

Changes in Women's Political Participation in the 2024 General Election in Malang City

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Abstract

Women's participation in politics remains a significant issue, despite the emphasis on gender equality in political party administration since 2002 and the encouragement of a 30% legislative quota for women in 2003. Women continue to encounter substantial challenges when entering the political sphere. Data from the Indonesia Statistics of Malang City indicate that the percentage of women in the legislature remains below 30%. In the 2019 Election, political participation among Malang's citizens reached 77.5%. This research investigates whether there are differences in women's political participation in Malang City between the 2019 and 2024 elections and explores the changes in the 2024 Election. Employing the participation concept used by the General Election Supervisory Agency to measure the Election Vulnerability Index, this study adopts an explanative qualitative approach with the women of Malang City as the research population. Data collection was conducted through interviews, documentation, and observation. The data were analyzed using the Wilcoxon statistical test. The research results indicate significant differences in the levels of women's political participation between the 2019 and 2024 Elections, with a significance level of 0.05. Although the political participation of women in these elections is still categorized as low, this is attributed to women's apathy towards political conditions and the perception of politics as a male domain, as well as the complex monitoring report mechanisms. Women perceive the political sphere as harsh and unsuitable, further influenced by stereotypes that emphasize femininity and domestic roles, which encourage passive behavior in political arenas.

Keywords: *Women, Political Participation, General Election*

INTRODUCTION

Women's political participation in various parts of the world still becomes an issue. Data from the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) in November 2017 showed that Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, Sweden, Norway, and Iceland) had the highest representation

of women in parliaments, namely 41,7% (Kumar, 2017). Then, it was followed by the United States (28,1%), Europe excluding Nordic countries (26,1%), Sub-Saharan Africa (23,8%), Asia (19,3%), the Pacific (17,2%), and Arab countries (17,5%). Such a condition shows that the representation of Asian women in the parliament is still higher than that in Arab and Pacific countries. Although, the increasing women in political sphere in Asia, such as in Philippines, is driven by family network or political dynasties (Labonne et al., 2021)

Even so, among Arab countries, in 2018, Tunisia was the country with the highest rate of women's representation in the parliament, which was 31.3%. Then, it was followed by Sudan (30.5%), Israel (27.5%), Algeria (25.8%), Iraq (25.3%), Mauritania (25.2%), Uni Emirate Arab (22.5%), Morocco (20.5%), Saudi Arabia (19.9%), Libya (16%), Jordan (15.4%), Egypt (14.9%), Syria (13.2%), Qatar (9.8%), Bahrain (7.5%), Lebanon (3.1%), Kuwait (3.1%), and Oman (1.2%). Yemen is a country without any women representatives in the parliament (Hawamdeh & Al-Qteishat, 2020). This shows that women's representation in the parliament is different in Arab countries with a majority Muslim population. Even, Tunisia and Sudan show a higher rate of women's representation in the parliament compared to the American continent. In comparison, in Indonesia in 2018, women's representation in the parliament was still 17% based on the 2014 General Election (Agustina et al., 2021; Dhewy, 2014).

The available data shows that in 2018, Indonesian women's representation in the parliament was still behind Saudi Arabia, even though these two countries are known to have a majority Muslim population. Up to now, the participation of Indonesian women in politics still become an issue, even though since 2002, Law No. 31 on Political Parties emphasizes the importance of gender equality in political parties' administration. Then, in 2003, Law No. 12 encouraged women's representation in the legislation with a quota of 30% (PuskapolUI, 2011). In Indonesia, these affirmative policies applied the same year as in Jordan (Hawamdeh & Al-Qteishat, 2020). However, these affirmative policies do not necessarily encourage women to enter the political sector. Moreover, these two laws are normative. They lack clear sanctions for political parties that fail to fulfill such a quota. Even so, these policies have succeeded in increasing women's representation in the parliament, from 9% of 500 parliament members in the 1999 General Election to 11% of 550 parliament members in the

2004 General Election (PuskapolUI, 2011). Then, in the 2009 General Election, women's representation increased to 18% (Agustina et al., 2021; Dhewy, 2014).

Even so, in the 2014 General Election, the political participation of women, sexual minorities, and other vulnerable groups was almost invisible in the political realm (Candraningrum, 2014). Only a small number of women obtained positions in political parties' structure and there was a decrease in the level of women's representation in the parliament by 1% compared to the previous General Election, where women's representation reached 17% (Agustina et al., 2021; Dhewy, 2014). In the 2019 General Election, 20.5% of women had positions in the legislative, showing an increase of 3.5% (KPUJatim, 2019). At that time, the representation of Indonesian women in the parliament was the same as that in Morocco and was still below Sudan, Israel, Algeria, Iraq, Mauritania, and Uni Emirate Arab (Hawamdeh & Al-Qteishat, 2020). This shows that Indonesian women's position in the political realm is still vulnerable in political parties, in the parliament, or in all political elements as a whole. Women's electability in Indonesian election is still influenced by religious identity to political liberation through gender equity, and women's social status (Abbas et al., 2023).

