



## Gender Equality in Women's Representation as Election Supervisors on the Island of Kalimantan: A Civic Education Perspective

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### ABSTRACT

*This study aims to analyze the representation of women as members of Bawaslu throughout Kalimantan using Dahlerup's critical mass theory and Anne Phillips' perspective of political representation. The method used is a mixed-methods approach, namely, quantitative statistical analysis of the proportion of female members in each district/city, as well as a qualitative study of structural and cultural factors that affect women's participation. The results of the study show that the majority of regions in Kalimantan have not reached the critical mass threshold of 30% female representation, and six regions have nonfemales members at all. The main obstacles found include a recruitment process that is gender-neutral but not responsive to women's needs, a lack of institutional support, and the dominance of patriarchal norms. Analysis with Phillips' theory confirms that the numerical presence of women does not guarantee substantive advocacy of gender issues without the support of an inclusive political environment. The scientific contributions of this study include: (1) the latest and comprehensive mapping of the level of women's representation as election supervisors in Kalimantan; (2) the integration of critical mass theory and representational politics to analyze the relationship between numerical presence and substantive advocacy; (3) an adaptive civic education intervention model to improve women's political literacy and self-confidence; and (4) data-driven affirmative policy recommendations to strengthen democratic integrity and political inclusivity in Indonesia. This study recommends strengthening gender quota enforcement, reforming recruitment mechanisms, expanding women's civic education, and implementing data-driven monitoring to promote meaningful women's representation in election oversight in Kalimantan.*

**Keywords:** Bawaslu; Civic Education; Critical Mass; Electoral; Women's Representation

### ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis representasi perempuan sebagai anggota Bawaslu di seluruh Kalimantan dengan menggunakan teori massa kritis Dahlerup dan perspektif representasi politik Anne Phillips. Metode yang digunakan adalah mixed methods, yaitu analisis statistik proporsi anggota perempuan di setiap kabupaten/kota secara kuantitatif, serta kajian kualitatif terhadap faktor struktural dan budaya yang memengaruhi partisipasi perempuan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa mayoritas daerah di Kalimantan belum mencapai ambang massa kritis 30% keterwakilan perempuan, bahkan terdapat 26 wilayah tanpa anggota perempuan sama sekali. Hambatan utama yang ditemukan meliputi proses rekrutmen yang netral gender namun tidak responsif terhadap kebutuhan perempuan, kurangnya dukungan kelembagaan, dan dominasi norma patriarki. Analisis dengan teori Phillips menegaskan bahwa kehadiran numerik perempuan tidak menjamin advokasi substantif isu gender tanpa dukungan lingkungan politik yang inklusif. Kontribusi ilmiah penelitian ini meliputi: (1) pemetaan terbaru dan komprehensif tingkat keterwakilan perempuan sebagai pengawas pemilu di Kalimantan; (2) integrasi teori massa kritis dan politik representasi untuk menganalisis hubungan antara kehadiran numerik dan advokasi substantif; (3) model intervensi pendidikan kewarganegaraan yang adaptif untuk meningkatkan literasi politik dan kepercayaan diri perempuan; serta (4) rekomendasi kebijakan afirmatif berbasis data untuk memperkuat integritas demokrasi dan inklusivitas politik di Indonesia. Penelitian ini merekomendasikan penguatan implementasi kuota gender, reformasi proses rekrutmen, pemberdayaan melalui pendidikan kewarganegaraan, dan monitoring berbasis data untuk mendorong keterwakilan perempuan yang bermakna dalam pengawasan pemilu di Kalimantan.

**Keywords:** Bawaslu; Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan; Critical Mass; Pemilu; Keterwakilan Perempuan

## INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is one of the countries with the most complex democratic systems in the world. In the general election, Indonesia held simultaneous polls for the Presidential and Vice President, Governor and Deputy Governor, Regent and Deputy Regent, DPR, DPD, DPRD Province, and DPRD Regency/City. Of course, the success of implementing this election is inseparable from the general election organizers, such as the KPU and Bawaslu. It is important to recognize that this role must examine women's representation in the political sphere. Women's involvement in the political process is important. One of the things that has received less attention is the representation of women as election supervisors, especially on the island of Kalimantan, which warrants a critical study of the fundamental factors contributing to this gap. This imbalance is particularly prominent given the important role of election watchdogs in upholding democratic integrity and ensuring a fair electoral process (Muharam et al., 2024). Despite formal regulatory guarantees on political equality, women globally continue to face significant inequalities in political participation, ranging from elected office to bureaucratic and election oversight roles (Iskandar et al., 2022). In Indonesia, despite progressive policies aimed at gender mainstreaming, there is still a substantial gap in the actual representation of women in leadership and oversight positions in the political sphere (Baharudin, 2022). This phenomenon is further exacerbated by deep-rooted patriarchal cultural norms that often relegate women to domestic roles and very little involvement of women in the political arena (Muharam et al., 2023). In addition, the construction of society often leads women to view politics as a complex, male-dominated domain, thereby contributing to women's apathy towards the electoral process and limiting the pool of female candidates for supervisory roles (Mutiarahmanika & Pakasi, 2023). In addition, the social construction of society often shapes the perception that politics is a complex, male-dominated domain, thereby contributing to women's apathy towards the electoral process and limiting the number of female candidates who apply for supervisory positions (Mutiarahmanika & Pakasi, 2023). A male-dominated political culture and gender stereotypes further strengthen perceptions and become a significant barrier for women to enter and develop in political institutions (Abdullah, 2019). Therefore, addressing systemic barriers requires a comprehensive approach that integrates effective civic education and institutional reforms to foster a more inclusive political landscape.

This gender gap in politics does not occur only in this country but also in several others. The Global Gender Gap Index in 2025 ranks Indonesia 97 out of 148 countries in gender inequality (World Economic Forum, 2025). The *World Economic Forum's results* underscore the ongoing challenges of achieving substantive gender equality despite legislative efforts, underscoring the need for women's representation in election supervision. Women's representation as election supervisors is regulated by Law Number 7 of 2017, which guarantees at least 30 percent female representation, but this. Still, thirteen not met in various governments, including Bawaslu (Muharam et al., 2024). The low representation of women is often attributed to a variety of factors, including the lack of resources for women involved in electoral institutions. This gender-neutral selection process inadvertently harms women and, in addition, equates women's knowledge of the electoral process with that of men (Mutiarahmanika & Pakasi, 2023). In addition, the lack of understanding of gender in the political system, limited political networks, and the burden of risk felt by female supervisors also contribute to the frequent disparities (Muharam et al., 2024). In addition, women are expected to play a role in both work and domestic affairs, which is often seen as a burden (Pradhanawati et al., 2024). This perpetuates a cycle in which women are underrepresented politically, usually leading to election-related political blindness and hindering the realization of gender equality in institutions such as Bawaslu (Mutiarahmanika & Pakasi, 2023).

The issue of women's representation requires comprehensive civic education initiatives that equip women with the knowledge and skills necessary for active participation in election surveillance. The implementation of affirmative policies, such as gender quotas, has been identified as an important tool for addressing these disparities and increasing women's involvement in politics, including oversight functions. Although there are quota provisions, especially the affirmative quota of 30% for women in electoral institutions, optimal implementation still faces considerable challenges, especially at the district and city levels within the scope of the Election Supervisory Commissioner (Muharam et al., 2023; Mutiarahmanika & Pakasi, 2023). This shortcoming highlights systemic problems in the selection process and hinders fair representation of women, even though women's representation rules are in place (Muharam et al., 2024). This often stems from a gender-neutral recruitment process that ignores the specific needs and challenges faced by female candidates, coupled with a prevalent patriarchal societal understanding that diminishes women's political agency (Muharam et al., 2024; Mutiarahmanika & Pakasi, 2023). Examining the barriers and effectiveness of affirmative action policies is critical to achieving gender equality in election surveillance (Lestari et al., 2021; Muharam et al., 2023; Muharam et al., 2023; Mutiarahmanika & Pakasi, 2023).

This study aims to investigate specific challenges and opportunities in efforts to increase women's representation as election supervisors across the island of Kalimantan. Drawing on a civics education perspective, this study proposes actionable strategies to achieve greater gender balance in election supervision. The main focus of the research is identifying factors that hinder and support women's participation, highlighting the importance of empowerment through comprehensive citizenship education. Thus, the results of the analysis are expected to make a significant contribution to strengthening democracy's integrity and to encouraging the creation of a more inclusive political system in Kalimantan. This research will investigate the social and structural barriers, including prevalent stereotypes about politics as a masculine realm and the lack of support for women's political involvement, that inhibit women's participation in these crucial roles.

