

Women Leaders In Local Democracy In South Sulawesi

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Abstract

From the 2009 to 2019 elections, the number of female legislators in the South Sulawesi Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) increased significantly. In the 2009 election, 12 women were elected; in the 2014 election, the number increased to 16, and in the 2019 election, 26 women were elected as legislators, which met the 30% quota for women in parliament. However, the affirmative policies in the legislative domain do not apply to the executive realm. The regulation that stipulates the quota of 30% for women only covers legislative elections; in regional head elections, the quota is not accommodated. For this reason, women candidates (political party candidates and independent candidates) for regional heads are less accommodated. In fact, in the simultaneous regional head elections (2005 until now), only one woman has been elected as a regent in South Sulawesi. This paper studies women leaders in local democracy in South Sulawesi, especially in relation to the simultaneous regional elections in 2020. The descriptive, qualitative research method is used, and the processed data include secondary and primary data. This research follows several steps: problem identification and formulation, data collection, data processing and analysis, drawing conclusions, and verification. The results of the study illustrate that the lack of emergence of women candidates as regional heads in South Sulawesi is due to structural and cultural constraints, which are still strong. Some conclusions were reached: (1) Regulations governing the election of regional heads have not been in favour of female candidates, even though regulations governing legislative elections are very pro-female candidates. (2) Political parties have not seriously supported women as candidates for regional heads, but they are still oligarchic. (3) The support given by the public to women candidates for regional heads is still low. (4) The role of gender-based social institutions has not been maximized to encourage women to become regional heads. (5) The patriarchal culture is still strong in the society, making women candidates for regional heads less appreciated. Several suggestions are given: The regulations governing regional head elections need to be revised to make them more pro-female candidates. Likewise, regulations related to political parties need to be revised in relation to education and political representation that is more proportional for women.

Keywords: leaders, women, democracy, local, South Sulawesi



Introduction

In the reform era (after the fall of the New Order era in 1998), women's participation in politics received sufficient political support. A historic moment was the passing of Law Number 12 of 2003 concerning the General Election of Members of the People's Representative Council, Regional Representative Council, and Regional People's Representative Council. Article 65 states that the political parties participating in the general election should enhance the representation of women by ensuring that women make up at least 30% of the nominations of legislative members. Likewise, Law Number 10 of 2008 concerning the General Election of Members of the People's Representative Council, Regional Representative Council and Regional People's Representative Council provides greater opportunities for women who wish to become legislators. However, political parties with minimal females will face difficulties as some legislative seats may not be filled in some electoral districts.

Furthermore, in Law Number 8 of 2012 concerning the General Election of Members of the People's Representative Council, Regional Representative Council and Regional People's Representative Council, the support for women politicians is increasingly clear and measured. In Article 56 paragraph (2), it is expressly stipulated that in the list of prospective candidates as referred to in paragraph (1), every 3 (three) prospective candidates should have at least 1 (one) female candidate. Similarly, Article 62 paragraph (6) emphasizes that the General Election Commission (KPU), Provincial KPU and Regency/City KPU should announce the percentage of women's representation in the provisional list of candidates for political parties in the national daily-printed mass media and the national electronic mass media. The affirmative policy is also regulated, in more detail, by Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning the 2019 General Election, particularly Article 245 and Article 246 paragraph (2). In addition to regulating the nomination mechanism for women legislators, by stipulating a minimum representation of 30% in each electoral district, these provisions also regulate the placement of women in the candidate list using a zipper system, which means that among every three names of legislative candidates, there should be at least one female legislative candidate.

Based on Law Number 2 of 2011 concerning Political Parties, it is obligatory for political parties to include at least 30% women representation in their establishment and formation as well as in their management at the central, provincial and regency/city levels; this should be stated in the articles of association and bylaws of each political party. According to Maharani NS (2019; 613), the determination of the quota quantity (30%) for women is based on the results of a UN (United Nations) study, which states that a minimum amount of 30% female representation allows change and has an impact on the quality of decisions taken in public institutions.

From the historical journey of regulations governing opportunities for women to take part in politics, the political will of the government is clear, and the state of women's active participation in politics has gained strong legitimacy.

Therefore, women's participation in politics has been widely opened both at the level of political parties and that of state administration. What is still a topic of public discussion today is the effectiveness of women legislators in increasing the capacity, competence and skills of individuals by voicing, conceptualizing, and fighting for the aspirations of Indonesian women.

