



## ARTICLE

# Application of Women's Representation As Election Supervisors in the Election Supervisory Board in the Indonesian Election Law

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**Abstract:** This study analyses the application of women's representation as election supervisors and election supervisors who are part of election organizers other than the General Elections Commission. The Election Supervisory Board (Bawaslu) is an election organizer with the authority and responsibility to oversee the process of election stages and election participants. This study uses a qualitative approach by using secondary data from the Bawaslu Decree of the Republic of Indonesia and primary data from the regulation of Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning general elections, journals, internet and social media from Bawaslu agencies, both from Bawaslu RI, Province, and Bawaslu Regency/City. Then, conclude using descriptive analysis techniques. The results of this study show that the implementation of women's representation in the election supervisory institution, namely Bawaslu, does not meet the women's representation requirement of 30%. Even in some districts/cities, women are not represented as election supervisors. Article 92 Paragraph 11, as a legal basis regarding women's representation in Bawaslu, is not fully implemented. Regulations are not only used as an obligation abort as a condition for women's entry into politics that have been given places and rules. In addition, implementation and supervision in the field are needed. There needs to be integrity and transparency from the selected selection team with no political content that benefits one candidate. However, due diligence and appropriateness are in the realm of Bawaslu of the Republic of Indonesia.

**Keywords:** women's representation; gender quota; electoral law; election supervisor; Bawaslu

## 1. Introduction

In a modern democratic system, elections are one of the benchmarks in the democratic system itself. Elections in a democratic state system are part of people's sovereignty manifested in a clash of delivery of citizens' constitutional rights (suffrage) in an honest and fair electoral system (Nasrullah & Lailam, 2017). Of course, as a standard of elections that are considered democratic as free and fair elections can be achieved if there is a legal instrument that regulates all election implementation processes, as well as can protect organizers, participants, candidates, voters, monitors, and citizens in general from various intimidation, violence, bribery and various other fraudulent practices that will later affect the results of the general election (Supriyanto, 2013).

One of the things that needs to be considered is how election organizers can carry out their duties and responsibilities by applicable laws and regulations. One form of election integrity is making the election organizing institution independent without interference from various interested parties. An election organizer is an independent, structural organization with the legal responsibility to be part of the election organizer of all election process activities that are part of a democratic instrument with the principle of openness to the community (Wahdini, 2022). The independence of election organizers is an essential and very influential aspect in the process of political development in Indonesia based on the implementation and integrity of election organizers. Election integrity covers the entire process from upstream to downstream, both election organizers, specifically in terms of selection at the election organizer, namely at the Election Supervisory Board (Bawaslu). Here, it should be emphasized that democratic elections can only be held if the organizers are independent, honest, and professional. From a broader perspective, it can be said that to create a good and clean government as intended in the reform, it is appropriate to start with excellent and clean elections, where the integrity of the organizers has been mentioned earlier (Abhan et al., 2019). The concept of gender equality in holding elections is considered one indicator of democratic progress in a country. The existence of the affirmative quota policy for women aims to increase women's representation in various fields, especially in politics, government, and public institutions. This concept emerged due to gender imbalances in critical social roles and positions. Women's affirmative quotas can be laws that require the number of women elected or appointed in specific parts to reach a certain percentage to resolve imbalances ("Do Women Represent Women?" 2006).

The application of gender quotas for supervisory institutions has been regulated in the general election regulation Law No. 7 of 2017. In particular, thirty percent representation is handled in article 92, paragraph 11, which reads, "The composition of the membership of Election Supervisory Board, Provincial Bawaslu, and Regency/City Bawaslu takes into account the representation of women at least 30% (thirty percent)". This regulation causes election organizing institutions, especially in Bawaslu, to pay attention to the representation of women to occupy strategic positions as election supervisory commissioners. This regulation is to encourage affirmative women to take part in the political process in Indonesia. A comparison of the role of election organizers in Indonesia in the 2019 election can be seen in Table 1.

