



## Women's Empowerment in Fulfilling the Affirmative Quota of Election Supervisors

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Received: June 23, 2023

Revised: July 4, 2023

Accepted: July 21, 2023

Online: Sept 5, 2023

### Abstract

This research discusses how the affirmative quota of women in the election supervisory body in Indonesia is following the regulation of laws and regulations No. 7 of 2017 concerning general elections. The problem in this study is still the finding of quotas of women as election supervisors that are not in accordance with the law on elections. This research uses a qualitative method using primary data from the Kulon Progo district election supervisory body. And secondary data from various source documents such as laws and regulations, journals, books, and other research reports. The results of this study found that there is still women's representation in the election supervisory body in Kulon Progo Regency, Yogyakarta Special Region Province. The findings of the non-fulfillment of the 30 percent women's quota are in the Election Supervisory Body of Yogyakarta City, the District Supervisors of Wates, Sentolo, Girimulyo, Samigaluh, and Kalibawang Districts. And at the village election supervisor level in Wates, Sentolo, Girimulyo, Samigaluh, and Kalibawang sub-districts. This finding is certainly an evaluation of how the process of implementing the recruitment of election supervisors in fulfilling the 30 percent women's quota has not been carried out at various levels of election supervisory institutions, especially in Bawaslu Kulon Progo Regency. And has implications for studies on gender quotas and women's empowerment as election supervisors.

**Keywords** *election supervisor, women's quota, gender politics, elections, women's representation*

### INTRODUCTION

The role of women in politics can be said to be still very limited in its involvement in the dynamics of political careers. Politics is considered to be the scope of the world of men, and in the end, the stigma attached to women is limited to following all policies that have been determined in politics. Various struggles of women activists who want women's involvement to be directly involved in the existing political process. One of the problems that occur when looking at the role of women in the political process is still very limited. The World Economic Forum (WEF) which places in its survey that Indonesia is ranked 97th out of 150 countries regarding gender inequality (Daryono, Nulhakim and Fedryansyah, 2020). Meanwhile, for the Southeast Asian region, Indonesia is ranked seventh regarding women's representation in politics, or equal to 16 percent regarding women's participation (Muharam and Prasetyo, 2021). The demand for the involvement of women in the political process, especially in Indonesia, has been given a very open space, including the existence of regulations that explicitly accommodate women's rights in political participation regardless of gender. Regulations governing women's rights in politics in Indonesia are already found in Law No.8/2012 concerning General Elections for Members of the DPR, DPD, and DPRD where political

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parties should include a minimum of 30% female candidates in the nomination of DPR and DPRD (Republik Indonesia, 2012).

Indonesia has implemented a quota system for women since the 2004 elections and a zipper system since the 2009 elections (Prastiwi, 2018). Of course, this requires strengthening moral values in public rhetoric as a place in the credentials of participation for women (Brisbane, Hua and Jamieson, 2023). This morality is a responsibility in realizing a woman's empowerment in the dynamics of political participation, especially in the democratic system in Indonesia. The empowerment of women as election supervisors in accommodating women's affirmative quota for the fulfillment of 30 percent representation as election supervisors have not been widely studied and touched on the importance of women's political aspiration space as election supervisors.

So far, the study of women's representation or gender politics has only revolved around the issue of participation in elections, and representation of women in parliament, as leaders of regional heads at the provincial, district, and municipal levels, this statement is following what Erin Tolley has said so far in determining legislative recruitment where gender, race and, intersectionality greatly influence the stages of the legislative recruitment process, especially for women with racial minorities and colored skin (Tolley, 2022). Not only that, but gender stereotypes have also been a very in-depth study of elections in America and how gender greatly influences voters' beliefs about female candidates who are associated as loving, humble, helpful, and empathetic. This stereotype ultimately greatly influences the way women are perceived as leaders, especially in strategic positions in the political world where patriarchal culture still considers men to have more leadership spirit (Endo and Ono, 2023). This statement is similar to that conveyed by Connell who views masculinity as a constellation that is always contrasted with femininity, but masculinities that are different reinforce each other (Connell, 2005). The hegemony of masculinity functions as an answer to the problem of patriarchal culture (Linders, Dudink and Spierings, 2022). Where patriarchal culture does not only occur in Indonesia but almost all over the world there is still a very strong patriarchal culture in the political world.

