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Women's Participation and Role in Fulfilling the 30% Quota Representation for Subdistrict Level Election Supervisors in Sidoarjo Regency

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ABSTRACT

Elections must be connected to the participation of the public, voters, and citizens because the political part begins with the understanding that sovereignty is in the hands of the people. Through political reform in Indonesia, there is a policy on women's representation that aims to obtain equal opportunities for women to sit in politics. In the scope of elections, increasing women's involvement as election organizers is part of efforts to encourage women's political participation. But in fact, the number of women's representation starting from the registration stage to the inauguration of the Sidoarjo Regency Panwaslu is still low. This research uses qualitative research methods by trying to carry out descriptive data assessment.

KEY WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS: Womens'Participation, Election, Bawaslu Sidoarjo Regency.

INTRODUCTION

General elections (elections) are pillars of a democratic country. A democratic state is how the highest sovereignty is in the hands of the people; this is seen through the understanding of democracy itself, which means the government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Elections are a five-year political contestation that provides space for the direct involvement of the people in determining who the leader is. However, the leader will determine the fate of the people through public policy based on valid legal provisions. They are the organizers of the state, carrying out the people's mandate to ensure the welfare and fulfillment of people's rights. Through the holding of elections, the president, vice president, and the legislature must be interpreted the surrender of the people's mandate as the highest sovereign holder. Therefore, the holding of elections cannot be separated from the participation of the public, voters, and citizens. The level of voter participation in elections is one of the factors to assess the extent to which the quality of the elections is held. Participation is not only a matter of how high the voter level is exercising his right to vote at the voting booth but also the extent to which the use of the right to vote is carried out on awareness as a voter.

In this case, the people elect a leader to be able to make and implement changes for the place and region he leads. This is in line with people's expectations that they want leaders who are able to carry out the will of the people. When a country conducts elections to determine its leader, there is also the participation and desire of the people to participate in the election. By participating in conducting elections, we have indirectly participated in building this nation and country. In this case, community

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activity and participation play an important role in elections. The form of participation is a process that involves all citizens, both from the majority group to minority groups, participating in political activities that can result in voting behavior not only carried out by the ethnic majority but as well as the gender relationship between men and women.

Building civil society means fighting for a public space that includes all citizens, both men, and women, without exception. In our political system so far, the prevailing policy places women only as second persons. The low participation of women in political institutions results in various women's interests being less accommodated in a number of political decisions because a number of political decisions made tend to be masculine and less gender-effective, while most political decisions made always involve women as targets. The regulation of a quota of 30% women's representation aimed at increasing the number of women sitting in the legislature has been regulated in several laws related to elections, even when compared to several previous elections, the laws and regulations governing it in the 2014 elections are more numerous and detailed.

The implementation of women's political participation in Indonesia, especially their involvement in formal political institutions, is a low "representation" of women in them. The problem is obvious that there are groups of people who are women who are not much involved in political processes, especially "decision-making," where the outcome of the decision will, in most cases, affect them. All components of the nation should be involved. It would be unfair, in fact, a violation of human rights if women were still marginalized or discriminated against from participating in formal political institutions. In the political reality in many countries, including Indonesia, there are problems with the issue of gender roles and positions between men and women. So far, if we talk about politics, what has happened is discrimination or political marginalization against women in democratic life or the political world. Concepts such as competition, political participation, and civil and political liberties in political reality are limited to the male world (the masculine world). Even if women are involved there, they must also enter and behave politically in the world of men. Such discrimination is based more on so-called gender beliefs. This is the basis of injustice at various levels ranging from households, schools, workplaces, and communities to the government or state environment.

Political reform in Indonesia actually gives great hope to women whose political rights have been shackled. Movements emerged with various efforts to empower women's rights, especially destructive political rights. But this era of reform cannot eliminate the apathy and powerlessness of women who have been imprisoned for decades by the hegemonic and repressive political system. The demographic map shows that the number of women in Indonesia is more than men, as well as the number of female voters. However, in the political process, that number is no guarantee of significant female

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representation. With conditions like this, women obviously have no bargaining value. Going into politics for women does not mean having to be a member of the legislature, regent, mayor, or president. But playing an active role in the political sphere is proof of the ability of intelligence as well as self-actualization for women. Women's involvement with politics means opening access for women to participate in determining public policy. Because the problems faced by society so far are also women's problems, on the other hand, women's problems are also societal problems. For this reason, women are obliged to determine attitudes in making these decisions and exercise control over political decisions themselves.