Political parties have started to accommodate women's representation in terms of policies. But at the practical level, women still face difficult and complex challenges related to their relations with individuals and political party institutions, as well as the strong patriarchal culture (Ahmad et al., 2019; Astuti & Dkk, 2019; Diniyanto & Sutrisno, 2022; Moga, 2017; Sutrisno, 2016). Even, female legislator need to work harder than male legislators to produce the same political output (Smrek, 2020). Affirmative policies do not provide a positive perception of women in politics (Qureshi & Ahmad, 2022). The practice of affirmative policies in cadre formation, nomination, and political campaigns have not fully adopted the gender mainstreaming ideology. Apart from that, knowledge, programs, and decisions of political parties are still biased towards women. The system of majority votes obliges all legislative candidates to compete in achieving a position, while female legislative candidates face biased attitudes and perspectives towards their gender.

A similar phenomenon happened in Nigeria, where women's minimum participation in politics is caused by several factors, namely: violence in the political realm, laws that do not favor women's participation in politics, the high rate of illiteracy in women, as well as the

lack of men's support (Orisadare, 2019). The same condition also happened in India, where the stereotype that women only work in the domestic realm leads them to face multidimensional issues. They do not obtain the same opportunities in the education and political realms that are not women-friendly (Choudhary, 2018). The obstacles to women's participation in politics also happen in various countries with a majority of Muslim population such as Jordan and Afghanistan. In these two countries, challenges in women's participation are caused by the strong patriarchal culture that is rooted in their lives and in interpreting religious teachings. Apart from that, women are economically dependent on men; there is gender disparity in all sectors; community organizations and political parties are still weak in encouraging women's participation in politics; and society, especially women, has low awareness (Hawamdeh & Al-Qteishat, 2020; Meera & Yekta, 2021).

Therefore, the affirmative policies in Indonesia, such as the 30% quota for women in parliament, are actually aimed at increasing female representation in legislative bodies. Up to now, efforts are still needed to encourage women to have the awareness and courage to enter the political sector (Priandi & Roisah, 2019). Besides, mutual trust among women is an essential point for encouraging in women's courage to join the world of politics (Wahyuni et al., 2021). Gender is an important mediator of the direction and magnitude of the complex relationship between education and political engagement in politics with low overall level of schooling (Djemai & Kevane, 2023), and some research showed that women's political leadership can minimize conflict and polarization (Çakin et al., 2024; I. Prasad, 2021; V. Prasad & Thampi, 2021). Even so, women's existence in parliament is not always in line with the enactment of gender-sensitive policy products (Dewi, 2020; Mayrudin et al., 2022; Pratiwi, 2019). Apart from that, based on data from the World Bank, it was shown that Indonesia is ranked 7th in Southeast Asia on women's representation in the legislative (Supanji, 2021).

In the 2019 General Elections, no presidential or vice-presidential candidates explicitly raised gender issues in their programs. But from the two candidate pairs that used women's potential to gain votes in the Presidential Elections, the Jokowi-Ma'ruf pair used the term *ibu bangsa* (Mother of the Nation, referring to the concept initiated by women who participated in the Indonesian Women's Congress of 1935), whereas the Prabowo-Sandi pair used the term *emak-emak* (a term for "mothers" in Indonesia that may have a divisive effect).

However, none of the two presidential or vice-presidential candidate pairs had significant programs related to gender equality. The term *emak-emak* is always linked to the price of groceries, which is proximate to women's affairs in the domestic area. Therefore, in campaigns, it became an important issue for politicians to show their empathy for women's strategic roles in the domestic realm; thus, politicians promised affordable prices for *emak-emak*. Meanwhile, the use of the term *ibu bangsa* was directed to the condition that women have an elite position in the public realm, especially in Indonesian politics. Apart from that, women's representation is shown as figures with achievements. But the central position of *emak-emak* and *ibu bangsa* have still failed to touch the root of women's problems in Indonesia, from the lowest level which is family up to global issues.

