family/ grass root level.

No	Policy	No	Policy
	Surabaya Priority Program in 2010-2015		**Surabaya Priority Program in 2010-2015**
1	Providing Services for Social Welfare Problems *(Pelayanan Masalah Kesejahteraan Sosial/PMKS)* : The program focus on recovery	1	Health - Health services program for poor people and delivering health security for the poor

	the social function, delivering services and social rehabilitation to the People with Social Welfare Problem (*Penyandang Masalah Kesejahteraan Sosial/PMKS)* for their sustainable life. The successful indicator of this program is the increasing of procentage in doing recovery for the PMKS. The main activity of the program is delivering social rehabilitaion for the PMKS.		- Improvement program for maternal and child safety - Improvement program for delivering nutrition to the mother and child - Improvement program to increase the the active member of *Keluarga Berencana/KB Program* (Family Planning Program)
2	Institutional Program of Social Welfare: The program focus on the improvement of skill, awareness, sustainable basic value of social welfare, social resillience for the social worker and commercial sector. The main activity of the program is optimalisation of Potential Sources of Social Welfare *(Potensi Sumber Kesejahteraan Sosial/PSKS)*	.2	Improvement program for widening the rehabilitation of social welfare service delivering through active participation from the all stakeholdres to resolve the PMKS.
3	Life Quality Improvement Program and Women Protection: The program focus on the improvement of qulity and delivering women&child protection, also increasing women role in all sector of development. The successful indicator of this program is the decreasing of domestic violences. The main activity of the program is to facilitate women protection from the violences.	.3	Improvement program for society empowerment to decrease the PMKS through the empowerment of productive age of PMKS.

4	**Institutional Strengthening Program for Gender and Child Mainstreaming** The program focus on the improvement of quality of the gender and child mainstreaming instituional role in all sectors and development. The successful indicator of this program is Gender Development Index. The main activity of the program is the empowerment of gender based institution. The objective of the program: - Encouraging gender quality and women empowerment - Decreasing gender imbalance in education sector	.4	**Life quaality improvement program and women&child protection** - Encouraging Surabaya as the 'child – friendly city' *(Kota Layak Anak)* - Giving priority for resolving women and child problem - Gender mainstreaming program through women empowerment, and delivering protection to women & child
5	**Family Planning Program** *(Keluarga Berencana/KB)* The program focus on the improvement of independent *KB* member. The successful indicator of this program is the raise of active procentage *KB* members. The main activities of the program are: - The improvement of *KB* services - The improvement of the coaching to *KB* members.	.5	**Women and child protection from the violence and human trafficking**
6	**Poverty Alleviation Program** The program focus on poor people empowerment in order to alleviate poverty. The successful indicator of this program is the procentage of poor-family whose getting economic empowerment and doing economy productive. The main activities of the program are: - Economy empowerment for poor family - Improving skill and working capacity of the poor family - Facilitating public services		-

	access		
7	Creating equal employment opportunity and productive, also decent work for all, including women and youth		-
8	Program for improving accessibility, quality, and society health management - Improvement program of maternal and child safety - Improvement program of hospital and community helath centers *(Puskesmas/Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat)* facilities		-

Rita and Benevolence Regime

Rita Widiyasari was elected as regent in Kutai Kertanegara in 2010-2015. She was designated again as a regent in 2016-2021. Rita is the daughter of Syaukani, the previous regent of Kutai Kertanegara (1999-2004 and 2005-2010). In this context, Syaukani is successful to build dynasty politics in this region for 20 years (from 1999-2021). Under the Rita regime, the social welfare policy focus can directly reach grass-root/ female groups in specific. Rita's concern on women issues is proven by the inclusion of women issues within her politic campaign through Gerbang Raja Program (Public Welfare Development Program) 2015-2021, in which one of the missions of Gerbang Raja II is improving female participation in development and strengthening the child protection (Rita Widyasari and Edi Darmansyah 2016). Equality issue including gender equality in accessing development is also included as one of the principles in the formulation of vision and mission of Gerbang Raja II being campaigned.

Some programs in the vision and mission of Gerbang Raja that focus on the strengthening of women's role in any sectors of development:

1. "Perempuan Membangun" program (Women in Development) is a movement of women's participation in regional development, such as the strengthening of Kelompok Usaha Bersama Perempuan (KUBP)/ Group of Women's Enterprises in every village/ urban community that is led by active and creative women.
2. Building drug and trauma rehabilitation center for women and children;

3. "PUAS" *(Pengarusutamaan Anak Untuk Sejahtera)/* Mainstreaming program for Children Welfare that emphasizing on children protection by integrating children's rights into every development activity in order to continue " Zona Bebas Pekerja Anak (ZBPA)/ Child Labor- Free Zone" program and "Kabupaten Layak Anak/ Child Friendly Regency" Program
4. Assigning women for strategic position in the administration in accordance with their competency.
5. Improving the quality of gender equality and women political participation.
6. Providing supporting facilities in ensuring protection for women and children as well as for people with special need in public area,

In addition to the seven programs previously mentioned, some Rita's excellent programs for two periods of her administration are clearly seen in the distribution of business assistance to groups of women, aids for pre-prosperous families, building child friendly public space facilities in every sub-district, and also making Kutai Kertanegara as Child Friendly Regency. By giving various cash assistances to women enterprise groups, Rita actually wants to present herself as a benevolence leader.

