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Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan

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## Fulfillment of women's political rights through mainstreaming gender quotas in Election Supervisory Board

Ricky Santoso Muharam<sup>1\*</sup>, Ari Pradhanawati<sup>2</sup>, Fitriyah<sup>3</sup>, Supratiwi<sup>4</sup>

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### Abstract

*This study examines women's political representation as election supervisors, the rules regarding women's representation in accordance with the regulations of Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections have not been able to run well. This study uses qualitative research by making observations in the recruitment process of the Election Supervisory Board of the Republic of Indonesia and the affirmation quota of women as election supervisors in Election Supervisory Board, Yogyakarta Special Region Province. This study aims to see the application of regulations on the general election law on women's representation and its application in the recruitment process of election supervisors that accommodate women's representation. This finding shows that there is still a gap in women's representation in election supervisory institutions where the rules regarding 30 percent female representation have been very clearly regulated. Evaluation of these findings requires a policy of changing regulations that regulate sanctions for non-fulfillment of women's representation as one of the solutions to fulfill women's gender kouta as female supervisors. The conclusion of this study is that there are several factors that hinder the fulfillment of women's political rights such as, a wrong understanding of political gender, the risk of becoming a very large election supervisor, socialization of selection that is not right on target and the competence of prospective candidates who lack knowledge about elections.*

**Keywords:** women's representation, gender quota, election supervisory, affirmative policy

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### Introduction

This paper examines the issue of women's political rights in fulfilling gender quotas as election supervisors who are part of election organizers in Indonesia. Discussing women's politics is certainly an interesting thing in the democratic system in Indonesia. The patriarchal culture that has been adopted by Indonesian society, which often considers that men are masculine figures, believes that their personalities are physically stronger, making women associated as weak individuals. Women and politics are one of the many studies examined by researchers who are interested in gender studies, especially women's involvement in politics, such as in political parties (Radojevic, 2023), parliament (Tolley, 2022), regional head (Ulfaningrum et al., 2023). Some of these studies focus on how women's representation can be fulfilled properly where the view of masculinity is as opposed to femininity (Linders et al., 2022). Even Connell considers that views on masculinity and femininity coexist (Connell, 2005).

Talking about gender is inseparable from the women's political movement, which occurred in the 19th century and rapidly grew in several Western countries. This political movement aims to advance women's rights regarding life status and life. It is also called the "suffrage" movement. This movement is a women's activist movement in the United Kingdom called the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) for members of the suffrage movement, which is used as a reference to the term "suffrage" (Mikail, 2015). Meanwhile, Alice Robin highlighted the participation of minorities in various advocacy groups to understand the problems of minority representation at large (Robbin, 2000). As stated by Alice Robin, talking about minority representation is almost the same as discussing women's representation. Women's representation in advanced democracies is considered as important as gender representation in politics. But in practice, it is not in line with expectations.

Moreover, the thought of patriarchal culture that still exists in some countries is an obstacle to the fulfillment of women's representation in politics. This representation of women is considered important, not only about who can speak for themselves but also about the existence of gender differences and women's interests. There needs to be pressure in serious political discussions (Fossen, 2019). This is part of a concept of representation as part of contemporary feminist considerations of the idea of women (Celis et al., 2014). The Convention on the Elimination of Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1979 recognized the persistence of gender injustices regarding women (Akbar, 2018). In 2017, UNESCO explained that gender equality is a process of justice between men and women about equality. Talking about gender equality, especially in Indonesia, in the political field, a *zipper system* has been introduced since the 2009 election. Women's political participation is more studied as members of the legislature and in political parties. Meanwhile, discussions of women's politics as election organizers are still very limited.



**Figure 1.** Global Gender Gap Index Indicators Indonesia

Source: *Global Gender Gap Report 2023 (World Economic Forum, 2023)*

The Femintas encourage women to go out and engage in political activities to get out of the masculine political hierarchy (Cole & Sabik, 2010). The view is that many women still do not fit in politics, and politics is the domain of men (Rudman & Fairchild, 2007). If you look at the Global Gender Report 2023, according to the World Economic Forum (WEF), Indonesia obtained a suspension of 0.697 and ranked 87th out of 146 countries. The global

gender gap index for economic participation and opportunity is ranked 87<sup>th</sup>. The year 2022 is ranked 92<sup>nd</sup>, The field of Educational Attainment is ranked 106<sup>th</sup> year 2022 is ranked 102<sup>nd</sup>, The field of health and survival is ranked 73<sup>rd</sup> in year 2022 rank 77<sup>th</sup>, and Indonesia's Political Empowerment is ranked 81<sup>st</sup> and in 2022 rankings 90<sup>th</sup>.

Suppose you look at the report's results on Indonesia's Global Gender Gap Index Indicators based on Figure 1 above. In that case, it shows that Indonesia's ranking has increased from 92 in 2002 to 87 in the year Indonesia has increased, but Indonesia's position is still at the bottom. Of course, this shows that the progress of democracy in Indonesia is increasingly advanced but does not provide flexibility in the process of the democratic system in fulfilling the quota of women in politics in Indonesia. Indonesia is ranked 9<sup>th</sup> below New Zealand, the Philippines, Australia, Singapore, Laos, Vietnam, Thailand, and Mongolia, even for Asia and the Pacific. See Table 1 below:

**Table 1.** The Global Gender Gap Index ranking by region 2023  
East Asia and The Pacific

Country	Rank		Score
	Regional	Global	
New Zealand	1	4	0.656
Philippines	2	16	0.791
Australia	3	26	0.778
Singapore	4	49	0.739
Laos	5	54	0.711
Vietnam	6	72	0.711
Thailand	7	74	0.704
Mongolia	8	80	0.697
Indonesia	9	87	0.695
Cambodia	10	92	0.693
Timor-Leste	11	95	0.693
Brunei Darussalam	12	96	0.682
Malaysia	13	102	0.680
Republic of Korea	14	105	0.680
China	15	107	0.678
Vanuatu	16	108	0.678
Fiji	17	121	0.650
Myanmar	18	123	0.650
Japan	19	125	0.647

*Source: Global Gender Gap Report 2023 (World Economic Forum, 2023)*

Indonesia's position, ranked 9<sup>th</sup> for the Asia and Pacific region, is certainly an evaluation material for democracy activists, especially feminists in Indonesia, to encourage women's representation in the political field. Indonesia, which once had a female head of state and even regional leaders, both governors, regents, and mayors, has not given an increase in the gender gap index ranking for the Indonesian state to be an important record in the progress of democracy in Indonesia. The battle for gender quotas that have been accommodated in the regulations of Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections is essentially an opportunity for female feminism in Indonesia to be able to encourage potential female candidates to be able to compete in political battles in Indonesia,



including as election organizers who have a very strategic position in advancing the democratic climate in Indonesia. The regulation governing women's quota as election supervisors is contained in Article 92, paragraph 11 of Law Number 7 of 2017 (Republik Indonesia, 2017). The Center for Political Studies explained that there are still problems with women as election organizers, especially election supervisors (Puskapol, 2021). At least data shows that from 2013-2018 women's representation, 5 out of 17 Election Supervisory commissioners in six provinces were women, about 29.41% of women's representation as Election Supervisory Board members. Suppose you look at the holding of elections worldwide. In that case, Indonesia is a unique country in that the function of election supervision is used as a separate election organizer with the general election commission.

Meanwhile, the discussion on women's quotas has limited the rules on women's representation, where political party leaders at the central level must be represented by at least 30 percent of women's representatives. This rule follows Law Number 2 of 2011 concerning Political Parties' representation in Article 2, paragraph 5. Furthermore, the regulations regarding women's representation are regulated in Law Number 8 of 2012 concerning the General Election of Members of the parliament, which requires that legislative candidates must be at least 30 percent female candidates (Republik Indonesia, 2011). The importance of women's representation in political positions, such as competition for the position of election supervisory commissioner, cannot be separated from being influenced by political culture and religion, which still has a stigma against women as leaders. Talking about women and politics as an interesting topic, the political role of women from the perspective of radical feminism, where there is a total transformation (if necessary with coercion) of women's roles from domestic affairs to the public sphere (Wahyudi, 2018).

The dynamics of the issue of women's representation as election supervisors cannot be separated from the still thick patriarchal culture of the majority of Indonesian society. The role of women is considered second class in a descriptive voice, and its conducted role in the political system has not been taken into account much. The restriction of women's roles by patriarchal culture makes women shackled and get discriminatory treatment (Irma & Hasanah, 2014). In politics, the part of women was previously only used as a voice bar for prospective candidates who would run in the government system to move to participate in the struggle for the seat of power. Several factors can influence the selection pattern between men and women. The first factor is Indonesian culture, which is still very thick with its patriarchal culture. Second, it relates to the selection process in the party system, the decree system, which still weakens the position of women in the fight for strategic offices. Third, it relates to building self-image, especially with the media in building public opinion about the importance of women's representation in politics. Fourth, there is a lack of political networks supporting women's role in politics, such as NGOs or other organizations (Nimrah & Sakaria, 2015). Of the factors above, the most important is the opportunity for potential women to compete for seats of power with a fair chance without fraud in the recruitment process in the competition for political office.

While the dynamics of religious views, politics is formulated as a way of regulating various affairs of life together to achieve prosperity in the world and the hereafter. In classical Islamic political discourse, appointing leaders is obligatory based on religious arguments and rational thought (Warjiyati, 2016). The limits of women's important role in politics are sometimes shackled by religious dogma that assumes that leaders are men. This view is often an obstacle for women in entering the political system. The increasingly open

understanding of the concept of gender equality, especially for democratic countries that prioritize gender equality in politics, provides opportunities for women to participate in seizing power with their potential. Female candidates can use the increasing ops rules that offer opportunities for women to enter politics.

This regulation seeks to provide opportunities for women to participate in politics and be part of the fight for women's quotas inseparable from the role of the percent Elections Commission, the Election Supervisory Board and the Election Organizing Honor Board by carrying out their functions and responsibilities following applicable laws and regulations (Muharam & Prasetyo, 2021). This study focuses on gender quotas in electoral institutions, namely as election supervisors. It is an interesting study, especially for researchers who study gender studies.

## **Research Methods**

The research used is causative research by making observations from the recruitment process of election supervisors, Yogyakarta Special Region Province, as well as the selection process in Election Supervisory Board Regency / City and sub-district election supervisors in the Yogyakarta Special Region Province from registration, administration, written tests, medical tests, psychological tests and feasibility tests and final results. Descriptive research is conducted where procedural research in problem-solving is reviewed and investigated by describing the situation in the object of study using the facts following the actual circumstances (Mada & Martini, 2005). This research focuses on women's representation in the recruitment process of election supervisors in Election Supervisory Board, Yogyakarta Special Region Province. The research method is qualitative research, where the data produced is in the form of written and spoken words following the opinions of Bogdan and Tylor (Moleong, 2012). By referring to the meanings, definitions, concepts, characteristic symbols, and descriptions of the appropriate (Berg & Lune, 2011). The main source of this research data is the results of data from each stage of selection that has been issued by the Election Supervisory Board of the Republic of Indonesia, Election Supervisory Board of Yogyakarta Special Recolor, and Election Supervisory Board Regency and Election Supervisory Board City. Secondary data comes from regulations on elections about political parties following applicable laws and regulations. In addition, reference sources from several journals, literature, and books relevant to the research topic.

