



## Legal Review of Women's Representation in Elections 2024 (Case Study in Muna Regency, Southeast Sulawesi)

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### ABSTRACT

*Research purposes done namely: 1. For know and understand representation Woman in elections 2024 in Muna Regency 2. To find out what is hindering candidate legislative Woman in fulfil its representation . Research This held in Muna Regency , precisely at the Commission Office General Election (KPU) and Party Offices Politics , with use type study that is normative empirical . The data collection method used is studies documents , surveys field and interviews with use analysis descriptive qualitative . Based on results study can known: 1) Representation Woman in Election In 2024 in Muna Regency, the total number of candidates contesting legislature as many as 387 consisting of of 243 (62.79%) men and 144 (37.21%) women. Of the 15 parties contesting in the 2019 Election , the quantity legislative candidate Woman recorded as many as 166 (39.71%) and decreasing to 144 (37.21%) in the 2024 Election . This means that there will be decline representation women in the DCT by 3.65% in the 2024 Election . 2). 2. Obstacles candidate legislative Woman in fulfil its representation There are 3, namely : Double Burden Resistance , Double Burden Resistance Financial and Obstacles Quota without Cadres.*

**Keywords:** Elections, Legal Review, Muna Regency, Women's Representation.

### I. INTRODUCTION

Representation of Women in realm political based on Indonesian history has grow since the first Women's Congress in Yogyakarta 1928. Awareness political in form participation real and use rights Women's politics was also reflected in the 1955 elections where they own right choose and be chosen . Equal recognition women's and men's rights in life nation and state in Indonesia has recognized in a way firm . Recognition the set through various legal instruments and with ratify various convention that guarantees rights political they .

Law No. 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights, Article 6 states that system election general, party, election members of the legislative, executive and judicial bodies must make representation of women according to with the specified requirements. Affirmation right political Woman this is also proven with ratified Convention on the Rights of Women's politics (*Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women*) through Law no. 7 of 1984.

Development and progress participation political Woman No let go from history development elections in Indonesia are full of colored by dynamics change existing politics. During the Old Order , elections first held in 1955 and attended by many party politics . After 1955 election , there was vacuum in elections in Indonesia because There is change politics and change power government that is switch to New Order government . During the New Order era, there were 6 elections held with dynamics change system existing political parties . Since 1973 only there are 3 parties state-recognized political parties , namely Golkar, PPP and PDI with principle the sole Pancasila.

In 1998 it happened transition power from The New Order government to the Reform Order, which began open opportunity popping up party politics, and in 1999 it was held elections with participant as many as 48 parties' politics. Then in the 2004 election it decreased to 24 parties , in the 2009 election there were 38 parties national and 6 parties local follow contesting the 2014 election , 12 parties national and 3 parties local participate in contestation and in the 2019 elections there were 16 parties national and 4 parties local participate contesting .

Since the Reformation Order, this start There is desire expand participation political women in institutions politics . One of the breakthroughs that emerged For increase participation political Woman is enforcement action affirmation in groups Woman in politics . The reform era in Indonesia has open change sufficient politics means . Change the among other changes role system party and function party politics , improvement participation politics , change system elections and change institutional others , and the most progressive is progress and more openness opportunity Woman in the political arena .

For ensure progress women and opportunities more women big in political government , then since 1999 introduced regulations system affirmation of women a regulations that aim For reduce gender disparity and up to moment This Still used For netting Woman as candidate legislative .

System quota This Lots implemented in several countries that show disparity the gender is very strong such as in Latin American, Southeast Asian and South Asian countries. These countries has reform regulation elections in frame increase effectiveness enforcement quota . Even some countries use moves quota For advance Woman in activity political like quota in the list, reserved quota Where amount certain only contested by women . The rules This is solution institutions that strengthen legal framework for ensure right Woman in politics .

Efforts to improve efficiency quota Woman start appeared in the 2004 elections and as the foundation is Article 65 Paragraph 1 of Law No.12 of 2003 concerning Election . Content from chapter the is party political participant elections must notice representation Woman at least 30% inside submit candidates in the DPR and DPRD.

In order to strengthen guarantee representation women who don't only in the legislature , but target to organizer Election , then made regulations Law no. 27 of 2007. In Article 6 Paragraph (5) of Law no. 22 of 2007 concerning Organizer Election mentioned that composition organizer elections must notice representation minimum of 30% of women in all KPUs , both at the level national and area .

Other regulations in effort strengthening action affirmation Woman is implementation of Article 20 of Law No. 2 of 2008 concerning Party Politics . Regulation This real-real made For target to party political Where There is must political party For include at least 30% women to in establishment and management party politics at the level national .

While related with participation participant elections legislative , then based on Law No.10 of 2008 concerning 2009 Election , Article 53 accommodates minimum quota of 30% in nomination member legislative women . Even start The 2009 election was implemented zipper system in the candidate list legislative . This means that for every 3 candidates women , must there is 1 candidate women per region election ( electoral district ) or in draft theoretical called as a zipper system. System This Still maintained in the 2014 elections , even though rather different with 2009 where at least 30% of women still must There is However No based on the zipper system, meaning party allowed put women on number any order but still must fulfilled 30% in each electoral district .

Policy representation Woman in organization elections still continued in the 2019 elections . Based on Law No.7 of 2017 is stated in Article 173 Paragraph (2) concerning representation women 30% of management only applies at the level center . Meanwhile, Article 246 Paragraph (2) exists obligation party political in compilation of candidate list legislative There is representation women at least 30% and every there must be at least three names one woman.

