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Gender Quota of Women Election Supervisors in The Implementation of Indonesian Election Law

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ABSTRACT

Election supervisors are part of the election organizers in Indonesia, regulated by Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning general elections. The regulation on women's representation in the Election Supervisory Board (Bawaslu) is contained in Article 92, paragraph 11, as much as 30% of women's representation. This research uses a qualitative approach using archival studies on various elections and affirmative regulations. The findings in this study are the results of women's quotas spread across 514 regencies/ cities. Male representatives numbered 1633 (85%) and women 274 (14%) out of 1907 commissioner seats contested. This study opens further discussion for the Indonesian government to amend the election law regarding women's representation in Bawaslu, as a regulatory sanction is required if the quota is not fulfilled.

Keywords: Elections, election supervisor, gender quota, Indonesia, women's representation

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INTRODUCTION

The discussion on women's gender quotas in Indonesia has become a study for political scientists in Indonesia. As one of the countries using a democratic system, the issue of women's gender quotas in Indonesian politics has not had a significant impact. This problem still provides limited space for women to participate in the political system in Indonesia, which is still thick of its patriarchal culture. Concerning human rights and gender equality standards, all institutions and political actors in the OSCE (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe) region have committed to respecting these standards, including countries that have committed to doing so. This act is conducted based on universal human rights instruments, which uphold equal rights for women and men, encouraging women's participation. The international principles governing the operation of democratic institutions also promote women's participation (Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights [ODIHR], 2014). The feminist movement encourages women to be directly involved in politics in order to break free from the culture of patriarchy that has been detrimental to women (Cole & Sabik, 2010). Including Indonesia, fulfilling women's representation in politics highlights the representation of Indonesian women in parliament, political parties, and regional head officials. Attention to women as election organizers in Indonesia still receives little attention from political scientists.

Regarding the gender gap in political empowerment, Indonesia is ranked 81st in 2023. Previously, Indonesia's position was ranked 90th in 2002 (World Economic Forum, 2023). As for the Asia and Pacific region, Indonesia is ranked ninth below New Zealand, the Philippines, Australia, Singapore, Laos, Vietnam, Thailand, and Mongolia (Muharam. et al., 2023). As a commitment to gender equality, the Indonesian government has made various rules regulating gender quotas, one of which has been handled in Law Number

8 of 2012 concerning the General Election of Members of the DPR, DPD, and DPRD, which governs the obligation of women's participation in general elections, which expressly regulates the right of women to participate in the political process regardless of their gender (Republik Indonesia, 2012). Moreover, many laws regulate women's involvement in the political process in Indonesia. In addition, the implementation of the zipper system in Indonesia has been in effect since the 2009 election (Prastiwi, 2018). Rules regarding women's representation have also been in Law Number 2 of 2011 concerning political parties in Article 2 Paragraph 5, which regulates the management of political parties at the central level. There should be 30% female representation (Republik Indonesia, 2011). The existence of regulations regarding women's quotas certainly requires a commitment to implementing rules that have been in force and have permanent legal force. This commitment requires solid moral values within the laws of women's political participation (Brisbane et al., 2023). This morality is responsible for strengthening women's political participation, especially in Indonesia's democratic system. Much research has been done on women's empowerment in politics and women's involvement in political participation, but there was less reviewed research on women's representation in electoral institutions. For instance, the role of women in the Election Supervisory Board (Bawaslu) has not been widely studied and considered in this regard.

