

WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN ADHOC BODIES: SUB-DISTRICT ELECTION COMMITTEE IN DENPASAR CITY IN 2024 ELECTION

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ABSTRACT

The issue of gender equality is still a challenge in various fields of life, including in politics and elections. Women often face limited roles and opportunities due to patriarchal social and cultural constructions that place them in the domestic sphere. Although regulations such as Law Number 7 of 2017 and KPU Regulation Number 8 of 2022 have regulated a minimum of 30% women's representation in the organization of elections, its implementation in the field is still far from ideal. This study highlights the low representation of women in the structure of the District Election Committee (PPK) in Denpasar City in the 2024 elections. The findings show that of the four sub-districts in Denpasar City, only three have one female member, while one sub-district has no female representation at all. This lack of representation is influenced by various factors, such as the dominance of male hegemony in politics, the double burden of Balinese women, and cultural and structural constraints that limit women's participation. This research will be a qualitative research to examine the natural conditions of the object, in this case the researcher acts as one of the instruments. This research will be descriptive, because the results are a description of the phenomena recorded in the form of written and spoken words from the people and behavior observed. With a gender theory approach, especially nurture and equilibrium theory, this research emphasizes the importance of transforming people's perspectives and increasing awareness of women's political rights. Women's involvement in elections is not only a form of quota fulfillment, but also a strategic step to create an inclusive, fair, and gender-equal democracy.

Keywords: Election, Women's Representation, Participation, Gender, Denpasar City.

INTRODUCTION

Gender equality is still a sensitive issue in society, because women often face limited roles and opportunities compared to men. Both in the social, economic, cultural, institutional, and educational fields, women are often marginalized. Social norms prevailing in society still tend to place women in a more limited space than men. This reflects a social construction that limits women's access to full participation in various

aspects of life. Society's views on gender are often based on assumptions that do not always match reality. These belief systems may only be partially accepted by society and do not reflect actual conditions. The masculine and feminine labels given to certain roles in society also do not always apply absolutely, because in reality, both men and women have the same potential to develop their abilities (Partini, 2013, p. 18). Therefore, it is important to provide equal opportunities for both, so that they can maximize their potential and abilities without being limited by discriminatory traditional norms.

Equality of roles between women and men needs to be considered to establish harmony between the two. Gender refers to the traits or roles attached to women and men, which are formed through social and cultural constructions in society. These traits are not something we inherit or have from birth, but rather the result of the learning process and internalization of norms that exist in our social environment. Gender is not a biologically innate identity, but something we do and show through behaviors, actions, and expressions that are in accordance with existing social expectations (Sugihastuti & Saptiawan, 2010, p. 4). In this sense, gender is more of a process that is continuously shaped and played by individuals, according to the social and cultural dynamics around them. In an effort to realize gender equality, a transformation of society's perspective is needed. There needs to be an understanding that gender differences are not a barrier for individuals to contribute optimally in public and domestic life. Equality does not only mean giving equal rights, but also providing fair access and support for women to compete equally with men. By eroding the social barriers that still exist, women can take a more significant role in shaping an inclusive and just society.

Women in this case do not only work for the domestic sphere, but in various fields need to be considered. When discussing women, we cannot ignore their role and position in society, especially in relation to politics. In politics, women often face very real discrimination, where their access and involvement in the decision-making process is often limited. The issue of women's role and position in the public sphere actually touches on the human rights that should be owned by every human being, without exception. Every individual, both men and women, has the right to equal access in various fields of life, including in politics. However, in reality, many women do not fully understand their rights in this area, which makes them less involved in political discourse and decision-making at higher levels. Furthermore, politics in Indonesia is still overshadowed by various forms of gender discrimination that hinder women's participation (Wahyudi V, 2018, p. 66). It must be recognized that although women make up the majority of the population, their

awareness of the importance of their role in politics is still low. Not only is their involvement minimal, but there is also a social stigma that places women in a less valued position, both in society and in political structures. Women's roles can increase if women and the cultural environment support women's participation in various aspects of life. Women's participation in democracy in Indonesia is an important issue that must be studied in the context of gender equality. Women's representation is not only important because of the demand for "gender equality," but also because this principle is an effort to build partnerships and harmony between women and men in various aspects of life, including politics. The issue of gender equality is not to fight the relationship between women and men, but to strengthen equal and harmonious cooperation in various fields. the roles of women and men should be balanced in family life, society, nation and state. This idea is reinforced by several gender-related theories (Utaminingsih A., 2017, p. 17), such as nature, nurture, and equilibrium theories. Nature theory states that the differences in roles between men and women are natural and universal. On the other hand, nurture theory states that these differences are constructed by social and cultural norms. Equilibrium theory suggests cooperation and negotiation of roles between men and women as a form of partnership and harmony.