The data from Table 1 shows that women's representation in organizing institutions at the General Elections Commission (KPU) and the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) has not met the affirmative quota for women. Women's representation in election organizing institutions has not received a particular place. It is considered differently from representation in parliament or political parties, and many studies question the fulfillment of women's representation. In a modern democratic system,

**Table 1.** Comparison of the Number of Women's Representations in KPU and Bawaslu Year 2019

| Organizer            | Male n (%)       | Women n (%)      |
|----------------------|------------------|------------------|
| KPU RI               | 6 (86)           | 1 (14)           |
| Bawaslu RI           | 4 (80)           | 1 (20)           |
| Provincial KPU       | 146 (79)         | 39 (21)          |
| Provincial Bawaslu   | 150 (80)         | 38 (20)          |
| KPU Regency/City     | 2101 (83)        | 441 (17)         |
| Bawaslu Regency/City | 1599 (84)        | 315 (14)         |
| <b>Total</b>         | <b>2722 (56)</b> | <b>2119 (44)</b> |

Source: Puskapol UI (2014)

the freedom of women to participate in political participation as participants who are directly involved in the competition for political office certainly opens up space for women to get their portion to fulfill women's affirmative quotas. In some countries with advanced democratic systems, the presence of women in the political arena is given space and accommodated in competing for strategic positions in government. Gender quotas are the basis of women's political representation and experience, which will change normative perceptions to a level that allows and encourages female candidates to compete with men (Deininger et al., 2015). In other words, there is a gender quota as part of the formula for fulfilling representation in political participation. Even this statement is confirmed by Deininger, Jin, Nagarajan, and Xia, who stated that the lack of women's representation is due to obstacles in an institution to the existence of cultural norms, political discrimination and policymakers in increasing the portion of participation can affect the nature of political balance and its implications for the long term (Deininger et al., 2015). So, gender-based quotas in increasing the share of women in politics to be elected have become popular even though in different forms and models that more than 100 countries have implemented. Rwanda, which implemented a quota of 30% (percent) in 2003, made a significant contribution to placing women in the majority of the parliament (Powley, 2006). The findings of Turnbull's research explain that the existence of gender quotas does not inevitably create a foundation that can be built and expanded for female politicians in an open gender competition competency. When women cannot compete outside the gender, if political parties continue to view women as a "risk" of candidacy, women who compete outside the gender quota do not get good luck in elections. The percentage becomes a reference for the upper and outer limits to limit women's participation (Turnbull, 2021).

The success of the Rwandan state in creating a model of affirmative quota for women is considered successful in providing a very open space in giving a portion of women's representation in politics. This refers to creating the success of gender quotas in politics. In addition to Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi have implemented quotas for women by applying reserved seats in the lower house of parliament. Suppose you look at the conditions in Indonesia. In that case, the rules regarding women's affirmative action have been regulated in several regulations, both the Election Law No. 7 of 2017 and the Law on Political Parties, but in practice, the commitment to carrying out regulations has not been able to run well. The patriarchal culture that is still thick and creative about women who enter politics is still considered less capable of leading than men. This opinion is consistent with Anne Phillip's statement about the politics of presence. His idea of political exclusion of a group was determined by gender, race, and ethnicity. Phillips' argument that diversity is one of the foundations of shaping liberalism in a liberal democratic system (Dryzek et al., 2008; Phillips, 2000, 2020).

Meanwhile, Kenya, as one of the countries that are considered potent in organizing women against strict gender rules and have practiced quotas of seats in parliament in the process of implementing women's power and rights broadly both inside and outside politics, is considered to have failed to accommodate gender quotas (Berry et al., 2021). From the problems of Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi, and Kenya, the success in placing women's representation in political institutions is not due to policy matters. Still, understanding and awareness of the various regulations and rules implemented according to their functions must be understood. In comparison, some European countries have imposed different restrictions on quotas that favor women. Research results by Dorrough et al. (2019) about the positive and negative impacts of imposing gender quotas in leadership positions where some countries have implemented gender quotas. From its exciting findings, women are considered less competent when selected based on percentages than when chosen based on merit.

One of the striking differences in the rules on women's representation is the difference between the General Elections Commission (KPU); the comparison can be seen in Table 2. The study on women's model in the management of political parties, which must involve women's words as much as 30% as founders and leadership in direction, is regulated in Law No. 2 of 2008 concerning political parties and Law on Political Parties No. 2 of 2011. Furthermore, registering candidates for legislative members must involve 30 female representatives as stipulated in Law No. 7 of 2017. As a commitment to the concept of gender equality in organizing elections, of course, it becomes very painting if the selection process for commissioner candidates in independent election organizing institutions does not have political content of interest that can affect the selection process of commissioners both in the general policing commission and in the election supervisory body.