## **Results and Discussion**

### **Gender Quota**

The demand for gender equality, especially regarding women in politics, is part of a large discourse discussion in the political space where the need for women to be accommodated in politics is increasingly open. The mindset has been built that women only take care of domestic affairs in the household so that they can go out to fight for women's rights through politics. Women's involvement in politics with the expectation of women being able to fight for their rights and make decisions following gender needs that many male politicians have not touched. Male politicians are considered unable to understand the problems experienced and required by women, such as reproductive health issues, domestic violence, and women's workers' rights. Of course, to encourage and raise issues about women, it is necessary to have women's involvement. With democratic political representation, it occurs if women who have interests can be involved in decision-making (Ardiansa, 2017). The quota system essentially has an intern, which is set to ensure that

women are part of a critical minority that comprises only 30 or 40 percent (Fata, 2014). Ahmad Khoril Fata emphasized that the existence of women's quotas, part of temporary measures implemented with various barriers to women's entry into politics, can be removed (Fata, 2014). A percentage of women in a democratic system is considered part of democratic legitimacy. As stated in the 11th Brasilia Consensus, gender balance that plays a role in decision-making is "the main condition of democracy" (Piscopo, 2015).

The benefits of a female quota are considered to secure women's representation, which is part of an inclusion strategy where women can be accommodated reasonably and legitimately in political interests (Berry et al., 2021). Of course, gender quotas are also to form women's stereotypes about the characteristics that female candidates are capable of, and this is to erode the stigma that women are not suitable as leaders because of their nature as women (Endo & Ono, 2023). This statement is the opinion of Pieter de Wilde, who states that the product of the existence of a repression mechanism is part of a static result; in other words, the normative assessment of the representation of women and minorities is often underrepresented based on the observation of the proportion of representation of women and minorities is lower than the total population (Wilde, 2013). In addition, the view of women's quotas is considered to cause negative stereotypes about women's abilities (Franceschet & Piscopo, 2008). The existence of negative opinions about gender kouta is certainly a problem for female politicians who are elected through the quota system (Radojevic, 2023). Representing women in gender quotas is part of making, accepting, and adjudicating claims (Decreus, 2013). Gender diversity in politics will certainly color the political system, including the Indonesian political system. The constitution regulates women's rights with claims that require a 30 percent female quota by emphasizing that it is not a shortcoming but a necessity, such as the existence of a system of discrimination where female candidates, when running for parliament, are candidates (Celis et al., 2014).

The idea of gender kouta is certainly inseparable from the representation of representatives responsively to those represented who can decisively make a decision that is binding collectively for the benefit of women (Linders et al., 2022). Concerns about women leaders being perceived as weak because they prioritize feelings rather than logic are a problem among constituents. Or rather, this female leadership becomes a "political sandra" for women unable to supervisory electionests because of the insistence of male masculinity which is considered to have the power to suppress female leaders.

Ahmad Khorul Fata criticized gender quotas for implementing different kouta methods to ensure women can be represented in parliament. There are at least two things of concern, namely, 1) kouta through the constitution or national legislation. 2) quotas through political parties. This system is applied in some countries that practice the quota system through federal bodies. As in the 1995 constitution of the Uganda Republic of Uganda, out of 39 districts, there is 1 seat for women, as much as 13%. From this system, in the end, there is an increase in women's representation and the presence of female candidates elected in parliament from non-gender-only seats (Fata, 2014). On the contrary, the expression of women as legislators is considered low; the ratio of women in Japan in 2021 is only 9.9%, far from the global average of 24% (Endo & Ono, 2023). No wonder in the 2023 Global Gender Index, Japan is ranked 125<sup>th</sup> (World Economic Forum, 2023).

From the two cases above, of course, it can be concluded that the existence of gender quotas and women's representation is not due to factors in developed countries or underdeveloped countries. But how can a country seriously accommodate the interests of women's political rights in a democratic political system? The experience of an appropriate

design will provide gender quota results following the target to be achieved with a political system that can truly offer space for freedom for women in fulfilling women's political rights.

Research on gender quotas has discussed women's political participation, women's representation in parliament, and women in politics. This paper provides a different picture from several previous studies that focused on how women's representation as election supervisors has been limited. Few researchers have focused on women's rights in election-organizing institutions, especially as election supervisors. This research will contribute to other research that focuses on gender or gender studies and politics.

The composition of election organizers at the commissioner level is necessary to ensure the independence and effectiveness of election organizing institutions (Pintor, 2000) at the commissioner level. Leadership is very important to the principle of impartiality and independence of an election collecting institution and in a combination that can be integrated into election organizing institutions with civil society backgrounds. Experience in government bureaucracy, understanding of media representation, and legal and operational experience (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2016). Robert A Dahl has given various standards of measure that need to be met so that elections follow democratic principles: 1) inclusiveness, where everyone who has grown up can be included in general elections; 2) equal vote, meaning that every sura has equal rights and values. 3) Effective participation, where each individual can easily make their choice. 4) Enlightened Understanding: in making their political choices, each individual has the understanding and ability to decide. 5) Final control of agenda: elections are considered democratic, with a control room overseeing the electoral process (Dahl, 1979).