In the Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Election , which became base implementation 2019 Election , Articles that regulate about 30% female candidacy the amount relatively more Lots compared to previously , namely 14 Articles. In its implementation , 16 parties political participant 2019 Election can fulfil 30% female candidacy in the list of Prospective Members Legislative (Caleg) as arranged in Article 245 and Article 246 Paragraph (1) and Paragraph (2).

*Second* , system patriarchy that still exists taking place at the party politics that tends to marginalize women in political areas . Therefore That regulations system quota women in elections become a very important breakthrough For reach representation politics . Argumentation This from One elections to elections No moved up to 21 % in the institution legislative . However thus sometimes party political violate provision said , so that Woman placed on number sorted below . Degree compliance party political For ensure representation Woman in compilation of candidate list legislative must accompanied by instruments important KPU regulations . Especially quotas Woman of course become demands For representation women in Indonesia since the reformation.

Party political must fulfil provision quota women and obedience on provision legislation the reflected in the 2019 Election where more from 30% of women become candidate legislative , that there are 4,774 candidates members of the Indonesian House of Representatives who are of the same type sex males (61.74%) and 3,194 (39.08%) were women . However from results 2019 elections , the KPU determined that 118 women had qualified to become member legislative of the 575 members of the Indonesian House of Representatives. Throughout history elections post- reform, representation Woman highest was in the 2019 Election , namely 20.52%. Meanwhile, in the period 2014 Election , representation women in the new DPR around 97 women (17.32%) of the 560 representatives in the DPR.

Improvement amount representation women are also followed by the results elections at the level local . As in Muna Regency , the number of candidate Members of the Muna Regency DPRD in the 2019 Election numbered 438 people with composition amount Woman as many as 177 people (40.41%) and men as many as 261 people (59.58%) from 15 parties politics , with total of 6 regions elections ( electoral districts ) in Muna Regency . In each electoral district , in general party political put cadres his daughter as regulated by Law no . 72017 where party political must fulfil provision 30% quota for representation woman inside selection legislative candidate and management party politics .

In the selection process in the party political naturally based on standards standard party and have stages selection in determination candidates who will proceed in something contestation politics, in particular as candidate member legislative.

## II . LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1 Overview

#### 2.1.1 Definition of Political Participation

Participation be one of principle fundamental from *good governance* , so that Lots circles put participation as an initial strategy in initiating the 1998 reforms. Participation originate from Language Latin that is *pars* which means parts and *capere* which means take role in activity or activity state politics . If combined means " take " section ". In the language English , participle or participation means take part or role . So participation means take role in activity or activity state politics ( Suharno , 2004).

Participation political is one of the aspect important something democracy . Participation political is characteristics typical from modernization politics , the existence of decision policies created and implemented by the government concerning and influencing life citizens , then citizens have the right follow as well as determine content decision politics . Therefore that's what it means with participation political according to Huntington and Nelson as quoted by Cholisin is activity citizens who act as the individuals in question For influence manufacturing decision by the government . ( Cholisin , 2007:150)

Next Ramlan Subakti give definition short about participation political as form participation ordinary citizens in determine all decisions concerning or influence his life . ( Cholisin , 2007:150)

According to Miriam Budiardjo , she stated that participation political in a way general can defined as activity somebody or a group of people to follow in a way active in life politics , namely with road choose the leader of the country and directly or No direct influence policy public ( *public policy*). Activities This covers action like give voice in election general , attending meeting general , to be member something party or group interests , holding connection (*contacting* ) with officials government or member parliament , and so on . ( Cholisin , 2007:150)

Democratic countries in general considered that participation its people more a lot , then will more good . In its implementation height level participation show that citizens follow and understand problem politics and want involving self in activities that . On the contrary , the level of low participation in general considered as less signs good , because can interpreted that Lots inhabitant No put attention to problem statehood . (Miriam Budiardjo, 2008: 369)

Temporary That a number of other experts define participation political as involvement in a way active ( *the active engagement* ) from individual or group to in the governance process . Involvement This covers involvement in the process of taking decision and valid opposition to government . (Fouls: 1993)

Herbert McClosky gives definition participation political as activities voluntary from inhabitant public through which they take part in the election process ruler , and in a direct or No directly , in the process of formation policy general . (Herbert McClosky, 1972: 252)

While Huntington and Nelson participate political as . Activities citizens who act as individuals , which is meant as manufacturing decisions by the government . Participation Can individual or collective , organized or spontaneous , steady or in a way peace or violence , legal or illegal, effective or No effective . (Huntington and Nelson, 1997: 3)

From the opinions expressed by the experts above can withdrawn conclusion that participation political is related matters with activity somebody or a group of people in matter determination or taking policy government Good That in matter election leader or determination attitude to policy public created by the government to be run , to be done in a way direct or No direct with method conventional or with non- conventional ways or even with violence .

#### 2.1.2 Understanding Recruitment Political

Study on recruitment political is something extensive and numerous studies factors that influence the process . Recruitment political ongoing in something clear order need sustainability in a way Keep going continuously in something institution . Recruitment terms more known in Language politics , and then adopted by the party political along with need party will support power from the people, with method invite and participate as well as in membership party the .