In Indonesia, patriarchal culture often places women in limited domestic roles. This causes women to lack access and opportunities to participate in the public sphere, including politics, which is often considered a masculine domain. Women's low participation in politics reflects cultural and structural constraints, including gender bias, which is not only found in society but also in the political and government environment. Elections as a form of democratic participation also show a gender imbalance in women's representation. Women's representation in elections is very important, not only to fulfill quota requirements, but also to ensure that women's interests are well represented. Nimrah and Sakaria (2015, p. 140) emphasize the importance of women's perspectives in public policy, especially those related to women and children as well as women's multitasking abilities and social sensitivity. Therefore, increasing women's participation in elections should be one of the priorities.

Discussing women's representation in politics, in this case the elections, where Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections explains that paying attention to women's representation is at least 30%. Although the law has set a minimum of 30% women's representation, its implementation is often not optimal. For example, in the 2024 elections in Denpasar City, which has four sub-districts, namely West Denpasar, East Denpasar,

South Denpasar, and North Denpasar, there is no ideal formation for women to occupy positions as members of the District Election Committee (PPK). This is because South Denpasar sub-district has no female members. This representation is still far from ideal, although the other three sub-districts have one female member each. Article 5 Paragraph 2 in the General Election Commission Regulation No. 8 of 2022 states that the composition of PPK membership pays attention to women's representation of at least 30%.

Based on this statement, the role of women is also considered in the election organizing team, at least there is at least one female member. The low participation of women in politics is caused by cultural, structural and gender-biased assumptions that occur not only in society, but in politics and government itself. This is one of the implementations of the nurture theory, which states that differences in the roles of men and women are formed by the construction of society. In fact, there should be harmony between the roles of women and men in all fields, one of which is women's participation as election organizers. Patriarchal culture also greatly affects women's representation in politics, due to the hegemony of men's roles placing women in roles limited to the domestic and reproductive spheres.

Women's representation in the 2024 elections is one of the important aspects in realizing more inclusive and fair elections. In an ideal democratic system, the role of women in the political process is not only limited to the electoral aspect as voters or legislative candidates, but also as part of election organizers (Tampomuri, Asropi, & Giyanto, 2024, p. 53). This research will explore in depth how women are involved in this important role, as well as pay attention to various factors that influence the increase or decrease in the number of women participating in PPK. Factors that influence women's roles can include various aspects, ranging from regulations and policies related to women's representation, to social, cultural, and political dynamics that may be an obstacle or support for women's participation in elections.

There have been many studies on the role and representation of women in elections, including the Journal by Aspinall, White, Savirani (2021, p. 3) discusses the 2019 Indonesian Election study by Australian and Indonesian academic experts which focuses on women's political representation through the 30% quota for women written in the regulations. Although it is written in the regulations, women still face difficulties with this due to social attitudes and structures, such as relying on material resources and personal matters. The study also discusses strategies, including capital and support

related to women's representation. The findings of the study answer the representation of women and the impression of the factors of women's representation in the context of elections in Indonesia. Furthermore, the article by Bintari (2021, p. 13) discusses the representation and participation of women as one of the manifestations of the fulfillment of citizenship rights, in this case to support the implementation of elections. Women as citizens have the right to improve their lives in the political sphere, so that women and minority groups do not need discriminatory treatment. Despite the reality, in the political area there is still what is called the masculinity of public roles. The tendency to give a larger portion of the public sphere to men causes women to not have enough space in the ideas of statehood including in the level of political participation. One of the scientific studies in the context of Bali, is an article by Sucitawathi and Joniarta (2019, p. 31). The article discusses women's political participation in Bali in terms of elections, where women in Bali are often seen as tools to fulfill party quotas without being given adequate training or support to compete effectively. A strong patrilineal culture is also a barrier, where women are often placed in a subordinate position and focus more on domestic affairs.

This research will begin by collecting information or data through the Denpasar City General Election Commission Decree on the Determination and Appointment of Members of the Sub-district Election Committee, then will be supported by interviews to answer the phenomenon of women in the 2024 elections. This research will be a qualitative research that will answer the formulation of problems related to women's representation in the 2024 Election and how the role and representation of women as the District Election Committee in Denpasar City in the 2024 Election. This research uses qualitative methods to examine the natural conditions of objects, in this case the researcher acts as an instrument. The data in this case is obtained from two sources, namely primary and secondary data. Primary data is in the form of the Denpasar City General Election Commission Decree on the Determination and Appointment of Members of the Sub-District Election Committee. While secondary in the form of literature, journals and other literature studies related to the issues raised and have been researched previously.