The phenomenon of female legislators taking part in Indonesia's House of Representative (DPR-RI) has also provided a strong inspiration in the regions, one of which is the Province of South Sulawesi (Sulsel). In terms of participation, the number of women legislators has shown a very significant trend of increase. From the 2009 election to the 2014 election and then the 2019 election, the number of women legislators increased both in the Regional House of Representative (DPRD) of South Sulawesi and in districts/cities of South Sulawesi. For details, see the table below:

Table 1. Comparison of Legislators in the 2009, 2014 and 2019 Election Results based on Sex

No	Province / Regency / City	2009 Election Results		2014 Election Results		2019 Election Results	
		Women	Comparison of Chair Women & Men (%)	Women	Comparison of chair Women & Men (%)	Women	Comparison of chair Women & Men (%)
1.	Province South Sulawesi	12	16	16	19	25	29.41
2.	Makassar city	7	14	8	16	12	24
3.	Gowa	13	29	7	16	12	26.66
4.	Takalar	6	20	9	30	8	26.66
5.	Jeneponto	4	12	8	20	8	20
6.	Bantaeng	7	28	8	32	8	32
7.	Selayar	7	28	3	12	5	20
8.	Bulukumba	4	10	7	18	8	20
9.	Sinjai	4	13	8	27	8	26.66
10.	Maros	6	17	7	20	9	25.71
11.	Pangkep	4	11.50	3	8	4	11.42
12.	Barru	5	20	6	24	5	20
13.	Parepare	4	16	3	12	6	24
14.	Bone	9	20	7	15	4	8.88
15.	Wajo	6	17	7	18	4	10
16.	Soppeng	4	13	5	17	7	23.33
17.	Pinrang	4	12	3	8	6	15
18.	Sidrap	1	3	1	3	3	8.57
19.	Enrekang	3	10	2	7	3	10

20.	Tana Toraja	4	13	6	21	4	13.33
21.	North Toraja	5	17	3	9	3	10
22.	Palopo	5	20	5	20	7	28
23.	North Luwu	1	3	3	9	0	0
24.	Luwu	4	11	4	11	2	5.71
25.	East Luwu	1	3	1	3	2	6.66
TOTAL		130	14.95	140	15.2	162	18.11

Source: General Election Commission of South Sulawesi Province Indonesia, 2019

Furthermore, women legislators, especially those in the South Sulawesi Regional House of Representative (DPRD), attained an encouraging achievement. For the first time in the history of the South Sulawesi DPRD, a woman was appointed as chairman for the 2019-2024 period. In addition, the number of women legislators in the South Sulawesi DPRD increased significantly. The 2019 election results for the South Sulawesi DPRD indicate that women legislators were 25 in number out of a total of 85 DPRD members, or 29.41%. This number shows an increase compared to the results of the 2014 General Election, which gave a figure of 16 women legislators out of a total of 85 members of the South Sulawesi DPRD, or 19%. Also, the 2009 election results indicate that there were only 12 women legislators out of a total of 75 members of the South Sulawesi DPRD, or 16%.

This proves that in general, affirmative action policies for women in Indonesia have shown a positive result of increasing women's participation in politics, even though they have not met the minimum quota of 30%.

However, affirmative policies are only limited to providing access to women from the legislative side. The role of female executives in terms of political leadership in South Sulawesi (regent, mayor and governor) is still very minimal. To date, there is only one female district head (North Luwu district) and one female deputy district head (Sinjai district). This proves that the role of women in executive leadership in South Sulawesi is still very low. Therefore, the study of women in leadership at the local level is of interest, especially with regard to the 2020 regional head elections in South Sulawesi Province, which were held simultaneously in 12 city/districts.

Literature Review

The affirmative action policy, which is the basis for providing access to women in all fields, has shown a progressive movement. Especially in the political field, affirmative policies have provided separate access and space for women to increase their participation in political policies. An indication of this is the increasing number of women who become legislators at the central, provincial and

district/city levels in Indonesia. According to Asshidiqie J (2008; 35), affirmative action policies are specific and temporary actions to encourage and accelerate certain groups of people or certain groups of community members to pursue progress so as to achieve the same level of development as community groups that are much more advanced.