Recruitment Alone own reference time in the process , such as in the momentum of the election or regeneration management party politics . According to Ramlan Surbakti , recruitment political as selection and election or appointment somebody or a group of people to carry out a number of role in systems politics in general and government in particular . According to function This the more big its function while party political That is party single like in system political authoritarian , or party majority in the people's consultative body so that authorized For form government in system democratic politics . Function recruitment is function from search and maintain power . In addition function recruitment politics is very important for sustainability party politics . (Ramlan Surbakti , 1992:118)

Reviewing from opinion said , in recruitment politics in essence can interpreted as selection to individual or a group of people in placement position political in system political a country. Function recruitment In its application implemented by the party political customized with each mechanism .

Apart from that the recruitment political No only For fill in position political solely but other powers . In relation to to party politics , function recruitment is a very vital part . This due to If fail do function recruitment politics , parties political threatened sustainability . Therefore that , the party political need refreshment membership For can endure in maintain power politics in the eyes public .

According to Afan Gaffar (1999: 155), Recruitment Political is a filling process position political in a country, so that the system political can function himself with as best as possible , to give service and protection society . Meanwhile according to Czudnowski ( Sigit Pamungkas , 2011:91) defines recruitment political as a process where individual involved in roles political active .

More far , Gabriel Almond (Lily Romli , 2005:78) interprets function recruitment political as people's selection for activity politics and office government through appearance in communication media , to become member organization , nominate self For position specific , education , and exams .

From the statement above , the purpose from recruitment political is filling position political with involving participation public For play a role active in activity politics . Recruitment politics is also expected capable create something system politics that can give service and protection for society . For get matter mentioned , the actors involved in the most own excellent quality as well as through a selection process based on background clear background . The goal is so that the resulting recruitment For fill in position political capable become servant and protector society . This means articulation interest public can fought for .

## 2.2 Review about Women's Representation

### 2.2.1 Definition Women's Representation

Representation in a way general can it is said as representation something party to other party . This means in draft representation there is at least two actors main namely *representative* and *represented* . In connection with representation political or related with election general, Enrique Perruzotti from Tella University said that Representative (representative) is " ... *is someone who has been authorized to act with relative independence of the electorate* " which means someone who obtains authority for act with freedom relatively from the voters.

So that according to Perruzotti too, a representative No solely act on the will of the people he represents but the representative has freedom although relatively For consider and take action best . Representative No only follow just anything that becomes demands and desires from the people. For that's it required trust (*trust* ) from the people so that when determine policy , decision making decisions and in act , then people believe the representative that that's it is effort best done deputy for the people who voted for him .

In "*The Concept of Representation*" written by Hanna Pitkin (1967) it is explained understanding about representation but also differentiate various form existing representation . According to Pitkin , representation can identified with two things . First , regarding authority ( authority ) and the second not quite enough answer . Authority This often known with A delegation representation One parties ( individuals) or group ) to other parties . In other words it is giving his authority or his authority . Granting authority This then what becomes base action like What should carried out by the representative party . However , because authority This is the results obtained from other people, there are A mechanisms that must be carried out , namely not quite enough answer to those represented . So deep matter this , must capable interpret matter the with something a two- way relationship that is established where authority is given must accompanied by with not quite enough answer to those who give authority the .

Pitkin filed four things that are the pillars in the representation model , namely *representative* (who represents ) , *the represented* (who is represented ) , interests represented , and political context /setting . These four pillars own the spaces itself , where the representation sorted based on existing space . *Representative* always related to who represents somebody or group in it . *The represented* is the party it represents . Two other dimensions , namely interests represented and social settings politics , determining How pattern representation Can emerge and develop in spaces the .

Of the four pillars , Pitkin created two categories which became foothold in understand the representation model . First namely " standing " as " (*stands for* ) , namely A pattern relationships that are built Because party burdened not quite enough answer , and the second is " in action" replace " (*act for* ) , relation intertwined Because There is the party given not quite enough answer . " *Stand for* " in In its development , it has two kinds of representation models .

First , representation descriptive , this model more is form representation based on similarity ( descriptive ) , where the representative and the represented are the same own the same description . In the sense description to similarities certain for example a Woman represent his people in a forum. Second , representation symbolic , model like This is form representation based on relation symbols that exist in *socio- cultural* society . Symbolic model This means existence symbol certain things that become system trust and presence in life society that becomes daily life . For example figure customs or trust to something that exists in *socio-cultural* public local .

Another thing with representation model "*act for*" . Pitkin named it as representation substantive . A form representation that is always looking for the " content " ( *substance* ) of A existing representation . This model show something that becomes objective together so that achieved all interest from all parties . Substantive model representation This actually the representation model that becomes point reject in democratization that becomes objective from representation.



## 2.2.2 Policy Quota

Topics about quota Woman can is road good entry For look for what limits and enhances representation substantive women . In addition , the quota women are very close related with debate representation descriptive and substantive at the time linking policy quotas , representation , and effects from policy quota said . Quota Woman is amount or proportion chair or place in the list of parties provided for women (Stokes, 2005:77).

Idea main behind determination quota This is For ensure people Woman covered in politics (Dahlerup, 2007:78) and this also related to arguments that state that condition political with representation low woman is politics that is not democratic so that set quota will help correcting an unavoidable situation fair this . However argument this also gets opposition argument others who think quota no required Because situation political moment This has offer equal opportunity Good for Woman or men (Stokes, 2005:79) and determine quota will produce discrimination to men (Dahlerup, 2007:75).