Women's representation in political institutions is undoubtedly a must if you want to open up a democratic system that is not gender biased. There are still negative stereotypes in viewing gender quotas on women's political ability (Radojevic, 2023). This condition, when viewed in the context of women's representation in election supervisory institutions, still experiences various obstacles, these obstacles such as the still existing views on gender bias, the still thick patriarchal culture, the lack of potential women who participate in the selection lack or do not have political networks with stakeholders who can pass or not women and the risk of becoming election supervisors that affect women's interest in participating in the process Selection to be an Election Supervisor (Muharam et al., 2023; Muharam & Prasetyo, 2021). This statement is also supported by Neschen and Hügelschäfer (2021). There is still a firm understanding of gender stereotypes as an obstacle in women's careers rather than men's. The existence of gender quotas is considered to hurt female candidates in some countries (Jankowski & Marcinkiewicz, 2021). This negative effect illustrates that women are deemed incapable of the competition of a strict political system in winning strategic positions that must be given a special place with a gender quota. The paradigm of gender quotas is certainly two conflicting sides. First, gender quotas are considered a solution to encourage women to fulfill women's representation. Second, the existence of gender quotas provides a negative stigma that women are considered weak creatures, and there needs to be exceptional support to position women's representation with the mechanism of the gender quota system. This gender quota is a basic form of representation and political experience for women that changes from normative perceptions to encourage female candidates to compete with men (Deininger et al., 2015). The findings of Turnbull's research conclude that a broad gender quota will encourage more female political participation in the percentage. This quota does not create two separate elections for women and one for male voters

(Turnbull, 2021). Of course, gender quotas aim to minimize discrimination in law and practices and equality between women and men in politics. These gender quotas largely govern the actions of political parties, where political parties provide ideas that provide opportunities for citizens to become political leaders (“Do Women Represent Women?,” 2006).

Gender quotas are considered one of the most effective tools in accelerating women's representation in elected government institutions. The existence of gender quotas does not eliminate all structural, institutional, and social barriers for women in politics by being designed to provide opportunities for women (Dahlerup et al., 2014). In politics, quotas can be defined as affirmative measures that assign a fixed percentage or number to candidates or representatives of a particular group. The minimum quota for women is usually 20, 30, or 40 percent (Dahlerup, 2006). Quotas are typically used to increase the participation of underrepresented groups in local councils, governments, and parliaments (Dahlerup et al., 2008). Gender quota, there are three quota systems, according to some researchers (Dahlerup et al., 2014; Lovenduski, 2019; Phillips, 2000). First, the legalized candidate quota means that this quota system regulates the gender composition of candidates and is legally binding for all political parties participating in elections contained in the constitution and election law. Second, the seat reservation system means that the gender composition in the elected body has been regulated by a certain number or percentage of seats for women, which is implemented through special election rules determined through laws or the country's constitution. Third, party quota means that this quota system requires each political party to provide a list of candidates listed in the articles of association and regulations of political parties (Dahlerup et al., 2014).

Quotas are generally used to increase the participation of underrepresented groups in decision-making positions, for example, in parliaments, governments, and local councils (“Do Women Represent Women?,” 2006; Phillips, 2020). Some researchers talk about only three types of electoral gender quotas (Lovenduski, 2019). But today, there are several types used. It is also common for parties and governments to adopt various goals, recommendations, or guidelines on gender balance within representative bodies, called “soft quotas” (Childs & Krook, 2008; “Do Women Represent Women?,” 2006). This can be defined as a less stringent form of quota requirements. These guidelines can involve, for example, goals about when and how a certain percentage should be achieved (Dahlerup et al., 2008).

Attention to gender representation in election supervisory institutions so far has not focused much on the importance of women's representation as election supervisors. Regulations regarding women's representation in election organizing institutions are part of the government's role in accommodating women's representation. The election law has involved 30% of women as organizers in the KPU and Bawaslu as a rule that must be fulfilled in the selection process for candidates for election supervisory commissioners. Thus, the results of this study focus more on the implementation of fulfilling women's representation in the Election Supervisory Board in Indonesia, especially as the organizer of the 2024 general election.

## 2. Methods

This study uses descriptive research using a qualitative approach with analysis by looking at the process from the subject's perspective highlighted in the qualitative research (Kaharuddin, 2021). This study is related to the representation of women as election supervisors at the Election Supervisory Board in Indonesia in the 2024 Election. It uses indirect observation techniques by observing each stage of the

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selection process for Election Supervisory Board members. The data archives method uses national data and other data archives that store data for social science research (Taylor et al., 2010). This research uses primary data from the results of the Bawaslu Decree of the Republic of Indonesia, secondary data taken from various literature related to regulations on women's representation as election supervisors, journals, internet, and social media from Election Supervisory Board, both from Election Supervisory Board RI, Province, and Election Supervisory Board of City Regency. Then, conclude using descriptive analysis techniques (Creswell, 2014).