So far, the issue of women's representation in Indonesia has only examined women's representation in parliament, in parties, and women's participation in politics (Muharam & Prasetyo, 2021). Although not much has been discussed, women's representation in organizing institutions is also essential. The involvement of women in election supervisory institutions will add a different color. Moreover, Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections has specifically regulated fulfillment of the women's quota in Bawaslu (Muharam et al., 2023). Affirmative policy regulations for women in the reform era have been introduced previously in Law Number 12 of 2003 concerning the General Election of Members of the People's Representative Council. DPRD and DPD Introduce Minimum Quota Limit for Women Politicians (Vasandani et al., 2022). One of the commitments to build gender equality is Indonesia's participation in activities (Joint Declaration on Trade and Women's Economic Empowerment) in 2017 held by Buenos Aires. This forum discusses the issue of gender equality. However, Indonesia does not yet have a gender equality and justice law that can strengthen Indonesian legal institutions in regulating gender issues (Kusumawardhana & Abbas, 2018). Of course, this regulation is vital in fighting for gender equality and justice, which is considered to have not been fully implemented. To realize democracy for the better, the Indonesian government has specifically regulated the concept of gender rules in Law Number 7 of 2017

concerning General Elections. Some articles have regulated women's representation in election-organizing institutions in Indonesia. Like the General Elections Commission regulated in Article 10, paragraph 7, the gender quota of the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) is regulated in Article 92, paragraph 11. However, the requirement for 30 percent female representation in the Election Organizing Agency (DKPP) is not regulated (Republik Indonesia, 2017). Certainly, the purpose of this rule is the development of a creative personality and a sense of togetherness with idealistic concepts. This concept contains the understanding of citizenship in the context of a women-friendly democracy based on the various experiences of both women and men (Lovenduski, 2019). The existence of this regulation actually answers the problem of gender inequality in election-organizing institutions, offering the possibility of affirmative action as a solution. Figure 1 is considered when observing how patriarchal culture organizes elections.

According to the data above, women's representation in the world of election organizers in KPU and Bawaslu still shows gender inequality in which the 30% quota for women has not been met. From the public votes of election organizer members, women's representation is only about 20% of election organizers. The need for efforts to encourage women's representation in various sectors of strategic public office is still on the common agenda (Pusat Kajian Politik Universitas Indonesia [Puskapol], 2021). The empirical inequality in women's representation in

100% 90% 80% 70% 60% 50% 40% 30% 20% 10% 0% General Election Total General Election General Election Election Election Supervisory Election Supervisory Supervisory Commission Ågency Commission Ágency Commission Agency (KPU) (KPU) (Bawaslu) (KPU) (Bawaslu) (Bawaslu) Republic Republic Province Province Regency/City Regency/City Indonesia Indonesia Female percentage 14% 20% 21% 20% 17% 14% 44% ■Male percentage 86% 80% 79% 80% 83% 84% 56% Female 39 441 315 2119 1 1 38 Male 6 4 146 150 2101 1599 2722

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Figure 1. Comparison of the number of women's representation in the KPU and Bawaslu in the 2019 Election *Source*: Authors' work

election organizing institutions shows the lack of women as members of the KPU and Bawaslu at various levels. Considering the ranks of Bawaslu commissioners, there is only one female representative out of the total number of Bawaslu commissioners, which is five people. Even in some regions, some still do not have female commissioners (Puskapol, 2021).

With further observation, there are obstacles to increasing women's representation in election administration due to the number of registrations for commissioner candidates, in which the number of male applicants is much larger than women. Meanwhile, from the selection process, there are serious problems related to the perspective of unequal representation of gender justice in the selection team and the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia. The push for technical regulations that are not strong enough to encourage the enforcement of gender justice is also believed to be one of the causes of inequality. This problem makes the position of women in political dynamics not yet able to run well. There is still a view that the existence of women has not maximally appeared in public because they are still shackled by the shadow of patriarchal culture still thick in the political system (Nurcahyo, 2016). Of course, this mentality and view must be eroded so that women's representation can be fulfilled appropriately, especially in the process of holding elections, where women's representation has not been given much attention. Women's issues are still focused on the legislative realm and political

parties. Therefore, this study focuses more on women's representation as election supervisors in Indonesia.

The purpose of this study is to provide an overview of the implementation of gender quotas in election law regulations in Indonesia and find out the extent of election law practice regarding women's representation in election supervisory institutions in Indonesia by looking at and considering 30% women's representation to serve as members of election supervisory commissioners in Indonesia.

