

Nakhoda: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan Vol. 23 No. 2 (2024): 171-182 p-ISSN: 1829-5827 e-ISSN: 2656-5277

Gender and Politics: Analysis of the Low Representation of Women in the Election of Bawaslu RI

Gender dan Politik: Analisis Rendahnya Keterwakilan Perempuan dalam Seleksi Bawaslu RI

Raissa Kusuma Hapsari ¹, Anwar Ilmar ¹ ²

^{1, 2}Department of Political Science, Universitas Pembangunan Nasional "Veteran" Jakarta, Indonesia

Corresponding Author: raissakusuma@gmail.com

Abstract

This research aims to investigate factors causing the low representation of women in the recruitment of candidates for members of Bawaslu RI for the 2022-2027 period. The problem in this research is related to the recruitment of candidates for Bawaslu RI who have not met the 30% quota for women's representation as mandated in Law No. 7 of 2017. This research uses qualitative research methods with Norris and Lovenduski's supply and demand theory. The results of this research found that in the recruitment process, prospective female members still experience obstacles from the supply side and demand side. On the supply side, women still find it difficult to divide their time between domestic work and work in the public sphere, the time span for socialization is short while women need permission from their families to pursue a career, and it costs a lot of money to lobby and negotiate with factions in order to expand support. Next, on the demand side, it was found that the selection process is still gender biased. This is because the majority of DPR RI members prioritize male candidates over women, DPR RI also raises gender-biased questions to women, in the socialization phase registration is also only carried out to male-dominated mass organizations, and the regulations not set 30% female representation as an obligation. This research has urgency for the world of politics and elections, namely, to create a recruitment process in election organizers that is transparent, accountable and in favor of women.

Keywords

Bawaslu RI; Political Recruitment; Women's Representation.

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menyelidiki faktor-faktor yang menyebabkan rendahnya keterwakilan perempuan pada rekrutmen calon anggota Bawaslu RI periode 2022-2027. Permasalahan dalam penelitian ini terkait rekrutmen calon anggota Bawaslu RI yang belum memenuhi kuota 30% keterwakilan perempuan sebagaimana diamanatkan dalam UU No. 7 Tahun 2017. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif dengan teori supply and demand Norris dan Lovenduski. Hasil dari penelitian ini menemukan bahwa dalam proses rekrutmen, calon anggota perempuan masih mengalami hambatan dari sisi supply dan sisi demand. Pada sisi supply, perempuan masih kesulitan untuk membagi waktu antara pekerjaan domestik dengan pekerjaan di ruang publik, rentang waktu sosialisasi yang sebentar sedangkan perempuan memerlukan izin dari keluarganya untuk berkarir, dan membutuhkan biaya yang besar untuk melakukan lobi dan negosiasi dengan fraksi agar dapat memperluas dukungan. Berikutnya, pada sisi demand ditemukan bahwa proses seleksi masih bersifat bias gender. Hal tersebut dikarenakan mayoritas anggota DPR RI lebih mengutamakan calon anggota laki-laki dibandingkan perempuan, DPR RI juga memunculkan pertanyaan bias gender kepada perempuan, pada fase sosialisasi pendaftaran juga hanya dilakukan kepada ormas yang didominasi laki-laki, dan regulasi yang belum menetapkan keterwakilan perempuan sebanyak 30% sebagai kewajiban. Penelitian ini memiliki urgensi bagi dunia perpolitikan dan kepemiluan yaitu untuk menciptakan proses rekrutmen di penyelenggara pemilu yang transparan, akuntabel, dan berpihak kepada perempuan.

DOI: 10.35967/njip.v23i2.663

Check for updates

Submitted: 15 April 2024 Accepted: 5 July 2024 Published: 31 December 2024

© Author(s) 2024

This work is licensed under a
Creative Commons AttributionNonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0
International License.

Kata Kunci

Bawaslu RI; Rekrutmen Politik; Keterwakilan Perempuan.

1. Introduction

Public political participation is fundamental to determining the success of the realization of democracy (Sari & Hadi, 2023). Opportunities for Indonesian women to participate in politics have increased since the reform era began. Gender equality between men and women is an important pillar in achieving democratic goals (Novita et al., 2018). Women's representation in politics can be interpreted as a form of participation in the political process, where women play an active role in providing opinions and overseeing policy making so that their interests are accommodated at various levels. The main problem in women's representation in formal political institutions is the low representation of women in these structures. Women still do not get an ideal position in the political sphere (Wahid et al., 2021). This can be seen from a group of women who are less involved in various political processes, especially in decision making, where the results of these decisions often have a significant impact on them (Muslimat, 2020).