There are numerous studies related to affirmative action policies to increase the participation of women in the political world. For example, a study conducted by Novira Maharani Sukma (2018) examined the change in the paradigm of political parties regarding women's affirmative policies, from quantity to quality. The results of the study indicate that the internal recruitment of candidates for political parties to advance in general elections does not pay attention to the performance aspects of the candidates. So far, the candidate selection process often ignores considerations of capacity, integrity, experience, and assignments that a prospective candidate has. Even the incentive and disincentive policies for political party members have not been consistent and transparent. Proximity to party leadership is usually a more decisive factor. This kind of picture, which colours the situation of political parties, makes it more difficult for women, who tend to be less taken into account in party internals. Female party members are known to be loyal, hardworking, and powerful vote getters, who work to gain votes for the party. However, they are always marginalized and their interests and aspirations are not taken into account.

Due to the affirmative policy that prescribes a quota of 30% women representation, political parties are forced to comply. They do this only to fulfill formal administrative requirements in order to pass the verification conducted by the General Election Commission (KPU), which qualifies them as election participants. As a result, the essence of the affirmative policy is lost. Therefore, according to Sukma (2018), the paradigm of political parties regarding the affirmation of women's representation policy must change from merely fulfilling women's representation in quantity. It should now be balanced by considering the quality of the females being nominated. This is important so that the substance of the affirmative policy can be accommodated properly.

A study related to women legislators was also conducted by Mariatul Kiptiah (2019). It examined the motivation for women's participation in politics in relation to the legislative election of Tanah Laut Regency. The study analyzed the various drivers of motivation, as follows: (a) Need for power: the dominant characteristics of those motivated by this driver include the tendency to control the situation within the party and having a strong ambition to make the party achieve its vision and mission. (b) Need for affiliation: the dominant characteristics here are the tendency for legislative candidates to determine which parties have pro-people programs and emotional relationships with party figures or leaders. (c) Need for achievement: in this case, there is a tendency to choose a party that can make the individual stand out from the members of the party. After analysis, women legislators in Tanah Laut Regency were found to be motivated by the need for affiliation. This means that women legislators strive to fight for women's aspirations as the basis for their

affiliation. In this way, they seek to attract sympathy from female voters to get significant votes. This motivation has proven to be able to get large votes, so from time to time the number of women legislators in Tanah Laut district has increased significantly.

Similarly, a research related to women's political participation in South Sulawesi Province was also carried out, the result of a collaboration between the Institute for Research and Community Service of the Islamic University of Makassar and the Regional Research and Development Agency of South Sulawesi Province (LPPM UIM 2013; 51). The study aimed to determine the relationship between patriarchal culture and the participation of women in politics in South Sulawesi. It also attempted to find out the disposition of political parties towards women politicians in South Sulawesi as well as the relationship between patriarchal culture and political parties in South Sulawesi. The study reached the following conclusions: (a) Patriarchal culture still influences the progress of women politicians both in political parties and legislative institutions. However, with the advancement of knowledge and insights gained through political education, the people of South Sulawesi can manage this influence. (b) The disposition of political parties directly influences the role of women in political parties and in the legislature. This confirms that the law stipulating a 30% quota for women in the management of political parties at the center and in the regions has improved the participation of women in the legislative body. (c) The participation of women in politics is influenced by patriarchal culture and the disposition of political parties.

Some of the studies described above emphasize that the role or participation of women in the world of politics is very important and strategic in realizing a quality democracy with integrity. According to Huntington and Nelson (1995), women's political participation is aimed at influencing decision-making by the government, so that women's interests can be channeled properly. Several reasons for women's participation in political policies include the following: (a) Women's political rights are an integral and inseparable part of human rights. (b) Women constitute half of the world's population; therefore, democratically, women's opinions must be considered while formulating policies. (c) It is hoped that women's political participation can prevent unfavourable conditions for women in overcoming stereotypical problems against themselves, such as discrimination in the fields of law, social life and work as well as exploitation. It is believed that no single group of people can articulate the best interests and needs of women better than women themselves. (d) Women's participation in political decision-making can prioritize peace.

Therefore, according to Dahlerup (2002: 114), there are three main factors that have the most significant influence on the level of women's representation in institutions whose members are elected, namely (1) election system, (2) the role and organization of political parties, and (3) cultural acceptance, including affirmative action (affirmative action or positive discrimination) that is obligatory or voluntary. Therefore, one form of affirmative action is the provision of a certain amount of quota for women. The basic idea behind the quota system is to recruit women into

political positions and to ensure that they are not just a "sign" in political life. This quota policy aims to ensure that women are at least a "critical minority" consisting of 30% or 40%. One thing that is important is that the quota system is only applied as a temporary measure; if the structural barriers to women's entry into politics are removed, then the quota does not need to be applied again.