This research contributes to understanding the representation of women as election supervisors in Indonesia in implementing the rule of law that applies in Indonesia. Gender quota is a solution to implementing a 30% quota as an election supervisor in Indonesia. This study will provide an overview of the application of legal rules on women's representation in Indonesia, especially as election organizers, which political science researchers in Indonesia have not widely studied.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Gender Quota Theory

The discourse on women's representation in the political system is an earnest study for political scientists. The perspective of representation in politics is considered one of the successes that need to exist in a democratic system. The understanding of women as individuals who only take care of domestic affairs and the influence of patriarchal culture in some countries make women considered unnecessary to play a role in determining policies and political decisions. According to Andrew Heywood's book *Political Theory: An Introduction*, representation suggests that an individual or group somehow represents a broader group of people. The relationship between two different entities is recognized by political representation (Heywood, 2004). Giving women the freedom to participate in politics as direct participants and compete for political office in modern democracies does allow women to earn their place in women's affirmative quotas.

In some countries with developed democracies, women are allowed to participate in the race for important government posts. Gender quotas shape women's political experiences and representations, and this will change normative perceptions so that female candidates can compete with male candidates (Deininger et al., 2015). Brian Turnbull explained that gender quotas did not allow female politicians to grow and develop in competitive gender competition. Suppose political parties continue to perceive women as a "risk" and female candidates competing outside the gender quota are unsuccessful in elections. In this case, the quota would be a top-and-bottom limit that limits women's participation (Turnbull, 2019). In other words, there is a gender quota as part of the formula for fulfilling representation in political participation. Klaus Deininger, Hari Krishnan Nagarajan, and Song Qing Jin even justified this statement by stating that organizational barriers to cultural norms, political discrimination, and policymakers' efforts to increase participation share

affected the political balance and long-term consequences (Deininger et al., 2015).

In addition, the influence of gender norms derived from religious and cultural traditions influences gender inequality (Boo, 2021). Of course, this can affect the position of women in seizing strategic positions in politics due to a paradigm attached to women. Hence, gender equality can be achieved since women have essential roles in economic and community development (Ang & Lai, 2023). Eventually, the gender-based quota, one of the solutions for women's empowerment used in more than a hundred countries, has become popular to increase the number of women elected in politics.

METHODS

This research was qualitative research, which is research using a natural background with

the intention of interpreting phenomena that occur. It was carried out using various existing methods (Moleong, 2012). Nevertheless, John W. Creswell explained that qualitative research uses word-using methods to explore and understand the meaning processed by researchers derived from social problems (Creswell, 2014). Archival research studies use data records stored in physical and digital forms (Shaughnessy et al., 2012). The records are then analyzed to obtain conclusions about behaviors, attitudes and beliefs (Shaughnessy et al., 2012). The archival research methods in this research are based on various election regulations, such as General Election Commission Regulations, Election Supervisory Body Regulations, and statutory regulations regarding women's representation or affirmative action. The data processing process is in Figure 2.



Figure 2. Research data processing (Source: Authors' work)

The theory used in this study is the gender quota theory, which questions the extent to which women's quotas can empower women, which is the goal. Gender quotas have actually proven effective in increasing women's representation in political positions such as in parliament in political parties as long as they are clearly enforceable and there are sanctions for those who do not comply with these rules (Childs & Krook, 2008; Dahlerup & Freidenvall, 2005). Primary data sources came from the general election stages in regencies and cities in Indonesia to the final stage of announcing candidates for Bawaslu members by making indirect observations from the decision results of the Bawaslu of the Republic of Indonesia.

Secondary data was obtained from various literature, such as journals, books, and articles discussing the recruitment process of prospective members of Bawaslu in regencies and cities of Indonesia. The quota of women's representation from 514 regencies/cities in Indonesia was then traced based on checking the data obtained and browsing social media accounts and websites owned by Bawaslu at regency and city levels. After the data was collected and cross-checked, the data obtained was then analyzed.