By the opinion of Robert A Dahl, of course, in a democratic system, there is a need for a supervisory election system. The election supervisory recruitment process that must be transparent without any political interest for prospective candidates for election supervisory commissioners is one of the important things to minimize political claims that can affect the integrity process in election supervision. In addition, gender equality at all levels of personnel and activities will increase the credibility of election-organizing institutions (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2016).

The findings of this study on gender alignment in fulfilling women's quotas in the selection process and determining the results of elected commissioners following the announcement of the effects of due diligence and compliance of candidates for the Provincial Election Supervisory Board for the 2022-2027 term of office Number: 316/KP.01.00/K1/09/2022 shows that there is a gender quota gap in those elected as Provincial Election Supervisory Board commissioners. This gap is very visible from the 25 provincial regions that open the recruitment process for Election Supervisory Board commissioners, and there are only 6 provinces that have female representation, namely Riau Islands province, East Nusa Tenggara, Central Kalimantan, West Sulawesi, North Maluku, West Papua. The other 19 provinces have no female representation selected in the Election Supervisory Board Province recruitment selection process, which is all dominated by men. Meanwhile, in the laws and regulations where female candidates must meet the quota of 30 percent, there is female representation in Batlu of the Republic of Indonesia, Baatu Province, Election Supervisory Board Regency, and Election Supervisory Board City. To be able to see more clearly about women's representation from the results of the provincial Election Supervisory Board decree for the 2022-2027 period, see Table 2 below;

**Table 2.** Member of Election Supervisory Board Province for the period 2022-2027

No	Province	Gender		Percentage	
		M	F	M	F
1	West Sumatra	3	0	100%	0%
2	Riau	3	0	100%	0%
3	Riau Islands	1	2	33%	67%
4	Jambi	3	0	100%	0%
5	South Sumatra	3	0	100%	0%
6	Bangka Belitung Islands	3	0	100%	0%
7	Bengkulu	3	0	100%	0%
8	Lampung	3	0	100%	0%
9	Dki Jakarta	3	0	100%	0%
10	Banten	3	0	100%	0%
11	Central Java	3	0	100%	0%
12	Di Yogyakarta	3	0	100%	0%
13	East Java	3	0	100%	0%
14	West Nusa Tenggara	3	0	100%	0%
15	East Nusa Tenggara	2	1	67%	33%
16	Central Kalimantan	2	1	67%	33%
17	South Kalimantan	3	0	100%	0%
18	East Kalimantan	3	0	100%	0%
19	North Sulawesi	3	0	100%	0%
20	Gorontalo	3	0	100%	0%
21	Cental Sulawesi	3	0	100%	0%
22	West Sulawesi	2	1	67%	33%
23	Maluku	3	0	100%	0%
24	North Maluku	2	1	67%	33%
25	West Papua	2	1	67%	33%

*Source: Proseses by author form Election Supervisory Board, 2022*

### **Gender Quota in Election Supervisory Board Regency/City**

Especially in Indonesia, the quota of women as election supervisors has grown because the Law has regulated thirty percent of female representatives in electoral institutions. Of course, these regulations should be applied in decision-making processes and ensure that women are placed in political offices, especially as election supervisors. The location of this study is in the Special Region of Yogyakarta Province, which consists of 1 Municipality and 4 Districts. Undoubtedly, Yogyakarta, which has many Javanese cultural traditions and is the only province in Indonesia that implements a monarchical system, is an exciting subject to learn, especially about the role of women as election supervisors in the Special Province of Yogyakarta. The location of this study is in the Special Region of Yogyakarta Province, which consists of 1 Municipality and 4 Districts. Undoubtedly, as a province with many Javanese traditions and the only province in Indonesia that implements a monarchy system, Yogyakarta is interesting to learn, especially about the role of women as election supervisors. One very significant finding regarding women's representation as election supervisors, especially at the provincial level, is that of the five commissioners who are members of the Yogyakarta Provincial Election Supervisory Board, there is only one woman or only 20% of the female Election Supervisory Board members.

In the end, this finding became one of the studies that found that implementing laws is not carried out when election administrators make decisions in political office. Furthermore, the results show how women's representation can be accommodated in politics at the district and city levels in the province of Yogyakarta Special Region, which consists of Yogyakarta City, Bantul, Sleman, Gunung Kidul, and Kulon Progo. At the district level of this city, it is clear that the political position of the election supervisor does not meet the affirmative quota of women. For example, in Yogyakarta City, of the five elected commissioners, 3 are men with a percentage of 100% and women 0%; the female quota has exceeded 30% of the five male Election Supervisory Board commissioners, of which three people with a rate of 60% and women two people. In Election Supervisory Board, Sleman Regency, there are four men with a percentage of 80% and one woman with a ratio of 20%, so the female quota is not met. The female quota in Election Supervisory Board Gunung Kidul has been fulfilled, with two women or 40% and three men or 60%. In Election Supervisory Board, Kulon Progo Regency, three men were elected with 67% and women with 33%, so the quota of women in the region has been met. The following Table 1 provides a further overview of this issue.

