

WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION AS MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL ELECTION SUPERVISORY BOARD

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
Published: August 28th, 2023 Keywords: women's representation, women's quota, political representation, Election Supervisory Body	<i>This study aims to determine the challenges of women's representation as Bawaslu members and the resulting impact of the low percentage of women in Bawaslu. Many previous studies have examined the challenges and obstacles in realizing women's representation in politics, especially in the context of elections, but there is still a lack of studies on women's representation in the Election Supervisory Body (Bawaslu). This research was conducted using Anne Phillips' theory of Political Representation. This descriptive research is a literature study involving books, journals, research, and websites as data. The results show that the current challenges to women's representation as members of the Indonesian Bawaslu are the lack of natural resources for women, a gender-neutral selection process, and a lack of knowledge about elections. As a result, women become politically illiterate, especially with regard to elections, gender equality in the Bawaslu commissioners does not materialize.</i>
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INTRODUCTION

The involvement of women in politics cannot be separated from the social construction of society given to women. The image of women embedded in society is that they are emotional and irrational which makes them unfit to be leaders (Yates, 2019; Blackmore, 2002). This results in gender inequality in various sectors, including in the political field (Pudji, 2008). The most common stereotype regarding this issue is that the world of politics is harsh, full of debate, and requires intelligent reasoning which is often solely attributed to men (Baker, 2017; Donovan, 2012). Women are only allowed to be in the domestic sphere so that they are deemed inappropriate for politics, which makes it difficult for women to enter politics (Beyer & Kojobekova, 2019; Aspinall et al., 2021).

The representation of women in politics is a form of women's participation to express opinions and oversee the process so that the resulting policies are able to side with women both at the local, national and international levels (Sian et al., 2020) (Rodiyah, 2013). This representation helps women to join political parties or other women's organizations as a space to channel their aspirations (Kantola & Lombardo, 2019; Jandevi, 2019). The affirmation of women's representation was first included in the Election Law Number 12 of 2003 in article 65 paragraph 1 which reads "every Election Contesting Political Party may nominate candidates for Members of the DPR, Provincial DPRD and Regency/Municipal DPRD for each Electoral District taking into account the representation of women at least 30%".

The policy delegates that at least 30% of women take part in political participation, including as election organizers which include members of the KPU, Provincial KPU, Regency/City KPU, District Election Committee (PPK), Voting Committee (PPS), to the Election Supervisory Board

(BPS). Bawaslu). The representation of women in the world of politics always highlights representation as candidates for members of the legislature, executive and management of political parties (Muharam & Prasetyo, 2021). Meanwhile, the representation of women in election management is rarely a concern, especially as a member of the Bawaslu.

According to Daryono (2021), even though there is already a 30% quota policy in Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections, the percentage of women who are Bawaslu members still has not touched the 30% figure in 2012-2017. This policy is stated in article 92 paragraph 11 which reads: "The membership composition of Bawaslu, Provincial Bawaslu, and Regency/City Bawaslu pays attention to the representation of women at least 30% (thirty percent)".

Puskapol UI research (2016) also states that there is only one woman per Bawaslu member at the national level. Of all the Bawaslu members in the province, only 19% are women. Based on the Bawaslu book on Bawaslu Heroines, the representation of women in Bawaslu members for 2018-2023 has increased to 22% (Daryono, 2021). During the two periods from 2017-2022 to 2022-2027, only one in five members of the RI Bawaslu will be a woman. To be able to understand it more clearly, it can be seen in the table below (Obtained from the official website of the RI Bawaslu):

Table 1. Number of RI Bawaslu Members 2017-2022

Name	Gender	Position
Abhan	Man	Chairman of the Indonesian Election Supervisory Body
Ratna Dewi Pettalolo	Woman	Member of the Indonesian Election Supervisory Body
Mochammad Afifudin	Man	Member of the Indonesian Election Supervisory Body
Rahmat Bagja	Man	Member of the Indonesian Election Supervisory Body
Fritz Edward Siregar	Man	Member of the Indonesian Election Supervisory Body

Table 2. Number of RI Bawaslu Members 2022-2027

Name	Gender	Position
Rahmat Bagja	Man	Chairman of the Indonesian Election Supervisory Body
Lolly Suhenty	Woman	Member of the Indonesian Election Supervisory Body
Puadi	Man	Member of the Indonesian Election Supervisory Body
Herwin Malonda	Man	Member of the Indonesian Election Supervisory Body
Totok Hariyono	Man	Member of the Indonesian Election Supervisory Body

The study of women's representation in the world of politics, especially in the administration of elections, has become the focus of research by several academics. Research by Prastiwi (2018) entitled "Measuring the Contribution of the 2017 Election Law to Increasing Women's Representation" examines the impact of Law no. 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections to increase women's representation.