This analysis highlights how societal perceptions of politics as a male-dominated domain have limited women's opportunities to participate in election surveillance actively. In addition, the lack of support from families, institutions, and social networks also strengthens the obstacles faced by women. This obstacle does not occur solely due to external factors, but also to social constructions that still lack confidence in women to take leadership roles in public spaces. Thus, this study seeks to uncover in depth the social and structural dynamics that underpin the problem of low representation of women in election supervision, so that it can serve as a basis for the formulation of more effective and responsive empowerment strategies for women in the political field. This study will examine how civic education interventions can improve women's political literacy and self-confidence, enabling them to engage in election monitoring and, in their support, a more inclusive democracy. This will include an analysis of the existing legal framework and its implementation, and an assessment of its effectiveness in promoting women's involvement in election oversight (Muharam et al., 2023; Muharam et al., 2023).

This research will examine how cultural and religious norms affect the acceptance and presence of women in public oversight positions, especially in areas with diverse ethnic and religious mixes (Muharam et al., 2023). The main objective of this study is to comprehensively identify how various factors collectively contribute to the underrepresentation of women in election supervisory bodies. By analyzing interrelated social, structural, and cultural barriers, this study aims to present evidence-based recommendations for policymakers and civic educators. The recommendations are expected to encourage increased women's participation

and strengthen integrity and inclusivity in the election monitoring process in Indonesia. This research aims to address existing gaps by conducting a thorough analysis of the effectiveness of current affirmative policies and by offering a model of civic education adapted to challenge entrenched patriarchal norms (Hurriyah et al., 2022; Muharam et al., 2023). By exploring these aspects, this study aims to provide a conceptual foundation for designing targeted inputs that not only encourage women's representation but also strengthen the Legitimacy and effectiveness of election supervision throughout the Kalimantan Islands. This will involve examining the recruitment process, identifying systemic biases, and assessing public awareness of the importance of women's participation in election oversight. Ultimately, this research seeks to contribute to a more equitable and representative democratic system by empowering women to take their rightful place in maintaining electoral integrity.

## METHODS

This study uses a qualitative descriptive methodology based on secondary data, with theoretical analysis primarily through a literature review, to examine the state of gender equality in election supervision in Kalimantan Island. This approach allows for an in-depth exploration of existing data, including primary data from recruitment decisions for members of the Election Supervisory Agency in the Kalimantan archipelago. The data is important to see how much representation women have as election supervisors. This approach allows for an in-depth exploration of existing data, including academic journals, government reports, and relevant policy documents, to build a comprehensive understanding of gender representation. This methodology focuses on identifying patterns, challenges, and successes related to women's representation in these oversight roles, thereby informing targeted recommendations for civic policy and education. This research will critically assess the theoretical framework, in particular Anne Phillips' theory of political representation, as applied to the unique context of the election watchdog, distinguishing between "political ideas" and "political presence" (Mutiarahmanika & Pakasi, 2023). These differences are critical to understanding how formal representation (political presence) may not always translate into substantive representation (political ideas) or advocacy for gender-specific issues within these oversight bodies (Mutiarahmanika & Pakasi, 2023). In addition, this study combines archival research methods, drawing on various election regulations, including those from the General Election Commission and the Election Supervisory Agency, as well as laws and regulations related to women's representation or affirmative action, to contextualize the findings (Muharam et al., 2024). This comprehensive approach ensures a robust analysis of the legal framework and socio-cultural factors that influence women's participation in election oversight (Muharam et al., 2023).

This rigorous methodology aims to provide a nuanced understanding of systemic barriers and opportunities to improve gender equality in important domains of election surveillance across the island of Kalimantan. Such in-depth qualitative analysis, often involving the interpretation of phenomena from a natural background, is essential to uncover the complex dynamics at play in women's roles as election supervisors (Muharam et al., 2024). The research methodology, with an emphasis on a descriptive-qualitative approach, seeks to articulate the challenges and opportunities for women in these roles, aiming to provide a comprehensive narrative rather than relying solely on statistical data (Ardiansya et al., 2022). This qualitative approach, with a focus on deep understanding, aligns with a research design

that explores complex social phenomena from the perspective of the subjects involved (Muharam et al., 2023). These include a strong emphasis on gender and political inequality, an exploration of women's everyday experiences, reflexivity as a source of insight, and the incorporation of participatory methods to offer new directions for policy and action (Regan, 2019). Therefore, this study uses a qualitative approach to investigate the perspectives and experiences of women involved in election surveillance, acknowledging that quantitative methods may not adequately capture the nuances of their participation (Iskandar et al., 2022). This qualitative approach is highly effective for examining the implementation of women's representation in the Election Supervisory Board, particularly regarding the 2024 general election, by analyzing the process from the perspective of the subject (Muharam et al., 2023).