**Table 2.** Representation of Women as Members of Election Supervisory Board Districts and Municipalities Yogyakarta Special Region Province

No	Election Supervisory Board Regency / City Level	Gender		Percentage		Total
		M	F	M	F	
1	Yogyakarta City	3	0	100%	0%	3
2	Bantul Regency	3	2	60%	40%	5
3	Sleman Regency	4	1	80%	20%	5
4	Gunungkidul Regency	3	2	60%	40%	5
5	Kulonprogo Regency	2	1	67%	33%	3
	Total	15	6	71%	29%	21

*Source: Processes by author form Election Supervisory Board, 2023*

The data above shows that two regions, Yogyakarta City and Sleman Regency, do not have enough women to be election supervisors. This result shows how important election regulation number 7 of 2017 is applied and monitored when accepting candidates for political office. There are political offices in Election Supervisory Board Regency and City, with a term of office of 5 years. This political position is significant because it is a very strategic part of carrying out the supervisory function of election organizers. This is clear because the position as an election supervisory body is very strategic to supervise both election participants and organizers by general election rules in Indonesia. The critical role of the Central, Province, and Regency/City Election Supervisory Board as election referees who can determine disputes, violations, and election fraud is significant. Election Supervisory Board must carry out its duties and obligations by applicable regulations in Indonesia. Given that the Law has binding legal force, the non-fulfillment of women's representation of 30% is an important issue that needs to be addressed.

Of the 21 Election Supervisory Board Regency/City commissioners in Yogyakarta Special Region Province, 15 are men (71%), and six are women (29%). Three of the five regencies/cities have 30% female representation, and two do not have 30% female representation. This shows that in Yogyakarta City, there are no female supervisors at all. If no female representatives register as election supervisors, the recruitment process for

election supervisors should be heavily monitored. To avoid allegations of manipulation or the interests of related parties, election results must be transparent and accountable.

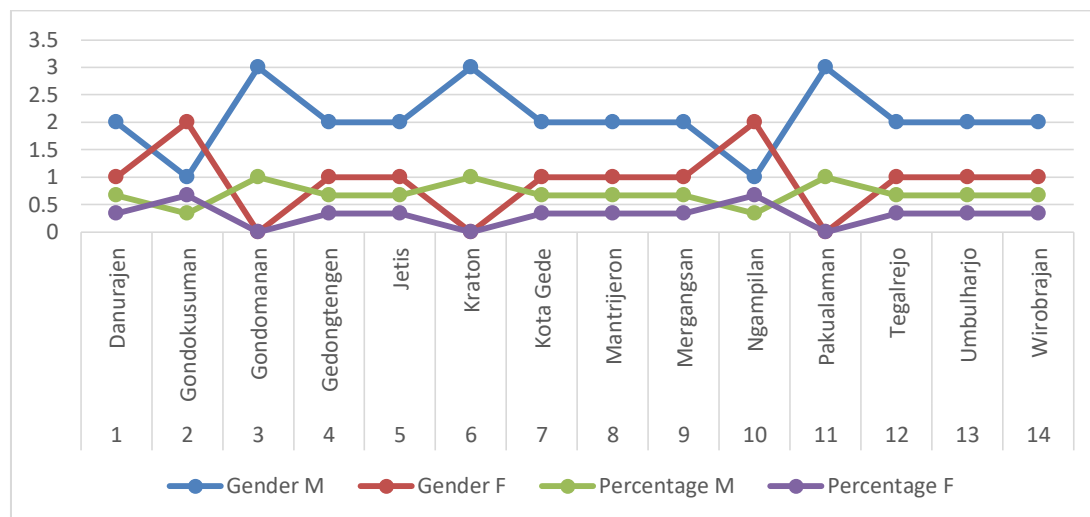
### **District Election Supervisor**

The sub-district election supervisor is the highest level Adhoc Election Supervisory Board regulated according to Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning general elections with each region held by three commissioners by Article 92 paragraph 2. The sub-district election supervisory committee has almost the same role as the Central Election Supervisory Board , Provincial Election Supervisory Board , and Regency/City Election Supervisory Board . Still, not all matters of a decision nature regarding electoral criminal violations for sub-district supervisors do not have authority. However, the sub-district election supervisory committee, by Law Number 7 of 2017 Article 105, has duties: prevent and prosecute election violations in the sub-district area, supervise the implementation of the stages of holding elections in the sub-district place, prevent the occurrence of money political practices in the sub-district area, supervise the neutrality of all parties who are prohibited from participating in campaign activities as stipulated in this Law in the sub-district area, supervise the implementation of socialization of election organizers in the sub-district area, evaluate election supervision in the region sub-district and carry out other duties following the provisions of laws and regulations (Republic of Indonesia 2017).

As a sub-district supervisor, of course, he has the authority to carry out his duties in the sub-district area in accordance with Article 106, namely; receive and follow up reports relating to alleged violations of the implementation of laws and regulations governing elections, examine and review election violations in the sub-district area and recommend the results of the examination and review to the parties regulated in this Law, recommend to the relevant agencies through the Regency / City Election Supervisory Board regarding the effects of supervision in the sub-district area on the neutrality of all parties who are prohibited from participating in campaign activities as stipulated in this Law, temporarily take over the duties, authorities, and obligations of the Village/Village Local Supervisory Committee after obtaining consideration from the Regency/City Election Supervisory Board, if the Village election supervisor is temporarily absent due to sanctions or other consequences in accordance with the provisions of laws and regulations, request the information materials needed to the relevant parties in the context of preventing and enforcing election violations in the sub-district area, forming a Village election supervisor and appointing and dismissing members of the Village election supervisor, taking into account the input of the District/City Election Supervisory Board , appointing and dismissing TPS Supervisors, taking into account the information of the Village/Village Election Supervisory; and exercise other authorities in accordance with the provisions of laws and regulations,

In addition to the duties and authorities of sub-district supervisors, of course, they are given obligations in serving as commissioners within the sub-district, namely, be fair in carrying out their duties and authorities, conduct guidance and supervision of the implementation of the responsibilities of election supervisors at the level below, submit reports on the results of supervision to the Regency/City Election Supervisory Board following the stages of the election periodically and based on needs, submit findings and information to the District/City Election Supervisory Board related to alleged violations committed by the District Election Committee which resulted in disruption organizing the stages of elections at the sub-district level, and carrying out other obligations by the provisions of laws and regulations.

