Political communication of the Prime Minister of Malaysia Anwar Ibrahim on Twitter
Firdaus Muhammad, Andi M. Faisal Bakti, MD. Rozalafri Johori, Sadhriany Pertewi Saleh

Digital dilemma: technology in the vote counting process for general elections and local head elections in Indonesia
Muhammad Habibi, Alam Mahadika, Widia Astuti

Bridging the gender gap: women in fisheries industry policy on the North Coast of West Java, Indonesia
Dewi Indriasih, Sri Mulyantini, Aminul Fajri, Teguh Rimbawan

Fulfillment of women’s political rights through mainstreaming gender quotas in Election Supervisory Board
Ricky Santoso Muharam, Ari Pradhanawati, Fitriyah Fitiyah, Supratwi Supratwi

Governing green open space in Indonesia: barriers and opportunities to enhancing environmental quality
Muhamad Yusuf, Denok Kurniasih, Anggara Setya Saputra

Institutionalizing local government accountability: a case of Nabire, Indonesia
Petrus Izaach Suripatty, Edyanto Edyanto

Developing e-government policy through social media platform in Makassar city, Indonesia
Yusmanizar Yusmanizar, Nur Alim Djalil, Yulhaidir Yulhaidir, Alyas Alyas

Trade finance evolution: a comparative study of regulatory reforms in factoring policies for SMEs in India and China
Amit Kumar Kashyap, Simran Lunagariya

The impact of innovation policy and the bureaucratic structure reform of organizational citizenship behavior (OCB) of the government agencies in Padang city, Indonesia
Haira Zulfia, Syamsir Syamsir

Successes and failures of conflict governance: Lessons from Aceh, Indonesia and Moro, Philippines
Muhammad Nasir Badu, Syafhendry Syafhendry, Christine B. Tenorio

Navigating digital platforms: a comparative study into Turkish political communication strategies on tiktok and twitch
Canan Uyumaz, MD Nazmul Islam

COVID-19 pandemic and population density problem in Indonesia: transmigration policy as an alternative program
Arifin Saleh, Rizal Khadafi, Achmad Nurmandi, Mujahiddin, Agung Saputra, Soritua Ritonga, Sigit Hardiyanto
Political communication of the Prime Minister of Malaysia Anwar Ibrahim on Twitter
Firdaus Muhammad, Andi M. Faisal Bakti, MD. Rozalafri Johori, Sadhriany Pertiiwi Saleh

Digital dilemma: technology in the vote counting process for general elections and local head elections in Indonesia
Muhammad Habibi, Alam Mahadika, Widia Astuti

Bridging the gender gap: women in fisheries industry policy on the North Coast of West Java, Indonesia
Dewi Indriasih, Sri Mulyantini, Aminul Fajri, Teguh Rimbawan

Fulfillment of women’s political rights through mainstreaming gender quotas in Election Supervisory Board
Ricky Santoso Muharam, Ari Pradhanawati, Fitriyah Fitriyah, Supratwi Supratwi

Governing green open space in Indonesia: barriers and opportunities to enhancing enviromental quality
Muhamad Yusuf, Denok Kurniasih, Anggara Setya Saputra

Institutionalizing local government accountability: a case of Nabire, Indonesia
Petrus Izaach Suripatty, Edyanto Edyanto

Developing e-government policy through social media platform in Makassar city, Indonesia
Yusmanizar Yusmanizar, Nur Alim Djali, Yulhaidir Yulhaidir, Alyas Alyas

Trade finance evolution: a comparative study of regulatory reforms in factoring policies for SMEs in India and China
Amit Kumar Kashyap, Simran Lunagariya

The impact of innovation policy and the bureaucratic structure reform of organizational citizenship behavior (OCB) of the government agencies in Padang city, Indonesia
Haira Zulfia, Syamsir Syamsir

Successes and failures of conflict governance: Lessons from Aceh, Indonesia and Moro, Philippines
Muhammad Nasir Badu, Syafhendry Syafhendry, Christine B. Tenorio

Navigating digital platforms: a comparative study into Turkish political communication strategies on tiktok and twitch
Canan Uyumaz, MD Nazmul Islam