What is conducted by Rita, in fact, is continuing her father political manner, Syaukani was well known as a generous and royal leader to his people. To establish his legitimacy and popularity, Syaukani conducted distributions of patronage (goods, services, funds, and favours) through networks of clients (*clientelism)*. However if Syaukani's political manner is clientelistics in nature, what is conducted by Rita is more institutionalized than what Syaukani did or or it is known as post clientelism (James Manor in Stokke and Tornquist 2013). It means, to establish clientelism political elites should conduct institutionalization toward their programs, so that resources reach the local level mainly through government programs (Manor 2013, 246 in Stokke and Tornquist 2013).

In other word Rita builds a benevolence regime as social welfare regime in Kutai Kertanegara by means of post-clientelism manner. Thebenevolence regime works since it is supported by the abundance of natural resources (coal) that makes Kutai as one of the "richest" regencies in Indonesia. In general, Rira's social welfare policy uses economic approach in analyzing social welfare problems in the society especially on children and family.

No	Policy	No	Policy
	Kutai Kertanegara Program in 2010-2015		**Kutai Kertanegara Program in 2016-2021**
1	Gender and Child Mainstreaming - Women's business program by women's business groups known as *Kelompok Usaha Bersama Wanita/KUBW* - Supports program for Child and Women Day - The formation of women health spesific forum: *Gerakan Perempuan Kukar Sehat.*	1	Health Program - Family Planning Program - The improvement program of reproduction quality - The coaching program to improve the participation of society in *KB* services - The improvement program for increasing the participation and the independent ofnon-state KB member

			- The improvement program of child health
2	The improvement of health service program for women and child - The improvement program to increase the membership of *KB* and independent *KB* membership - 'One village one midwife' program - Contraceotion services program - Program for improving the alleviation of drugs using and sexually transmitted disease, including HIV/AIDS	2	Program for resilliance and empowerment family - The improvement of income for *KB* members - Cash assisstance for pre-prosperous family and prosperous family in the level 1
3	The improvement of family and society nutrition - Program for improving the family resilience into prosperous family	3	Program for life quality improvement and women protection: - Reducing domestic violence program - Program for improving women labor participation in public/formal sector - Program for improving women labor participation in informal sector
4	The improvement of effectiveness and efficiency system and procedure of the invesment licensing service, including SME's *(small and medium enterpresies)*	4	Program for improving the role and gender equality in development
5	The improvement of women empowerment based on independent enterpresies	5	The policy coherence program in order to improve child and women llife quality - Child-friendly region *(Kabupaten Layak Anak)* - The assistance program for women candidate and women in parliamentary - Improving the quantity of women in public office and

			politics
6	Free zone child-labor program *(Program Zona Bebas Pekerja Anak)* and child-friendly region *(Kabupaten Layak Anak)*	6	The fulfillment of child rights: - Providing services for child victims of violence - Child-friendly public spaces in each district *(kecamatan)* level - Facilitating services for disable child
7	PMKS program for the poor empowerment, adat community, and cash support for the poor *(Santunan Warga Tidak Mampu/SWTM)*	7	Women's economic empowerment program by women's business group *(Kelompok Usaha Perempuan Bersama/KUPB)*
8	Education: - Formal education: the improvement of education facilities, educational staff, and scholarship - Non -formal education: free-zone illiteracy program	8	Education : - Early childhood education program *(Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini)* - Compulsory education program for basic education, secondary education, and special education - Non-formal and informal education

Tetty Paruntu and Basic Public Services Regime

Christiany Eugenia Paruntu who is known as Tetty Paruntu was elected as a regent of South Minahasa in 2010-2015, and voted again in 2015-2020. Tetty was born from a mother who was a politician and a father who is a former Rector of Sam Ratulangi University. Before becoming the Regent of South Minahasa regency, Tetty was known as a business woman. She had a reputation as a director of several companies. However, Tetty was also actively involved in several mass organization and often carried out social activity.

The social welfare program under Tetty's leadership emphasizes more on the recovery and improvement of basic public service, such as education and health. Whereas programs that are specifically for women and children are only a few, those are protection program for women and children from violence and trafficking, moternal and child health, and PUG (Gender mainstreaming). Tetty's social welfare policies are merely the distribution of aids such as social aids and cash assistances. There are only a few of her policy visions that actually targeting women groups. Since her campaign, Tetty does not proposing programs that are targeted for women in particular, therefore it is normal if the social welfare policy targets more on society in general. The policies still aim poverty-stricken groups in general. It is because South MInahasa still focuses on the improvement of service and infrastructures of basic public services that become classic issue in several Indonesian inland regions, especially in the Eastern regions of Indonesia. In the future, the government of South Minahasa should conduct regional regulation strengthening that particularly protects women and children.