In politics, apart from women's participation in the legislative, they also act as voters in General Elections (*Pemilihan Umum/Pemilu*) and Regional Head Elections (*Pemilihan Kepala Daerah/Pilkada*). Based on data from the General Election Commission (*Komisi Pemilihan Umum/KPU*) of East Java, in the 2019 General Election, the rate of female voters was higher than that of male voters by 2%, namely 15,686,939 voters from a total of 30,912,994 votes (Sekti, 2022). Further, data from the General Election Commission of East Java also showed that the level of women's participation as voters experienced an increase from the 2014 General Election to the 2019 General Election. It increased by 9.28% in the Presidential and Vice-Presidential General Elections, 6.61% in the People's Representative Council General Elections, 6.66% in the Regional Representative Council General Elections, 6.52% in the People's Representative Council for the Provincial Region General Elections, and 6.51% in the People's Representative Council for the City/Regency Region General Elections. Women have a strategic position during campaigns, namely to gain votes in the general elections, regional head elections, and presidential elections. After that, women may have important positions in political elites or other public domains. But this ends after women gain such positions, as there are no real programs to encourage people in general to build the basic values of gender equality.

Based on data from the Indonesia Statistics, it was shown that the percentage of women in the legislative was still below 30% in Malang City, East Java Province. Even so, in the 2019 General Election, it experienced an increase of 2.23% from 24,445 in the 2014 General Elections to 26.67% in the 2019 General Elections (BPS, 2023). In the 2019 General

Elections, the level of Malang citizens' political participation reached 77.5% which was still under the participation rate targeted by the Central General Election Commission, which was 79% (Fahmi, 2023; Purnomo & Persada, 2019). Such a situation encouraged the General Election Commission of Malang City to strive to decrease the rate of abstention by organizing campaigns to encourage people's participation in the General Election (Fahmi, 2023). Therefore, this research focuses on two research problems, namely: 1) Are there differences in women's political participation in Malang City in the 2019 and the 2024 General Elections? And (2) What are the changes in women's political participation in the 2024 General Election?

According to Fauls (1999), political participation is the active involvement of individuals or groups in the governmental process that impacts the lives of the people. A similar thing was also described by Huntington and Nelson (1976), that political participation is the activity of citizens who individually act to influence the decision-making of the government and this participation may be individual or collective. In this case, this research emphasizes political participation that is linked to voting activities. Meanwhile, according to the 2022 Election Vulnerability Index (*Indeks Kerawanan Pemilu/IKP*) book, the participation dimension is used to measure the participation of voters, political parties, candidates, and the public in supervising. Therefore, this research focuses on women as part of general election voters. Then, to measure women's level of political participation, the authors refer to the Election Vulnerability Index participation dimension which refers to the indicator of voters' participation and the public participation in supervision.

This research employed the explanative quantitative approach to measure one variable with a comparison of two treatments, namely the level of women's political participation in Malang City in the 2019 General Election and in the 2024 General Election. This quantitative study was employed to analyze whether or not there were differences in women's level of political participation in the 2019 and 2024 General Elections. Therefore, this research employed the Wilcoxon statistic test, namely a comparison test of two related samples.

The population of this research was Malang City residents, especially women. The samples were taken in a cluster manner and selected randomly from five districts. As a result, it was selected two districts: Klojen District with a total of 48,184 female population and

Lowokwaru District with a total of 82,576 female population (BPS, 2023). The samples taken from these two districts amounted to 100 women. The number of samples was determined using the *Slovin* formula with a 10% error standard.

The first stage of this research was conducting data collection through documentation, interviews using questionnaires, as well as non-participant observation to directly observe the social, political, and cultural conditions in society. The documentation data originated from journals, literary materials, the General Election Commission, the General Election Supervisory Agency (*Badan Pengawas Pemilu/Bawaslu*), and mass media related to the issue in this research. Interviews were conducted using questionnaires that were spread out to women who lived in Malang City with a minimum age of 22 for the reason that these women already had suffrage rights in the 2019 General Election. Then, the variable operational definitions can be seen in the table below:

Table 1. Variable Operational Definitions to Measure the Level of Women’s Political

Participation			
Concept	Variable	Indicator	Item
Political participation according to the EVI of the General Election Supervisory Agency	The level of Women’s Political Participation in the General Election	Voters’ Participation	The usage of suffrage rights in the General Election
		Public participation (participation in supervision)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Participation in the supervision of general election voters’ registration. - Participation in the supervision of general election campaigns. - Participation in the supervision of general election implementation (vote collection and counting)

In the second stage, the authors carried out the data editing and scoring processes on the respondents' response items. The highest scores were given to the answers of respondents who had the highest participation (using suffrage rights in the general election as well as carrying out supervision in the processes of general election voters' registration, campaigns, and implementation) in every question used to measure the level of women's political participation. Based on the scoring results, the authors created a frequency table and a cross table to describe the data in the field.