The results of this study indicate that both in terms of open proportionality and its four components, the 2017 Election Law tends not to make a significant contribution to efforts to

increase women's representation. Factors such as weak access and lack of representation of women are still the main obstacles that impede significant changes in women's representation in politics.

Furthermore, research by Daryono et al. (2020) with the title "Gender Conflict and Women's Participation as Supervisors for the 2019 Election" identified several factors causing the non-fulfillment of the 30% quota of women in election organizers. These factors include individual characteristics, social environment, and state institutional regulations. The findings of this study provide important insights into the concrete barriers that need to be overcome to increase women's participation in the electoral process.

Subsequent research was conducted by Novianti et al. (2022) with the title "Political Education for Women as an Effort to Overcome Gender Marginalization in Government." This research emphasizes the importance of political education for women as an effort to overcome gender marginalization in government. This research highlights that gender marginalization has resulted in the underrepresentation of women in conveying aspirations at the government level. Therefore, women need to be empowered with political knowledge so that they can understand the positive impact of women's participation in politics and fight for their rights to voice their aspirations. Thus, women can participate actively in government without experiencing marginalization.

Overall, this research provides a more detailed understanding of the challenges and obstacles in realizing women's representation in politics, especially in the context of elections. Factors such as weak access, state institutional regulations, and gender marginalization are the focus in efforts to increase women's representation and encourage their participation in the political process. Political education is also considered an important strategy in overcoming gender marginalization and equipping women with the knowledge and skills needed to play an active role in government.

The background above shows that the RI Bawaslu has not fulfilled the 30% quota as stipulated in Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections. This study aims to determine the challenges of women's representation as Bawaslu members and the resulting impact of the low percentage of women in Bawaslu. This research will answer the problem of what are the challenges in relation to women's representation as Bawaslu members, and the resulting impact of not fulfilling the 30% quota for women or the lack of women's participation in Bawaslu.

METHODS

This research was conducted using Anne Phillips' theory of Political Representation. This descriptive research is a literature study involving books, journals, research, and websites as data. The researchers did not apply many criteria for the data sources but the data should be published max. 10 years ago and relevant to the topic discussed. The data then analyzed by using Miles and Huberman (2014)'s technique.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Political Representation Anne Phillips

Political representation according to Anne Phillips (2016) in her book entitled *The Politics of Presence* is divided into two forms, namely, political ideas and political presence. Overall, Phillips sees that the present political representation comes from the form of political ideas. The purpose of idea politics is representation in which political representatives submit various kinds of ideas and ideas to the people they represent. There are drawbacks to this type of representation in the presence of an electoral system through political parties, namely voters tend to choose political parties but know little about the candidates whose policies will be used as the basis for political choices. In addition, it is rare for political representatives in parliament to channel the aspirations of their constituents, but are more concerned with certain communities that are close to their identity, including gender identity. In the context of women's representation, political representatives are expected to carry out political ideas to fight for women's interests in political institutions.

The non-representation of women's interests in political institutions will certainly harm women and the non-representation of issues of gender inequality and injustice in state policies. From these problems, Phillips gave birth to a second type of representation, namely presence politics. Presence politics helps voice group interests well by placing political representation randomly based on composition. Phillips said that the aspirations of minority groups would not be channeled if there were no members from these groups involved in parliament.

According to Yunika et al. (2019), Phillips divides presence politics into several categories. The first is descriptive presence, which is the physical presence of women in political, economic and social institutions. The existence of these women is a sign that the Institute has followed the quota policy. The second is a substantive presence in which women as representatives in political institutions make every effort to the will and desires of the people and groups they represent. And the last is personal transformative presence. This category focuses more on women's personalities in changing their roles and developing their abilities to carry out their functions as members of the legislature.

Phillips in her book also states that the basic foundation of political representation is the recognition of political equality at all levels of society and strong public control over political continuity, so that the presence of minorities, especially women, is needed in state institutions. Phillips raised a question related to women's representation in parliament "Are parliamentarians formed based on similarities of political parties and elected through elections, able to represent and willing to fight for women's interests?". The idea of representative democracy with institutions that are also representative as the delegation of political rights for every citizen should demand that parliament always support the interests of society, especially the interests of women.

Phillips also explained several factors causing the low representation of women in political institutions. The first is a structural factor which includes the general election system and the continued dominance of men. The second is cultural factors such as negative stereotypes attached to women that women are incompetent or inappropriate to enter politics, as well as the double

burden between household work and outside the home which can prevent women from participating in politics. Gender inequality in parliament is not only detrimental to women but society as a whole also feels the loss. If parliamentarians do not fight for women's interests then policy discrimination will probably occur. To overcome this inequality, affirmative action must be carried out so that women can take part in parliament so that women's representation will increase. Not only that, women's confidence in their anticipation in the world of politics will also continue to grow (Jovani, 2017).