### 3. Results and Discussion

The encouragement of women's representation as organizers is one of the dynamics of the political system in Indonesia. The affirmative presence of women in organizing institutions is considered part of the progress of the democratic system in Indonesia. The Indonesian government has provided opportunities for women to become election organizers in Indonesia as stipulated in the regulation of election law No. 7 of 2017. The existence of quotas can encourage women to be directly involved in the political system (Franceschet & Piscopo, 2008). International standards set democratic standards, or at least elections. This international standard is the minimum requirement for the legal framework that ensures democratic elections. 15 (fifteen) Elements make up the standard, namely the legal framework for elections, the determination of constituencies, the right to vote and be elected, election organizing bodies, registration and voter lists, access to ballot papers for political parties and candidates, democratic election campaigns, access to media and freedom of speech, financing and expenditure, voting, counting and recapitulation of votes, the role of political party representatives, and the legal framework for system elections (Supriyanto, 2013; Suranto et al., 2020).

With the promulgation of Law 15/2011 in 2011, the institution of Election Administration changed. Among them, the most prominent are the establishment of DKPP and strengthening Bawaslu, which applies to the provinces. Despite some institutional strengthening, Law 15/2011 removes the requirement not to be a political party member for a minimum of five years as stipulated in Law 22/2007 for members of the Election Administration. Constitutional Court Decision No. 81/PUU-IX/2011 then rejected the provision. It returns the requirement of not being a political party member for at least five years after registering as a candidate (Abhan et al., 2019). Based on the regulation that regulates Bawaslu as an independent election organizer, previously, the recruitment process of election supervisors was chosen by the KPU to be the hope of more open democratic systems in Indonesia because the election supervisory system aims to be supervisors at every stage of elections, election organizers and election participants. Then, Law No. 7 of 2017 explicitly regulates the existence of women's representation by requiring a quota of 30% of women's representation in the Election Supervisory Agency. This rule legitimizes the existence of regulations regarding gender representation in election-organizing institutions. This shows a commitment to building gender equality in the democratic system in Indonesia. There is a comparison of women's representation regulated in Election Law No. 7 of 2017 between the General Elections Commission (KPU) and the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) in Table 2.

Based on Table 2, there are different rules regarding women's representation at the KPU and Bawaslu institutions. Specifically, the KPU rules have regulated women's presentation at the Voting Organizing Group (KPPS) level. In contrast, in the rules on women's representation at the Election Supervisory Board, there are no rules on women's representation until the level of Polling Place Supervisors (PTPS) and

**Table 2.** Comparison of Rules Regarding Women's Representation at the General Elections Commission and the Election Supervisory Board

| No. | Election Commission (KPU)  | Election Supervisory Board (Bawaslu)  |
|-----|--|---|
| 1   | Article 10 Paragraph 7<br>The composition of KPU membership, provincial KPU membership, and District/City KPU membership takes into account the representation of women at least 30% | Article 92 Paragraph 11<br>The composition of the membership of Bawaslu, Bawaslu Provinces, and Bawaslu Districts/Municipalities takes into account the representation of women at least 30% (thirty percent) |
| 2   | Article 22 Paragraph 1<br>The President establishes a selection team membership of at most 11 (eleven) members by taking into account the representation of women at least 30%       |   |
| 3   | Article 55 Paragraph 3<br>The composition of the membership of the Voting Committee (PPS) takes into account the representation of women at least 30%                                | There are no rules regarding women's representation in Village Supervisors.   |
| 4   | Article 59 Paragraph 4<br>The composition of KPSS membership pays attention to the representation of women at least 30%  | There are no rules regarding women's representation in PTPS Polling Station Supervisors.  |
| 5   | Article 52 Paragraph 3<br>The composition of the Kecamatan Election Committee (PPK) membership takes into account the representation of women at least 30%                           | There are no rules regarding women's representation in District Supervisors (Panwascam)   |

Source: Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections, processed by the author

only limited to rules at the Bawaslu/City level. Of course, this regulation is a sign of differences in rules in Law No. 7 of 2017, which will impact women's representation as election organizers in matters of election supervision. There should be no difference between the rules in the KPU and Bawaslu because both are election organizers in Indonesia.