DISCUSSION

Affirmative Policy for Women in Indonesia

Gender quota enforcement will be able to run if the policies that have been regulated can be implemented properly and correctly. The importance of seriousness in carrying out practices in fulfilling formative quotas is not only a clear rule in regulations but also the need for mechanisms and applications in the field. Apart from regulations, of course, the success of fulfilling gender quotas requires the struggle of female politicians to be able to participate in the recruitment process for open political positions as a form of resistance and challenge to the hierarchy in the political system that has dominated (Phillips, 2019). This participation involves individual women being engaged in various activities (Hannah et al., 2021). Patriarchal cultural factors that do not compensate for access to affirmative action for women, such as quotas, contribute to women's underrepresentation in politics (Abu-Zayd et al., 2002). It hampered the opportunity for female politicians who have the ability or capacity to enter the political system. Female politicians struggle not only with a strong patriarchal culture but also with rules and regulations that are friendly, not genderbiased, and appropriately implemented, not just a matter of diction in paragraphs or statutory regulations. However, the commitment to implementing policies for affirmative women comes from applicable legal products. Regarding affirmative policies in Indonesia to increase women's representation, please see Table 1 as follows:

Based on Table 1 above, of course, the rules regarding women's affirmative quotas have been regulated in various laws and regulations, one of which is Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning general elections, which has held women's representation using a *zipper system*, rules for party

Table 1

Indonesia's affirmative policy in increasing women's representation

Regulation on Women's Affirmative Action	Rules in Law Number 7 of 2017
 Convention on Women's Political Rights (Law Number 68/1985) Women have the right to vote and be elected in elections. Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (Law Number 7/1964) Eliminating all forms of discrimination against women. Law Number 2 of 2011 concerning Political Parties requires 30% representation of women as founders, administrators, and members of political parties. Law Number 7/2017 on women's representation in the management of central political parties and lists of candidates for councilors: Every three people are women. 	 The policy of political parties is to place a minimum quota of 30% women in DCTs and political party officials. A Zipper System does not mean alternating intervals. However, it means that one in three candidates is at least one woman. Placement of the permanent candidate list (DCT): For every 3 candidates, 1 female candidate was placed in order 1, 2, or 3. Not only the numbers 3 and 6 but also others. Sanctions against parties who violate the quota provisions above are regulated in KPU regulations.

Source: Asy'ari (2023)

management, legislature, and elections. This rule is an attempt to deal with discrimination when women enter the realm of masculine professions (Ahmad et al., 2019). The existence of women's affirmative policies as a basis for protecting women's rights, as well as minimizing negative perceptions of female leaders originating from women's gender roles, stems from the fact that these policies are not commensurate with society's expectations of leaders. When audiences see women as actual or potential residents of leadership roles, they can experience prejudice due to an inconsistency between the essential communal qualities they associate with women and the agentdominant qualities they consider necessary to succeed as a leader. Therefore, people tend to have different beliefs about female and male leaders, as well as similar beliefs (Eagly & Karau, 2002). This statement is reinforced by (Primagita & Riantoputra, 2019). There is a convention that stipulates

that the role of women is only to take care of household affairs, where women have an essential role, making it difficult for women to develop their identity as leaders.

There is a need for ideas to help women meet their needs as well as enhance and contribute to gender-neutral career development (Diogo et al., 2021). The existence of this affirmative policy can undoubtedly provide benefits for prospective women who are taking the portion of the gender quota that has been prepared. However, it does not make women feel secure in winning public office without any effort made by them. Existing regulations in Indonesia certainly need to be used to provide opportunities to meet the target of women's representation in politics. Various affirmative policies for women in Indonesian regulations are listed in Table 2.

Table 2 shows that the affirmative policy of gender quota representation in the electoral system in Indonesia has provided Gender Quota Election Supervisors Indonesian Election Law

General Election Law Number 12/2003	Law on Political Parties Number 2/2008	General Election Law Number 10/2008 and Law No. 8/2012	Law of Political Parties Number 2/2011	General Election Law Number 7/2017
Appeal for political parties participating in the election to nominate 30% of women as legislators	They are involving 30% of women as party founders.	The list of candidates contains 30% women.	Involving 30% of women as party founders	Affecting 30% of women as election organizers, both KPU, Bawaslu
	Political party management contains 30% of women	Every three names on the candidate list have at least one female candidate	The control of political parties includes 30% women	The management of political parties contains 30% women.
			Recruitment of legislative candidates involves 30% female representation.	Registration of candidates for legislative membership must involve 30% female representation.