The counter view argument the need quota Woman may So Correct If argument main built on focus on similarities chance with gender being the only one variables . Dahlerup (2007:74) said that there are another argument for the need quota that is not exclude argument equal opportunity , namely different interests and experiences need For covered in politics . Argument This based on assumptions that Woman as something group own differences and similarities interests and experiences compared to with people man and this need For articulated in politics .

A number of research in various countries (Chen, 2010:13) shows experience positive to this gender quota Where when happen improvement representation Woman it also turns out to increase expenditure government For welfare . Another study from India , for example (Pande and Ford, 2011:1) shows that that gender quotas have been influence *outcomes* policies . Some argument This push on the hook between quota with representation descriptive and substantive . Quota Woman only can ensure representation descriptive from women , but representation substantive from Woman implies Woman as something group own interest certain that they want represented .

## 2.3 Review about the KPU

### 2.3.1 Definition of KPU

Article 22 E of the 1945 Constitution , namely , " General elections are carried out by a commission election general ". The commission said with the letter (k) is interpreted that , the executor something election general Can just not the KPU as it is known now , can institutional in form other , but Law no. 12 of 2003, which has changed with Law no. 7 of 2017; Law , has mention with clear that the interpretation of " a commission election general ", namely Commission The current General Election There is . The presence of the KPU in 2001, Panwaslu 2003 and now Election Supervisory Agency bring up hope , at the same time question about the capabilities of the KPU and Bawaslu implementing a clean , honest , fair and transparent election process . According to the majority of observers and the public , the election institution This appreciated so high and believed capable .

Democracy Alone is instruments that have been This seen as the best in involving public in taking decision . But mechanism taking decision through Election become wasteful instruments , no efficient and not effective if followed by parties politics that is not quality . Therefore , in the verification process party politics by the Ministry of Law and Human Rights and Commission General Elections Commission (KPU) must based on Spirit simplify amount party politics ( political parties ) as efficient as possible maybe , so that elected political parties follow The 2009 election was truly quality ( Maswadi Rauf, 22 April 2008).

Socialization political aim give education politics which according to Joko J. Prihatmoko ( 2003: 180) is form and grow personality politics and awareness politics , as well as participation people's politics . Political education become very important For grow culture democratic in society. Education political of course task all over society , including institution education and family (Israr, 2003).

According to Joko J. Prihatmoko ( 2003: 183), participation political is activities with which individual can play role in life political its people , so that He have chance For give contribution in outline goals general life public said , and in determine means best For make it happen . While according to Arbi Sanit (1997:7), participation political is role as well as public in a way collective in the process of determining leader , creation wisdom public , and oversight of government processes . Elections become very important instrument in push involvement public in taking decision about Who those entitled operate organization namely the state of Indonesia, both within legislative institutions or institution executive .

Socialization politics , even though only about elections , but in more framework big related close with interest The Indonesian nation for create democratic government . Democratic government only come true if public civil strong or empowered . Activities socialization This No executed alone by the KPU. In general , all institution political play a role in socialization politics , among others is state institutions , Bapilu ( Supervisory Agency) Elections ) at the level national , Committee Supervisor Elections at the level district / city , and especially is parties politics . Therefore , the KPU must always weave communication with various agency government and with parties political participant elections .

The role of the KPU in socialization political confirmed in Constitution Election No. 22 of 2007 concerning Organizer General Election in Article 8 Paragraph 1 letter (q): carry out socialization about organization elections and /or related matters with duties and authorities of the KPU to society . Special for district / city KPUD , its role is in socialization confirmed in Article 10 letter (o): implement socialization about organization elections and /or related matters with duties and authorities of the district / city KPU to society . For operate assignments in the field socialization

said, in a manner KPU's structure has reach all regional and geographical levels because in each region it is formed abbreviation KPU's hands. In the provincial area There is a Provincial KPUD in the Regency / City area formed by district / city KPUD, at the sub- district level PPK ( Committee) was formed Election Subdistrict ), at the village/ sub-district level there is a PPS ( Committee) voting ). At the time collection votes, in each TPS there is a KPSS ( Voting Group) Organizer Voting ). Meanwhile For collection overseas voting is carried out by PPLN ( Voting Committee ) Foreign Collection ).

Various aspects that must be socialized to public voters related with Elections among others namely : benefits election, names of participants election, invitation For give voice later on collection voice, manners election, schedule elections, especially at the stage campaign, procedures voting, schedule collection sounds and announcements results calculation voice. Messages in activity socialization need done in a way interesting, *informative*, simple, and easy understood. Social media can done in form simulation voting, or with install advertisement service society in print and electronic media, advertising *outdoor* ( outside) room ) with install banners and billboards in places strategic, distribution brochures, stickers, and so on. For carry out socialization elections, the KPU adheres to the Code of Ethics Executor General elections.

### 2.3.2 KPU Regulations

KPU that was conceived in a way law and politics different with the previous KPU (1999) for organize Election with different systems compared to Elections in the New Order era and the 1999 elections, clearly carry out hope big from powers civil (pro democracy) for become independent organizers, so that capable maintain a fair, just and transparent process with results that the people trust. Only with that is the authority and independent institution Election can create institutions more representatives of the people quality in one side, and keep the continuity of the ongoing democratic process built on the other side (Sudarsono 2005: 122).

KPU is the organizing institution elections that are guaranteed and protected by the 1945 Constitution, and because That categorized as state institutions that have what is called with *constitutional importance* ( Jimly 2006: 235). As an important institution, in the 1945 Constitution Article 22E paragraph (5) the KPU is emphasized nature national, permanent, and independent ( independent ) degree its institutions The same with other state institutions were formed with Constitution.