COVID-19 pandemic and population density problem in Indonesia: transmigration policy as an alternative program
Arifin Saleh, Rizal Khadafi, Achmad Nurmandi, Mujahiddin, Agung Saputra, Soritura Ritonga, Sigit Hardiyanto
OTORITAS : Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan
Published by the Department of Government Studies,
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Muhammadiyah University of Makassar

For further information, please visit: https://journal.unismuh.ac.id/otoritas

ISSN: 2088-3706 (Print) | 2502-9320 (Online) | DOI: 10.26618

First published in April 2011

Please send all articles, essays, reviews, and documents to:

Regular Mail:
Department of Government Studies
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences
5th Floor of Menara Iqra, Muhammadiyah University of Makassar
Jl. Sultan Alauddin No.259 Makassar, 90221
South Sulawesi, Indonesia

E-Mail:
otoritas@unismuh.ac.id

OTORITAS : Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan is an internationally peer-reviewed open access journal published triannual in April, August and December, aims to publishes significant and cutting-edge research drawn from all areas of politics and governmental studies and promotes scholarly, theoretical, pragmatic, and contemporary research, which makes a clear conceptual and methodological contribution to existing international literature.

OTORITAS : Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan indexed by :

OTORITAS : Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan have been double blind-reviewed by international peer reviewers. The decision on whether the scientific article is accepted or not in this journal will be the Editorial Board’s right based on peer reviewer’s recommendation.
About the Journal

OTORITAS : Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan, with registered number ISSN 2088-3706 (Print), ISSN 2502-9320 (Online), is an internationally peer-reviewed open access journal published triannual in April, August and December by Department of Government Studies, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Muhammadiyah Makassar in collaboration with Muhammadiyah’s College Association of Government Studies (AIPPTM) and Asia Pacific Society for Public Affairs (APSPA).

OTORITAS : Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan aims to publish significant and cutting-edge research drawn from all areas of politics and governmental studies and promotes scholarly, theoretical, pragmatic, and contemporary research, which makes a clear conceptual and methodological contribution to existing international literature.

Starting from 2015 it is available in e-journal version and has been currently indexed by both national and international indexer institutions such as: ESCI Web of Science (International), DOAJ (International), ASEAN Citation Index (International), Dimensions (International), Garba Rujukan Digital (National), Google Scholar (International), Crossref (International), BASE (International), SINTA (National), and Indonesia One Search (National).

Starting from 2016 and for the upcoming years, the process of manuscript submission and other management processes will be conducted online through Otoritas: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan website and for the betterment of the quality and quantity of Otoritas: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan qualified reviewers and editors are recruited. Besides that in the same year we collaborated with Muhammadiyah’s College Association of Government Studies (AIPPTM) on the publication of this journal.

Starting from 2018, we collaborated with Asia Pacific Society for Public Affairs (APSPA) on the publication and has been accredited by National Journal Accreditation (ARJUNA) Managed by Ministry of Research, Technology, and Higher Education of Republic Indonesia.
Focus and Scope

Otoritas: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan (Journal of Political Science and Government) promotes scholarly, theoretical, pragmatic, and contemporary research, making a clear conceptual and methodological contribution to existing international literature. Its specific aim is to enhance the broad scholarly understanding of governance, public administration, public law, religion and politics, comparative politics, and democratic institutions in emerging countries.

Otoritas: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan (Journal of Political Science and Government) is committed to disseminating rigorous, high-quality research and debate with a scientific influence on the international society. To that purpose, the Editorial team follows a meticulous editorial procedure, bringing the most sophisticated research on modern politics and governance to the academic community and policymakers. The journal is online and has open access, and its internal publication procedure enables it to distribute its research findings internationally promptly.
Editorial Board

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
Andi Luhur Prianto, Scopus ID: 57208214401, Universitas Muhammadiyah Makassar, Indonesia

MANAGING EDITORS
Nur Khaerah, Scopus ID: 57708938300, Universitas Muhammadiyah Makassar, Indonesia

ACCOCIATE EDITORS
Abel Kinyondo, Scopus ID: 55293738000, University of Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania
Abel Polese, Scopus ID: 57201804952, Dublin City University, Ireland
Ilyas Mohammed, Scopus ID: 57221933986, University of Liverpool, United Kingdom
Michael Hatherell, Scopus ID: 56433408300, Deakin University, Australia
Nursaleh Hartaman, Scopus ID: 57395318100, Universitas Muhammadiyah Makassar, Indonesia
Riccardo Pelizzo, Scopus ID: 6507727385, Nazarbayev University, Kazakhstan