 Table 2

 Affirmative policy for women's representation in politics in Indonesia

Source: Asy'ari (2023)

space for women to be involved in political competition. The existence of apparent regulations for women in Indonesia can be used as an opportunity to fill strategic political positions and compete with male politicians.

Affirmative Quota Implementation in Election Supervisors

The Indonesian state explicitly regulates women's representation in politics, and as many as 30% of female representatives are involved in politics. Both the management of political parties, legislative candidates, and election organizers at the General Election Commission (KPU) and the Election Supervisory Agency (known as Bawaslu) at the central, provincial, and regency/city levels have been regulated in Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections, which

is still valid today. The implementation of women's representation that has been handled in the election law is significant, considering that Indonesia is one of the countries that implements the Pancasila democratic system and accommodates all levels of society regardless of differences due to religion, ethnicity, and gender, positioning the concept of equality in the political system in Indonesia. Implementing this rule of law is undoubtedly crucial for women to have the opportunity to fulfill women's representation in women's supervisory institutions in Indonesia. The very long selection process in the race for the commissioner seat as election supervisor begins with the registration process, administrative selection of written tests, psychological tests, medical tests, interviews, and due diligence. The process

that goes through each stage uses a knockout system where the selection team of the Election Supervisory Board in each province will be tasked with selecting candidates for election supervisory commissioners. When entering the interview and due diligence process, each required quota sends twice the required quota requirement. For example, if 5 seats are needed in one city or regency, ten candidates are included in the due diligence and interview. In the end, 5 people were selected, determined from the results of due diligence and interviews conducted at the center.

Overall, the seats contested in the election supervisory body amounted to 1907 seats from 514 regencies/cities in 38 provinces in Indonesia. The implementation of gender quotas in politics in Indonesia, as election organizers and election supervisors, has not been explicitly examined. The lack of attention to women's representation in Indonesian election supervisory institutions ultimately means that the position of women in contesting for political positions in election supervisory institutions has not met 30% of women's representation quota regarding the rules in Law Number 7 of 2017. According to the rule, the need for women's representation in election supervisory institutions in Indonesia has been clearly regulated. However, implementing the rule in the recruitment process of election supervisors has not run well and optimally. More details can be seen in Table 3.

Based on Figure 3 above, the low representation of women in election supervisory institutions is undoubtedly

a terrible record of the implementation of women's representation in election supervisory institutions that have not complied with applicable laws and regulations. This finding shows that the factors causing inequality and low representation of women in election organizers are weak regulatory guarantees, limited access to recruitment information, incomprehensible understanding of the selection process mechanism, and a political environment that is gender insensitive, including the unequal perspective of gender justice of the selection team. Political support remains weak as cultural barriers hinder women's representation in election supervisory institutions. Other factors of low representation of women in election organizing institutions are (1) the low motivation and confidence level, inadequate access to information, and suboptimal support for women, (2) regulatory guarantees are still not supportive, (3) political support is still low, and (4) uneven gender perspectives (Puskapol, 2021). Women's representation in election supervisory institutions is not only an individual interest but also a form of expression in the policy consideration system and a symbol of the system to reflect women's identity (Alhuzail, 2021). The issue of women's representation in the administration of elections, apart from the patriarchal culture that is still thick in the political world, is the existing regulations that have not been implemented into the rules of democratic life, especially in fulfilling women's quotas in election administration.