With various stigmas against women in politics, especially various views on women's representation in politics. This research wants to provide an overview of how the role of women as election supervisors can be fulfilled in strategic positions in election management institutions in Indonesia. Election supervisors are part of the election organizer in Indonesia, which has been regulated in election law number 7 of 2017, which is a study that is considered interesting to be researched further. Research on women in election management institutions is still very limited, especially as election supervisors are considered to have enormous risks in carrying out their duties to create democratic, fair, honest, and independent elections. To realize all of this, of course, it is necessary to have integrity in the recruitment process of election supervisors who are accountable, transparent, gender-friendly, and impartial, making it important to realize a healthy democratic system.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **Political Gender Representation**

Representative of gender in the political world is something that is widely studied and reviewed by several researchers who focus on how gender representation can influence the world of education, especially in the study of political science. One of those who developed the theory of representation, Serge Moscovici, conceptualized the various individuals in which they live, namely assumptions about the principles of scientific thought. This social thinking is a social representation of truth and does not obey an explicit logical rule and has been agreed upon together. Gender representations are of course part of an exclusive history where these representations bring women into a movement that is expected to enter into a system (Robbin, 2000). They are here about how society and individuals can successfully understand the physical and social realities in which they live and stay. These social representations have two purposes where they can be recognized and preserve the identity of a group in society. This means that this theory has a personal and social nature simultaneously (Alhuzail, 2021). Meanwhile, Lucina Hagman, one of the founding feminist activists

of Martta from Finland, strongly emphasizes that women must be able to maintain the influence that women have in the family sphere where women have a role in the process of building a country (politics) (Marakowitz, 1996).

The awareness of equal political rights for women is especially spearheaded by feminists who see that women must be able to be given a place in the process of determining political policies, not just as participants who have no role in the process of political dynamics. This struggle ultimately demands that the patriarchal culture that has been very dominant in the political world begins to get fight for women activists. Gender representation in politics wants open space for women who can have a position in all sectors of strategic positions in politics, although so far women have experienced subordination. because there are still many men who still dominate in all sectors of political positions, especially in social relations (Kriyantono et al., 2022). Of course, the role of women in politics is not only a matter of occupying strategic positions, but the most important thing is that women must have the ability of intelligence as well as a realm of self-exploration in understanding issues about women that have not been resolved by men who do not understand the various problems experienced by women themselves.

Thus, gender representation in politics is not a matter of dividing the portion of women in fulfilling a strategic position but how this representation of women can be able to solve various problems that have been experienced by women who have not been able to be resolved by men who do not understand the importance of various policies that are friendly to women. Of course, to realize it all, women need to take positions and portions in a political arena, not just a matter of women's quota, but how women who enter a political system have the capacity and capability to compete in politics that has been seen as masculine.

### **Women's Leadership**

Research on gender, especially in gender politics, certainly lacks political distribution involved in decision-making transactions because gender accommodation space has not been fully represented. The politics of distribution involved in a political transaction is certainly different from programmatic distributive politics where public benefits and welfare services must be regulated with transparency and public knowledge where people can get access easily (Alexander, Charron and Justesen, 2023). While (Cole and Sabik, 2010) view women who claim identity politics as feminist and unfeminine. This view considers that women's political gender is identical to the feminist movement that fights for gender equality which is usually characterized by aggressive masculinity.

If we look at the theory provides that describes people who have ordinary views about femininity and political participation, they are contradictory. Eagly and Karau explain that there is a gender and social separation where society or individuals place women as communal to others in the pattern of nurturing family traditions that are more identical to enter the domain of women and assume men have more dominance have control and have ambitions with their leadership spirit (Eagly and Karau, 2002). Meanwhile, Nobertus explains that there is a very clear distinction between femininity and masculinity in organizations, which makes development difficult for female professionals and offers many advantages in career development for male professionals. Although male and female practitioners have the same authority to perform their duties, men have special opportunities to reach higher positions such as supervisors or managers (Santoso, 2021).

The existence of views on women's leadership will certainly be attached to gender perceptions where the assumption that women are less consistent in leading with their nature as women where women prioritize emotions, sympathy, and instincts in making policies while male leaders tend to think logically, firmly, and realistically. This perception often results in public distrust of women's leadership in making a decision that prioritizes feminine instincts. Even Kenworthy and Malami make it clear that women's access to political power is strongly influenced by the prestigious professional positions of women such as journalists, lawyers, educators, or entrepreneurs (Stockemer and Byrne, 2012). It is this strategic position that paves the way for women to get

strategic positions in political positions due to the influence of previous job positions. Women who have jobs that are considered to be respected in political careers are more open and easy to pave the way in the political arena and get the power they have.