Apart from parliament, a state institution that needs women's representation in it is the Election Supervisory Body (*Bawaslu*). Sawyer (2010) stated that proportional representation of women in the electoral system will lead to better representation of women in parliament.

A Brief History of Bawaslu

Quoted from the official website of the RI Bawaslu, the term election supervision only appeared in 1982 under the name Election Supervisory Committee (*Panwaslak Pemilu*). This institution was formed because the public's distrust emerged towards the implementation of elections conducted by the ruling government. This distrust was motivated by the many violations and vote counting manipulations carried out by election officials in the 1971 elections. Finally, the idea emerged to amend the law to improve the quality of the 1982 elections.

Changes related to the election supervisory institution were only included in Law No. 12 of 2003 which was further strengthened by Law No. 22 of 2007 concerning Election Organizers and the formation of a permanent institution called the Election Supervisory Body (*Bawaslu*). The main authority of the Bawaslu itself is to supervise the implementation of the election stages, receive complaints, and handle cases of administrative violations, election crimes and the code of ethics.

Challenges of Women's Representation as Members of the RI Bawaslu

Based on the percentage of RI Bawaslu members during the two periods above, women's representation of 30% which is in accordance with existing policies has still not been fulfilled. If you look closely, there are a number of things that become challenges which have led to the low number of women being elected as election supervisors. These challenges include:

- 1) Lack of women's resources: Women's resources are still limited to fill positions in the political sphere. According to Ekawati (2018), this condition is caused by several things, the first is the internal factor of the woman herself, namely the low motivation and confidence of women to participate. Second, limited economic, social and political capital which includes male domination in the political sphere, lack of adequate financial resources, and the double burden of women. Third, the patriarchal culture that is still rooted in Indonesia which considers that the political sphere is a public domain, so that women are not eligible to participate in it. If this is not addressed immediately, the election organizers, in this case the Bawaslu, will be increasingly inclusive of women.

- 2) Gender neutral selection process: The selection process as a member of Bawaslu tends to be gender neutral in terms of planning, regulation and implementation. This is due to the absence of gender sensitivity in the member recruitment process so that female candidates are not considered too much. Several aspects that influence gender neutrality include the context of Indonesian culture which is still thick with its patriarchal understanding so that women are often looked down upon when they participate in politics (Nimrah & Sakaria, 2015). Second, the mass media is less able to build public opinion about the importance of women's representation in politics, especially as members of election oversight. And third, there is no network between mass organizations or NGOs to participate in fighting for women's representation. The selection process for Bawaslu members that does not take a gender perspective will certainly lead to low representation of women.
- 3) Minimum electoral knowledge: Political education for women is now included as a necessity. This is a concern because it aims to build a healthy democracy (Smith & Benavot, 2019). Studying politics can increase feelings of responsibility and pride in national identity. The demand for political education is becoming increasingly urgent because it is very much needed by the people of Indonesia, in which there are also many female human resources. Providing women with political education can increase women's awareness of their rights in politics and the problems that exist in the world of politics.

The dissemination of knowledge about politics, especially regarding elections to women is still limited. According to Sri Eko Wardani in her webinar entitled " Opportunities and Challenges of Women's Representation at the Indonesian KPU and Indonesian Bawaslu Towards the 2024 Election " which was uploaded on YouTube, there are still very few universities in Indonesia that have majors that study electoral matters. Because according to her, not everyone, especially women, is interested or interested in the science of elections. Therefore, according to Wardani, women who join the Bawaslu membership use the learning by doing method.

Impact of Lack of Percentage of Women as Bawaslu Members

Even though the proportion of men and women is almost equal, women still experience subordination in election management bodies. In fact, with 30% of women carrying out their functions as election supervisors, justice and gender equality in the Provincial Bawaslu, district/city, political parties, up to the parliament may be fulfilled. The failure to fulfill the 30% quota for women in election supervision also has its own impacts, including:

- 1) Women have become politically illiterate, especially regarding elections: The low participation rate of women as election supervisors will have an impact on women's apathy towards the election process. Quoted from the Mojokerto Bawaslu official website, East Java Province Bawaslu member Eka Rachmawati said that women are not only limited to exercising their right to vote in electing people's representatives who fight for the interests and welfare of women. On the other hand, women must also take part in

overseeing the election process to avoid fraud and manipulation of aspirations conveyed through voting booths so that women must be more empowered.