In most cases, the figure used in the quota for women is 30%, as it is believed that this figure is a "critical number" that must be reached to make change possible. According to Wijaksana (2004; 11), the figure of 30% is chosen to avoid domination of one gender in political institutions that formulate public policies. This concept is also included in the 1995 UN report analyzing gender and development in 174 countries, which stated that although no real relationship was formed between the level of women's participation in political institutions and their contribution to women's advancement, 30% of membership in political institutions is considered a critical number that can help women exert meaningful influence in politics.

However, there are still opinions for and against the 30% quota for women. The reasons given by those who are pro-quota system, among others, are as follows: (1) Quotas do not amount to discrimination but are compensations for real obstacles faced by women; such compensations enable them to participate fairly in political life. (2) A quota means the presence of a number of women sitting together in a commission or assembly so as to reduce the pressure felt by women whose presence in a place is allocated. (3) As citizens, women have equal representation rights. (4) Women's experiences are different from men's. (5) The quality of women is the same as that of men, but the quality of women is valued lower and minimized in a political system controlled by men. (6) It is the political party that controls the candidacy, not the voters who decide.

However, it must be understood that this quantitative representation will not mean much if women who sit in the legislature cannot represent women's interests well. Therefore, this quantitative representation must also be balanced with the quality of women who sit in these institutions. In this context, Hanna Pitkin (in Sali Susiana, 2014: 11) states that there are different views regarding representation. First, descriptive representation, which is a form of representation based on similarities between representatives and those represented (constituents or voters). Second, substantive representation, namely the concept of representation where the activities carried out by a representative are in the interests of those represented. A number of studies show that descriptive representation (standing for) does not guarantee the emergence of substantive representation (acting for). The current party system and the methods of recruiting female legislative candidates by political parties have further strengthened pessimism against the emergence of substantive representation from the 30% quota for women.

There is a commitment to strengthen women's representation in the legislative body, not only within the country (national) but also in the global context, especially since the enactment of the 2015-2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as a substitute for the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which ended in 2015.

That commitment has provided inspiration for women's progress. The SDGs, which are the product of a global agreement (the results of the September 2015 UN general session signed by 193 UN member countries) contain 17 goals and 169 targets. These goals are no poverty; zero hunger; good health and well-being; quality education; gender equality; clean water and sanitation; affordable and clean energy; decent work and economic growth; industry, innovation and infrastructure; reduced inequality; sustainable cities and communities; responsible consumption and production; climate action; life below water; life on land; peace, justice and strong institution; and partnerships to achieve the goals.

Methodology

This study aims to examine and describe the role of women in political leadership in South Sulawesi amidst the development of local democracy in Indonesia. This study attempts to answer the question: Why have women politicians in South Sulawesi been unable to play a significant role in executive leadership that is comparable to that of female legislators in South Sulawesi? Therefore, this research uses the descriptive qualitative method and is based on a case study. The data used are primary and secondary data; primary data are obtained based on direct results in the field, while secondary data are based on literature searches and data from agencies and institutions related to this research. This research begins with the identification and formulation of problems, followed by data collection, data processing and analysis (including data classification and reduction), discussion of research results, drawing conclusions and verification as well as preparation of reports. Data analysis is done qualitatively. This qualitative analysis does not only describe a fact or phenomenon but, importantly, explains the meaning and describes the social phenomena or facts that arise.

Result And Discussion

Election of Women as Candidates for Regent/Deputy Regent in the 2020 Election in South Sulawesi Province

The 2020 regional head elections in South Sulawesi Province were held in 12 districts/cities, including the city of Makassar, where the election was repeated because in the 2018 Makassar Mayor Election, voters chose the empty box after being given an opportunity to choose between the sole candidate and an empty box. In the 2020 election, two districts, namely Gowa and Soppeng districts, had a single candidate respectively. This number is slightly less than that of the 2018 election, in which there were three districts/cities with a single candidate, namely the city of Makassar as well as Bone and Enrekang districts. The existence of regions with a single candidate has implications for the role of women in election contestation. For this reason, in the 2018 election, the number of women who became candidates for

regent and deputy regent was less than that of the 2020 election. The details are shown in the table below:

Table 2. Comparison of the Involvement of Female Candidates in Regional Head Elections in South Sulawesi between 2015 and 2020