Although as an ad hoc institution, sub-district supervisors have a weighty responsibility and burden as referees to provide a sense of existence for election participants, organizers, and the community under their supervision. Including the representation of women as supervisors of sub-district elections, especially in regions such as Yogyakarta City, Gunungkidul Regency, Kulon Progo Regency, Sleman Regency, and Bantul Regency. As an illustration of the research findings, women's representation in Election Supervisory Board Yogyakarta City is shown in Figure 2 below;



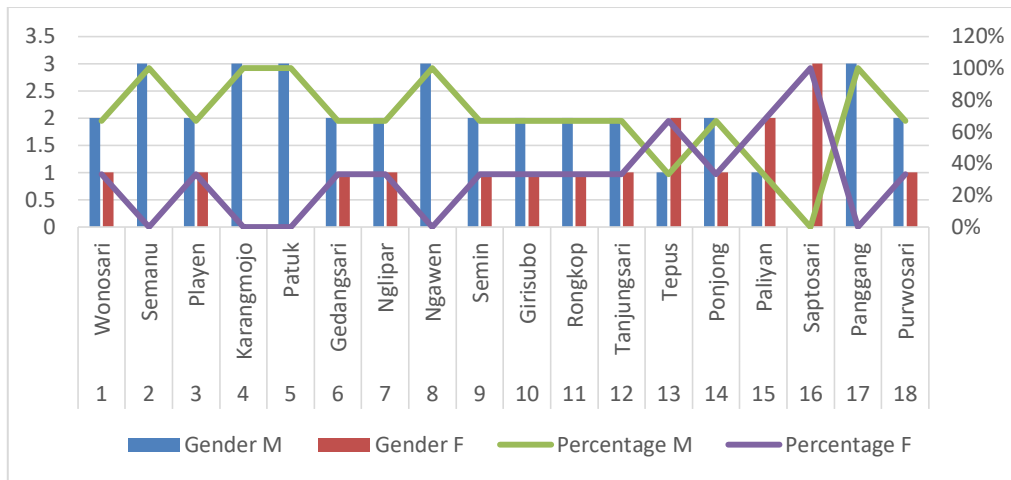
**Figure 2.** Comparison of male and female representation as election supervisors in the sub-district area of Yogyakarta City,

*Source : processed by author*

From the data above regarding women's representation as election supervisors, three regions do not meet the 30% female quota representation, namely in Gondomanan, Kraton, and Pakualaman sub-districts. Meanwhile, what is quite interesting is that in the Ngampilan sub-district, women's representation reached 67%, namely two representatives elected from 3 contested commissioner seats. In addition, male representation in the sub-district area dominates almost 67%, and female representation is only one seat. Overall, from 14 sub-districts, women's representation reached 31%, with 13 female representatives from 11 sub-districts, and for men, there were 29 people with 69%.

Further findings regarding women's representation as subdistrict election supervisors in the Gunungkidul Regency Area five sub-districts do not meet women's representation, namely Semanu, Karangmojo, Patuk, Ngawen, and Panggang sub-districts which are not represented at all as commissioners. There are nine sub-districts with one woman 33%, namely Wonosari, Playen, Gedangsari, Nglipar, Semin, Girisubo, Rongkop, Tanjungsari, Ponjong, and Purwosari. In comparison, there are three sub-districts with more than 30% of the female quota, namely Saptosari 100%, Tepus 67% and Paliyan 67% of course, these three sub-districts are exciting to see that women's representation exceeds the minimum limit of women's representation which is 30%. More details can be seen in Figure 3 below;



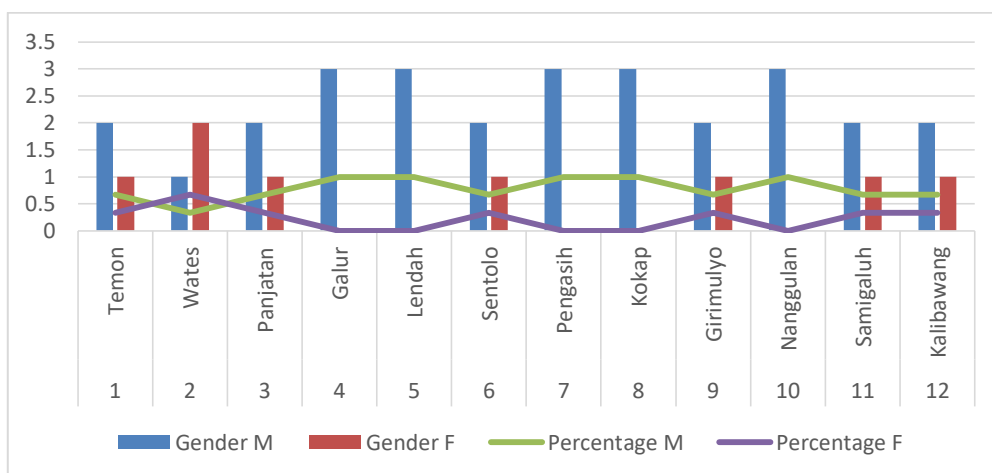


**Figure 3.** Comparison of male and female representation as election supervisors in the sub-district area of Gunungkidul Regency

*Source : processed by author*

From the above, several sub-districts still have not met the quota of women as election supervisors, which already have regulations on election laws and regulations in Indonesia. Overall, for sub-districts in Gunungkidul Regency, women's representation has reached 31%, with 17 people elected, and for men, 69%, with 37 people occupying the position of subdistrict supervisory commissioner. However, some areas still have no female representatives as subdistrict election supervisors in the sub-district.