## METHODOLOGY

### Research Method

This research uses qualitative research using an interactive approach. Descriptive research is procedural research in problem solving that is investigated by describing the state of objects at the present time based on various facts or parts (Mada and Martini, 2005). The data generated in this research is in the form of written and spoken words (Moleong, 2012). This research is to understand and analyze the empowerment of women as election supervisors in Kulon Progo Regency, Yogyakarta Special Region. By taking primary data from the Kulon Progo Regency Election Supervisory Agency by conducting direct and indirect observations in the process of recruiting election supervisors in the Kulon Progo Regency area. Meanwhile, for secondary data from data on various regulations on elections, journals or various books and literature related to women's empowerment or gender politics.

### Affirmative Quota for Women as Election Supervisors

In addition, the process of political education for women in the process of empowering women in politics has not targeted many important positions in election management institutions, especially in the Election Supervisory Body at the Central, Provincial, Regency/City, District, Village, and PTPS levels. The women's quota that should be fulfilled by 30 percent has not been fully implemented, as found in this study in the Election Supervisory Board at the Regency/City level in the Special Region of Yogyakarta Province, for more details can be seen in Table 1 below;

Table 1. Members of Bawaslu Commissioners in the Regency and City of Yogyakarta Special Region Province

No	Bawaslu Level Regency/City	Type 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	Kulon Progo Regency	2	1	67%	33%	3
Total Amount		12	6	57%	29%	21

Source: Compiled by Researcher

Based on table 1, shows that there are still unfulfilled women's quotas, especially in the Yogyakarta City Election Supervisory Agency, out of 3 elected commissioners, all of them are male with a percentage of 100%, then the case found in the Sleman Regency Election Supervisory Agency where the women's quota is only 20%, namely there is 1 commissioner elected as an election supervisor and 4 men with a percentage of 80%. Meanwhile, for the other three regions, namely Bantul Regency, Gunungkidul Regency, and Kulon Progo Regency, the women's quota has been fulfilled above 30 percent. Where in Bawaslu Bantul Regency 60% are men and 40% women, in Bawaslu Gunungkidul Regency 60% men and 40% women and in Bawaslu Kulon Progo Regency 67% men and 33% women.

This finding is very interesting considering that election management institutions such as the General Election Commissioner (KPU) and the Election Supervisory Body (Bawaslu) for the Central, Provincial, and Regency / City levels are political positions where all of them have 5-year positions, and can be elected for two periods for the same level. Of course, following the rules of regulation of Law Number 7 the Year 2017 concerning General Elections, the women's quota must be fulfilled by 30% in the election management institutions both in the KPU and Bawaslu. Furthermore, to be able to see how the affirmative quota of women in the Kulon Progo region, which is the focus of very interesting research for the District Election Supervisor (Panwascam) in Kulon Progo Regency, many women's quotas have not been fulfilled in various sub-districts. For more details, it can be seen in Table 2 below:

Table 2. Member of Sub-district Election Supervisory Commission In Kulon Progo regency

No	District	Gender		Percentage	
		M	F	M	F
1	Temon	2	1	67%	33%
2	Wates	1	2	33%	67%
3	Panjatan	2	1	67%	33%
4	Galur	3	0	100%	0%
5	Lendah	3	0	100%	0%
6	Sentolo	2	1	67%	33%
7	Pengasih	3	0	100%	0%
8	Kokap	3	0	100%	0%
9	Girimulyo	2	1	67%	33%
10	Nanggulan	3	0	100%	0%
11	Samigaluh	2	1	67%	33%
12	Kalibawang	2	1	67%	33%
<b>Total</b>		28	8	85%	24%

Source: Data from Bawaslu of Kulon Progo Regency in 2023

The research findings for several sub-districts in Kulon Progo, 7 sub-districts have fulfilled the 30% representation quota, namely in Temon, Wates, Panjatan, Sentolo, Girimulyo, Samigaluh, and Kalibawang sub-districts. Meanwhile, 5 sub-districts do not fulfill the 30% quota of women's representation, namely in the sub-districts of Galur, Lendah, Pengasih, Kokap, Nanggulan where women's representation is 0% or not fulfilled at all. This phenomenon becomes very interesting to explore further how the role of women in election supervisory institutions that still lack women's representation.