Gender Quota Election Supervisors Indonesian Election Law

Table 3

Women's representation as Members of Bawaslu Commissioners Regency and City throughout Indonesia for the 2023-2028 period

Province	City/ Regency	Male	Female	Percentage M	Percentage F	Total Gender
Aceh	23	66	10	87	13	76
Bali	9	26	8	76	24	34
Bangka Belitung	7	19	2	90	10	21
Banten	8	34	4	89	11	38
Bengkulu	10	28	2	93	7	30
Special Region of Yogyakarta	5	16	3	84	16	19
Special Capital Region of Jakarta	6	21	7	75	25	28
Gorontalo	6	16	2	89	11	18
Jambi	11	32	5	86	14	37
West Jawa	27	113	14	89	11	127
Central Java	35	140	27	84	16	167
East Java	38	153	23	87	13	176
South Kalimantan	13	40	5	89	11	45
Central Kalimantan	14	39	6	87	13	45
East Kalimantan	10	33	6	85	15	39
North Kalimantan	5	16	1	94	6	17
West Kalimantan	14	50	8	86	14	58
Riau Islands	7	18	5	78	22	23
Lampung	15	53	8	87	13	61
Maluku	11	30	3	91	9	33
North Maluku	10	24	5	83	17	29
West Nusa Tenggara	10	36	4	90	10	40
East Nusa Tenggara	22	54	14	79	21	68
Papua	9	21	6	78	22	27
West Papua	7	19	4	83	17	23
Southwest Papua	6	15	3	83	17	18
Highland Papua	8	30	2	94	6	32
South Papua	4	17	1	94	6	18
Central Papua	8	19	4	83	17	23
Riau	12	49	5	91	9	54
West Sulawesi	6	17	3	85	15	20
South Sulawesi	24	65	15	81	19	80
Central Sulawesi	13	36	7	84	16	43
Southeast Sulawesi	17	40	11	78	22	51
North Sulawesi	15	39	6	87	13	45
West Sumatera	19	55	8	87	13	63
South Sumatera	17	56	10	85	15	66
North Sumatera	33	98	17	85	15	115
Total	514	1633	274	86%	14%	1907





Figure 3. Women representatives as regency / City election supervisors in Indonesia during 2023–2028 *Source*: Authors' work

Meanwhile, other factors that hinder women's representation as election supervisors are a lack of understanding of gender in the political system in Indonesia, a lack of political networks owned by female candidates, and a risk burden for female election supervisors (Muharam et al., 2023a). The researchers' findings on women's representation as election supervisors, which did not comply with the rules on general elections that regulate the need for 30 percent of women's representation, indicate that there is still a negative stigma, such as gender bias, against women occupying very strategic political positions. Existing regulations were not applied in the selection process, and women's representation as election supervisors should be prioritized following applicable laws in Indonesia. There are obstacles to fulfilling women's quotas in fulfilling women's representation

as election supervisors due to several factors, including:

There is a Mistake in Understanding Gender in Politics

The perception of the political world that still views politics is the world of men (Muharam et al., 2023b; Muharam & Prasetyo, 2021; Warjiyati, 2016). There is still an understanding of patriarchy that men are the dominant party, and women are exploited (Kusumawardhana & Abbas, 2018). In addition, it discusses the issue of women's understanding of sex differences (sex) and the concept of gender (Warjiyati, 2016). This understanding will closely influence the understanding of gender differences and gender injustice with the structure of injustice in society. The existence of this understanding is that there are still many views that the political world tends to be considered a man's world, causing stereotypes carried out by each individual (Zamroni, 2013). Even in making regulations on laws and regulations that regulate women's rights, especially in the representation of women 30%. Both as a legislature and party management member and as an election organizer such as the General Election Commission (KPU) and the General Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu). Not only that, the process of implementing human rights in exclusive laws and regulations regulates women's rights in fulfilling two fundamental democratic rights for women, namely the right to vote and the right to stand for elections.