METHODS

This research will begin by collecting information or data through the Denpasar City General Election Commission Decree on the Determination and Appointment of Members of the Sub-District Election Committee. This research will be a qualitative research that will answer the formulation of problems related to women's representation in the 2024

Election and how the role and representation of women as the District Election Committee in Denpasar City in the 2024 Election. This research uses qualitative methods to examine the natural conditions of objects, in this case the researcher acts as an instrument. This research will be descriptive, because the results are a description of the phenomena recorded in the form of written and spoken words from the people and behavior observed.

The research location was determined in Denpasar City, with the consideration that Denpasar City is a city consisting of 4 sub-districts as well as the capital of Bali Province. The sub-districts in Denpasar City are: North Denpasar, West Denpasar, East Denpasar and South Denpasar. This paper will examine the representation of women as PPK in Denpasar City in the 2024 elections. The data in this case is obtained from two sources, namely primary and secondary data. Primary data is in the form of the Denpasar City General Election Commission Decree on the Determination and Appointment of Members of the District Election Committee. While secondary in the form of literature, journals and other literature studies related to the issues raised and have been researched previously. Furthermore, using four data collection methods, namely 1) Read, 2) Sort, 3) select, and 4) Interview.

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

Forms of Women's Role in Organizing Elections at the Sub-district Level

The policy regarding 30% women's representation in elections is stipulated in Law No. 7/2017 on General Elections, precisely in Article 52 paragraph 3, which means that the provision of PPK membership composition that takes into account women's representation is part of the gender affirmation policy in the electoral system in Indonesia. This policy emphasizes the importance of women's participation in organizing elections as part of the principles of inclusive and equitable democracy. In its implementation, the formation of PPK at the sub-district level needs to ensure that the number of women in the PPK membership structure reaches at least 30% of the total members. This policy not only aims to increase the number of women in the electoral management body, but also to provide space for women in the decision-making process related to elections at the local level.

In the context of the 2024 General Election, the policy of women's representation as an Adhoc Body, especially PPK, is contained in PKPU No. 3 of 2022 concerning the Establishment and Working Procedures of the Adhoc Body for Organizing General Elections and Elections of Governors and Deputy Governors, Regents and Deputy

Regents, and Mayors and Deputy Mayors. Article 5 of the PKPU states that PPK membership consists of five people with at least 30% women's representation. This means that this policy has the main objective of confirming that women are not only participants in the elections, but also have an active role in overseeing and managing the elections. With a minimum representation of 30%, women have a greater opportunity to be involved in the decision-making process in the PPK, so that the electoral policies implemented can be more inclusive and consider a gender perspective.

Through the Decree of the Denpasar City General Election Commission Number 84 of 2022 concerning Amendments to the Decree of the Denpasar City General Election Commission Number 78 of 2022 concerning the Determination and Appointment of Sub-District Election Committees in Denpasar City for the 2024 General Election, there are a total of 20 PPK members spread across four sub-districts in Denpasar City. This determination not only aims to ensure the readiness of election organizers at the sub-district level, but also takes into account the principle of women's representation as stated in PKPU No. 3 of 2022, which regulates that at least 30% representation is considered. Women's representation in the Denpasar City PPK is part of an effort to increase the role of women in elections. The presence of women in election organizers is not just fulfilling quotas, but also as a strategy to present a gender perspective in every stage of organizing elections. Through the participation of women in PPK, it is hoped that policies and decisions taken at the sub-district level can pay more attention to the needs and interests of women as organizers.

Women's participation in organizing elections is one form of political participation as citizens. Political participation is political behavior, but political behavior is not always political participation (Agustino, 2006), which in this context the presence of women in the Denpasar City PPK is not only limited to fulfilling the gender representation quota, but also a form of active participation of women in the political system. As part of the election organizers, women in PPK have a strategic role in ensuring a fair, transparent and inclusive election process. The participation theory developed by Huntington and Nelson written by Futurrohman and Sobari (Futurrohman & Sobari, 2002, p. 230) has five main forms of activities carried out in political participation. Although the forms are different, they have the same goal of influencing political processes. In this case, women's involvement in PPK reflects one form of institutional political participation, which means participation in official institutions that have the authority to manage elections. Women who are members of the PPK have the opportunity to contribute to every stage of the election, starting from

updating voter data, distributing logistics, monitoring voting, to recapitulating election results at the sub-district level.