No.	Social Welfare Policy in South Minahasa (2015-2020)
1	Health Development - Maternal and child health programs - Prevention program for infant and under five mortality - Child and youth health care services program - Community nutrition improvement program - Treatment programs for infectious diseases and non-communicable diseases
2	Gender Mainstreaming: Program on improving the quality of women's resources
3	Education Program - The program of increasing the participation of basic education - Secondary education readiness program for entering the job market or continuing higher education
4	Women and child protection program, including protection from the violences and human trafficking

Based on the descriptions of social welfare policy in the three regions, the following table is presented in attempting to map the challenges and options for optimizing social welfare programs.

NO	REGION	CHALLENGES	OPTIONS
	SURABAYA		
1	PMKS Program	The heterogeneity of urban society	The optimization and monitoring of volunteers of PMKS Program integrally by partnership with CSO and education institutions.
2	Gender and Child Mainstreaming, including child and women protection from the violences and human trafficking	The limitation of women on access to financial resources, specially on job market. It contributes to the the majority of human trafficking victims are the women.	The Surabaya Government initiates several program to resolve the problems: An Economic Hero, Surabaya Gender Awards, andd initiates "city cares women" These programs need to be integrated into grasroots level by parthership with the Religious leaders, society leaders, specially in reducing the domestic violences and women abuse.

	KUTAI KARTANEGARA		
1	Gender enhancement program in development	The wide range of the Kutai Kertanegara region and the number of children and women inflences the program only focus on the spesific districts.	- The making of rotational service schemes and district level data collection for Women's business groups *(Kelompok Usaha Bersama Perempuan/KUBP)* - The categorization of district level based on it's human resources condition of the women and child contributes for assissting and monitoring program
2	The policy coherence program in order to improve child and women quality		
	MINAHASA SELATAN		
1	Women and child protection program, including protection from the violences and human trafficking	The limitation implementation of the South Sulawesi regulation on women and child protection: - The lacking of coordination among the government institution - Unclear legal sancions	- The local government of South Minahasa need to formulate the spesific regulation on women and child protection - The local government of South Minahasa need to strenghtening the institutional capacity that related to the child and women protection

DISCUSSION: WOMEN LEADERSHIP AND PROSPECT FOR DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP

From the three descriptions about social welfare policy, there are several matters that become critical remark in answering how the relation between female leadership with social welfare policy is. As it has been stated in the beginning that gender politics is extremely needed within the promotion framework of social and political rights, therefore the presence of female leaders is assumed to be able to encourage the occurrence of social policy welfare that give positive impact to children and families.

First, female leaders are not automatically able to produce social policy that take side on women. The policies issued by Tetty Paruntu for example, do not specifically put women and children as the focus of the policy. It is different from what is conducted by Risma and Rita that in particular have social welfare policies which are specially made for women (children and family). It means there are a lot of factors that influence leasers to produce policies that take side on women such as elite capacity, regional resources, and others. In Rita's regime, for

example, strong financial support from region own source revenue that are relatively big comes from natural resources in Kutai Kertanegera, is one one the factors that enable Rita to formulate social policies and programs that take side on women's interests, especially through capital assistance for women's enterprises groups.

Meanwhile, in Risma case, social welfare policy that is encouraged by elite capacity – in this case is intellectual capacity and managerial capacity – which are qualified in overcoming social welfare issues, although the paradigm used by Risma still should be criticized. Therefore, if it refers again to what have been said by Bourdieu that representation is about construction, that a question will come up related to women representation, who has the actual right to define or construct women? Does it have to be a women who is able to construct women interest? Instead, according to Bourdieu, symbolic representation is about gaining authority & legitimacy for somebody to represent them.

Second, there are problems for female leaders in establishing collectivity and establishing linkage within society, therefore not all female leaders are able to establish broader alliance to accommodate and represent women interests (related to children and family issues). Although Rita and Risma seem to have policies that pro gender and specifically aim women groups, however the policies are likely to be top-down, and not the result of collaborated design between the leaders with group of women activists. The background of the three women mentioned in the paper is not from social activists, which is possibly useful to contribute in their sophistication in diagnosing women interests. Whereas, strong democracy can work well if there is linkages between state and society, in fact what actually happen are weal liberal democratic institutions, lack of broader issues and interest representations. Therefore, it is an important homework for the female leaders on how they foster representation democracy.

CONCLUSION

In short, it is not necessarily all female leaders can be agents of women interest. Therefore, to be able to be female leader that can conduct transformative politics for realizing gender equity and active equal citizenship there are four that influence women in influencing decision-making, namely: participation, democracy, power, and agency. From the three cases presented, agency aspect of women becomes one important key in achieving social welfare policy. Besides, if it refers all over again to transformative politics concept, in order to achieve equal citizenship, there are two things cannot be ignored (Stokke and Tornquist 2013), namely: (1) a political/territorial unit and collectivity; and (2) organised politics to fight for this and for equal citizenship. The experience of the three regional leaders shows that the three female leaders still have problems in the two aspects.

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