¹¹ The affirmative policy is a policy taken with the aim that certain groups/groups (gender or profession) get equal opportunities with other groups/groups in the same field. Women's representation policy has the same goal, which is to obtain equal opportunities for women to sit in politics. The importance of women's involvement in determining the direction of this policy is because it departs from the history of women who are left behind and categorized as second-class people, thus impacting the non-fulfillment of their rights as citizens. Therefore, this policy is made so that women are able to accommodate and express their interests massively, not only in the context of voting, but women are also able to have access to policies by occupying certain public positions, such as election organizers. This representation of women should not only be seen as a form of political ideas but also requires that women be present in a certain position so that women are not only given the opportunity to voice but also as actors in taking and fighting for policies with access to these positions. In this case, the presence of women in public office does not want to encourage a policy that only concerns women but encourages a dialectic between men and women in public office in giving birth to a policy that is gender equitable. In this case, by having women's representation in election organizers, it is expected that all aspects of regulations, procedures, mechanisms, and procedures for conducting elections can accommodate the interests of female voters, even though in election organizers, men are usually more dominant than women. This policy also prevents disharmonization between election organizers and voters, so guarding women's representation in election organizers is ideal in conducting elections in the midst of a larger number of female voters in order to realize democratic, inclusive, and gender-fair elections.

Similar to political participation and the role of women in fulfilling the quota of 30% of sub-district election supervisors in the Sidoarjo Regency, there is no maximization of women's roles from the recruitment process to the final stage of selection. This is not only homework in this democratic system but also a lack of awareness from women to participate in public spaces. The question is whether, indeed, socialization in the recruitment process for sub-district level election supervisors does

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not reach the lower levels, or indeed there needs to be awareness and readiness to engage in public spaces through this election room.

METHOD

This research uses qualitative research methods by trying to carry out a descriptive data review that will be outlined in written form. Qualitative research methods are research methods based on the philosophy of postpositivism, used to examine the natural object condition, where researchers are the key instrument, data collection techniques are triangulated (combined), data analysis is inductive/qualitative, and qualitative research results emphasize meaning rather than generalization (Sugiyono, 2016). The author uses a qualitative research approach so that researchers can get more in-depth information and get original or natural data that can be accounted for. In accordance with this explanation, the researcher wants to provide an overview or description of the supporting and inhibiting factors of the level of political participation and the role of women in fulfilling the quota of 30% of sub-district-level election supervisors in the Sidoarjo Regency.

RESEARCH RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

1. Patriarchal Culture in Indonesia

The relationship between men and women is a theme that never ends. In fact, Erich Fromm said that the conflict that occurred between the relations of the two sexes has been going on since six thousand years ago (Fromm, 2000: 176). The problem becomes even stronger when in this relationship, there is inequality and there is a relationship of subordination. The form of women's opposition to male power is inseparable from the unjust patriarchal system that places women as shadows of men. Patriarchy or "Patriarchate" refers to the structure of society along the lines of the Father. It is a term that denotes certain characteristics in a family or collection of human families, which are governed, led, and ruled by the oldest fathers or men. That is the law of descent in patriarchates according to the paternal line. The name, property, and power of the head of the family (Father) were passed on to sons. Patriarchal society, from the beginning, considered that men were stronger than women in personal life, family, society, and state. The biological differences between men and women are considered the beginning of the formation of patriarchal culture. The biological difference between the two is unequal status. Women who do not have muscles are used as a reason why society puts them in a weak position. Almost all areas of politics are dominated by men. They played no role in it. It is as if there is an assumption that political life is not his world, given its nature, that it contains violence, dishonesty, and deception.

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Sexual role stereotypes exist, saying that politics is a man's world. When we talk about women's political roles, we cannot define politics as narrowly as we see politics in formal eyes in the legislative, executive, and judicial fields because political existence is manifested in aspects of common life at the local level as well as sensitivity to existing problems. Murniati defines patriarchy as a system of men who have the power to determine everything that will be done or not done (2004: 8). This system is considered reasonable because its justification is aligned with the division of labor based on sex or sex and not on the basis of gender. In addition, Murniti also revealed there are those who believe that power controls and dominates other parties (2004: 171). Others who believe in this definition are poor, weak, low, and helpless, as well as the environment and women. In patriarchal culture, the country that adheres to that culture is called patriarchal. Saraswati says that patriarchy is a state that promotes and maintains practices that directly and systematically oppress women (2004:31). The oppression of women is seen from the family and household structure, and its policies apply to both areas. Typically, such policies are discriminatory or hinder the freedom and economic status of women.