#### Data Source and Unit of Analysis

The primary data are from the results of the recruitment decisions of Bawaslu members across all districts/cities in Kalimantan for the 2023–2028 period. Secondary data were obtained from academic journals, government reports, policy documents, and relevant literature on gender representation and election oversight. The unit of analysis in this study is the proportion of female members in Bawaslu at the district/city level in Kalimantan. An analysis was carried out of the distribution of women's representation, both in aggregate and by region, to identify areas that have or have not met the critical mass threshold of 30% under the provisions of the affirmative policy. The Analytical Framework of this study draws on Dahlerup's critical mass theory and Anne Phillips' perspective on political representation. Dahlerup's theory is used to assess whether women's presence has reached a sufficient number to exert a substantive influence on political decision-making. Meanwhile, Anne Phillips' perspective is used to distinguish between women's numerical presence (descriptive representation) and substantive advocacy of gender issues, as well as assess the effectiveness of affirmative policies in encouraging women's meaningful participation.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This section presents quantitative and qualitative data on the representation of women as members of Bawaslu in Kalimantan during the 2023–2028 period. Based on the mapping results, the majority of districts/cities in Kalimantan have not reached the 30% female representation threshold mandated by the affirmative policy. There are 26 regions without any female members, while only 10 districts/cities meet or exceed this threshold. The average female representation across Kalimantan is below 20%. Male dominance is very strong, and women are often only a minority or even absent from the electoral oversight structure. For more details, you can see Figure 1 as follows;

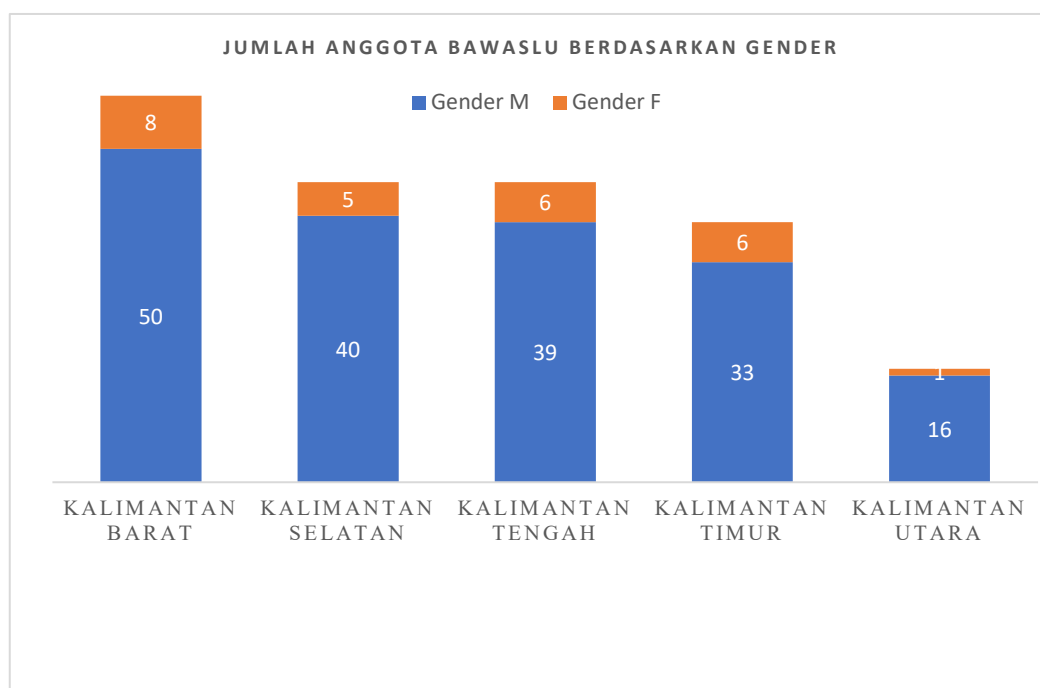


Figure 1. Number of Women Representation as Bawaslu Commissioners in the Kalimantan Islands for the 2023-2028 Period