In the third stage, the authors conducted the Wilcoxon statistic test to know whether or not there are differences in the level of women's political participation in Malang City during the 2019 and 2024 General Elections. The assumptions in the usage of the Wilcoxon statistic test were: (1) Facing one randomly chosen sample; and (2) The required data are qualitative data whose distribution normality is unknown, with ordinal data scale. Meanwhile, the work hypotheses in this research are as follows:

H1: There are differences in the level of women's political participation in Malang City during the 2019 and 2024 General Elections.

H0: There are no differences in the level of women's political participation in Malang City during the 2019 and 2024 General Elections.

DISCUSSION

The respondents in this research were women who lived in Malang City which amounted to 100 people, with a minimum age of 22 years old, as in 2019 they already had suffrage rights in the 2019 General Election. The respondents were aged 22 to 70 years old and all of them were voters in the 2024 General Election. The highest age group was 41 to 46 years old (20%). Based on the education level of respondents, 24% have graduated from university, 50% have graduated from senior high school, 14% have graduated from junior high school, and 12% have graduated from elementary school. Concerning respondents' occupation, 55% of respondents were stay-at-home mothers, 21% were entrepreneurs, 11% were employees of private companies, 2% were employees of Regional Government-Owned Business Enterprises or State-Owned Business Enterprises, 6% were part of the Indonesian Civil Servants/Military/Police Force, and 5% were domestic assistants and factory workers.

The Level of Women’s Political Participation in the 2019 General Election

Concerning the level of women’s political participation in the 2019 General Election that is measured through the indicator of voters’ participation and public participation, it was shown that the level of women’s political participation was still low (84%) (see Figure 1). According to some respondents, the low political participation of women in the 2019 General Election was caused by their apathy towards the Indonesian political condition. They do not care much about political issues or the general election, as expressed by Mrs. Ani below:

Most [of the politicians] only give false hope. This makes [me] lazy, damn, it’s just going to be like this [i.e., no changes will happen]. Only promises, then after [the politicians] have been elected, they will forget [about their promises]. That is [the condition] we often get, that makes [me] lazy [to care for politics]. (Interview with Mrs. Ani, 2023).

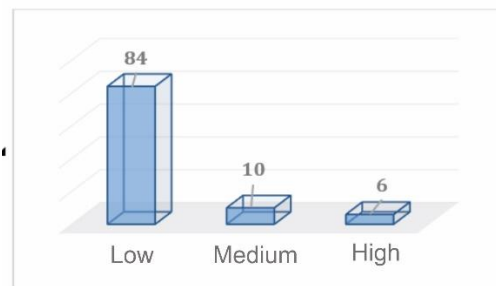


Figure 1. The level of women’s participation in the 2019 General Election (in %); n = 100

All respondents (100%) declared that they used their suffrage rights in the General Election, but 17% of respondents stated that they had difficulties using their rights, especially in determining the legislative candidate that they wanted to vote for. This was because there were no socialization from General Election organizers or General Election participants on the candidates they nominated as stated by Mrs. Ani.

For instance, the Regional Representative Council [election], right. Most of us don't know [the candidates], it is certain that we choose a popular figure, for instance, there are celebrities or the like. Or what most often [happens] is [the voter] just randomly chooses. Just choose and leave it to God. For Regional Representative Council in particular, based on my own experience, who are these [candidates]? [I] do not know [them]. It seems that there is this A, a lady celebrity, then [I] just chose her, in the name of God, what will happen in the future, I don't know. Usually, from my knowledge, [people just] randomly choose, they choose mindlessly or they leave it blank. Or if not ...because I have heard that some people do not open [the ballot], they just directly punch a hole [in the paper]. Thus, the vote was not valid, yeah, like that. (Interview with Mrs. Ani, 2023).

Table 2 below shows the respondent's actions in filing a report to authorized parties, namely *Rukun Tetangga* (Neighborhood Association/RT)/*Rukun Warga* (Community Association/RW) or *Panitia Pemungutan Suara* (Vote Collection Committee/PPS) in case of the following events in the 2019 General Election.