Various state regulations regarding women's issues prove that the construction of patriarchal political culture throughout history has greatly determined women's lives. Since the 1960s, feminist movements have been raging in various parts of the world. Activists in the 1990s, among others, continued to challenge the basis of gender-biased state policies. They pushed for women's roles, functions, and positions more progressively and protested against conservative policies. Among them, the state and the stigma of society marginalize women's aspirations, rights, and interests. Feminists who care about the importance of gender equality in building the character of the nation demand progressive changes in the position of women. This is reflected in polemics on polygamy, domestic violence, women's reproductive rights, or local regulations on prostitution. According to Gadis Arivia (2006), almost all state regulations related to women's issues contain gender bias material. Because, in patriarchal societal structures, women's sociocultural constructions are often used as tools of political legitimacy. This legitimacy can be seen from the attitude of society that often places women's sexuality as a commodity, a means of satisfying male sexual desire. In patriarchal power structures, politics is not only a reflection of power and money interests but also sex.

2. Women and Politics

Part of political contention begins with the understanding that sovereignty is in the hands of the people. To determine the people who hold the reins of leadership, set goals, and the future of society is realized through joint activities. Thus, political participation is the embodiment of the

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legitimate exercise of political power by the people. ⁵ Article 27, paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia affirms that the position of men and women as citizens is equal. ⁸ Similarly, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 has affirmed the equal rights of men and women. But the international community realizes that realizing women's rights in everyday life requires special policies. This realization is based on the fact that women around the world still suffer bad luck: first, women are considered inferior to men; Second, women have more difficulty accessing education, health, and employment opportunities than men. This social reality makes the United Nations (UN) very concerned about women's issues. On July 7, 1954, the UN General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Political Rights of Women (CPRW). Then, on December 18, ⁸ 1979, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). Implementation of the two documents for decades has yet to make significant progress, so the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 issued the Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA) Declaration. ⁴

Special policies for women in politics ⁴ were only implemented after the 1999 elections. At the initial stage, the policy was contained in Law Number 31 of 2002 concerning Political Parties. This law states that the management of political parties must pay attention to gender equality and justice. Although the formulation of "paying attention to gender equality and justice" is very abstract and immeasurable, the law is the first step to developing further policies. In adopting a special policy, the next law uses the formulation of a minimum quota of 30% female representation. The 30% figure is the conclusion of a United Nations Divisions for the Advancement of Women (UN-DAW) study that women's voices and interests are only considered in public life if they reach 30%.

3. Women's Participation in the Sub-District Election Supervisor Registration Process

The election organizing institutions, the General Elections Commission (KPU), and the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) are the institutions that are at the heart of political decision-making in Indonesia. This is because the strategic roles of the KPU and Bawaslu can determine the guaranteed fulfillment of citizens' political rights in elections. The KPU and Bawaslu act as implementers of policies for the Election Law, responsible for all stages of elections, supervising and even cracking down on violations that occur at every stage, and conducting socialization and electoral education. Women, as a group that is often subordinated and marginalized in decision-making processes and policies, it is important to be present and involved in it. Women's representation in these two election organizing institutions is very necessary to ensure the fulfillment of women's political rights as voters and eligible participants. Formally, increasing women's involvement in politics is encouraged through affirmative action not only in political parties and

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legislative institutions but also in election-organizing institutions such as the KPU and Bawaslu. Meanwhile, if we refer to Article 92, paragraph 11 of Law No. 7 of 2017 and Article 5, paragraph (3) of Perbawaslu No. 19 of 2017, it is clear that the composition of women's representation is as much as 30%.