No	Regency/city	2015 year	2020 year
1	Makassar	1 (one) female candidate for deputy mayor position	1 (one) female candidate for deputy mayor position
2	Gowa	1 (one) female candidate for regent position	0 (No Female)
3	Bulukumba	2 (two) female candidates for the position of regent	1 (one) female candidate for deputy regent position
4	Selayar	0 (No Female)	0 (No female)
5	Maros	0 (No Female)	1 (one) female candidate for deputy regent position
6	Pangkep	0 (No Female)	2 (two) female candidates for the positions of regent and deputy regent
7	Barru	0 (No Female)	0 (No Female)
8	Soppeng	0 (No Female)	0 (No Female)
9	Tana Toraja	1 (one) female candidate for regent position	0 (No Female)
10	North Toraja	0 (No Female)	1 (one) female candidate for deputy Regent position
11	North Luwu	1 (one) female candidate for regent position	1 (one) female candidate for regent position
12	East Luwu	0 (No Female)	1 (one) female candidate for deputy regent position
	Total	6 (six) females consisting of 4 (four) candidates for regent position and 2 (two) candidates for deputy regent position	8 (eight) females consisting of 2 (two) candidates for regent position and 6 (six) candidates for deputy regent position

Source: General Election Commission of South Sulawesi Province, Indonesia, 2020

Even though the data above show an increase in the number of female candidates for regent, deputy regent and mayor, it seems that women's representation has not fulfilled public aspirations. Some regions do not even have

female candidates for regent / deputy regent. There are a number of findings that can explain the causes of the low female recruitment into local political leadership in South Sulawesi, including the following: (1) The still-strong oligarchy in the political recruitment process for political parties, which makes competitive space for women relatively limited. In addition, it seems that political parties do not prepare female candidates for executive positions (regents, mayors, governors), so the presence of women candidates for such positions is minimal. (2) The affirmative policy for women only touches the legislative level, and there is no regulation for the executive level. This is also an obstacle because the dominance of men in local political leadership is still very high. That is why only few women are willing to contest in the selection process of regional-head candidates conducted by political parties. (3) The strong patriarchal culture in South Sulawesi inhibits women's access to become candidates for executive leadership. Therefore, few women are willing to participate in politics, especially to become local leaders. (4) Women's readiness to appear on the local political stage also seems minimal. Readiness in the form of figures, social networks and resources seems very limited among women, even though the number of female voters in South Sulawesi is greater than the number of male voters. (5) The role of women's groups that fight for and campaign for female executive candidates, especially in the nomination process at the political party level, is also relatively limited. (6) Women's efforts to become candidates for executive leadership (mayor, regent or governor) at the local political level are still very limited. The path to becoming a leader is not solely through the political party route, but there is also opportunity for independent candidates. However, no female candidates have dared to go through this independent route.

Therefore, the probability of women becoming candidates for regent / deputy regent or for mayor / deputy mayor in South Sulawesi is still very low, whereas the potential for women to win the contestation is quite large. This is supported by the greater number of female voters compared to male voters and the capacity and social networks they have.

Challenges to Women's Aspirations

It cannot be denied that women's electability in the local political arena in South Sulawesi is largely associated with family influence. Only a very few women are elected because of their competence and character as legislators and executive leaders in South Sulawesi. The influence of clientelism is very strong, according to Aspinal (2019). The study results show that more than 50% of elected women, both in the legislative and executive branches, were generally not well known by the public. The study concludes that they were elected due to the following reasons: (1) They belong to very dominant and influential families who played significant roles during the campaign. Moreover, women legislators who are elected are predominantly family members of officials, such as regent, mayor and provincial officials. Family and bureaucratic knots are generally used to increase the popularity and electability of female candidates. (2) The strong influence of money

politics is also used to help women candidates who are not known by the public to win elections. Their electability is generally due to the influence of money politics on voters.

This condition is a challenge for prospective executive leaders in South Sulawesi. Moreover, in relation to aspirational challenges concerning issues of women, children and other vulnerable groups in society, prospective women leaders must be sensitive and able to translate these aspirational challenges into their vision, mission and work program while in office. Currently, a serious problem faced by women and children in South Sulawesi is the high rate of violence against women and children. Data from the Office of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection of South Sulawesi Province (2019) explains that there was an increase in the number of violence cases from 2017 to 2018. The number of violence cases against women tends to increase and is dominant in areas with large populations, such as Makassar city and the districts of Bulukumba, Maros, Bone, Soppeng, Wajo, Pare-Pare and Gowa in South Sulawesi Province – Indonesia.