Independence has become universal principles for institutions that were formed For carry out Elections, monitoring government, or institution investigation on error or crimes committed by the government (*Government*) or agents government (*state agent*). Dean Gottehrer, international Ombudsman consultant state that, independence is the most essential principle Because determine continuity, function, utilization, position and facilities institution concerned.

Independent nature the relatively has explained in the several articles in Law no. 22 of 2007 which is legal framework for three aspect independence intended. Independence structurally confirmed in the 1945 Constitution above, in particular relatively has also guaranteed by Law no. 22 of 2007 to in several Articles. First, in Article 15 Article (3) which state that KPU in carry out his duties convey report in stage organization Election to President and DPR. The report referred to in Article This No in understanding accountability, but more is giving information to state institutions related. Second, in Article 16 paragraph (3) which states that Chairman and Deputy chairman chosen from and by members. So it's not determined or appointed by other institutions.

Independence functional can read in Article 25 which give authority institutional set plans, organization and work procedures Elections, control Election, determine participant Election, determine area election, determine time, setting results Elections, and carry out authority others that arranged law. Meanwhile explicit personal independence clear in conditions become member The KPU arranged in Article 18, among others others, for example: have integrity personal strong, honest, and fair. Have commitment and dedication to success Election, its upholding democracy and justice, no become member or administrator party politics; and No currently occupy position politics, position structural and position functional in state office.

The KPU's mandate to organize Election in the transition era to be more Good compared to The 1999 election was indeed very difficult. Hence the controversy. about level trust Lots circles towards the KPU from ( especially ) politicians (DPR) is very noticeable, until ratification Law no. 22 of 2007 which regulates organizational and authority KPU is very too late. Point that very tough debated is regarding the "principle" independence KPU" and supervision Election ( Bivitri 2012: 8).

existing KPU regulations in Indonesia have start accommodate women's interests, things This start with Constitution Number 68 of 1985 concerning Ratification The Convention on the Political Rights of Women became runway struggle the dream of real existence. Struggle start meet point bright with ratification Constitution Number 12 of 2003 concerning Elections for the DPR, DPD, and DPRD, which are in Article 65 states:

Every Party Political Participant Election can submit candidate members of the DPR, Provincial DPRD, and Regency /City DPRD in each electoral district with notice representation Woman at least 30%.

along with matter That 's the struggle of women For state himself in realm political increasingly massive associated on the agenda, until give birth to regulations elections, namely Regulation Commission General Election

(PKPU) Number 20 of 2018 concerning Nomination Members of the People's Representative Council , Provincial People's Representative Council , and Regency /City People's Representative Council .

Regulation Commission General Election (PKPU) Number 20 of 2018 with firm support improvement participation women in parliament through Article 6 paragraph (2); In the case of calculation of 30% ( three tens percent ) amount will candidate women in every electoral district produce number fractions , done rounding to above , and paragraph (3) In the case of Party Political No can fulfil submission of 30% ( three tens percent ) amount will candidate women in every Electoral districts and placement list of candidates and submissions will candidate members of the DPR, Provincial DPRD , and Regency /City DPRD in the relevant electoral district No can accepted .

Future Woman the more threatened post inaugurated regulations latest revised method organization the upcoming 2024 elections , namely PKPU Number 10 of 2023 concerning Nomination Members of the People's Representative Council , Provincial People's Representative Council , and Regency /City People's Representative Council . Article 8 paragraph (2) explains : if calculation of 30% ( three tens percent ) amount will candidate women in every electoral district produce number two decimal places behind coma worth :

- a) less from 50 ( fifty ), then results calculation done rounding to below ; or
- b) 50 ( fifty ) or more , then results calculation done rounding to on .

System rounding as stated in Article 8 paragraph (2) of PKPU No. 10 of 2023, has the potential lower amount candidate legislative women in the area election .

Through regulation This , the KPU claims that system rounding latest as method very efficient calculations , so that eliminate sanctions considered No give impact whatever for stability political national . Condition the as if positioning Woman as *garnish* on plate , representation Woman solely decorate parliament without truly create impact real . In addition , some big women in parliament No originate from circles activist social and thinker critical , but rather originate from family politics , conglomerates , and artists are thick of political dogma pragmatic . ( Nurhidayatullah , 2023: 9)

That matter naturally the more weaken position women in parliament , want No Want to Woman pawn people's needs in order to practice interest elite behind they . Representation Woman as if become action affirmative action aimed at For complete gap past regulation (Fata, 2014). In fact , efforts the increasingly make things worse gaps that occur , success negotiation elites in parliament become incision performance for democracy . Through lobbying and negotiation , elite succeed crack its wings without need employ Lots women in parliament .

### III. RESEARCH METHOD

#### Research Location

As for the location selected research located in the jurisdiction Muna Regency , namely precisely at the Muna Regency KPU Office and the Party Office Political Muna Regency , Southeast Sulawesi Province , author choose location research in Muna Regency with consideration that location study relevant with problems that will investigated author . Research This have object law , good law as something knowledge or rules of a nature dogmatic and related laws with behavior and life society . According to opinion Soerjono Soekanto , 2006:15) research law is something activity scientific , which is based on the method systematics and thinking certain purposes For learn One or a number of symptom law certain with method analyze it .

#### 3.2 Types and Sources of Data

Data sources used in study This are primary data and secondary data .