Source: Results of Researcher Data Processing (2025)

Women's representation in election oversight institutions is an important indicator of the quality of democracy and political inclusivity in Indonesia. Dahlerup Theory (1988, 2006) On the "*critical mass*," emphasizes that a certain number of women (usually at least 30%) are needed for women's voices and interests to be truly influential in the political decision-making process. Meanwhile, Anne Phillips (2000, 2019) distinguishes between "*political presence*" and "*political ideas*," highlighting that formal representation does not necessarily result in substantive advocacy on gender issues if the women present do not have the space to participate and articulate their interests actively. The representation of women in Bawaslu in Kalimantan shows a highly unequal pattern. Male dominance is very strong, and women are often only a minority or even absent altogether. This phenomenon indicates unresolved structural and cultural barriers, such as gender-insensitive recruitment processes, a lack of institutional support, and strong patriarchal norms. See Figure 2 as follows;

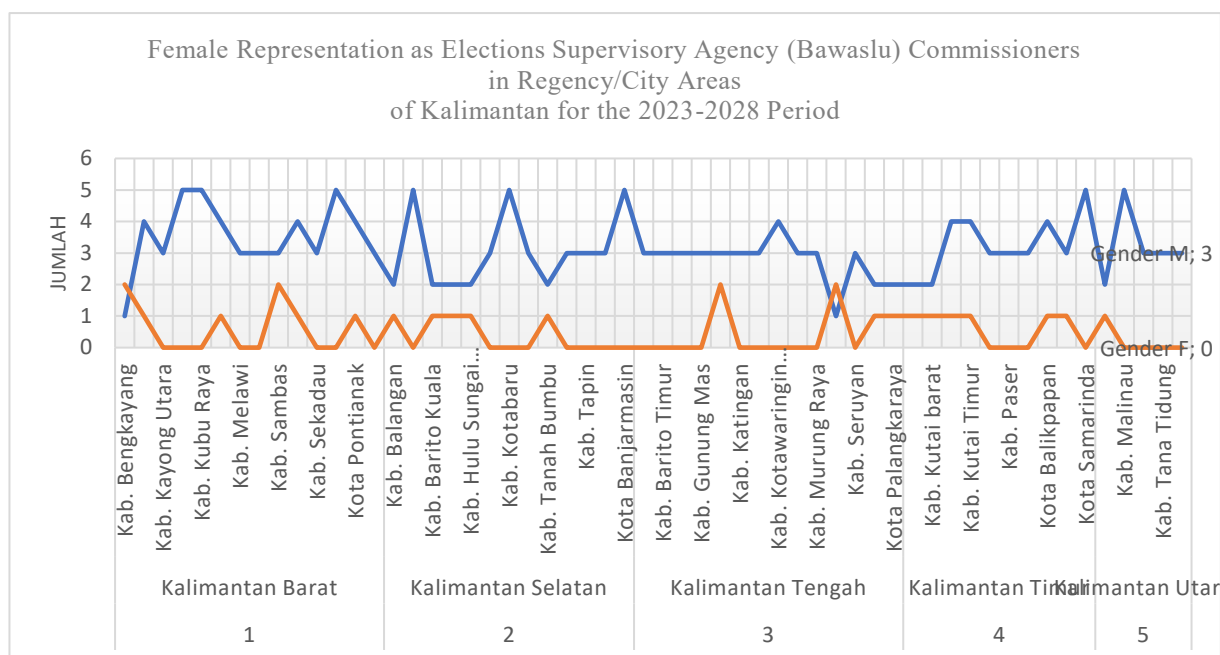


Figure 2. Gender Inequality in the Bawaslu Recruitment Process in the Kalimantan Islands for the 2023-2028 Period

Source: Results of Researcher Data Processing (2025)

Based on the research data above, there is a significant disparity in the proportion of female members across Bawaslu districts/cities in Kalimantan. Most regions are still dominated by male members, with many districts/cities having no female members at all (0%). Only a few areas have reached or approached the "*critical mass*" threshold of 30% as suggested by Dahlerup, for example, Bengkayang Regency (67% women), Pulang Pisau Regency (67% women), and several other districts/cities that reach 33% or 40%. However, the majority of regions are still far from this target, and many are even at 0% female representation. The distribution of women's representation in the Kalimantan Islands shows that 26 districts and cities have no female members. This means that more than half of the regions in Kalimantan still experience total exclusion of women in election supervision. At the same time, regencies and cities with female representation exceed the 30 percent quota. Only 10 regencies/cities meet or exceed the 30% female representation threshold, including Bengkayang Regency (67%), Pulang Pisau Regency (67%), Sambas Regency (40%), Kapuas Regency (40%), and several others at 33%. Meanwhile, it is in the range of 20% to 25%, which, in theory, is not enough to form a "*critical mass*" that would allow women to have substantive influence in decision-making.