Particularly, Makassar city had the highest rate of violence against women and children. There were 679 cases of violence, namely 281 cases of domestic violence, 241 cases of sexual violence, and 314 cases of physical violence. The increase in the rate of violence, according to the results of a study, is generally due to economic factors and lack of communication within the family (household). However, the number of cases stated by the Office of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection of South Sulawesi Province does not fully reflect the real situation in society. This is because, according to research results, there are many cases of violence against women and children that are not reported. Some cases are not reported because of fear, while others are unreported because of the embarrassment that would result from public revelation. This situation calls for concern because of its seriousness. In Makassar, there are still shocking cases of violence, e.g. a father killing his biological child and many other cases.

Apart from cases of violence against women and children, another problem faced by women in South Sulawesi is gender-based discrimination. According to results of the human development index (HDI) of South Sulawesi in 2018, there is still a disparity between the HDI for men and women, at 70.90 and 69.53 respectively. HDI portrays the level of education, health and per capita income, and is a mirror of human development at a certain time. Not only that, the South Sulawesi gender development index (IPG) also stagnated at 92.87 in 2017 and 2018. In general, Indonesia's IPG in 2018 was 90.99, which means that the performance of South Sulawesi in gender equality was below the national average. Likewise, the South Sulawesi IPG in 2017 was 70.57, which still shows a performance that is below the national average of 71.74 (Data from the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, 2018).

In addition, regarding the aspects of opportunity and access to women in urban and rural areas in all fields, South Sulawesi still exhibits quite serious gaps, distortions and discrimination, especially in rural areas. For this reason, the number of poor people in South Sulawesi as of March 2019 was 765,200 people, 170

thousand people in urban areas and 598 thousand in rural areas. Poor people are predominantly women. The above explanations highlight some of the problems faced by women and children in South Sulawesi. At this point, an important question arises: What is the role of female executive leaders in understanding, addressing and fighting for women's aspirations and solving various problems faced by women and children in South Sulawesi, especially in relation to the 2020 districts/cities elections?

This is a specific challenge that must be voiced by prospective women political leaders and reflected in their vision, mission and program while in office, as a political contract with the people. By voicing the interests of women, children and vulnerable groups, the women candidates can attract the support of voters, especially women, more than their male counterparts. Also, by pursuing such interests, the female executive leader would reflect substantive representation (not descriptive representation), namely representation which indicates that the activities carried out by a female political leader are in the interests of those she represents, because, in reality, descriptive representation (standing for) does not guarantee the emergence of substantive representation (acting for).

Conclusion

From the analysis of the challenges faced by female aspirants for executive leadership in South Sulawesi Province, using the 2020 regional elections as a case study, the following conclusions are obtained:

1. The low or minimal representation of women as candidates for regent / deputy regent and mayor / deputy mayor in the 2020 regional elections in South Sulawesi shows that support for women in local political leadership has not met the expectations of the public, especially female constituents.
2. A number of factors are responsible for the low representation of women in the 2020 regional elections of South Sulawesi, as follows: (a) Regarding female candidates for executive leadership, political parties give little consideration to access and competence. (b) The patriarchal and oligarchic cultures are still strong, which militates against women becoming district or city leaders. (c) Affirmative policies that benefit women from a political standpoint are still limited to legislative positions, and there are no affirmative rules for executive positions. (d) The low number, competence and social network of women in politics also make it difficult for them to attain executive leadership (mayor / deputy mayor and regent / deputy regent).
3. In terms of potential representation, female executive candidates actually have a greater chance than men, because the number of female voters in the 2020 South Sulawesi election was more than the number of male voters. However, in reality, there are fewer female candidates for executive positions than male candidates. There are even some districts with no female candidates. Furthermore, cases of violence against women and children in

South Sulawesi are increasing from year to year, and the public has not yet seen the active role of women leaders in resolving these cases optimally.

Recommendation

From the above conclusions, this study makes the following suggestions:

1. It is necessary to revise policies and regulations related to the election of regional heads in order to give opportunities to female candidates for executive positions in the form of affirmative policies. Also, regulations governing the election of legislative members should be improved.
2. The role of political parties in encouraging the emergence of many female political leaders must be an obligation that is manifested in the form of internal political party rules and regulations.
3. Women organizations must be more active in fighting for women's interests in political leadership at the local level (district, city and province) so that, in the end, many capable female figures will emerge as regents, mayors and governors in South Sulawesi. ***

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