### 3.1. Election Supervisor Selection Process

Ideally, the selection should be conducted with integrity and by professional organizers. Election administrators work in a principled manner, using clear rules (transparency), ensuring (measurable), and easy to implement. Public trust in the actions of prospective organizers from the beginning of the event to the end of the implementation determines the credibility of future organizers. Leadership, Integrity, Independence, and Electoral Competence are the main components that must be met (Suranto et al., 2020). An open selection process and transparency are expected to strengthen the independence of the Lembaga and election organizers. The existence of an open approach will provide space for the public to participate in monitoring the course of the selection process for prospective election organizers. Several advantages and disadvantages of using Open Recruitment can be seen in Table 3.

**Table 3.** Advantages and Disadvantages of Using Severe Selection

| Advantage  | Loss   |
|--|--|
| Increase Transparency  | Prominent professional figures may be reluctant to follow public test procedures.  |
| Increase the number of prospective candidates  | People are afraid to apply because everyone will know if they don't get elected.   |
| Competency-based selection process   | Advertising costs and selection process  |
| Increase inclusivity by allowing all stakeholders to submit their candidates.                                      | It takes a long time   |
| A correction mechanism exists because different institutions can implement nomination, selection, and appointment. | Requires oversight of the election committee   |
| Open opportunities for candidates who are outside the power of the elite.  | Open recruitment may only be used as a cover to cover up the fact that the ruling political party determines the recruitment results of LPP members. |

Source: Wall et al. (2016)

In addition, the selection process for election organizers that has been determined based on the law with the principles of justice and gender bias also pays attention



to women’s representation in election organizing institutions, including the Election Supervisory Board (Bawaslu), which has not paid much attention to women’s representation in Bawaslu. In selecting election supervisors, all candidates must follow all process stages. When viewed from the rules of the Election Supervisory Agency. The selection stage at the Election Supervisory Board (Bawaslu) uses a knockout system for candidates for commissioners. In the initial stage, Bawaslu formed a selection team in all provinces in Indonesia. The purpose of the selection team for candidates for election supervisors is expected to be entirely carried out by a selection team that has been selected and selected by Bawaslu. However, in the selection process for this selection team, although it is open, it is not too transparent, and there are no indicators in determining the selected selection teams. When viewed from the guidelines for the formation of a selection of prospective members of the District/City Bawaslu, the proposal for the name of the selection team consists of the following: Each member of Bawaslu proposes the terms of future members of the selection team (Bawaslu, 2018). After the selection team is formed, the initial stage is to provide announcements and register prospective members of the Provincial Bawaslu. Bawaslu Regency/City. The next stage is the selection of administrative files; at this stage, all future commissioner files are verified based on the portfolio that has been submitted. If you meet the requirements, proceed to the written and psychological tests stage. After the written and psychological test stages, the selection team announced who passed this stage and waited for public responses. This community response aims to assess and see the candidates for commissioner, whether there are problems personally, legally bound by political parties, etc. The next stage is a medical test and interview. After that, the candidates for the commissioners were announced by determining twice the need for available seats. If three seats are contested, there are six candidates for commissioners, and if five seats are contested, ten candidates will advance to this stage. All candidates will be invited to conduct due diligence conducted at the center. After this stage, the selection team will give an announcement to wait for public response. After this stage, the report and inauguration of the commissioners of the Election Board (Bawaslu) were sworn in. The flow and mechanism of the selection process at the Election Supervisory Board can be understood in Figure 1.