The low involvement of women in politics can occur due to several factors. In Indonesia, which holds a patriarchal system, there is still a view of society that classifies men's roles in the public domain and women in the domestic domain (Sugiharto, 2014). This patriarchal system can lead to gender inequality for women who want to have a career (Nuraeni & Lilin Suryono, 2021). The public mindset that still considers women unfit to be involved in politics can also hinder women's participation in holding elections (Talaohu, 2021). Apart from that, a cultural system that is discriminatory towards women can hinder women's participation in politics (Aula, 2023). Furthermore, one of the causes of unequal social construction of women is a misunderstanding of the concept of gender. Even though women's physical and body strength is often considered weaker than men's, this is actually not an obstacle for women to participate actively in public spaces, including in government structures (Fauziyah, 2015).

As a case in point, the reality of women's representation in the current election management institutions has still not reached 30%. In fact, there are already formal regulations written in Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning elections which explain that membership in election management institutions at various levels requires a composition of at least 30% female members. This regulation was created to eliminate gender inequality in political decision making and strengthen the role of women in the electoral process (Sukardin et al., 2023). Even though Indonesia has created an affirmative action policy, women's representation in politics is still not fully guaranteed (Gustina, 2022).

Women's representation in politics is often highlighted in their roles as legislative, executive, and political party administrators (Muharam & Prasetyo, 2021). However, there is only too little attention on women's involvement in organizing elections, especially as members of Bawaslu. KPU and Bawaslu are election management institutions which are the centers of political decision-making in Indonesia. The organization of elections itself is always related to the struggle for position and power (Sulastri et al., 2022). These two institutions have a very important strategic role in ensuring the fulfillment of citizens' political rights during general elections. Women's active participation in elections is needed to realize an inclusive and representative democratic process (Mahmudah, 2023). However, it is unfortunate that women's groups are often ignored in the decision-making and policy-making process, even though women have an important role to be included and involved in it (Sapitri & Alkadafi, 2023).

Puskapol UI highlights the fact that women's participation in the administrative process of recruiting prospective members of the KPU RI and Bawaslu RI for the 2022-2027 period has not reached 30% as required by law (Linawati, 2021). The percentage of women registering as prospective KPU members for the 2022-2027

period was around 27.6%, while those who registered as members of Bawaslu were only around 25%. From the percentage of administration, it can be seen that Bawaslu has fewer female applicants than the KPU. The low participation of women in registering as commissioners of election organizers will have a domino effect which can have an impact on the lack of opportunities for the election of female candidates at the next stage. This can be evidenced from the determination of the commissioners of the KPU RI and Bawaslu RI by Commission II of the DPR RI, which does not have 30% women's representation figure. In the 2022-2027 period, there was only one woman in all central electoral management institutions.

In 2024 a presidential election will be held (Pramelani & Widyastuti, 2021). One of the tasks of Bawaslu members for the 2022-2027 period is to accommodate the rights of women voters. Women's representation in the electoral management structure has the ability to convey women's aspirations related to elections and encourage their participation through things that men cannot convey. Women are expected to be agents who can represent the aspirations of women, which have been difficult to realize so far (Kurniawan et al., 2021). One of them is related to political rights, which include women's rights to participate in election monitoring (Daryono, 2021). Women's representation in the organization of elections is very important in running democratic, inclusive, and fair elections in terms of gender (Tambalea et al., 2023).

Results of previous research conducted by Amelia (2022) with the title *Problems* of Women's Representation in the Membership of the General Election Commission of the Republic of Indonesia shows that obstacles in fulfilling women's representation in KPU institutions arise from cultural influences, lack of knowledge, and experience of women in elections, and geographical problems. Similar research was also conducted by Nugraheni et al. (2023) entitled Gender Gap in Central Java Province Election Organizing Institutions. This research found that the problem of gender inequality occurs because of cultural and structural inhibiting factors for female candidates to occupy the seats of election organizers. These inhibiting factors need to be addressed immediately so that cases such as the study of Tambalea et al. (2023) entitled Women's Representation Policy in the Recruitment of Members of the General Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) of North Sulawesi Province in 2022 will no longer happen. The problem in this research is related to the lack of representation of women in the North Sulawesi Province Bawaslu membership in 2022, which is caused by the selection team's lack of subjective assessment of prospective female Bawaslu members and the lack of female participants, resulting in a vacancy in female figures.

There are several previous studies which see that women still experience various obstacles that have an impact on not fulfilling the 30% quota for women's representation, even though there are formal rules governing the composition of women in the electoral organizing structure. Previous research have mostly discussed patriarchal factors, cultural factors, and factors within women, which are actually not only that, the challenges of women to fulfill the 30% quota of women's representation can also be seen from the side expected by selectors from female candidates.

Based on the gap in the background above, the question of this research is "Why is the recruitment of prospective members of Bawaslu RI for the 2022-2027 period not yet meeting the 30% quota for women's representation as mandated in Law no. 7 of 2017?". This research aims to analyze the causes of low representation of women in the recruitment of candidates for Bawaslu RI members for the 2022-2027 period by using Pippa Norris and Lovenduski's supply and demand theory because the supply and demand theory not only looks at the internal factors possessed by female members but also from external factors, namely the selector's assessment of female

candidates. Thus, this research has urgency for the world of politics and elections, namely, to create a recruitment process in election organizers that is transparent, accountable, and in favor of women.