Table 2. Respondent's actions in filing a report to authorized parties (RT/RW or Vote Collection Committee), in case of the following events in the 2019 General Election (n = 100)

Statement	No (%)	Yes (%)
1. A relative/neighbor was not yet registered as a voter	85	15
2. A relative/neighbor was registered multiple times as a voter	88	12
3. There was no update on the list of voters	84	16
4. A certain party prevents a person from registering as a voter	89	11

Source: SPSS Data, 2023

Apart from that, the low level of women's political participation in the General Election can also be seen from public participation, where the majority of respondents (84% or more) never filed a report when there were issues related to voter data (see Table 2). A similar condition applied to violations during campaigns, vote collection, and vote counting in the 2019 General Election. Most respondents (more than 80%) never protested or filed a report to authorized parties (see Tables 3 and 4). Even so, in several things related to the vote collection and counting in the 2019 General Election, more than 15% of respondents protested and filed a report to authorized parties, namely when there were invalid ballots in the General Election (18%) and the vote collection was invalid (16%) (see Table 4).

Table 3 below shows the respondent's actions in filing a report to authorized parties, such as *Panitia Pengawas Pemilu* (General Election Supervisory Committee/Panwaslu), *Panitia Pengawas Pemilu Kecamatan* (General Election Supervisory Committee of the District/Panwascam) in cases of violations during the election.

Table 3. The Rate at Which Respondents Protest or File a Report to Authorized Parties Such as the General Election Supervisory Committee, General Election Supervisory Committee of the District, etc. in the Following Cases of Violations During the 2019 General Election Campaigns (n = 100)

Statement	No (%)	Yes (%)
1. Campaigns involve underage children	90	10
2. Campaign props are displayed in forbidden places	88	12

3. Campaign props contain the issues of ethnic group, religion, and race; black campaign; or hoaxes	90	10
4. Campaigns in social media contain the issues of ethnic group, religion, and race; black campaigns; or hoaxes	89	11
5. There was money politics during the campaign	88	12
6. The use of state facilities (vehicles, official residencies, offices, and city square) during the campaign	88	12
7. Offline or online campaigns in mass media were carried out outside of the schedule	90	10
8. Campaigns in places of worship or educational institutions	86	14
9. Civil Servants, Indonesian Army, or Police Officers participated in campaigns	90	10
10. Vehicle convoys during the campaign	90	10
11. Damaging the campaign props of the rival parties/candidates	90	10

Source: SPSS Data, 2023

There was a tendency for respondents to not protest or report violations as they do not know the forms of violations in the General Election as well as the mechanisms for reporting General Election violations. This was because there were no socializations from the General Election Supervisory Agency on the things or actions that are deemed as violations according to the stipulations and regulations that apply. Apart from that, usually, after they have finished using their suffrage rights in the General Election, they directly go home and they never participate in the vote-counting process. Even, some respondents feel that they do not care about the General Election results.

Table 4. The Rate in Which Respondents Protest or File a Report to Authorized Parties Such as the General Election Supervisory Committee, General Election Supervisory Committee of the District, etc. in the Following Cases of Violations During the 2019 General Election Vote Collection (n = 100)

Statement	No (%)	Yes (%)
1. There were invalid vote ballots in the general election	82	18
2. There were people who voted more than once in one or more voting places	88	12
3. A person was given the right to vote in the voting place, although he/she did not have suffrage rights	91	9
4. There was document fraud in the election	89	11
5. A voting place officer punches a hole in an absentee voter's ballot	88	12
6. There were efforts to prevent or threaten someone from using their suffrage rights	89	11
7. There were general election organizers that directed people to choose a certain party or candidate	90	10

8. Invalid vote counting	84	16
9. Changing the vote obtainment in an invalid manner	86	14

Source: SPSS Data, 2023

Apart from that, women are refrained from reporting general election violations that occur, as they usually deliver such information to their husbands. Women regard that the violations in the general election processes are not their realm to report to authorized parties and they regard their husbands as people who have a greater understanding of such cases. Women hope that when they report such violation cases to their husbands, their husbands will deliver the reports to the authorized parties. They regard that their husbands have a greater understanding of the procedures and mechanisms that must be carried out. Many women are still afraid to deliver issues or violations that occur, as they will then be asked for further information or must become witnesses. But there were also women who were brave enough to disclose and deliver it to authorized parties, even though they were also apathetic about whether or not what they delivered would be followed. This situation shows that women still regard the issue of politics as the realm of men. Men are deemed as more knowledgeable and have greater capabilities in accessing information on general elections compared to women. Thus, they feel safer when delivering the existing violations to their husbands rather than reporting them to authorized parties.

The Level of Women’s Political Participation in the 2024 General Election

In the 2024 General Election, the level of women’s political participation is still dominated by the low category, which reached a rate of 40%. Even so, the level of women’s political participation in the high category reached almost a third of all respondents, namely 32% (see Figure 2). All respondents (100%) stated that they wanted to use their suffrage rights in the 2024 General Election. Apart from that, in the latest election, they also had greater knowledge of the legislative member candidates that they wanted to choose. This was because many of the legislative candidates, both at the central and regional levels, have initiated communication and organized campaigns for their programs to society.