INTERNATIONAL EDITORIAL
Adam Tyson, Scopus ID: 35337925000, University of Leeds, United Kingdom
AKM Ahsan Ullah, Scopus ID: 10043791400, Universiti Brunei Darussalam, Brunei Darussalam
Ahmad Harakan, Scopus ID: 57203222670, Universitas Muhammadiyah Makassar, Indonesia
Andreas Ufen, Scopus ID: 24280605600, German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Germany
Farida Tadjine, Scopus ID: 57678049100, University of Kasdi Merbah Ouargla, Algeria
Mergen Dyussenov, Scopus ID: 57190342068, National University of Singapore, Singapore
Mohd Afandi Salleh, Scopus ID: 55582821500, Universiti Sultan Zainal Abidin, Malaysia
Mubashar Hasan, Scopus ID: 45861188500, Oslo University, Norway
Muh Firyal Akbar, Scopus ID: 57210750267, Universitas Muhammadiyah Gorontalo, Indonesia
Ni Putu Tirka Widanti, Scopus ID: 57970637000, Universitas Ngrah Rai, Indonesia
Nuryanti Mustari, Scopus ID: 57395318000, Universitas Muhammadiyah Makassar, Indonesia
Önder KUTLU, Necmettin Erbakan Universitesi, Turkey
Rudi Hardi, Scopus ID: 57395626900, Universitas Muhammadiyah Makassar, Indonesia
Wolfgang Drechsler, Scopus ID: 36840148600, University College London, United Kingdom

EDITORIAL ASSISTANTS
Abdillah Abdillah, Scopus ID: 57697035900, Universitas Muhammadiyah Makassar, Indonesia
Hamrun Hamrun, Scopus ID: 57395116400, Universitas Muhammadiyah Makassar, Indonesia
Table of Contents

Political communication of the Prime Minister of Malaysia Anwar Ibrahim on Twitter 364-376
Firdaus Muhammad¹,², Andi M. Faisal Bakti², MD. Rozalafri Johori³, Sadhriany Pertioi Saleh⁴
¹,² Department of Communication and Islamic Broadcasting, UIN Alauddin Makassar, Indonesia
² Department of Communication and Islamic Broadcasting, IUN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, Indonesia
³ Departement of English & Communication Universiti Islam Selangor (UIS), Malaysia

Digital dilemma: technology in the vote counting process for general elections and local head elections in Indonesia 377-389
Muhammad Habibi¹,², Alam Mahadika³, Widia Astuti³
¹ Center for Research, Development, Education and Training; Election Supervisory Board, Indonesia
² Departement of Politics Regional and Etnopolitict, Kazan Federal University, Rusia
³ Department of Public Administration, Universitas Muhammadiyah Makassar, Indonesia

Bridging the gender gap: women in fisheries industry policy on the North Coast of West Java, Indonesia 390-405
Dewi Indriasih¹,²,³, Sri Mulyantini², Aminul Fajri³, Teguh Rimbawan⁴
¹,³ Department of Accounting, Universitas Pancasakti Tegal, Indonesia
² Department of Management, UPN Veteran Jakarta, Indonesia
⁴ Department of Accounting Politeknik Muhammadiyah Tegal, Indonesia

Fulfillment of women's political rights through mainstreaming gender quotas in Election Supervisory Board 406-423
Ricky Santoso Muharam¹,²,³, Ari Pradhanawati², Fitriyah³, Supratwi⁴
¹,² Department of Politics and Governance Studies, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Diponegoro, Indonesia
³ Department of Public Administration, Universitas Muhammadiyah Palangka Raya, Indonesia
⁴ Department of Public Administration, Universitas Jenderal Soedirman, Indonesia

Governing green open space in Indonesia: barriers and opportunities to enhancing envionmental quality 424-439
Muhamad Yusuf¹,², Denok Kurniasih², Anggara Setya Saputra³
¹ Department of Public Administration, Universitas Muhammadiyah Palangka Raya, Indonesia
² Department of Public Administration, Universitas Jenderal Soedirman, Indonesia
³ Department of Public Administration, Universitas Wijayakusuma, Indonesia