The subsequent finding is about women's representation in several sub-districts in Kulon Progo Regency; out of 12 sub-districts that meet women's representation, there are only seven sub-districts that meet 30% kouta, namely in Temon, Wates, Panjatan, Senotolo, Girimulyo, Samigaluh, Kalibawang Districts. Meanwhile, five sub-districts do not meet women's representation, namely the Galur, Lendah, Pengasih, Kokap, and Naggulan sub-districts. Meanwhile, one sub-district exceeds 30% of women, namely the Wates sub-district, which is 67%. More details can be seen in Figure 4 below;

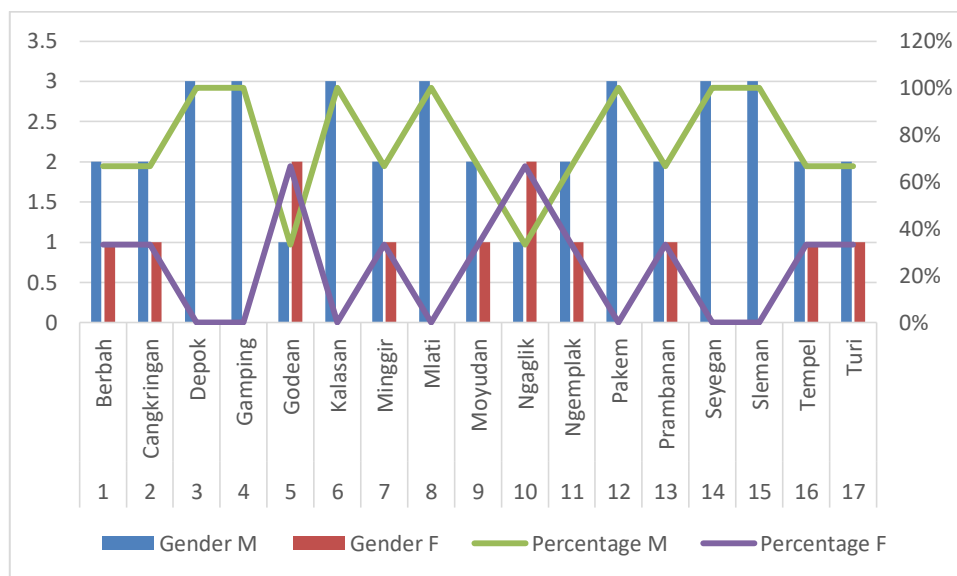


**Figure 4.** Comparison of male and female representation as election supervisors in the sub-district area of Kulon Progo Regency

*Source : processed by author*

The data above shows that there is still a dominance of men who occupy positions as sub-district supervisors in the Kulon Progo Regency area, with 28 people from 12 sub-districts with 85%. As for women's representation, which does not reach 30%, women's representation is only 24%, with eight people from 7 sub-districts and five sub-districts not having female representation in the region.

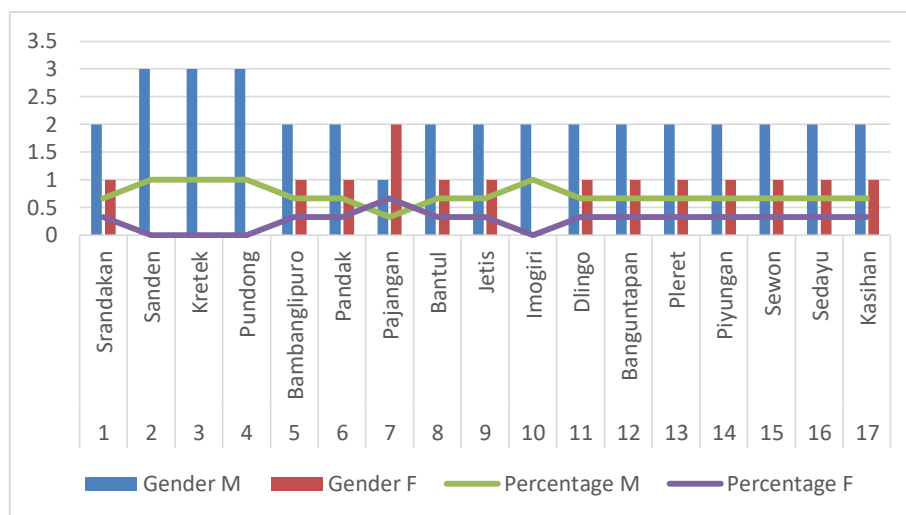
The findings of the following study were in the Selman Regency area consisting of 17 sub-districts. In Sleman Regency, ten sub-districts meet the quota of 30% female representation, namely in Berbah, Cangkringan, Godean, Minggir, Moyudan, Ngaglik, Ngemplak, Prambanan, Tempel, and Turi sub-districts. There are two sub-districts with more than 30% female representation, namely 67% in Godean and Ngalik. Meanwhile, seven sub-districts have no female representatives in Depok, Kalasan, Mlati, Pakem, Seyegan and Sleman Districts. More details can be seen in Figure 5 below;



**Figure 5.** Comparison of male and female representation as election supervisors in the sub-district area of Sleman Regency  
*Source : processed by author*

The data above shows that overall female representation in 17 sub-districts does not meet the quota of 30% women, female representation in sub-district election supervisors in the Sleman sub-district area only reaches 24%, with 12 women elected to occupy the position of sub-district election supervisors spread across ten sub-districts. As for male representation, 76% of female representation with 39 people spread across 17 sub-districts in Sleman Regency.