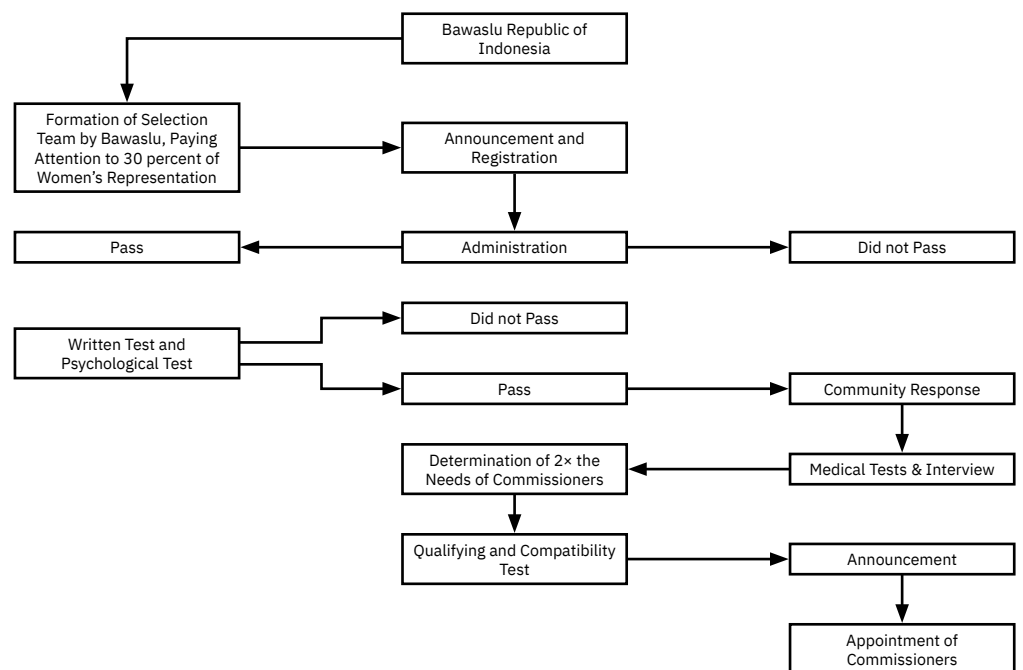


Figure 1. The Selection Process for Commissioners of the Election Supervisory Board (Bawaslu)

Source: Processed from Bawaslu data



### 3.2. Women's Representation in the Election Supervisory Board

The representation of women in the Election Supervisory Board is one of the essential things in understanding representation as election organizers. By the regulation of Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning general elections in article 92, paragraph 11, which reads: "The composition of the membership of Bawaslu, Provincial Bawaslu, and Regency/City Bawaslu pays attention to women's representation of at least 30% (thirty percent)." Based on the above regulations, the application of women's representation as election organizers is significant. Applying legal representation makes no difference to women's political rights, especially as election supervisors in Indonesia. The research findings on women's representation as election supervisors in Indonesia for the 2024 elections from a long selection process in all city districts in Indonesia, as many as 514 regencies or cities from 38 provinces in Indonesia. The number of women's representation as election supervisors in Indonesia has not paid attention to women's representation. To be able to understand and more details can be seen in [Table 4](#).

**Table 4.** Women's Representation in the Election Supervisory Board Districts/Municipalities for the 2023–2028 Period

| No. | Province                   | City/Regency | Male | Female | Percentage |     | Total Gender |
|-----|----------------------------|--------------|------|--------|------------|-----|--------------|
|     |                            |              |      |        | M          | F   |              |
| 1   | Aceh                       | 23           | 66   | 10     | 87%        | 13% | 76           |
| 2   | Bali                       | 9            | 26   | 8      | 76%        | 24% | 34           |
| 3   | Bangka Belitung            | 7            | 19   | 2      | 90%        | 10% | 21           |
| 4   | Banten                     | 8            | 34   | 4      | 89%        | 11% | 38           |
| 5   | Bengkulu                   | 10           | 28   | 2      | 93%        | 7%  | 30           |
| 6   | Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta | 5            | 16   | 3      | 84%        | 16% | 19           |
| 7   | DKI Jakarta                | 6            | 21   | 7      | 75%        | 25% | 28           |
| 8   | Gorontalo                  | 6            | 16   | 2      | 89%        | 11% | 18           |
| 9   | Jambi                      | 11           | 32   | 5      | 86%        | 14% | 37           |
| 10  | Jawa Barat                 | 27           | 113  | 14     | 89%        | 11% | 127          |
| 11  | Jawa Tengah                | 35           | 140  | 27     | 84%        | 16% | 167          |
| 12  | Jawa Timur                 | 38           | 153  | 23     | 87%        | 13% | 176          |
| 13  | Kalimantan Selatan         | 13           | 40   | 5      | 89%        | 11% | 45           |
| 14  | Kalimantan Tengah          | 14           | 39   | 6      | 87%        | 13% | 45           |
| 15  | Kalimantan Timur           | 10           | 33   | 6      | 85%        | 15% | 39           |
| 16  | Kalimantan Utara           | 5            | 16   | 1      | 94%        | 6%  | 17           |
| 17  | Kalimantan Barat           | 14           | 50   | 8      | 86%        | 14% | 58           |
| 18  | Kepulauan Riau             | 7            | 18   | 5      | 78%        | 22% | 23           |
| 19  | Lampung                    | 15           | 53   | 8      | 87%        | 13% | 61           |
| 20  | Maluku                     | 11           | 30   | 3      | 91%        | 9%  | 33           |
| 21  | Maluku Utara               | 10           | 24   | 5      | 83%        | 17% | 29           |
| 22  | Nusa Tenggara Barat        | 10           | 36   | 4      | 90%        | 10% | 40           |
| 23  | Nusa Tenggara Timur        | 22           | 54   | 14     | 79%        | 21% | 68           |
| 24  | Papua                      | 9            | 21   | 6      | 78%        | 22% | 27           |
| 25  | Papua Barat                | 7            | 19   | 4      | 83%        | 17% | 23           |
| 26  | Papua Barat Daya           | 6            | 15   | 3      | 83%        | 17% | 18           |