2. Methods

This research uses a qualitative approach which involves in-depth analysis techniques, analyzing problems specifically because qualitative research believes that each problem is unique and different from one another (Abdussamad, 2021). One of the qualitative research approaches is the case study approach. A case study occurs when the researchers investigated in detail a single entity or phenomenon (case) that is limited by the parameters of time, activity, and data collection during that period (Creswell, 1994). In this study, researchers chose the issue of women's representation as a limitation because women's representation is still a crucial problem in election management institutions. However, Bawaslu RI is the institution with the least number of female applicants compared to other election management institutions. The researchers limited this research to the 2022-2027 period, because this period is the least transparent due to the DPR RI holding closed plenary meetings, which is a different method from the previous period.

The objects of this research are elected female Bawaslu RI members, unelected female Bawaslu RI, the selection team, and members of the DPR RI with a locus in Bawaslu RI. This research was conducted for five months from January to May 2024. The data sources in this research used primary and secondary data. Researchers obtained primary data using the interview method. Primary data sources in this research were obtained through purposive sampling technique. Purposive sampling itself is judgmental, selective or subjective, reflecting a group of sampling techniques that rely on the researcher's judgment when it comes to selecting the units to be studied (Firmansyah & Dede, 2022). There are five informants in this research consisting of elected and unelected female candidates for Bawaslu RI members, members of Commission II DPR RI, Deputy for Administration of Bawaslu RI, and Perludem Researcher. Different from primary data, researchers get secondary data from collecting data by analyzing books, reports and journals related to the case being researched. The data analysis technique in this research uses a tracing process to develop and test theories by focusing on the causal process in a case. Research uses the stages of data analysis according to Miles et al. (2014) which consists of data reduction, data presentation, and conclusions drawing.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. Recruitment Process of Candidates for Bawaslu RI Members for the 2022–2027 Period

As the 2024 elections are expected to be inclusive of all groups, it is important to ensure that the election management structure prioritizes gender inclusion and equality. In achieving this goal, one of the crucial points is the formation of a selection team that considers women's representation and has a strong gender perspective. Apart from that, the commitment of DPR RI members is needed to adopt policies that support women's representation with the aim of the number of female members elected by Commission II of the DPR RI being able to exceed the previous period.

Table 1 shows several stages in the selection of recruitment of candidates for Bawaslu RI members. The number of applicants for Bawaslu members was 376 people, consisting of 282 men and 94 women. At the administrative stage, 277 people passed, consisting of 207 men, and 70 women. The next stage, namely written tests, paper writing, and psychological tests, which eliminated 14 men and six women. After that, there was a medical test conducted over four days and an

Table 1. Comparison of Man and Woman Graduation Percentages on the Recruitment of Candidates for Bawaslu RI Members for the 2022–2027 Period

Candidate Selection Stage Member of Bawaslu RI	Graduation Percentage	
	Man	Woman
Registration	75%	25%
Administration	75%	25%
Written tests, paper writing, and psychological tests	70%	30%
Medical tests and interview	70%	30%
Fit and proper test	80%	20%

Source: Kemendagri RI (2021)

interview test to screen candidates for Bawaslu members to be brought to the president. Then, the selection team handed over 10 candidates for Bawaslu members to the president consisting of seven male candidates, that is Aditya Perdana, Fritz Edward Siregar, Herwyn Jefler, Puadi, Rahmat Bagja, Subair, and Totok Hayrono and three female candidates, namely Andi Tenri Sompa, Lolly Suhenty, and Mardiana Rusli.

The next stage is the fit and proper test which is carried out in a hybrid manner and is open to the public conducted by DPR RI Commission II to explore the substance of elections and will explore the track record, capability, independence, and integrity of Bawaslu leadership candidates. Then, the next stage is the plenary meeting. If in previous periods the plenary meeting was held openly, then in this period the plenary meeting was held closed. Of course, this has invited disappointment from the public and several organizations due to the lack of transparency in determining the names of elected Bawaslu members.

Not only was the nature of the plenary meeting different in this period, but DPR also did not use an election mechanism based on majority vote or voting. Titi Anggraini, as the supervisor of Perludem, stated that the choice of the DPR mechanism without voting made it difficult to see the relationship between the coalition map and the results of the election of Bawaslu and KPU members. This is also supported by the statement of Feri Amsari, who is an academic at Andalas University, according to him, the mechanism without voting causes the process and results of the fit and proper test for prospective KPU and Bawaslu members to increasingly move away from the law. DPR is also considered to not have a clear basis for ranking, this is compounded by the failure to fulfill the 30% quota for women's representation (Sadikin, 2022).