1. Primary data is data obtained directly in the field by researchers as object writing . This data obtained through interview as supporters study This is accompanied by data from the KPU of Muna Regency , Southeast Sulawesi Province , which includes information representation women in elections 2024 .
2. Secondary data is data that is not direct provide data to researchers , for example study must through other people or look for through document . This data obtained with use studies literature conducted to Lots books and obtained based on related notes with research , using the data obtained from the internet.

#### Data Collection Techniques

Based on approach problems and data sources needed , then data collection in study This done with studies library , study documents , as well as interview . After do data collection, next processing so that the data obtained used For analyze the problems being researched in general done with method:

- a) Data checking ( *editing* ),
- b) Data reconstruction ( *reconstructing* ),
- c) Data systematization ( *systematizing* ),

### IV. RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

#### 4.1 Representation of Women in Election 2024 in Muna Regency

Representation women in the structure institution political government addressed For overcome gender inequality . Based on Projection data Population of Indonesia 2010-2035, from a total of 261.9 million population of Indonesia in

2017, population his daughter totaling 130.3 million soul or around 49.75 percent from population. Unfortunately, the size population Woman the No balanced with representation women in parliament. Proportion women in the DPR seats are far more A little when compared to with proportion men. This kind of gender inequality This need overcome with a series policy purposeful affirmation For avoid domination from one of type sex in institutions politics and government, which is in fact will formulate policy public. Strengthening policy affirmative 30% representation Woman through The KPU Law and Regulations become important Because regulation the become Power force for party political For fulfil his responsibility as contestants election. Basis for determination the figure of 30% is results study from Union The United Nations (UN) stated that minimum amount of 30 percent allows occurrence something change and bring impact on quality decisions taken in institutions public.

Efforts to increase role Woman is with publish a series regulation legislation that can ensure improvement representation Woman in the chair legislative. Regulations that govern involvement political Woman among them Constitution Number 31 of 2002 concerning Party Politics; Law Number 12 of 2003 concerning General Election; Law Number 2 of 2008 concerning Party Politics; Law Number 10 of 2008 concerning General Election of Members of the People's Representative Council, Regional People's Representative Council which also regulates elections 2009.

Law no. 2 of 2008 contains policies that require party political include representation women at least 30% in establishment and in management at level center. Party political in a way conceptual own function present leader, so that in himself attached function recruitment politics. Based on Law No. 2 of 2008, Article 11 Paragraph (1), namely letter (e): "Recruitment political in the process of filling position political through mechanism democracy with notice gender equality and justice". Principles gender equality, in particular arrange about role Woman in political parties, can seen in Article 2 Paragraph (5) of Law No. 2 of 2008 which stipulates: "Management party political level center as referred to in paragraph (3) is compiled with include at least 30% (three tens percent) representation women. Article 20 of Law No. 2 of 2008 states, "Management party political level provinces and districts / cities as intended in Article 19 Paragraph (2) and Paragraph (3) are drawn up with notice representation women as low as 30% (three tens percent) which is regulated in AD (budget) basic) and ART (budget) House ladder) Party Each person's politics".

Law No. 10 of 2008 states that party political For Can become participant elections must fulfil appropriate requirements with Article 8 Paragraph (1), one of them is point (d) namely: "include at least 30% (three tens percent) representation women in management party political level center". Article 53 of the Law Election Legislative it also states: "the list of potential candidate as intended Article 52 contains at least 30% representation women". More Article 66 Paragraph (2) of Law No. 10 of 2008 also states: "The KPU, Provincial KPU and Regency /City KPU announce percentage representation Woman on the list of candidates still party their respective politics in the mass media print daily national and mass media electronic national."

So Law no. 2 of 2008 and Law no. 10 of 2008 confirms that party political new can become contestants elections if comply condition include at least 30% representation women in management party political level center, list of candidates candidate. Regulations other is with apply *zipper system* that regulates that every 3 seeds candidate there is at least one woman.

Constitution Number 2 of 2011 Concerning Changes to the Law Number 2 of 2008 concerning Party Political arrange more details involvement Woman in political that is in Article 2 and Article 2 Paragraph (5) which states: Article 2 Paragraph (1): Party Political established and formed by at least 30 (three) Indonesian citizens who have aged 21 (twenty) one year or Already Marry from every province. Article 2 Paragraph (2): Establishment and formation Party Political as referred to in paragraph (1) includes 30% (three tens percent) representation Woman. Article 2 Paragraph (5): Management Party Political level center as referred to in paragraph (2) is compiled with include at least 30% (three tens percent) representation Woman.

Law no. 8 of 2012 Concerning General Election of Members of the People's Representative Council, Regional Representative Council, and Regional People's Representative Council, Article 54 states: that the list will be candidate load at most 100% of amount chairs on each area election. Furthermore, Article 55 states that the list will be candidate contains at least 30% representation women, plus with provisions of Article 56 Paragraph 2 that every three people will candidate there is at least one woman will candidate.

Law No. 7 of 2017 also states in Article 173 Paragraph 2 (e) that party political can become participant elections after fulfil include at least 30% (three tens percent) representation women in management party political level center; Article 252 Paragraph 6 which states that: "The KPU, Provincial KPU and Regency /City KPU announce percentage representation Woman on the list of candidates temporary party their respective politics in the mass media print daily national and mass media electronic national; Article 257 Paragraph 2: "The KPU, Provincial KPU, and Regency /City KPU announce percentage representation Woman on the list of candidates still party their respective politics in the mass media print daily national and mass media electronic national".