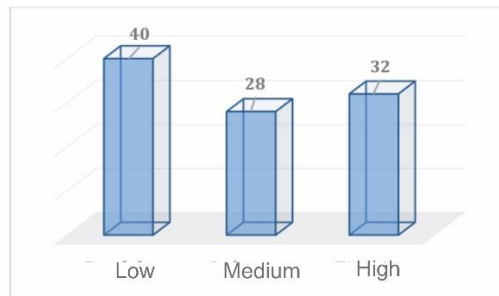


Figure 2. The level of women’s participation in the 2024 General Election (in %); n = 100

In relation to public participation, especially concerning the supervision of voter registration, 50% or more respondents stated that they file a report to authorized parties in case their neighbors are unregistered, there is a double registration, the voter list is not up-to-date, and when there is a certain party that prevents a person from registering as a voter (see Table 5). Most respondents who stated that they report such cases file a report to the head of RT/RW directly coming to them (87.34%). Or, they may file a report to the RT/RW WhatsApp group (43%). However, 54.43% of respondents report such cases to Vote Collection Committee officers and 25.53% of respondents file a report to the General Election Supervisory Agency. Or, they may file a report to the General Election Supervisory Agency WhatsApp or the Gowaslu application (17.72%). This shows that the heads of the RT/RW have significant roles in the General Election process, as society feels that it is easier to file a report to an authorized party that they know and that is close to them.

Table 5. Respondent’s actions in filing a report to authorized parties (RT/RW or Vote Collection Committee), in case of the following events in the 2024 General Election (n = 100)

Statement	No (%)	Yes (%)
1. A relative/neighbor was not yet registered as a voter	33	67
2. A relative/neighbor was registered multiple times as a voter	50	50
3. There was no update on the list of voters	45	55
4. A certain party prevent a person from registering as a voter	43	57

Source: SPSS Data, 2023

The same also happened to violation cases during campaigns. More than 50% of respondents reported such cases to authorized parties when there were campaigns that involved underage children, campaign props that were installed in prohibited places, as well

as campaigns in places of worship and education. Apart from the aforementioned violations above, only 50% will file a report (see Table 6). Even, there is a tendency for respondents to not report black campaigns, hoaxes, or money politics. This shows the low political participation of women in supervising campaigns. Apart from that, the majority of respondents tend to report such cases to the closest Supervisory Committee (81.08%). Then, 22.97% of respondents reported such cases to the General Election Supervisory Agency WhatsApp or through the General Election Supervisory Agency’s Gowaslu application with a rate of 17.57%.

Table 6. The Rate in Which Respondents Protest or File a Report to Authorized Parties Such as the General Election Supervisory Committee, General Election Supervisory Committee of the District, etc. in the Following Cases of Violations During the 2024 General Election Campaigns (n = 100)

Statement	No (%)	Yes (%)
1. Campaigns that involve underage children	38	62
2. Campaign props that are displayed in forbidden places	49	51
3. Campaign props contain the issues of ethnic group, religion, and race; black campaign; or hoaxes	56	44
4. Campaigns in social media contain the issues of ethnic group, religion, and race; black campaigns; or hoaxes	68	32
5. There was money politics during the campaign	69	31
6. The use of state facilities (vehicles, official residencies, offices, and city square) during the campaign	68	32
7. Offline or online campaigns in mass media were carried out outside of the schedule	62	38
8. Campaigns in places of worship or educational institutions	45	55
9. Civil Servants, Indonesian Army, or Police Officers participated in campaigns	65	35
10. Vehicle convoys during the campaign	66	34
11. Damaging the campaign props of the rival parties/candidates	63	37

Source: SPSS Data, 2023

Then, concerning supervision during the vote collection and calculation processes, in cases of invalid vote ballots in the General Election, more than 50% of respondents had the tendency to report. Apart from such a violation, less than 50% of respondents tend to not report it (see Table 7). The majority of respondents approached the closest Supervisory Committee to report this violation (81.16%). Then, 27.54% report through the General

Election Supervisory Agency WhatsApp or through the General Election Supervisory Agency’s Gowaslu application (14.49%).