During the plenary meeting, DPR discussed the results of the fit and proper test and agreed on the order of candidates for the RI Bawaslu members for the 2022-2027 term consisting of Lolly Suhenty, Puadi, Rahmat Bagja, Totok Hariyono, Herwyn Jefler Hielsa Malonda, Subair, Fritz Edward Siregar, Aditya Perdana, Mardiana Rusli, and Andi Tenri Sompa. The top five were officially determined to be elected Bawaslu members and announced during the plenary meeting. In the names of elected Bawaslu member candidates, there is only one female member who succeeded in occupying the position of commissioner, namely Lolly Suhenty. This is unfortunate because one of Bawaslu's authorities is to monitor women's representation in elections, but the institution itself has not been able to comply with the law which regulates 30% representation of women in membership (Tambalea et al., 2023).

This situation shows that although the involvement of women as election organizers has been formally guaranteed by the Election Law, efforts to fulfill the quota for women's representation in election management institutions still have several problems. The low representation of women in the composition of Bawaslu

members is related to the various challenges experienced by women in the recruitment process. Potential women resources are still exclusive to occupy public positions. This has an impact in terms of quantity, there are far more male applicants than women. Not only that, women also still face related internal capacity problems with education, experience, and electoral networks (Wardani & Subekti, 2021).

To answer the factors causing the low representation of women in the recruitment of prospective members of Bawaslu RI for the 2022-2027 period, this research will analyze the data found using the supply and demand theory of Norris and Lovenduski (1994). The core understanding of the supply and demand model is that candidate selection is an interactive process where both selectors and candidates mutually influence the results organized in several institutions (Lovenduski, 2016). On the supply side, researchers looked at the resources of time, finance, support networks, political experience, and motivation of female candidates. Meanwhile, on the demand side, researchers look at the social background in the form of occupation, education, gender, and age that the selector expects of prospective female members.

3.2. Supply Side

On the supply side, Norris and Lovenduski (1994) explain that there are two barriers and constraints which can be divided into two dimensions, such as resource barriers and motivational barriers. The results of the research by Norris and Lovenduski (1994) show that women who want to enter politics will face resource barriers such as time, finances, support networks, and political experience as well as motivational barriers such as a lack of drive, ambition, and interest in politics. Norris and Lovenduski believe that resources are a favorable asset for a political career.

Time is an influential resource because running for office will require attendance at social events, fundraising, public speaking, and attendance at meetings that require member contributions (Norris & Lovenduski, 1994). Researchers have found that one of the factors that prevents women from starting a career as an election organizer is that women need to divide their time between domestic work and work in the public sphere. Moreover, for married women, they need to get approval from their husbands and families to work as election organizers because a lot of time is sacrificed to carry out their duties and obligations as election organizers. The author also finds that the short time span for socialization can be an obstacle for women to participate as election organizers. The registration socialization itself was carried out in less than one month. This is considered as one of the inhibiting factors to enter the electoral realm because women need permission to start a career in election management institutions. Obtaining permission is a crucial aspect that women must overcome.

Apart from that, financial resources are no less important because the process selection requires a variety of quite large costs for training, accommodation, travel and research (Norris & Lovenduski, 1994). The author found that women need to prepare operational costs and accommodation while participating in the selection of prospective members of the Bawaslu RI. Apart from that, women also need quite a lot of money to hold meetings with factions in terms of lobbying and negotiations, even though factions prefer to compromise with men. Then, women tend to be more careful when committing acts of corruption because they consider morals, norms, and domestic pressures. This could be the reason why the faction prefers to compromise with men because men are easier to work with than women.

Not only are financial resources influential in the election process, but candidates who have an extensive network of supporters will also get more attention for their careers and have a greater chance of being placed in a favorable position to achieve office. This support can come from family, friends, and coworkers (Norris &

Lovenduski, 1994). Support network resources are the most powerful for achieving a position as a member of Bawaslu RI. This is because, at the fit and proper test stage, the faction no longer looks at the capacity of women but instead networks and connections to party elites that play a role. The following are factors that influence the low selection of women to become members of Bawaslu RI in support network resources. First, the selection process in the DPR is still colored by organizational background. It was found that men have a broader track record than women when it comes to organizing. This can be seen from the consistency of men who have been administrators of organizations since college until they became alumni. A track record when organizing is correlated with the relationships built with the elites in the organization, which can be a strong asset in convincing factions.

Second, not all women have political tools that can be used to lobby factions. Lobbying to factions does not have to be done directly by prospective members of the faction but can also be done through people who can convince the faction to support one of the candidates. Third, employment status when participating in Bawaslu RI recruitment also influences building connections with factions. Women who have the status quo as election organizers have stronger connections with factional elites than women who have been separated from the position of election organizer when registering as candidates for members of the Bawaslu RI. Lastly, the faction will reduce support for women with a track record of having conflicts with the faction while serving as election organizers. Women need to create good relations with factions during their tenure as election organizers by not making things difficult for factions and building good communication with factions.