KPU as implementer technical provision Constitution through Regulation Commission General Election (PKPU) regulates that at every area election must contains at least 30% women will candidates. Referring to Article 253 Paragraphs 2, 3, and 4, the list of prospective candidate valid for the DPR, provincial DPRD, and district / city DPRD. If the party political No meet the list of candidates candidate as arranged means No Can submit legislative candidate For follow regional elections election concerned.



Decision of the Indonesian General Elections Commission No. 876/PL.01.4-Kpt/06/KPU/VII/2018 concerning Guidelines technical Submission and Verification Members of the DPR, Provincial DPRD , Regency /City DPRD also include condition in SILON mandatory fulfil representation women at least 30% ( three tens percent ).

Decision of the Indonesian General Elections Commission No. 961/PL.01.4-Kpt/KPU/VII/2018 concerning Technical Instructions for Changes , Preparation and Determination of DCS and DCT for Members of the DPR, Provincial DPRD , Regency /City DPRD contain regarding replacement candidate still to party political Because must fulfil provision 30% quota will be candidate women and their placement in every electoral district . The KPU also issued PKPU RI Regulation No. 20 of 2018 concerning Nomination Members of the DPR, Provincial DPRD, Regency /City DPRD in Article 6 Paragraph (c) are stated that on the list of candidates mandatory candidates load representation women at least 30% ( three tens percent ) in each Electoral District ; Article 6 Paragraph 1 (d) states that in every 3 ( three ) people will candidates on the candidate list as referred to in letter (c) is mandatory there is at least 1 ( one ) person who will candidate Woman ; Article 6 Paragraph 2 is stated that in matter calculation of 30% ( three tens percent ) amount will candidate women in every electoral district produce number fractions , done rounding to on .

Argumentation importance representation Woman is in the " *presence* " of women in a way descriptive and substantive . Presence Woman in a way descriptive shown in the number certain Woman registered as candidate legislative and selected as member legislative . In substantive presence women in parliament give authority to Woman For make friendly policies to interest women . In seeing representation Woman in nomination There is a number of variables important things that are worth reviewed , including : compliance party to mandate 30% quota for women , placement in the area selection , placement number massage .

In the 2024 Election in Muna Regency , all party political comply policy Law and PKPU regarding representation women at least 30%. All party capable fulfil condition minimum quota of 30% women in candidacy in the 2024 Election . The following table composition Woman in candidacy in Muna Regency in the 2024 Election .

**Table 1** DPRD Candidate Data in Muna Regency for the 2024 Election

No	Party political	2024 Legislative Candidate				
		Σ L	L%	Σ P	P%	Total
1	Party Resurrection Nation	20	66.67%	10	33.33%	30
2	Great Indonesia Movement Party	20	66.67%	10	33.33%	30
3	Party Indonesian Democracy Struggle	20	66.67%	10	33.33%	30
4	Party Functional Group	18	60%	12	40%	30
5	National Democratic Party	20	66.67%	10	33.33%	30
6	Party Laborer	3	60%	2	40%	5
7	Party Prosperous Justice	18	60%	12	40%	30
8	Party National Awakening	16	61.54%	10	38.46%	26
9	People's Conscience Party	20	66.67%	10	33.33%	30
10	National Mandate Party	19	65.52%	10	34.48%	29
11	Crescent Star Party	20	66.67%	10	33.33%	30
12	Party Democrat	19	63.33%	11	36.67%	30
13	Party Indonesian Solidarity	6	60%	4	40%	10
14	Party the unity of Indonesia	10	58.82%	7	41.18%	17
15	Party Development Union	14	46.67%	16	53.33%	30
<b>Total</b>		<b>243</b>	<b>62.79</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>37.21</b>	<b>387</b>

Based on Election 2024 in 6 electoral districts Muna Regency , total candidates contesting legislature as many as 387 consisting of of 243 (62.79%) men and 144 (37.21%) women . Party the most politics submit legislative candidate Woman is Party Development Union with proportion amounting to (53.33%) women . Meanwhile party the least politics submit legislative candidate Woman is Party National Awakening Party (33.33%), Great Indonesia Movement Party (33.33%) Indonesian Democratic Struggle (33.33%), National Democratic Party (33.33%), People's Conscience Party (33.33%), and Crescent Star Party (33.33%).

In the Election 2024 shows decline representation legislative candidate Woman compared to with The 2019 elections in Muna Regency . Of the 15 parties contesting in the 2019 elections , the quantity legislative candidate Woman recorded as many as 166 (39.71%) and decreasing to 144 (37.21%) in the 2024 Election . This means that there will be decline representation women in DCT by 3.65% in the 2024 Election .

**4.2 Obstacles for Female Legislative Candidates in Fulfilling Its representation**

Based on results study writer , low representation women in the Muna Regency DPRD in the 2024 Election , due to several reasons obstacle :

1. Double Burden Resistance

Double burden people Woman implied in: (1) role Work as Mother House stairs ( reflects feminine role), even though No direct produce income , seb method productive Work support people man ( head) family ) for look for income (money); and (2) play a role as seeker livelihood ( additional) or main ). Dual role Woman is role women in one party family as independent person , mother House stairs , parenting children and as wife , and on the other hand as member society , as workers and as citizens who are implemented in a way balanced .