If the average proportion of women from all districts/cities in Kalimantan is calculated, the female representation rate is below 20%. This shows that, in aggregate, women's representation remains very low and far from the affirmative policy target set out in Law Number 7 of 2017. It can be seen that the disparity between West Kalimantan provinces is such that several districts/cities reach or exceed 30%, but men still dominate the majority. Meanwhile, South, Central, East, and North Kalimantan show a similar pattern, with male dominance, and only one or two districts/cities have significant female representation.

## Gender Representation

The issue of gender representation in election supervision in Kalimantan still faces significant challenges, especially due to social constructions that view politics as a masculine realm and male domination. Male-dominated political culture and gender stereotypes are the main obstacles for women to participate and develop in political institutions. Although affirmative policies such as gender quotas have been implemented, the optimization of women's representation, especially at the district and city levels, is still hampered by recruitment processes that tend to be gender-neutral and unresponsive to women's specific needs. Public perception and lack of institutional support also limit women's opportunities to take strategic roles in election oversight. An in-depth analysis of social, structural, and cultural barriers is needed to formulate effective empowerment strategies, including the integration of civic education and institutional reform, to create a more inclusive and equitable political landscape for women. According to Anne Phillips (2000), advocating for the implementation of quotas for women, According to her, the introduction of quotas for women or ethnic minorities raises a significant dilemma regarding fair representation. Increasing women's representation through gender quotas has important implications for cultural, political, and socio-economic contexts (Hannah et al., 2021).

Increasing women's representation through the implementation of gender quotas has a significant impact on the cultural, political, and socio-economic context. This affirmative policy not only serves as an instrument to improve gender inequality, but also contributes to a change in the perception of society that has been viewing politics as a domain of male domination. The implementation of gender quotas encourages the creation of a more inclusive political environment, strengthens women's role in election monitoring, and opens up opportunities for broader social justice. Thus, this strategy is an important step toward overcoming systemic barriers and strengthening democracy's integrity in Indonesia, especially in regions that still face cultural and structural challenges to women's involvement in politics.

The presence of women as election supervisors plays a central role in creating opportunities for gender equality in electoral supervision. This representation not only raises hopes for a fairer space for women but also serves as an important indicator of progress in integrating gender equality values into political institutions. With women's involvement in these strategic positions, the election supervision process is expected to be more inclusive and responsive to the needs of all community groups, thereby strengthening the Legitimacy of democracy in Indonesia.

The study's findings on women's representation as election supervisors across Kalimantan show that women still face significant obstacles due to social constructions that view politics as a masculine domain and uphold male domination. A male-dominated political culture and gender stereotypes are the main barriers for women to be able to participate and develop in political institutions. Although affirmative policies such as gender quotas have been implemented, the optimization of women's representation, especially at the district and city levels, remains limited by recruitment processes that are gender-neutral and less responsive to women's specific needs. The lack of institutional support and public perception also limit women's opportunities to occupy strategic roles in election supervision. An in-depth analysis of social, structural, and cultural barriers is key to formulating appropriate empowerment strategies, including integrating civic education and institutional reform, to create a more inclusive and equitable political landscape for women in Kalimantan.