In addition to support networks, another important aspect is also political experience because members who have served in public positions are expected to expand their political expertise, speaking skills, practical understanding of governance, and social networks that can be useful in obtaining office (Norris & Lovenduski, 1994). From the results of the author's research, the three female candidates for Bawaslu RI who passed the ranking in the top 10 have experience in the field of elections and have been actively involved in the organization since college. However, the author found that the political experience of women and men is not a consideration for the DPR when supporting a candidate. In another sense, even though women have political experience in elections and good organization, this becomes no longer valuable when they enter the fit and proper test stage. Women's closeness to elites in the DPR is more visible than women's political experience.

The above work background can be correlated with the candidate's motivation to register for a public position (Purwanto, 2020). Motivational resources are defined by Norris and Lovenduski (1994) as a psychological predisposition to become involved in politics. Lack of motivation and encouragement for women to develop themselves by being resigned to the situation, low self-esteem, and perceived dependence can hinder the drive to be independent (Muslimat, 2020).

The author found that women have the desire and motivation to be active as part of election organizers. However, many factors remain to be considered when becoming a national election organizer. Women need to have a strong political network to get support while participating in Bawaslu selection, while not all women have access to political elites in the DPR. Apart from that, the costs incurred to undergo the selection process are also not small; this will be an additional burden for women who are not the primary breadwinners. Not only that, permission from the family to have a career as a national election organizer is also important because it will take up time. At the same time, women are not free from domestic burdens.

3.3. Demand Side

The nomination stage involves the supply of qualified candidates and the demand of selectors as they decide who to nominate as a candidate. The outcome of the political contest reflects the demands of the demand side, namely who selectors want or expect to participate in the contest (Norris & Lovenduski, 1994).

The demand side assumes that selectors choose candidates for politics based on their assessment of potential candidates. The assessment is seen from the candidate's social background in the form of occupation, education, gender, and age. All of these indicators have different assessment weights. On the demand side, selectors tend to choose candidates who come from professional occupations such as lecturers, lawyers, businessmen, and politicians rather than from the blue-collar working class because they are seen as people who are less capable and articulate (Norris & Lovenduski, 1994).

The author found that all the top 10 candidates for Bawaslu members came from professional occupations such as politicians, lecturers, teachers and journalists. However, the work background of prospective Bawaslu members is not the main factor in the fit and proper test (FPT) process. Experience as an election organizer can be an additional point in the administrative selection stage by the selection team (Timsel). However, more emphasis is placed on aspects of the political process at the fit and proper test stage. Therefore, work background is no longer a priority at this stage, and the political process becomes more influential in selecting candidates for Bawaslu members.

In addition, selectors tend to choose candidates who have a higher level of education. This is reinforced by the fact that a higher level of education is often associated with a higher social status and a tendency to be superior and qualified (Norris & Lovenduski, 1994). A person's level of education can have an influence on participation in politics (Hasanuddin et al., 2021).

In the data on the educational history of female Bawaslu member candidates ranked in the top 10, it was found that two female candidate members had a master's level of education, and one female candidate had a doctoral degree. However, the female candidate with a doctoral degree failed to become a member of Bawaslu. On the other hand, of the seven prospective male members, five have a doctoral degree, one has a master's degree, and another has a bachelor's degree.

The author found that only two of the five male candidate members with a doctoral educational background were selected. Meanwhile, male candidates with master's and bachelor's degrees beat those with doctoral degrees. The author found that education level was not a consideration for factions in supporting a candidate. This can be proven by selectors who prefer male candidate members who have a bachelor's degree compared to female candidates who have a doctoral degree.

Something that is no less important is gender. Gender has a significant impact on the recruitment process with the prejudice that the abilities of female candidates are still less superior than male candidates. Thus, selectors are more inclined to choose male candidates than female candidates (Norris & Lovenduski, 1994).

The author found several points that show that the recruitment process for prospective members of Bawaslu RI for the 2022-2027 period is still gender-neutral and does not prioritize the issue of women's representation. This can be seen in the interview stage, the DPR RI has the potential to raise gender bias questions that could harm the position of women. Questions regarding permission from husbands and families to pursue a career in politics are often addressed to female applicants. Apart from that, questions related to pregnant women because of the perception that pregnancy could disrupt work if elected as a commissioner (Linawati, 2021). Then, at the socialization stage, registration was only carried out for mass organizations,

which male members dominated, while female mass organizations or academics were still less involved. Thus, there is a challenge to ensure that the rules and selection process are not discriminatory and reflect a gender justice perspective (Puskapol UI, 2021).