The following finding concerns women's representation as subdistrict election supervisors in the Bantul Regency area, consisting of 17 sub-districts. There are 13 sub-districts where there are female representatives who occupy the position of sub-district election supervisory commissioners, namely in the sub-districts, Srandakan, Bambanglipuro, Pandak, Pajangan, Bantul, Jetis, Dlingo, Banguntapan, Pleret, Piyungan, Sewon, Sedayu and Kasihan. 4 sub-districts that do not have female representatives are the Sanden, Kretek, Pundong, and Imogiri sub-districts. In addition, one sub-district exceeds the 30% female quota; namely, in Pajangan District, there are two female representatives as much as 67%. More details can be seen in Figure 6 below;



**Figure 6.** Comparison of male and female representation as election supervisors in the sub-district area of Bantul Regency

*Source : processed by author*

The data above shows that of the 17 total sub-districts in the Bantul Regency, women's representation only left 28%, with 14 representatives spread from 10 sub-districts. As for male representation as subdistrict election supervisors in Bantul Regency, there are 36 people with 72%. The role of male dominance as election supervisors at the level of criticism is still apparent.

As an overall evaluation of five districts and cities, only two regions have representation above 30% of comprehensive women's representation in several sub-districts, namely in Yogyakarta City and Gunungkidul Regency, while the other three areas are below 30% of women's representation as sub-district election supervisors, namely in Kulon Progo Regency, Sleman Regency, and Bantul Regency.

### **Inhibiting Factors of Women's Representation as Election Supervisors**

Problems that occur from the findings above regarding women's representation as election supervisors include;

#### ***Understanding gender in politics.***

The view of the world of politics is still seen as the world of men (Warjiyati, 2016). There is still a structured patriarchal crocodile view that places men as dominating and women as exploited (Kusumawardhana & Abbas, 2018). In addition, to understand women, it is necessary to understand the differences between the concept of sect and the concept of gender (Warjiyati, 2016). Understanding gender differences and gender injustice with societal injustice structures relies heavily on this understanding (Warjiyati, 2016). Many people believe that men dominate the political world because of this understanding. However, this view is a stereotype created by individuals. Even when women's rights are regulated, especially the right to thirty percent female representation, no laws threaten if the system of women's representation does not fulfill that right. Whether in a legislative, executive, political party member, or party administrator, even as an election organizer at the General Elections Commission and Election Supervisory Board and its ranks (Muharam & Prasetyo, 2021).

### ***Owned political networks***

One problem that becomes an obstacle for women in winning the position of female supervisory commissioner is the lack of political Janet possessed by potential female candidates in the selection process as election supervisors. It is undeniable that the political relations owned by election supervisory candidates are inseparable from the political network at the level above or the existence of power relations in providing recommendations for election supervisory candidates, which have been difficult for women to have because of women's experience in politics. On the other hand, rivals of male candidates often already have political networks for stakeholders in determining who candidates will occupy as election supervisors. In addition, the active role of women and their organizational history can be smooth if this female candidate has a track record of organizational experience that will later open the political path for women.

### ***Risk burden as a supervisor***

Being an election supervisor will always provide greater risks because many parties have interests. Candidates participating in the election became one of the subjects of scrutiny by members of the general election committee. This is often a clash of conflicts between election supervisors and election participants in the field. However, this is one of the big risks for women to be involved as election supervisors. In addition to carrying out supervisory functions, election supervisors act as referees who determine whether the process of election stages can run well or not if there is an election dispute. This problem is an obstacle for women to enter as election supervisors because their understanding of elections is still limited. It is not uncommon for interest in becoming a female supervisor to be less popular than being a member of the general election commission, whose risk and conflict are less than being a member of an election supervisor.

### **Conclusion**

This study found that many studies have not reached 30% of the quota of female election supervisors by Law Number 7 of 2017. As election organizers at the central, provincial, and district/city levels, women should be in three Election Supervisory Board Regency/City positions, but this is not the case in Yogyakarta. The finding that Yogyakarta City is the only region that does not have female representation as election supervisors at the Kota Madya level shows that the rules on women's representation as election supervisors have not been implemented at the district/city level. However, Law Number 7 of 2017 does not stipulate clear sanctions for violating the regulations of this election law.

In addition, several factors hinder the fulfillment of women's political rights, such as understanding of the concept of gender, limited political networks for women, and risks associated with being supervisors. In the work of election supervisors, it is not uncommon for differences in interests between election participants, election organizers, and individuals with political interests. Intimidation, threats, and more are often forms of verbal pressure. So, it is not uncommon for women to choose to be election organizers at the General Election Commission, which is considered safer from various political interests. In addition to a strong interest in becoming a female election supervisor, political education and encouragement are needed for women to have the confidence to compete with men in the world of election surveillance. Because the role of election supervisors requires strong determination and a brave mentality to face election threats, this study's results will be used to assess how the

electoral law system in Indonesia, especially in Yogyakarta Province, can be applied correctly. In particular, the number of women serving as election supervisors will be thoroughly evaluated. In addition, there must be a law governing the actions taken if this women's representation is not met or does not meet the quota of 30% women in the Election Supervisory Board. Recommendations from the results of this study: there is a need for changes in regulations regarding the recruitment process of election supervisors to sanction selection teams or related parties who do not meet women's representation as election supervisors by rules regarding the necessity of fulfilling thirty percent of women's representation as election supervisors.

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