### **Critical Mass and Its Impact**

Dahlerup asserts that without reaching critical mass, women tend to become mere tokens or symbols, with no real power to influence policy. Data shows that in most districts/cities in Kalimantan, women have not reached this critical threshold, so it is likely that women's voices and interests have not been optimally accommodated in the election monitoring process. The absence of women in some regions (0%) indicates that there are structural and cultural barriers that are still very strong, such as the recruitment process that is gender-neutral but not responsive to women's needs, and the dominance of patriarchal norms that hinder women's participation. This provision focuses more on providing special guarantees related to parties that have the right to occupy political office (Dahlerup, 2001, 2016). In some cases, there are still stereotypes of leaders in several public positions or policymakers. Stereotypes are complex mental processes, and how much decision-making makes them stereotypes depends on factors beyond the organization's control (Neschen & Hügelschäfer, 2021). However, organizations can still significantly influence how assessments and decisions are made. By recognizing the prevalence of gender stereotypes, they can work to reduce their influence on actual decision-making (Neschen & Hügelschäfer, 2021). (

Anne Phillips highlights the importance of distinguishing between women's numerical presence and their ability to articulate political ideas that favour gender interests. In Kalimantan, although some areas have met or exceeded the minimum quota, the critical question is whether the women who attend actually have the space to participate and actively fight for gender issues. If women's presence is only formal without adequate institutional and cultural support, then substantive representation will not be achieved. Based on the findings of the researcher. Data analysis and theory show that the main barriers to women's representation in Kalimantan include: 1) The recruitment process is gender-neutral but not responsive to women's needs. 2) Lack of institutional support and political networks for women. 3) The dominance of patriarchal culture that places women in domestic roles. 4) Lack of political literacy and women's confidence to participate in election surveillance. Gender quotas are adopted when they align with emerging ideas about equality and the representation of women (Franceschet et al., 2009; Franceschet & Piscopo, 2008).

### **Gender Equality in Civic Education Perspectives**

The importance of gender equality in civic education lies in efforts to build an inclusive and participatory society. In the context of election supervision in Kalimantan, the low proportion of women in Bawaslu reflects structural and cultural barriers that continue to hinder optimal women's participation. Citizenship education that is responsive to gender issues can be a catalyst for change, encouraging greater political literacy, confidence, and women's active participation in election monitoring. Through inclusive citizenship education, democratic values and equality can be instilled from an early age. Leadership training and political advocacy programs for women, supported by social networks and institutions, are indispensable for women to articulate political ideas that advance gender interests. Thus, civic education is not only a means of learning but also an empowerment tool that can strengthen women's position in public spaces and in political decision-making. Systemic efforts through affirmative policies, institutional reform, and sustainable civic education are essential to foster meaningful women's representation. By strengthening citizenship education with a gender perspective, it is hoped that a more inclusive and responsive political environment will be created, enabling women to participate substantively in the supervision of elections and democratic processes in Indonesia. Indonesian citizens receive comprehensive protection;

however, the patriarchal norms that prevail in Indonesian society present significant obstacles for women seeking election to positions of authority (Vasandani et al., 2022). Quotas to increase the number of women in political positions aim to create greater equality in opportunities and outcomes. As a result, gender-based quotas that support women's representation in elected office are gaining popularity and have now been implemented, in various forms, in more than 100 countries (Deininger et al., 2015; Franceschet et al., 2009).

Gender equality is a fundamental principle in modern democracy and is an important indicator of the quality of political participation in Indonesia. When gender is concealed, female leaders send riskier messages than male leaders do. Revealing gender eliminates this difference, and both genders attract similar numbers of followers. Overall, leader effectiveness shows no gender differences (Timko, 2017). In the context of election supervision in Kalimantan, the low proportion of women in Bawaslu reflects structural and cultural barriers that continue to hinder optimal women's participation. Citizenship education that is responsive to gender issues can be a catalyst for social and political change. Through inclusive citizenship education, democratic values and equality can be instilled from an early age. Leadership training and political advocacy programs for women, supported by social networks and institutions, are indispensable for women to articulate political ideas that advance gender interests. Based on data on women's representation in Bawaslu in Kalimantan, it can be seen that men still dominate in most regencies/cities, and many regions have no female members at all. This phenomenon indicates the need for a more inclusive and gender-sensitive civic education intervention. Civic education can increase political literacy, confidence, and women's capacity to participate in the election supervision process actively.