The empirical data above shows that an election supervisor, especially at the sub-district level, still does not show the fulfillment of women following the mandate of the election law. However, if

reviewed and examined further, actually for interest in becoming election supervisors at the lower level, many women are interested in becoming candidates for election supervisors. As the results of the research show interest in becoming election supervisors at the village level from the number of applicants to become village supervisors, almost all of them meet the 30% quota for women if this process can be following the procedural test mechanism that has been implemented. As an illustration of the interest in becoming a village election supervisor in 12 sub-districts in the Kulon Progo region can be seen in the figure in Table 3 below;

Table 3. Data of Applicants for Candidates for Village Supervisory Commissioners in Kulon Progo Regency

No	District	Gender		Percentage	
		M	F	M	F
1	Temon	17	28	38%	62%
2	Wates	30	19	61%	39%
3	Panjatan	21	26	45%	55%
4	Galur	13	15	46%	54%
5	Lendah	12	10	55%	45%
6	Sentolo	16	17	48%	52%
7	Pengasih	9	19	32%	68%
8	Kokap	14	18	44%	56%
9	Girimulyo	5	8	38%	62%
10	Nanggulan	18	17	51%	49%
11	Samigaluh	17	10	63%	37%
12	Kalibawang	13	9	59%	41%
<b>Total</b>		185	196	52%	55%

Source: Data from Bawaslu of Kulon Progo Regency in 2023

Research that attracts enough interest to become a village supervisor in 12 sub-districts in the Kulon Progo Regency area, namely Temon, Wates, Panjatan, Sentolo, Girimulyo, Samigaluh and Kalibawang, Galur, Lendah, Pengasih, Kokap, Nanggulan for women's representation as village election supervisors all meet 30% women's representation. Meanwhile, after the applicants took various tests such as administration, written tests, and interviews, only 7 sub-districts met the 30% female affirmative quota, namely in Temon, Panjatan, Galur, Lendah, and Pengasih. Kokap, Nanggulan. Meanwhile, 5 sub-districts did not fulfill the 30% female representation, namely in the Wates, Sentolo, Girimulyo, Samigaluh, and Kalibawang sub-districts. More details can be seen in Table 4 below:

Table 4 List of Elected Village Supervisory Commissioners in Kulon Progo Regency

No	District	Gender		Percentage	
		M	F	M	F
1	Temon	7	8	47%	53%
2	Wates	6	2	75%	25%
3	Panjatan	3	8	27%	73%
4	Galur	3	8	27%	73%
5	Lendah	4	2	67%	33%
6	Sentolo	6	2	75%	25%
7	Pengasih	3	4	43%	57%
8	Kokap	3	2	60%	40%
9	Girimulyo	3	1	75%	25%
10	Nanggulan	2	4	33%	67%
11	Samigaluh	5	2	71%	29%
12	Kalibawang	4	0	100%	0%
<b>Total</b>		49	43	56%	49%

Source: Data from Bawaslu of Kulon Progo Regency in 2023

Based on the data above, which shows the final results of the recruitment process of election supervisors at the village level, there are still several sub-districts that do not provide a 30% female quota, namely in the Wates, Sentolo, Girimulyo, Samigaluh, and Kalibawang sub-districts. In the process of determining the right to vote to fill the position of village supervisor, it is entirely up to the sub-district supervisor. As for the sub-district level, the election of election supervisory commissioners is chosen by the district/city supervisor.

#### CONCLUSIONS & FURTHER RESEARCH

Women's representation, especially in the democratic space in Indonesia, has been accommodated, including as the election organizer in Indonesia has regulated the regulation of 30 percent of women's representation, which should be an obligation to fulfill this women's quota. However, in practice, this policy is not fulfilled in determining who will be elected as members of election supervisors at the central level. Provincial, district/city, sub-district, and village levels. Of course, this requires seriousness from stakeholders in implementing the regulations of existing laws and regulations in Indonesia. Various findings of non-fulfillment of women's representation in the election management body are certainly a very serious important note about the inconsistency of the application of the rules in the recruitment process and the absence of an evaluation of the obligation to fulfill the affirmative quota of women in the election management body. The existing rules seem to only fulfill the obligation that democratic space for women has been given its place in the portion of democracy in Indonesia, but it is not applied following the applicable laws and regulations.

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