Institutionalizing local government accountability: a case of Nabire, Indonesia 440-453
Petrus Isiach Suripatty¹, Edyanto²
¹ Department of Government Studies, Universitas Satya Wiyata Mandala, Nabire, Indonesia
² Department of Government Studies, IISIP YAPIS Biak, Indonesia
Developing e-government policy through social media platform in Makassar city, Indonesia

Yusmanizar, Nur Alim Djalli, Yulhaidir, Alyas

Department of Communication Studies, Universitas Fajar, Indonesia
Department of Public Administration, Universitas Muhammadiyah Makassar, Indonesia

Trade finance evolution: a comparative study of regulatory reforms in factoring policies for SMEs in India and China

Amit Kumar Kashyap, Simran Lunagariya

Centre for Corporate Law Studies, Institute of Law, Nirma University, India
Peter A. Allard School of Law, University of British Columbia, Canada

The impact of innovation policy and the bureaucratic structure reform of organizational citizenship behavior (OCB) of the government agencies in Padang city, Indonesia

Haira Zulfia, Syamsir

Department of Public Administration, Universitas Negeri Padang, Indonesia

Successes and failures of conflict governance: Lessons from Aceh, Indonesia and Moro, Philippines

Muhammad Nasir Badu, Syafhendry, Christine B. Tenorio

Department of International Relations, Universitas Hasanuddin, Indonesia
Department of Government Science, Universitas Islam Riau, Indonesia
Department of Public Administration, Bukidnon State University, Philippines

Navigating digital platforms: a comparative study into Turkish political communication strategies on tiktok and twitch

Canan Uyumaz, Md. Nazmul Islam

Department of Media and Communication Studies, Faculty of Communication, Ankara University, Ankara, Turkey
Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Faculty of Political Science and Türkiye, Asia, and Indo-Pacific Studies (TAIPS), Institute of International Relations and Strategic Research (ULISA), Ankara
Yıldırım Beyazıt University, Turkey
Department of Media Management, Faculty of Social Sciences, Media and Communication, University of Religions and Denominations, Iran
Department of Media and Communication Studies, Faculty of Communication, Ankara University, Ankara, Turkey
Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter School for Peace and Conflict Resolution, George Mason University, USA

COVID-19 pandemic and population density problem in Indonesia: transmigration policy as an alternative program

Arifin Saleh, Rizal Khadafi, Achmad Nurmandi, Mujahiddin, Agung Saputra, Siritua Ritonga, Sigit Hardiyanto

Department of Sosial Welfare, Universitas Muhammadiyah Sumatera Utara, Indonesia
Jusuf Kalla School of Government, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, Indonesia
Department of Public Administration, Universitas Muhammadiyah Sumatera Utara, Indonesia
Department of Public Administration, Universitas Muhammadiyah Tapanuli Selatan, Indonesia
Department of Communication Science, Universitas Muhammadiyah Sumatera Utara, Indonesia
**Article Guidelines**

**Article Title:** Segoe UI, 14pt Bold, alignment centered, single-line spacing and All Caps. Article title should be written briefly and clearly. It shows exactly the issue to be discussed and should not create misinterpretations. Article title is written in capital letters symmetrically and does not contain unusual abbreviations. Express the main idea of a new article and followed by another explanation.

**Author Details:** Segoe UI, alignment centered, Article title, author’s name (without academic degree(s)), and author’s affiliate address are written in the center on the first page under the article title. The distance between title and author’s name is double-spacing; meanwhile the distance between author’s affiliate address and abstract title is single-spacing. Keywords should be written under abstract for each language. It is arranged alphabetically and separated by a semicolon consisted of 3-5 words. For Indonesian article, the title is translated into English at the beginning of English abstract (see the example above).

Corresponding Author should be marked with an asterisk and followed by a comma "*" as the example above. At the bottom of the left column on the first page/abstract, it is written the Corresponding Author’s mark and his/her email address (see example). Article revisions and final decisions will only be communicated through the Corresponding Author’s email.

If there is more than one author, write the authors’ names separated by a comma (,). If the author’s name consists of two words, the first name should not be abbreviated. If the author’s name consists of only one word, write his/her actual name in one word. However, the online version (HTML) will be written in two words consisting of the same name (repeatedly) for metadata indexation purpose (Camdali & Tunc, 2006; Fridman, 2008).