The level of political participation according to Huntington and Nelson (Ranjabar, 2016) has two criteria, the first is the scope which means the extent to which citizens are involved in political participation. In the context of PPK in Denpasar City, women's representation reflects a lack of access to the political system. Through the policy of paying attention to 30% women's representation, women should have greater opportunities to contribute to the process of organizing elections at the sub-district level. However, in reality, based on the KPU Decree, of the four sub-districts in Denpasar City, one sub-district does not represent women's representation, namely South Denpasar District. The PPK membership in South Denpasar is entirely male, meaning that the representation of women's participation is not considered in accordance with article 5 of the PKPU. Second, intensity is the size or length and importance of individual involvement in political activities for the political system as a whole. Women's involvement in PPK does not only take place in the short term, but is part of a broader political process, especially in ensuring fair elections for women. Although the term of membership does not last long, the participation of women's representation must still be considered to represent women's views in election activities.

In the 2024 elections, based on KPU Decree 78 of 2022, the membership of the Denpasar City PPK totaling 20 people is spread across four sub-districts in Denpasar City. However, based on this data, one sub-district does not have a female member, namely South Denpasar District. This shows that regulations related to paying attention to women's representation of at least 30% are still not well implemented. The low representation of women in this case, if analyzed through the participation theory of the concept of Huntington and Nelson (Futurrohman & Sobari, 2002) in the concept of scope and intensity that women's representation is still limited and uneven in each sub-district, it can be interpreted that women's participation is not strong enough to create a wider impact in the implementation of elections even though the other three sub-districts have female members but have not met the ideal proportion in representing the representation and role of women. The involvement of women as PPK in the 2024 elections is not only a technical administrative participation, but also a form of women's socio-political presence in a public space that has historically been dominated by men. Although women's representation in PPK has received a legal umbrella through national regulations, in practice, women's involvement is often still symbolic and has not met the minimum 30%

quota for women's attention. The representation rate does not fully guarantee the substantive role of women in the process of organizing elections. Therefore, it is important not only to pay attention to the presence of women in the PPK, but also to understand the extent to which they play an active, responsible and influential role in the electoral democratic process.

In the context of organizing elections, the substantive role of women in the PPK is important to ensure that gender-sensitive processes are socially just and encourage wider public participation. The presence of women in public decision-making spaces provides an opportunity to bring a more inclusive, empathetic, and communicative approach to policy and program implementation (Kantola & Squires, 2007, p. 94). This is particularly relevant in the context of the work of election administrators, which demands administrative precision, good public communication and managerial capacity to manage social and political dynamics during the electoral phase.

a. Role in the Election Planning and Preparation Stages

Female PPK members play an active role from the beginning in the strategic planning and preparation of election logistics at the sub-district level. Their roles include participation in coordination meetings, preparing schedules of activities in the sub-district, identifying logistical needs, socialization, ensuring the accuracy of voter data at the sub-district level, and ensuring the readiness of polling stations (TPS). The presence of women at every stage helps to ensure that the entire preparation process runs smoothly and is organized, often with attention to details that may escape other eyes.

The role of women as PPK in Denpasar City is actually the same as men, but the difference is in the way and process women work. Administrative roles that are usually played by women are often seen as supporting roles, so they are synonymous with subordinate positions in the work structure. However, in the context of organizing elections that demand high accuracy, timeliness, and procedural integrity, administrative roles are actually one of the main foundations for the technical success of election implementation. Administrative tasks in elections are not easy because they require accuracy and precision in filling and also managing them, especially in rights involving voter data, ballot logistics, minutes of events, and recapitulation forms. An error in one document can have a significant impact on the next stage of the election, especially when it relates to election participants.

Although structural and cultural challenges to women's participation still exist, women's representation at the PPK level shows that women are not only objects in the

political process, but are also able to take on roles that determine the course of the election stages. Women in PPK have their own uniqueness in terms of communication approaches with voters and fellow organizers in conflict management with a gentle female communication style so that it can reduce the atmosphere in the stages.

Not only that, women also participate in handling election logistics, which has been considered a masculine domain. Women's ability to detail data, arrange logistics systematically, and their thoroughness in documenting and organizing logistics distribution means that women are also able to balance the performance that has been attached to men. Women's representation in the committee not only demonstrates formal gender equality, but also expands people's political imagination about women's capacity in the public sphere.

b. Role in the Implementation of Voting

On election day, women PPK members have a central role in coordinating and supervising the voting and counting process at all polling stations in the sub-district. This includes monitoring the distribution of logistics to polling stations, ensuring the smoothness of the voting process, as well as overseeing the vote recapitulation process from polling stations to the sub-district/village (PPS) level. Their ability to manage teams, overcome problems in the field, and ensure compliance with procedures is crucial at this stage. Women PPK also have the same role as men, namely monitoring the smoothness of the voting process by paying attention to procedural compliance by KPPS, ensuring that the process runs according to regulations and that no violations occur at the voting stage.