This situation shows the importance of the General Election Commission or the General Election Supervisory Agency in introducing the stages in the General Election organization as well as the applicable regulations, including those related to things that may be considered violations. Apart from that, society also requires information related to the supervisory processes and reporting mechanisms in cases of violation. Many respondents refrain from filing a report on violations as they must attach proof of violation as well as a copy of the whistleblower's ID Card. Moreover, the reporter must be willing to become a witness. Thus, for the general public that does not become legislative candidates or political party members, they only want to deliver it without having it processed into a violation report. This is because they feel that they have no issue with the occurring violations, and they regards politic is a man realms, while women only focus on household area. This condition shows that stereotype of the domestic area for women and the public area for men still embedded in society. Men as breadwinner in the public sphere are considered to more understand political areas.

Table 7. The Rate at Which Respondents Protest or File a Report to Authorized Parties Such as the General Election Supervisory Committee, General Election Supervisory Committee of the District, etc. in the Following Cases of Violations During the 2024 General Election Vote Collection (n = 100)

Statement	No (%)	Yes (%)
1. There were invalid vote ballots in the general election	40	60
2. There were people who voted more than once in one or more voting places	61	39
3. A person was given to vote in the voting place, although he/she did not have suffrage rights	64	36
4. There was document fraud in the election	65	35
5. A voting place officer punches a hole in absentee voters’ ballot	54	46
6. There were efforts to prevent or threaten someone from using their suffrage rights	51	49
7. There were general election organizers that directed people to choose a certain party or candidate	57	43
8. Invalid vote counting	52	48
9. Changing the vote obtainment in an invalid manner	55	45

Source: SPSS Data, 2023

A Comparison of Women’s Political Participation in the 2019 and 2024 General Elections

Based on the results of a statistic test using the Wilcoxon signed rank test, it was shown that the Z analysis amounted to -7.376. The critical point used the alpha = 0.05 and the sig. = 0.00. Thus, the sig. value is less than the alpha (0.05 > 0.00). Therefore, the decision is that H1 is accepted, while the H0 is rejected. Thus, it can be concluded that there are differences in the rate of women’s political participation in the 2019 and 2024 General Elections in alpha 0.05. This shows that even though the level of women's political participation in Malang City is still low, this is due to apathy towards the Indonesian political condition and regard politics as men's realms. However, women’s political participation were changes between the 2019 and 2024 General Elections. The *low* category experienced an decrease of 44% in women’s political participation in the 2019 and 2024 General Elections. There was an increase in the *medium* category by 18% and in the *high* category by 26%.

Table 8. A Statistic Test of Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test on Women’s Political Participation in the 2019 and 2024 General Elections.

		N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
2024 Political Parties-2019 Political Parties	Negative Ranks	6 ^a	4.83	29.00
	Positive Ranks	69 ^b	40.88	2821.00
	Ties	25 ^c		
	Total	100		
	Z	-7.376 ^d		
	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000		

a 2024 Political Parties < 2019 Political Parties

b 2024 Political Parties > 2019 Political Parties

c 2024 Political Parties = 2019 Political Parties

d Based on negative ranks.

Source: Results of SPSS processing, 2023

There were no changes in the indicator of voters' participation, as in the 2019 General Elections, all respondents used their suffrage rights. They also said that they were willing to use their suffrage rights in the 2024 General Election. The indicators of public participation that experienced changes were the supervision of voters' registration, supervision of General

Election campaigns, as well as the supervision of the General Election implementation. Participation in the supervision of voters' registration experienced great changes. In the 2019 General Election, respondents tended to not file a report in cases where some relatives/neighbors were unregistered or had a double registration as voters. They also tend to not report in cases where certain parties prevent citizens from registering as voters. But in the 2024 General Elections, more than 50% of respondents are willing to report such cases. This is because the General Election Supervisory Agency has introduced the stages of the General Election as well as encouraged participative supervision. Moreover, there are complaint posts starting from the city, district, to sub-district levels.

Changes in Women's Political Participation in the 2024 General Election

Based on the findings in the field, it was found that women's political participation in Malang City in the 2024 General Election experienced an increase. There is a great chance that the voters' participation related to the use of suffrage rights in the 2024 General Election is the same as that of the previous General Election, where everyone was enthusiastic about using their suffrage rights in the General Election. In the case of public participation related to the participation in the 2024 General Election supervision, it also experienced a significant increase. This situation was strengthened by the effort of the General Election Supervisory Agency to introduce General Election supervision and establish complaint posts from the city level to the sub-district level.