**Introduction:** Introduction consists of (in sequence) general background, state of the art as the basis for the scientific novelty statement of the article, scientific novelty statement, and research problem or hypothesis. In the end, introduction should mention the purpose of article review. Literature review is not allowed in the scientific article format, so it is replaced by the state of the art to prove the novelty of the article.

**Research Methods:** Method is implemented to solve problems, including analytical method. The method used to solve the research problems is described in this section.

**Results and Discussion:** This section consists of results and discussion. Every result should be supported by sufficient data. Then, result should be able to answer the research question or hypothesis stated earlier in the introduction.

**Conclusion:** Conclusion states the answer of the hypothesis and/or research objective or scientific finding. Conclusion is not the repetition of findings and discussion, but it is the summary of findings as expected in the objective or hypothesis. If necessary, conclusion can also be ended with the next idea to be implemented to the study.

**Acknowledgment:** Acknowledgment are primarily addressed to research funders or donors. Acknowledgment can also be dedicated to people who contribute in the study.

**References:** All references used in the article should be listed in the References section. References should contain reference literature originating from primary sources (scientific journals at least 80% of the entire references) published in the last 10 (ten) years. Each article contains at least 10 (ten) references. It is better to write the reference system in the article and in the references section using the reference management programs such as Mendeley, EndNote, Zotero, or others.
Publication Ethics

Otoritas : Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan, with registered number ISSN 2088-3706 (Print), ISSN 2502-9320 (Online) is a peer-reviewed journal, available in print and online and published two times a year. This statement clarifies ethical behaviour of all parties involved in the act of publishing an article in this journal, including the author, the chief editor, the Editorial Board, the peer-reviewer and the publisher (Department of Government Studies, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Muhammadiyah Makassar in collaboration with Muhammadiyah’s College Association of Government Studies (AIPPTM) and Asia Pacific Society for Public Affairs). This statement is based on COPE’s Best Practice Guidelines for Journal Editors.

ETHICAL GUIDELINE FOR JOURNAL PUBLICATION
The publication of an article in a peer-reviewed Otoritas : Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan is an essential building block in the development of a coherent and respected network of knowledge. It is a direct reflection of the quality of the work of the authors and the institutions that support them. Peer-reviewed articles support and embody the scientific method. It is therefore important to agree upon standards of expected ethical behaviour for all parties involved in the act of publishing: the author, the journal editor, the peer reviewer, the publisher and the society. Department of Government Studies, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Muhammadiyah Makassar in collaboration with Muhammadiyah’s College Association of Government Studies (AIPPTM) and Asia Pacific Society for Public Affairs as publisher of Otoritas : Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan takes its duties of guardianship over all stages of publishing seriously and we recognize our ethical and other responsibilities. We are committed to ensuring that advertising, reprint or other commercial revenue has no impact or influence on editorial decisions.

PUBLICATION DECISIONS
The editor of the Otoritas : Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan is responsible for deciding which of the articles submitted to the journal should be published. The validation of the work in question and its importance to researchers and readers must always drive such decisions. The editors may be guided by the policies of the journal’s editorial board and constrained by such legal requirements as shall then be in force regarding libel, copyright infringement and plagiarism. The editors may confer with other editors or reviewers in making this decision.

FAIR PLAY
An editor at any time evaluate manuscripts for their intellectual content without regard to race, gender, sexual orientation, religious belief, ethnic origin, citizenship, or political philosophy of the authors.

CONFIDENTIALITY
The editor and any editorial staff must not disclose any information about a submitted manuscript to anyone other than the corresponding author, reviewers, potential reviewers, other editorial advisers, and the publisher, as appropriate.
DISCLOSURE AND CONFLICTS OF INTEREST
Unpublished materials disclosed in a submitted manuscript must not be used in an editor’s own research without the express written consent of the author.

DUTIES OF REVIEWERS:

Contribution to Editorial Decisions
Peer review assists the editor in making editorial decisions and through the editorial communications with the author may also assist the author in improving the paper.

Promptness
Any selected referee who feels unqualified to review the research reported in a manuscript or knows that its prompt review will be impossible should notify the editor and excuse himself from the review process.

Confidentiality
Any manuscripts received for review must be treated as confidential documents. They must not be shown to or discussed with others except as authorized by the editor.