The regulatory aspect is also one of the factors inhibiting the fulfillment of women's representation. The phrase "pays attention" in Law No. 7/2017 Article 92 paragraph (1) which reads "The composition of Bawaslu membership, membership of the Provincial Bawaslu, and membership of the Regency/City Bawaslu pays attention to women's representation of at least 30%" creates legal uncertainty and confusion in interpretation. The word "pays attention" can be interpreted as a requirement to be fulfilled or on the other hand an appeal to just consider only. These regulations are not yet strong because they do not stipulate 30% women's representation as an obligation (Patonangi, 2021).

Furthermore, support from female legislators in Commission II of the DPR RI is still very weak in fulfilling the 30% quota for women's representation in Bawaslu RI. Women's representation in Bawaslu RI was only fulfilled in the 2008 - 2012 period, where there were three female commissioners out of a total of five commissioners. This was because many female legislators at that time were strategic and vocal in providing support so that women's representation in Bawaslu could be fulfilled. In contrast to the female legislators who selected candidates for Bawaslu members for the 2022 - 2027 period, they ignored the mandate of Law No. 7 of 2017 by ignoring the importance of fulfilling the 30% quota for women's representation in the Bawaslu RI membership structure. This situation is further exacerbated by the few female legislators in Commission II. There are only four female legislators out of a total of 50 legislators in Commission II of the DPR RI.

Lastly, age is also important because younger candidates tend to be more motivated to achieve high positions in the political arena than older candidates. Younger candidates have sufficient time to build a track record in political activity, form a network, and gain experience in public service (Norris & Lovenduski, 1994).

Article 117 paragraph (1) letter b reads, "The requirements for becoming a candidate for member of Bawaslu, Provincial Bawaslu, Regency/City Bawaslu, District/City Panwaslu and Subdistrict/Village Panwaslu, as well as TPS Supervisor are at the time of registration being at least 40 years old for prospective Bawaslu members, at least 35 years old for prospective members of Provincial Bawaslu, at least 30 years old for prospective Regency/City Bawaslu members, and at least 30 years old for prospective Bawaslu members. 25 years for prospective members of District Panwaslu, Subdistrict/Village Panwaslu, and TPS Supervisors." These regulations show that the minimum age requirement for prospective members of Bawaslu RI is at least 40 years old.

The minimum age requirement for prospective members of election organizers can be an obstacle for young candidates to play a role in the electoral arena. According to Law No 40 of 2009 concerning Youth, youth are Indonesian citizens aged between 16 and 30. Thus, young candidates experience obstacles in nominating themselves and participating in contributing as members of Bawaslu. Young candidates generally have high enthusiasm, time to build experience, and fresh ideas that can strengthen electoral institutions. Unfortunately, the minimum age regulations in the Election Law limit young people's access to act as potential members of election organizers (Nugraheni et al., 2023). Although the selectors stated that they did not look at the age aspect, regulations have limited the age to 40 years to register as a prospective member of Bawaslu. So, in this case, age is irrelevant when recruiting prospective members of the Bawaslu RI.

4. Conclusion

In its implementation, the 30% quota for women's representation in the recruitment of prospective members of Bawaslu RI for the 2022-2027 period has not been fulfilled as mandated in Law No. 7 of 2017. This happens due to several factors which are divided into two sides, namely, the supply side and the demand side.

On the supply side, it was found that women still do not have the readiness of time, financial resources, support networks, and motivation. Regarding time resources, women still find it difficult to divide their time between domestic work and work in public spaces, and the period for socialization is short. Furthermore, women's financial resources require significant costs in lobbying and negotiating to expand support, and women need to prepare for costs during the selection process. Supporting network resources are still difficult for women to obtain because prospective female members do not have a strong support network to lobby with factions. Apart from that, in motivational resources, it was also found that women have the desire and motivation to be active as part of election organizers. However, there are many factors that women still consider when becoming national election organizers. Meanwhile, for political experience resources, the author found that the female candidate members who participated in this recruitment had good experience in elections and organizations.

Next, on the demand side, it was found that work background, education, gender, and age were not selectors preferences when selecting prospective members of the Bawaslu RI. It was found that work background was not the primary consideration for selectors when determining prospective members of Bawaslu RI. Prospective members with a history as election organizers will get additional points for selectors, but the political aspect is more influential during the fit and proper test. Apart from that, the level of education also does not affect the selection of female candidate members because selectors prefer male candidates who have a bachelor's degree compared to female candidates who have a doctoral degree. On the gender background, it was found that the votes of DPR members in supporting female member candidates were still small in number, women were still asked genderbiased questions at the interview stage, the registration socialization phase did not involve mass organizations or female academics, and the nature of the regulations did not require the fulfilment of the 30% quota for women's representation in the composition of Bawaslu membership. In terms of age, it was found that the minimum age requirement for prospective members of election organizers could be an obstacle for young candidates to play a role in the electoral arena.

References

Abdussamad, Z. (2021). Metode Penelitian Kualitatif (P. Rapanna, Ed.). CV. Syakir Media Press.