The Burden of Risk Being an Election Supervisor

Being an election supervisor who certainly intersects a lot with various political interests is undoubtedly one of the factors in fulfilling women's representation as election supervisors. The risk of working as an election supervisor that requires women to adjust to various problems faced by election participants certainly requires courage for women to supervise, prevent and take action for perpetrators who commit violations in implementing in the field. Commitment for women who want to be involved as election supervisors must understand the workload and risks often faced, such as intimidation and harassment from election participants who are considered disturbed by the presence of election supervisors during campaigns and program socialization. With the workload and risks faced, female candidates involved

in election administration as election supervisors need to consider carefully the fulfillment of regulatory requirements stipulated in the election law and how the fulfillment of women's rights in politics can be achieved in accordance with regulations.

Limitations of Political Networks

One of the problems women face in competing for political office as commissioners of the election supervisory body is the limited political network women own. Few potential female candidates qualified in the race for seats as Bawaslu commissioners because they did not have political networks. This political network is considered important because it is undeniable that political relations for prospective election supervisors will make it easier for female candidates to be elected. The election of bawaslu commissioners is at the central level (Bawaslu Republik Indonesia). It is undeniable that this is one of the problems owned by women who lack political networks at the top level. These political networks can include right-wing political parties, religious organizations in Indonesia such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah, and current stakeholder relations.

These three factors are one of the reasons why women's representation as election supervisors is less accommodated or not elected. Moreover, regulations on women's representation in the administration of elections, especially in the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu), have not been adequately implemented and practiced. The primary existence of this regulation seems to complement and abort the obligation of politicians to fulfill gender equality in politics. The selection process for occupying the commissioner position at the Election Supervisory Board was still dominated by men. Applicants from women could not be said to be significant. Of course, this impacts the results of selecting women's representatives in the Election Supervisory Agency.

CONCLUSION

Several regulations have been made to regulate the fulfillment of women's rights in politics. However, these regulations are only limited to rules, and there is no administrative punishment for disobeying these rules. For example, there is no obligation for election administrators to meet the quota of 30 percent women representation, as there is no sanction for those who do not fulfill the quota. Regulations regarding fulfilling women's political rights as supervisors have been regulated in Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections. However, in practice, several factors hinder the fulfillment of women's political rights as election supervisors. Some women choose not to exercise women's human rights as election supervisors because of the heavy burden of risk. An election supervisor's responsibilities and duties differ from those of other election organizers, such as in General Election Commissions (KPU), District Election Committees (PPK), Voting Committees (PPS), and Voting Organizing Groups (KPPS).

The findings of this study are various factors affecting the lack of women's electability in election supervisory institutions: (1) A selection process that uses a knockout system without considering the 30% female representation quota, (2) The political networks of female election supervisory candidates are very narrow and inflexible in building networks with decision-makers, (3) The patriarchal culture that is still dominant in some regions prioritizes men to be election supervisors. Women's representatives in some regencies/ cities could not be found, (4) The selection team did not pay attention to women's gender representation. Meanwhile, at each stage of selection, there are women representatives. However, they were not selected in the final stage, and (5) Regulations on women's representation need to be changed, especially the rule that requires each election administrator to place 30% of women's representation seats. It is imperative to encourage women's participation in politics by creating an environment that supports and minimizes the burden of risk as an election supervisor. In addition, efforts are needed to increase awareness and understanding of the importance of women's representation in politics, especially in election supervisory institutions where not many parties understand women's representation as election organizers.

The implication of this study as study material for researchers in the field of gender politics is to understand that women's representation as election organizers is one of the studies that need to be developed. Political research studies in gender studies focus more on affirmative quotas of women in parliament, in the management of political parties, and legislative candidates. However, the studies did not investigate much on election organizers, including election supervisors in Indonesia. The representation of women as commissioners at the Election Supervisory Board is one of the political positions that is very interesting to study. This study recommends that the Indonesian government make efforts to change the general election law, especially the rules on women's representation as election supervisors, in which the rules only stipulate up to the regency/city level. This rule differs from the representation of women as members of the General Elections Commission, where the authorities have reached the Voting Organizing Group (KPPS) level. In addition, rules regarding sanctions are necessary for the selection team or various parties involved in the selection process that do not fulfill 30% of women's representation as election supervisors.

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