| No.          | Province          | City/<br>Regency | Male        | Female     | Percentage |            | Total<br>Gender |
|--------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|-----------------|
|              |                   |                  |             |            | M          | F          |                 |
| 27           | Papua Pegunungan  | 8                | 30          | 2          | 94%        | 6%         | 32              |
| 28           | Papua Selatan     | 4                | 17          | 1          | 94%        | 6%         | 18              |
| 29           | Papua Tengah      | 8                | 19          | 4          | 83%        | 17%        | 23              |
| 30           | Riau              | 12               | 49          | 5          | 91%        | 9%         | 54              |
| 31           | Sulawesi Barat    | 6                | 17          | 3          | 85%        | 15%        | 20              |
| 32           | Sulawesi Selatan  | 24               | 65          | 15         | 81%        | 19%        | 80              |
| 33           | Sulawesi Tengah   | 13               | 36          | 7          | 84%        | 16%        | 43              |
| 34           | Sulawesi Tenggara | 17               | 40          | 11         | 78%        | 22%        | 51              |
| 35           | Sulawesi Utara    | 15               | 39          | 6          | 87%        | 13%        | 45              |
| 36           | Sumatera Barat    | 19               | 55          | 8          | 87%        | 13%        | 63              |
| 37           | Sumatera Selatan  | 17               | 56          | 10         | 85%        | 15%        | 66              |
| 38           | Sumatera Utara    | 33               | 98          | 17         | 85%        | 15%        | 115             |
| <b>Total</b> |                   | <b>514</b>       | <b>1633</b> | <b>274</b> | <b>86%</b> | <b>14%</b> | <b>1907</b>     |

Source: Bawaslu Republic of Indonesia Year 2023, processed by the author

Based on Table 4, the highest representation of women is in DKI Jakarta Province with seven representatives (25%), namely, West Jakarta City has two women representation (40%), Central Jakarta City has one woman representation (20%), South Jakarta City has two women representation (40%), East Jakarta City has one woman representation (40%), North Jakarta City has one woman representation (40%), and Kepulauan Seribu Regency is the only one in DKI Jakarta Province that does not have women representation in Bawaslu Regency/City. For South Papua Province, the representation of women in Amat Regency is one person (20%), North Kalimantan, namely women’s representation is only in Bulungan Regency as many as one person (20%), and Mountain Papua is a province with women’s representation in Bawaslu Regency/City. Women’s representation in Southern Province is one person (6%), North Kalimantan Province has one female representation (6%), and Papua Mountains has two women representation (6%), namely women’s representation in Tolikora Regency and Yakimo Regency is one person each with women’s representation (20%).

Two dimensions of the quota system need to be understood. 1) The First Dimension relates to where the quota system is permissible in the constitution, electoral law, or party regulations. Legislative candidate quotas are included in a country’s constitution or electoral laws, and they target the gender composition of the voter lists of all political parties, for example, requiring a minimum of female candidates. Voluntary party quotas are adopted voluntarily by political parties and take the form of internal party requirements to appoint at least a minimum number or percentage of women to elected office. 2) The second dimension relates to the level of the selection and nomination process at which gender quotas are used. A quota system can aim to change the gender composition of a potential pool of candidates, called candidates. Candidates who stand for election, candidates who are elected. Certain types of quotas are more commonly used in some parts of the world, so other quota regimes are preferred in different continents. While constitutional amendments and new electoral laws regulating gender quotas may seem more assertive, there is no evidence that these methods are more efficient than political party quotas in increasing the number of women in parliament. It all depends on the actual regulations and possible sanctions for non-compliance, as well as on the general opportunities for quotas within

the country. Regarding the rules of candidacy, the crucial thing is whether there are rules for rank order on the list. Quotas work differently in different electoral systems. Quotas are most accessible to implement in proportional representation (PR) systems. However, quotas have also been implemented in some majority systems. Yet even in a PR system, some political parties and parties in some constituencies may have difficulty in implementing quotas because quotas may be seen as interference with the prerogative of local party organizations to choose their candidates (“Do Women Represent Women?,” 2006).