Amelia, C. I. (2022). Problematika Keterwakilan Perempuan dalam Pengisian Keanggotaan Komisi Pemilihan Umum Republik Indonesia. *Constitution Journal, 1*(2), 189–202. https://doi.org/10.35719/constitution.v1i2.33

Aula, M. R. (2023). Isu Gender Mengenai Keterwakilan Perempuan dalam Kehidupan Politik di Indonesia. Jurnal Politikom Indonesiana, 8(2), 186–201. https://doi.org/10.35706/jpi.v8i2.9859

Barokah, F., Maryanah, T., Darmastuti, A., & Hertanto. (2022). Disrupsi Politik: Peluang dan Tantangan Partai Politik Baru Jelang Pemilu 2024. *Nakhoda: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan, 21*(1), 1–13. https://doi.org/10.35967/njip.v21i1.273

Creswell, J. W. (1994). Research Design: Qualitative & Quantitative Approaches. Sage Publications, Inc.

Daryono, Y. (2021). Aspek Pendukung Affirmative Action Perempuan pada Anggota Bawaslu Provinsi dan Kabupaten/Kota di Jawa Timur. *Jurnal Adhyasta Pemilu, 4*(1), 89–107. https://doi.org/10.55108/jap.v4i1.47

Fauziyah, I. (2015). *Geliat Perempuan Pasca-Reformasi; Agama, Politik, Gerakan Sosial.* LKiS Pelangi Aksara. Firmansyah, D., & Dede. (2022). Teknik Pengambilan Sampel Umum dalam Metodologi Penelitian: Literature Review. *Jurnal Ilmiah Pendidikan Holistik, 1*(2), 85–114. https://doi.org/10.55927/jiph.v1i2.937