Obstacle situational happen when gender stereotypes result patterns behavior so that There is different situations between man with women . The implications is hinder participation political women . Time and energy spent For responsibility domestic which becomes burden Woman often reduce women's enthusiasm entering the political realm . There is *a double burden* that must be faced women in the field politics , one side Woman sued career but still labeled with burden domestic . Women must accept burden double and always attached to politicians woman , meaning success No only in career political but must simultaneously with settlement task domestic and women means must bear burden double when career in the public sphere . Desire Woman entering the world of politics must face to face with gender problems .

Almost all party political feel the same difficulty in nominate women in elections Because obstacle those and factors this is what often happens cause Woman No so assertive to power politics . Obstacles This also faced by the Golkar Party , Muhammad Natsir Ido stated : " ...Women rarely want to So politician , answer they almost same , many things that happen consideration , women This right realized right have burden double , good as mother and one wife especially must jump to the world political Enough difficult for they For share time ..."

Party Democrats also face the same obstacles in get candidate legislative woman , Awal Jaya Bolombo state : "...It's a bit difficult For look for candidate legislative women , especially a mothers and wives who must look after children and husband , space his movements Certain limited , except for those that have not been Marry or *single parent...*"

Due to That usually women who have not Marry or single parent will more active Good in management party and in the legislative candidacy process . There is *a double burden* that must be faced women in the field politics , one side Woman sued career but still labeled with burden domestic . Obstacles this is what often happens cause Woman No so assertive power politics .

Structure social society that still based on values patriarchal make more difficult for Woman For search and maintain power . Structure social patriarchal consider that private domain as residence for women and public / politics as residence for men . So the separation structural between public and private own gender consequences .

## 2. Obstacle Financial

Women often face challenge in gather source Power sufficient financial For campaign politics . Compared with male Female often own more access limited to network financial and support necessary finances For nominate self .

Financial capital For financing elections often become obstacle Woman entering the world of politics . Dependence economy Woman often reduce interest political women , whereas needs , transportation and so on team his Enough siphon funds for legislative candidate in reach voters . Because of this That internal party policies in determination chair important For discussed back , even worthy checked whether improvement electability Woman has truly become part from internal party commitment , or only just fulfillment condition administrative just to fulfill 30 percent quota representation Woman as set Law . Dependence economy Woman often reduce interest political Woman .

For women who participate contest the most politics face obstacle financial and become problem the biggest they , moreover when his position is not independent in a way economy . For example look for candidate legislative women in the Golkar Party have problem financial or economy Because most Woman No independent in a way economy , no Work so that in a way financial hang his life to her husband ,

## 3. Obstacle Quota Without Cadres

Almost all party political capable fill in quota women , but representation women in the party political just as complement in fill in spaces empty . Whoever is willing For nominated , then Woman the entered For fulfil number unordered sequence filled . Moreover, per region elections ( electoral districts ) which are indeed require existence representation women . Party political No think whether worthy or no , Party No earnest prepare quota Woman in term long time , and in the process party No care about preparation improvement quality Woman . Women are made commodities For fulfil condition qualification party secretary Party Hanura , Ruslin state .

"... There are obstacles lack of cadre women , because lack of interest or enthusiastic about representation Woman make party enter legislative candidate Woman only limited to formality just ..."

Obstacle lack legislative candidates are also faced by the Golkar Party which is experiencing difficulty recruiting Woman become cadre and legislative candidates .

"... In the Golkar party itself if legislative candidate man man We selection in a way strict , different with legislative candidate women , in fact we who are looking for because We lack cadre women ..." said Muhammad Natsir Ido.

Beside That party politics with minimal cadres women . Formation party political No accompanied by availability cadre parties that result in confusion look for candidate Woman as legislative candidates .

## V. CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

### 5.1 Conclusion

Based on results research and discussion , then writer conclude that :

1. Representation Woman in Election In 2024 in Muna Regency , the total number of candidates contesting legislature as many as 387 consisting of of 243 (62.79%) men and 144 (37.21%) women . Party the most politics submit legislative candidate Woman is Party Development Union with proportion amounting to (53.33%) women . Meanwhile party the least politics submit legislative candidate Woman is Party National Awakening Party (33.33%), Great Indonesia Movement Party (33.33%) Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (33.33%), National Democratic Party (33.33%), People's Conscience Party (33.33%), and Crescent Star Party (33.33%). In the General Election 2024 shows decline representation legislative candidate Woman compared to with 2019 Election in Muna Regency . Of the 15 parties that contested the 2019 Election , the quantity legislative candidate Woman recorded as many as 166 (39.71%) and decreasing to 144 (37.21%) in the 2024 Election . This means that there will be decline representation women in DCT by 3.65% in the 2024 Election .
2. Obstacle candidate legislative Woman in fulfil its representation There are 3, namely : Double Burden Resistance , Double Burden Resistance Financial and Obstacles Quota without Cadres.

### 5.2 Suggestion

Based on results research and discussion as well as the conclusion above , then the suggestion in study This as following :

1. It is recommended to government in Muna Regency to Keep going make an effort push improvement representation Woman in contestation elections . Monitoring improvement representation women in the legislature and executive . Presenting clauses that encourage improvement representation Woman in elections .
2. Recommended to party politics in Muna Regency to distribute cadres Woman the best For participate at the level legislative and executive . Evaluate about representation Woman to party politics so that party more understand essence representation women , who do not just representation descriptive or symbolic but towards representation more women substantive . Increasing legislative candidate must accompanied by with develop competence and quality legislative candidate Woman so that in a way quantity Woman increase become member legislative .

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