Apart from that, according to Mrs. Agustina, a General Election Supervisory Committee of Malang City, the General Election Commission also organizes a plenary meeting at every stage by involving public figures. Then, every RW also obtains a list of voters in soft file and hard copy forms that can be displayed (interview on September 1st, 2023). From this process, society can be involved in the General Election implementation process by paying close attention to the voter list updates. They can also file a report on voters who changed their voting areas, unregistered voters, or data on deceased voters. This condition shows that there is an increase in political participation in Malang City. Since the 2019 General Election, women's participation in Malang City experienced an increase of 2.23% from the 2014 General Election (BPS, 2023). Also, based on information from a

member of the General Election Commission of East Java, women's participation in the General Election increased by 9.28% (Sekti, 2022).

Apart from that, legislative member candidates also came to people's houses to undergo approaches to society in their electoral districts and often, these legislative candidates see women. Even, when there were campaigns from political parties, more women came compared to men. Even so, some respondents regard that more women come to campaign activities organized by political parties as they have more time and they have greater attention to such socio-political activities. The construction that women work in domestic realms and have the flexibility to undergo domestic work makes the women themselves think that they have more time than men. Women regard that men's work in the public realm with activities carried out according to the working hours make men seem busy and that they do not have leisure time. Thus, women often become the campaign objects of legislative candidates or political parties, as they are deemed easy to mobilize. Even so, on the other hand, concerning political choices, women still consult with their partners. The patriarchal culture indirectly influences women's participation in the political realm that regards men as having more understanding of politics (Ahmad et al., 2019; Astuti & Dkk, 2019; Moga, 2017; Sutrisno, 2016; Yuwono, 2018).

It must be acknowledged that political culture for women is still suboptimum and women usually collectively come to campaign events as political party programs, but they do not give adequate attention to the vision and mission of political parties as a consideration for choosing legislative candidates. Even so, the political participation of women in Indonesia, especially in Malang City, is still better than that in Nigeria where constitutionally, women do not have a place in the political sector and many of them are still illiterate. It is also still better than India which discriminates against women in the political sector as women tend to be stereotyped as working in the domestic realm (Choudhary, 2018; Orisadare, 2019). The marginalized condition of women in the political realm also happens in countries with a majority of Muslim population such as Jordan and Afghanistan, where the gender-biased religious interpretation leads to weak policies in encouraging and growing women's political participation (Hawamdeh & Al-Qteishat, 2020; Meera & Yekta, 2021).

In Indonesia, women have been involved in political activities, especially related to the General Election, but it still becomes a ritual every five years. There are no political party

activities that are routinely conducted in society, especially among women, in providing an introduction to activities or programs, both those of political parties or elected legislative members post-general election. Thus, women's awareness of participating in the General Election supervision is still low. If they know of the existence of violations, they will first of all deliver it to their husbands. Several respondents do not have the courage to directly deliver such information to authorized parties. Therefore, it is crucial to increase the awareness, understanding, and critical thinking skill of women in participating in the political realm. The stereotype that politics is a hard and dirty world more suitable for men discourages women from expressing their thoughts directly. Additionally, stereotypes associating femininity with the domestic sphere further lead women to adopt passive behaviors in supervising the General Election.

CONCLUSION

The political participation of women in Malang City in the 2019 and 2024 General Elections still shows low participation, but there are differences in women's political participation in these two General Elections. In the 2019 Election only 9-18% respondents conducted public participation. In the 2024 Election increased, 31-67% respondents conducted public participation. Even so, women's political participation in the 2024 General Election is still categorized as low. This is caused by women apathy towards the Indonesian political condition. Besides, the existence of the domination of the patriarchal culture where women regard politics as public spheres and the realm of men. Besides, stereotype of women in domestic areas are still embedded, that makes women lack to participate in politics. Thus, in cases of violations, they prefer informing their husbands. Apart from that, women are reluctant to report the occurring violations in the general election process due to the violation reporting procedures and mechanisms that are deemed complicated, and they are afraid of becoming witnesses if they report violations. Hence, women's awareness in political participation are still low.

On the other hand, in the 2024 Election, women also have enthusiasm for participating in campaign activities organized by legislative candidates, political parties, or the General Election Supervisory Agency compared to men. However, women do not think critically regarding the vision and mission that was campaigned by legislative candidate

and/or political parties. Therefore, political education is also necessary to increase women's political participation.

Moreover, as the organizers and supervisors, the General Election Commission and the General Election Supervisory Agency have a significant role in increasing women's political participation. An introduction from the General Election Commission on the General Election stages and processes will help the people, especially women, gain valid information on the General Election. Apart from that, the outreach from the General Election Supervisory Agency on participative supervision, including the things that are deemed violations in the General Election as well as the violation report mechanism will give society the awareness to have a role, not only in participating as voters, but also in public participation in conducting supervision towards each stage of the General Election.

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