- Gustina, S. A. (2022). *Hak Politik Perempuan di Parlemen: Perspektif Hukum yang Berkeadilan*. Feniks Muda Sejahtera.
- Hasanuddin, Rizaldi, A., Marta, A., & Ishak. (2021). Kesenjangan Angka Partisipasi Pemilih: PILKADA Riau 2018 dengan PEMILU 2019 di Riau. *Nakhoda: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan, 20*(2), 143–151. https://doi.org/10.35967/njip.v20i2.219
- Kemendagri RI. (2021). Sebanyak 48 Orang Dinyatakan Lulus Seleksi Tahap II Bakal Calon Anggota KPU dan Bawaslu. Kemendagri RI. https://www.kemendagri.go.id/beritaArtikel/beritakemendagri?id=32110
- Kurniawan, R. C., Maulida, K., & Hertanto. (2021). Networking Institutionalism oleh Kaukus Perempuan Parlemen Lampung dalam Mengoptimalkan Kebijakan Gender. *Nakhoda: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan, 20*(2), 152–163. https://doi.org/10.35967/njip.v20i2.158
- Linawati, M. (2021, November 17). *Pendaftar Anggota KPU dan Bawaslu Periode 2022-2027 Capai 868 Orang*. Liputan 6. https://www.liputan6.com/news/read/4712909/pendaftar-anggota-kpu-dan-bawaslu-periode-2022-2027-capai-868-orang
- Lovenduski, J. (2016). The Supply and Demand Model of Candidate Selection: Some Reflections. *Government and Opposition*, *51*(3), 513–528. https://doi.org/10.1017/gov.2016.7
- Mahmudah, H. (2023). Perempuan dan Pemilu di Indonesia Perspektif Hukum Islam. *Sangaji: Jurnal Pemikiran Syariah dan Hukum, 7*(1), 68–82. https://doi.org/10.52266/sangaji.v7i1.1355
- Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldana, J. (2014). Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook. SAGE.
- Muharam, R. S., & Prasetyo, D. (2021). Pemenuhan Hak Politik Perempuan sebagai Pengawas Pemilihan Kepala Daerah Serentak Tahun 2020. *Jurnal HAM, 12*(2), 273–284. https://doi.org/10.30641/ham.2021.12.273-284
- Muslimat, A. (2020). Rendahnya Partisipasi Wanita di Bidang Politik. *Jurnal Studi Gender dan Anak, 7*(02), 131. https://doi.org/10.32678/jsga.v7i02.181
- Norris, P., & Lovenduski, J. (1994). *Political Recruitment: Gender, Race and Class in the British Parliament*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511598609
- Novita, I., Jendrius, Adnan, F., & Handoko, T. (2018). Eksistensi Komisioner Perempuan dalam Mewujudkan Kesetaraan Gender pada KPU Provinsi dan Kabupaten/Kota di Sumatera Barat. *Nakhoda: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan, 17*(30), 117–127. https://doi.org/10.35967/jipn.v17i30.7064
- Nugraheni, H. B., Sardini, N. H., & Alfirdaus, L. K. (2023). Kesenjangan Gender pada Lembaga Penyelenggara Pemilu Provinsi Jawa Tengah. *Journal of Politic and Government Studies, 12*(2). https://ejournal3.undip.ac.id/index.php/jpgs/article/view/38361
- Nuraeni, Y., & Lilin Suryono, I. (2021). Analisis Kesetaraan Gender dalam Bidang Ketenagakerjaan Di Indonesia. *Nakhoda: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan, 20*(1). https://doi.org/10.35967/njip.v20i1.134
- Patonangi, F. (2021, November 11). *Mendorong dan Mengawal Perempuan Penyelenggara Pemilu*. Puskapol UI. https://puskapol.fisip.ui.ac.id/she-leads-2021-komitmen-mendorong-dan-mengawal-perempuan-penyelenggara-pemilu/
- Pramelani, & Widyastuti, T. (2021). Persepsi Milenial terhadap Gaya Kepemimpinan Calon Presiden Tahun 2024. *Nakhoda: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan, 20*(2), 106–118. https://doi.org/10.35967/njip.v20i2.196
- Purwanto, S. E. (2020). Political Contestation of Hindu Legislative Candidates in the 2019 Election in Nusa Tenggara Barat. *Mimbar: Jurnal Sosial dan Pembangunan, 36*(2), 469–479. https://doi.org/10.29313/mimbar.v36i2.6633
- Puskapol UI. (2021, October 14). Pandangan Sri Budi Eko Wardani dalam Webinar "Seleksi Calon Anggota KPU RI dan Bawaslu RI Periode 2022-2027.". Puskapol UI. https://puskapol.fisip.ui.ac.id/sri-budi-ekowardani-dalam-webinar-seleksi-calon-anggota-kpu-ri-dan-bawaslu-ri-periode-2022-2027/
- Sadikin, U. (2022, February 17). *Permasalahan Pemilihan Anggota KPU Bawaslu Tanpa Voting*. Rumah Pemilu. https://rumahpemilu.org/permasalahan-pemilihan-anggota-kpu-bawaslu-tanpa-voting/
- Sapitri, I., & Alkadafi, M. (2023). Eksistensi Keterwakilan Perempuan di Bawaslu Kabupaten/Kota Provinsi Riau Periode 2023–2028. *Asas Law Journal*, 1(1), 59–72. https://asas-ins.com/index.php/alj/article/view/44
- Sari, A. E., & Hadi, K. (2023). Akselerasi Upaya Mengoptimalkan Partisipasi Politik Masyarakat dalam Menghadapai Pemilu Tahun 2024: Studi: Komisi Pemilihan Umum (KPU) Kota Blitar. *Nahkoda: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan, 22*(2), 207–219. https://doi.org/10.35967/njip.v22i2.555
- Sugiharto, I. (2014, August 21). *Perempuan Muda dan Partisipasi Politik*. Jurnal Perempuan. https://www.jurnalperempuan.org/wacana-feminis/perempuan-muda-dan-partisipasi-politik
- Sukardin, Suartini, & Lutfi, A. (2023). Implementation of Women's Representation As Members of the General Election Commission Based on Law No. 7 of 2017 on General Elections. *Jurnal Hukum Volkgeist*, 8(1), 117–122. https://doi.org/10.35326/volkgeist.v8i1.4714
- Sulastri, S., Lingganingrum, L., Ramadan, A. R., Angesti, T. H., Setiabudi, W., & Al-Hamdi, R. (2022). Model Kolaborasi Antar Stakeholder dalam Menciptakan Pemilu Ramah Lingkungan: Studi Kasus pada Pilkada Serentak DIY 2020. *Nahkoda: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan, 21*(2), 218–230. https://doi.org/10.35967/njip.v21i2.332
- Talaohu, A. R. (2021). Partisipasi Politik Kaum Perempuan dalam Pemilu Legislatif di Kecamatan Ambalau Kabupaten Buru Selatan. *Besterkunde: Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Pemerintahan, 1*(1), 15–28.

- Tambalea, L. P. A., Liando, D. M., & Monintja, D. K. (2023). Kebijakan Keterwakilan Perempuan Pada Rekrutmen Anggota Badan Pengawas Pemilihan Umum (Bawaslu) Provinsi Sulawesi Utara Tahun 2022. Governance: Jurnal Ilmiah Jurusan Ilmu Pemerintahan FISIP Unsrat, 3(1), 1–11. https://ejournal.unsrat.ac.id/v3/index.php/governance/article/view/47389
- Wahid, B., Ishomuddin, Wahyudi, & Kartono, R. (2021). Power Politics Contestation in Symbolic Relations of Tidore Local Leader Election. *Mimbar: Jurnal Sosial dan Pembangunan, 37*(2), 305–313. https://doi.org/10.29313/mimbar.v37i2.8286
- Wardani, S. B. E., & Subekti, V. S. (2021). Political Dynasties and Women Candidates in Indonesia's 2019 Election. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 40(1), 28–49. https://doi.org/10.1177/1868103421991144