The low representation of women as election supervisors in several regions in Indonesia is an evaluation material for the selection team for candidates for commissioners of the District/City Election Supervisory Board. In the selection process, some female candidates are included in the selection stage to the Feasibility and Appropriateness Test stage; however, in the results announced by some regions. In that case, no female representation exists in the Regency/City. Of course, if you look at the rules regarding the need for women's representation in Bawaslu Regency/City by regulation No. 7 of 2017 Pasa; 92 Paragraph 11, the commitment to fulfill women's representation is unlikely to have been implemented in the recruitment process for election supervisors. There needs to be openness and fairness in the selection process carried out by the Bawaslu of the Republic of Indonesia through the selection team (Timsel) by displaying the results of the acquisition of values from the entire process to the public. Integrity and transparency of this selection process are essential to build public trust, and the selected candidates are genuinely competent and have no political interest behind them. So far, the selection results from the final process issued by Bawaslu have not brought up the final score of the test in the process of all the final stages. You can see the official website of (Bawaslu, 2023).

The main objective of women's affirmative quotas is to achieve gender equality in various fields, such as politics and governance; 1). Increase representation: increase the number of women elected or appointed to parliament, government officials, or members of other public institutions. 2) Overcoming Gender Stereotypes: removing gender stereotypes and prejudices that can deter women from taking on important roles. 3) Illustrate diversity: show the diversity of society, different perspectives, and different experiences during the policy-making and decision-making process. 4) Improving Gender Issues: ensuring that gender receives adequate attention in policy and legislative processes. 5) Inspiring Young Women: Inspiring young women to participate in politics and government (Dahlerup, 2016; Dahlerup et al., 2014; Franceschet et al., 2009).

In fulfilling the gender quota in Indonesia, it can be predicted that efforts to increase women's representation in politics will increase if female candidates who enter politics have quality in the competitive process. Awareness of the concept of gender equality in the political system in Indonesia has been given space regulated in various regulations to accommodate women's representation in politics, including as election supervisors, especially in the process of implementing rules in the implementation of policies not only as regulations but also as commitments from all parties in the implementation process to regulations on women's representation.

#### 4. Conclusion

To fulfill women's political rights as election supervisors in the 2024 elections, election organizers are not sanctioned or obliged to achieve women's representation as election supervisors from the Bawaslu RI level to Polling Station Supervisors (PTPS). Although there is an article about women's representation as election supervisors only up to the

rules in Bawaslu Regency/City, of course, this rule is different from the organizers at the General Election Commission rules on women's representation up to the level of the Voting Organizing Group (KPPS). In contrast, in the regulations on women's presentation at the Election Supervisory Board, there are no rules on women's representation until the level of Polling Place Supervisors (PTPS). In the regulation of Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning general elections, the rules regarding women's representation are only limited to paying attention to not obliging. The recommendations of this study are expected to provide an overview of the implementation of regulations on women's representation as election supervisors. Minimize the patriarchal culture that still exists in the political system in Indonesia, which prioritizes men to occupy strategic positions. It is evident from the findings conducted by women's representation research that it does not achieve thirty percent female representation.

Furthermore, there needs to be a clear commitment to changing the regulations of the election law that regulate women's representation in Bawaslu, which so far has only been limited to paying attention to not requiring the fulfillment of women's representation as election supervisors. There needs to be a change in Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning general elections, especially in Article 92, paragraph 11, which still does not regulate the rules on women's representation as election supervisors up to the level of Polling Place Supervisors (PPTPS), while the rules as election organizers regarding KPU members to the story of the Voting Organizing Group (KPPS). There needs to be socialization in a more massive and open selection process. In addition, there need to be regulations governing the sanctions of selection teams or policymakers who do not accommodate thirty percent female representation for election organizers, which has been regulated in the Law on Elections. If you look at the theory put forward by Anne Philips about Descriptive Representation, the quality of representation can be judged by how accurate the model is to the representation of the women it represents. In other words, women selected from the selection process will impact gender equality and equal opportunities in the political system regardless of gender or women's position.

Of course, this is a gap in decision-making in the selection process for candidates for Bawaslu commissioners, who prioritize men who become election supervisors over potential female candidates. Regulations are not only used as an obligation abort as a condition for women's entry into politics that have been given places and rules. Nevertheless, implementation and supervision in the field are needed. There needs to be integrity and transparency from the selected selection team with no political content that benefits one candidate. However, due diligence and appropriateness are in the realm of Bawaslu of the Republic of Indonesia.

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