Dian Pratmawati, a member of the Mojokerto Bawaslu, also added that women's representation is very influential on women's political awareness. As election supervisors, women can take on a role in the midst of rampant violations such as money politics, bureaucratic politicization, and vote bloat. Pratmawati suggested that women have more flexibility in developing themselves and their potential, especially related to election supervision. The apathy of women towards elections will also affect the small number of female applicants as Bawaslu members (East Java Bawaslu, 2019).

Women's internal problems that still exist today are their own thoughts that think politics is complicated, politics is men's business, and so on where women don't want to know anything related to politics. If this continues like this, fulfilling the 30% quota for women will be difficult to achieve.

- 2) Gender equality in the commissioners of the Bawaslu does not materialize: According to Gusmansyah (2019), women have an important meaning in providing understanding and combining perceptions regarding the development of a healthy, just and realistic democracy. Therefore increasing women's participation in development as an integral part of national development is important in efforts to create equality between men and women in various fields, especially in the political field.

Although election organizers such as Bawaslu do not hold political positions, increasing women's participation as election supervisors is one of the efforts to encourage women's political representation. Thus, the participation of women in the analysis, planning and implementation of all electoral processes and activities is very important to be carried out by election organizers consciously and proactively (Novita et al., 2018). The realization of overall gender equality and justice in electoral processes and activities is no less important than what is done in other fields.

Reporting from sindonews.com, Lolly Suhenty as a member of the RI Bawaslu for the 2022-2027 period brought the vision of gender equality and justice while undergoing a fit and proper test at Commission II of the DPR. He has a vision to accelerate and strengthen elections that are inclusive, with integrity through Bawaslu which is professional, independent, and has a gender perspective and equity. Since college, Lolly has also dedicated herself to protecting vulnerable groups, one of which is women.

From Lolly Suhenty's statement above, it proves that gender equality in politics, especially in the RI Bawaslu membership, is important. With the representation of women's groups, little by little it will reduce the masculine nature of the world of politics and facilitate women's access to participate in it.

Analysis of the Theory of Political Representation Anne Phillips

Based on the challenges of women's representation as Bawaslu members and the impact of not fulfilling the women's quota above, this is in line with Phillips' thoughts on why women's

representation in political institutions is still low. The rise of male domination in politics is still an issue in Indonesia which limits women's movement in politics. This male domination makes political institutions masculine, causing the political structure in Indonesia to make it difficult for women to enter these political institutions (Pudji, 2008). In addition, the absence of support or encouragement for women to enter the political field is also one of the reasons why male domination still occurs today.

The second factor according to Phillips is the existence of a negative stigma given to women. The patriarchal cultural system in Indonesia considers men to be more suitable to enter politics (Yuwono, 2018). Political institutions are closely related to power and policy makers, in accordance with the role of men as the head of the household, decision makers in the family, and breadwinners.

Apart from that, patriarchal culture has also contributed to the perception that women are inappropriate to enter politics. According to Yuwono, the reasons are first, the area for women is at home (domestic). Second, politics is synonymous with masculine things (Hard, dirty, evil, etc.). Third, women are inferior creatures. Fourth, only men are fit to be women leaders. This condition can certainly hinder women's participation in political institutions where this will also affect women's representation, which until now has not met the predetermined percentage.

CONCLUSION

After going through two periods, the quota of 30% women as members of the RI Bawaslu has not been fulfilled. Even though these provisions have been regulated in Article 92 paragraph 11 of Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections. This is a challenge for the state in increasing women's participation as election supervisors. These challenges include the lack of women's resources, the member selection process which is still gender neutral, and women's knowledge about election which is still minimal. In addition, this condition also has its own impacts, including women becoming politically illiterate, especially related to elections, and not realizing gender equality in Bawaslu commissioner members.

The author's findings are related to Anne Phillips' thoughts regarding the low political representation of women. Male domination in politics and lack of support for women to participate make it difficult for women to enter politics. Several negative stereotypes about women are also still rooted in Indonesia. The first is that politics is masculine so women don't deserve to be in it. Second, the assumption that women are more appropriate in the domestic area. Third, people's thinking that considers women lower than men (inferior). Fourth, women do not deserve to be leaders or policy makers.

Based on the analysis that has been presented, there are several recommendations that the author can offer, including:

- 1) There is a need for education and outreach to the community, especially to women to get involved as election supervisors or election organizers. This can be done by social institutions that have a focus on women.

- 2) It is hoped that women themselves will not be apathetic towards matters related to elections. Knowledge and critical awareness of the importance of women's presence in making policies as election supervisors are also needed. Policies regarding women's quotas will mean nothing if they are not accompanied by the intentions and desires of women as election supervisors.
- 3) The mass media as a shaper of public opinion should provide more information about the importance of women's representation and participation in politics, especially as election supervisors whose percentage quota has not been reached so far.

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