## Findings

The study's findings on the representation of women as election supervisors across Kalimantan show that women still face significant barriers due to social constructions that perceive politics as a masculine domain and uphold male domination. A male-dominated political culture and gender stereotypes are the main obstacles for women to be able to participate and develop in political institutions. Although affirmative policies such as gender quotas have been implemented, the optimization of women's representation, especially at the district and city levels, remains limited by recruitment processes that are gender-neutral and less responsive to women's specific needs. The lack of institutional support and public perception also limits women's opportunities to occupy strategic roles in election oversight. In-depth analysis of social, structural, and cultural barriers is key to formulating appropriate empowerment strategies, including integrating civic education and institutional reform, to create a more inclusive and equitable political landscape for women in Kalimantan. The findings of this study include; 1) The majority of regencies/cities in Kalimantan have not reached the critical mass threshold of 30% of women's representation as members of Bawaslu; 2) There are 26 regions without female members at all, showing that structural and cultural barriers are still strong; 3) Only 10 regencies/cities meet or exceed the minimum quota for women's representation; 4) The main obstacles: gender-neutral recruitment process, lack of institutional support, dominance of patriarchal norms, and low political literacy of women; 5) The numerical presence of women does not guarantee substantive advocacy of gender issues without an inclusive political environment; 5) Recommendations: strengthening the implementation of gender quotas, reforming the recruitment process, empowerment through

civic education, and data-driven monitoring to encourage meaningful women's representation in election oversight in Kalimantan.

Tabel 1. Summary of Key Findings on the Representation of Women as Bawaslu Members in Kalimantan

No	Key Findings	Brief Description
1	The majority of regions have not reached the critical mass threshold of 30% female representation	Only 10 districts/cities meet or exceed the minimum quota, with an average proportion below 20%
2	There are 26 provinces with no female members at all	Shows that structural and cultural barriers are still strong
3	Key obstacles: gender-neutral recruitment, lack of institutional support, dominance of patriarchal norms	The recruitment process is not responsive to the needs of women, and the patriarchal culture is still dominant
4	Low political literacy and women's self-confidence	Limiting women's participation in election surveillance
5	The numerical presence of women does not guarantee substantive advocacy on gender issues	An inclusive and responsive political environment is indispensable
6	Recommendations: strengthening gender quotas, recruitment reform, civic education, and data monitoring	Systemic efforts are needed to encourage meaningful women's representation in election oversight

This table summarizes the main findings of research on the representation of women as members of Bawaslu in Kalimantan, which serve as the basis for affirmative policy recommendations and civic education interventions. Presenting the main findings in a table is an academic practice that makes it easier for readers to understand and compare research results in a concise, systematic manner. This table also strengthens the transparency and accountability of research results and makes it easier for other researchers to conduct follow-up studies or meta-analyses. The study's results show that the representation of women in Bawaslu in Kalimantan remains far from ideal. The majority of districts/cities have not reached the critical mass threshold of 30% female representation, and 26 regions have no female members at all. Only 10 districts/cities met or exceeded the minimum quota, with an average proportion of women below 20%.

These findings indicate that structural and cultural barriers are still strong, such as recruitment processes that are gender-neutral but not responsive to women's needs, a lack of institutional support, and the dominance of patriarchal norms that limit women's participation in election monitoring. In addition, low political literacy and women's confidence are also limiting factors for their active involvement. Dahlerup's analysis using critical mass theory confirms that the numerical presence of women is not sufficient to produce substantive advocacy on gender issues unless supported by an inclusive and responsive political environment. Anne Phillips' perspective also reinforces the finding that formal representation is not always directly proportional to substantive advocacy, underscoring the need for systemic interventions through affirmative policies, reform of recruitment processes, adaptive citizenship education, and data-driven monitoring. These efforts are crucial to encourage meaningful representation of women and strengthen the integrity of democracy in Indonesia, especially in the context of election surveillance in Kalimantan.

## CONCLUSION

This study finds that women's representation in Bawaslu across Kalimantan remains substantially below the critical mass threshold, with most districts and cities failing to meet the 30% quota and several having no female members at all. Structural and cultural barriers particularly gender-neutral but non-responsive recruitment processes, limited institutional support, entrenched patriarchal norms, and low political literacy continue to hinder meaningful women's participation in election supervision. As a result, women's presence has not consistently translated into substantive advocacy within electoral oversight institutions. This study is limited by its reliance on secondary data and its focus on a single region, which constrains the generalizability of the findings at the national level. The absence of primary data also limits deeper insights into women's lived experiences, institutional dynamics, and informal power relations within election supervisory bodies. Future research should incorporate primary and longitudinal data from multiple provinces to examine variations in women's representation across institutional and socio-cultural contexts. Further studies are also needed to assess the long-term effectiveness of affirmative measures, recruitment reforms, and civic education initiatives in fostering substantive and sustainable women's participation in election monitoring.

## Recommendations

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