Standards of Objectivity
Reviews should be conducted objectively. Personal criticism of the author is inappropriate. Referees should express their views clearly with supporting arguments.

Acknowledgement of Sources
Reviewers should identify relevant published work that has not been cited by the authors. Any statement that an observation, derivation, or argument had been previously reported should be accompanied by the relevant citation. A reviewer should also call to the editor’s attention any substantial similarity or overlap between the manuscript under consideration and any other published paper of which they have personal knowledge.

Disclosure and Conflict of Interest
Privileged information or ideas obtained through peer review must be kept confidential and not used for personal advantage. Reviewers should not consider manuscripts in which they have conflicts of interest resulting from competitive, collaborative, or other relationships or connections with any of the authors, companies, or institutions connected to the papers.

DUTIES OF AUTHORS

Reporting standards
Authors of reports of original research should present an accurate account of the work performed as well as an objective discussion of its significance. Underlying data should be represented accurately in the paper. A paper should contain sufficient detail and references to permit others to replicate the work. Fraudulent or knowingly inaccurate statements constitute unethical behaviour and are unacceptable.

Originality and Plagiarism
The authors should ensure that they have written entirely original works, and if the authors have used the work and/or words of others that this has been appropriately cited or quoted.

Multiple, Redundant or Concurrent Publication
An author should not in general publish manuscripts describing essentially the same research in more than one journal or primary publication. Submitting the same manuscript to more than one journal concurrently constitutes unethical publishing behaviour and is unacceptable.
Acknowledgment of Sources
Proper acknowledgment of the work of others must always be given. Authors should cite publications that have been influential in determining the nature of the reported work.

Authorship of the Paper
Authorship should be limited to those who have made a significant contribution to the conception, design, execution, or interpretation of the reported study. All those who have made significant contributions should be listed as co-authors. Where there are others who have participated in certain substantive aspects of the research project, they should be acknowledged or listed as contributors. The corresponding author should ensure that all appropriate co-authors and no inappropriate co-authors are included on the paper, and that all co-authors have seen and approved the final version of the paper and have agreed to its submission for publication.

Disclosure and Conflicts of Interest
All authors should disclose in their manuscript any financial or other substantive conflict of interest that might be construed to influence the results or interpretation of their manuscript. All sources of financial support for the project should be disclosed.

Fundamental errors in published works
When an author discovers a significant error or inaccuracy in his/her own published work, it is the author’s obligation to promptly notify the journal editor or publisher and cooperate with the editor to retract or correct the paper.
Fulfillment of women’s political rights through mainstreaming gender quotas in Election Supervisory Board

Ricky Santoso Muharam1*, Ari Pradhanawati2, Fitriyah3, Supratiwi4
1,2,3,4Department of Politics and Governance Studies, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Diponegoro, Indonesia

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 quota 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

*Corresponding Author
E-mail: rickymuharam@students.undip.ac.id

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.

![Global Gender Gap Index Indicators Indonesia](image)

**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 87th. The year 2022 is ranked 92nd, The field of Educational Attainment is ranked 106th year 2022 is ranked 102nd, The field of health and survival is ranked 73rd in year 2022 rank 77th, and Indonesia's Political Empowerment is ranked 81st and in 2022 rankings 90th.

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 9th below New Zealand, the Philippines, Australia, Singapore, Laos, Vietnam, Thailand, and Mongolia, even for Asia and the Pacific. See Table 1 below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Regional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laos</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mongolia</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambodia</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timor-Leste</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brunei Darussalam</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic of Korea</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanuatu</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiji</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myanmar</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Indonesia's position, ranked 9th 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 quotas 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 quotas 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 125th (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, Batutu 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

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

Source: Processes by author from 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 monarchical 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, Skeman, 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Election Supervisory Board Regency / City Level</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Yogyakarta City</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Bantul Regency</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sleman Regency</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Gunung Kidul Regency</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Kulon Progo Regency</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Prosesses 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 subdistrict 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](image)

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 Wonesari, Playen, Gedangseri, 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;
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;
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 Sleman 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 Ngaglik. 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, Sandakan, 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.

Acknowledgment
The authors thank the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Diponegoro, for supporting the research funding.

References


1–29. https://doi.org/10.7454/jp.v8i2.471