Increasing women's involvement as election organizers is part of efforts to encourage women's political participation. The amount of women's involvement in elections can be influenced by policies and programs prepared by election organizers. Therefore, it is essential that election administrators consciously and proactively include gender in the analysis, planning, and implementation of all election processes and activities. In fact, in the recruitment process of the sub-district supervisory committee (panwascam) in the Sidoarjo regency, the number of women who registered was also small. We can see the number from the table below:

No.	District	Data	
		Man	Woman
1	Tarik	6	2
2	Prambon	9	3
3	Kremlung	8	2
4	Porong	7	2
5	Jabon	10	1
6	Tanggulangin	9	6
7	Candi	24	6
8	Sidoarjo	24	7
9	Tulangan	13	2
10	Wonoayu	9	3
11	Krian	17	8
12	Balombendo	11	2
13	Taman	8	4
14	Sukodono	16	8
15	Buduran	7	4
16	Gedangan	13	6
17	Sedati	8	4
18	Waru	13	4

Table 1. Number of Applicants for Prospective Members of Panwascam Sidoarjo Regency (Data Processed from Bawaslu Sidoarjo Regency)

Looking at the table, if the percentage is carried out, the number of female registrants in the recruitment of the subdistrict supervisory committee (panwascam) in the Sidoarjo regency is only 25.7%, not to reach the minimum representation of 30%. These results are certainly not the final number because after passing the administrative test, participants will take the stages of the written test and interview. From the results of the written test, participants will be filtered into 6 in each sub-district, who will then take the interview test stage. After the interview process is complete, each sub-district will net three people and then be appointed as panwascam Sidoarjo Regency. If, at the recruitment stage alone, it has not reached 30% female representation, it is very unlikely that at the time of the inauguration of the Sidoarjo Regency panwascam, there was a female representation that reached 30%. This can be seen in the table below:

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No.	District	Data	
		Man	Woman
1	Tarik	2	1
2	Prambon	2	1
3	Krebung	3	0
4	Porong	3	0
5	Jabon	3	0
6	Tanggulangin	3	0
7	Candi	3	0
8	Sidoarjo	3	0
9	Tulangan	3	0
10	Wonoayu	3	0
11	Krian	3	0
12	Balombangendo	2	1
13	Taman	3	0
14	Sukodono	3	0
15	Buduran	2	1
16	Gedangan	2	1
17	Sedati	2	1
18	Waru	2	1

Table 2. Number of Panwascam Members of Sidoarjo Regency Appointed by Bawaslu Sidoarjo Regency (Data Processed from Bawaslu Sidoarjo Regency)

Looking at the table, if the process is carried out, ¹ the number of women who are appointed as members of the Sidoarjo Regency Panwascam is only 12.96%. In other words, the figure of 30% female representation still needs to be met. Therefore, there must be a breakthrough and solutive steps from the Election Supervisory Board (Bawaslu) of Sidoarjo Regency so that later in the Panwascam recruitment process in the next period, the number of women's representation from the registration stage to the inauguration to become Panwascam members can step on 30%. Because indeed, increasing women's involvement as election organizers is part of an effort to encourage women's political participation. The amount of women's involvement in elections can be influenced by policies and programs prepared by election organizers. Therefore, it is very important that election administrators consciously and proactively include gender in the analysis, planning, and implementation of all election processes and activities. Election administrators who implement gender-sensitive practices and policies will be able to do far more to mainstream gender more thoroughly and meaningfully in electoral processes and activities. Thus, membership in the Panwascam of Sidoarjo Regency can certainly be wide open to women.

CONCLUSION

Both open and closed proportional systems have several advantages and disadvantages, but if the closed proportional system is actually implemented in the 2024 elections, then there are several things that will happen, such as the strengthening of political party oligarchy because the power within the Party has the right to determine who and what policies should be breathed in the government in this

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country and the constituents at the bottom will see a vacuum and empty in the election because they only vote for the logo parties without knowing who they voted for.

The implementation of an open proportional system is also not completely an absolute system. Because if this is still applied to the 2024 election, there will be a repeat of facts like the previous election, such as the high election costs incurred by legislative candidates to win the fight, the weakening of the function of political parties as political organizations in a country, and many produce representatives of the people who do not know the function of legislation.

Therefore, there needs to be an in-depth study from several parties, such as academics, practitioners, politicians, organizers, and Democracy & election activists, about what professional system is feasible to apply in the 2024 election. So that polemics between political parties at the elite level do not continue to be a discourse that confuses people at the lower level.

In other words, the sovereignty of the people in the implementation of elections is not curtailed so that the people in electing their representatives can be freely and secretly in a fair and open way.

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