Furthermore, according to the Chairperson of the Denpasar KPU, Dewa Ayu Sekar Anggraeni, that not only at the sub-district level women show faster, more responsible and thorough work performance, but also women who are part of the organizers at the KPPS level are able to provide more precise results than men. This is shown by women in administrative accuracy, coordination skills, and social closeness with related parties. This is a supporter related to the role and presence of women in the PPK structure can encourage the creation of spaces that are safer, more equal, and care about gender issues. The role of women in PPK is also able to encourage other women to enter politics, especially as organizers, where this role can be done through providing women in the public sphere to provide views related to the role of women in the election stages.

Apart from working with other agencies and institutions, PPK also communicates with other *ad hoc* bodies such as PPS and KPPS. In this case, PPK has the duty to monitor PPS and KPPS during the election stages. For example, monitoring election support

applications that will experience changes and obstacles every five years. In this case, the role of PPK communication is needed to accommodate obstacles and questions from PPS and KPPS. In the context of this thesis, the communication role of women is needed, especially communication to female KPPS and PPS members in terms of coordination and monitoring.

After the voting process is complete, PPK's responsibility continues in the recapitulation stage of the voting results, which starts from monitoring the vote count at the polling stations, recapitulation at the village level, to the implementation of official recapitulation at the sub-district level. At this stage, the role of women becomes even more strategic because they are directly involved in ensuring the accuracy and validity of election result data. They check and match the result form with other supporting documents, record data discrepancies or discrepancies, and compile and certify the minutes of the vote result recapitulation until the plenary meeting stage at the sub-district level attended by election participants and supervisors. The role of women in the recapitulation of vote counts, as women play a role when examining the data of the recapitulation results, because women are considered to have sharper accuracy than men (Results of interviews with Female PPK Members of Denpasar District East, July 21, 2025). This female communication style is a distinctive strength of women in establishing cooperative communication to defuse and find solutions during the election stages, and shows high interpersonal skills to communicate with various parties. This shows that women's involvement is not only symbolic, but functional and crucial in the decision-making process and the implementation of duties as PPK.

c. Role in Post-Election Implementation

In the post-election stage, the role of PPK is more on the administrative and accountability part of the vote recapitulation results at the sub-district level to the KPU of Denpasar City. This task includes collecting, checking, validating, and certifying the results of vote recapitulation from all polling stations in their working area. In this context, the involvement of women as PPK members plays an important role in ensuring the accuracy, transparency and accountability of the vote recapitulation process at the sub-district level. Women not only carry out administrative functions, but are also actively involved in supervision, coordination with PPS, and the preparation of minutes and documents of vote results that will be submitted to the district/city level.

Accuracy in this stage is very crucial, women tend to be more thorough in checking election documents and administration, so they are able to minimize data input errors

which are very crucial at this stage. This role also increases public confidence in the integrity of the vote recapitulation process, especially at the sub-district level. In addition, women involved in the post-election stages also often become effective liaisons between PPK and KPPS, PPS and election participants during vote count recapitulation meetings with their communicative and empathic approaches, especially when dealing with data discrepancies or document discrepancies from the TPS level. In this case, women's interpersonal competence supports the creation of a collaborative and minimal conflict work atmosphere. It is also not uncommon for women PPK members to take part in the process of clarifying data to PPS or KPPS when there are errors in vote data, and are active in ensuring that the objection and correction mechanism runs according to procedures.

The presence of women in the post-election stages is not just a complement, but an important part of efforts to maintain administrative accuracy and electoral justice. This role shows that women's representation in electoral *ad hoc* bodies not only fulfills the quantitative aspect, but also contributes qualitatively to the smoothness and integrity of the election as a whole.

Factors Affecting the Low Representation of Women in the 2024 Election Adhoc Body in Denpasar City

The involvement of women and the challenges in their electoral presence can be elaborated through the perspective of feminism in seeing these problems. Hannam's feminist perspective says that the imbalance between men and women often makes the position and role of women considered inferior to men. Women's representation in the implementation of elections is indeed necessary, but it must be balanced with the quality of electoral knowledge and experience to be accepted and meet organizational goals and public interests, not only looking at the number of quotas that have been provided for women's groups. Through the 30% quota owned by women, it must be balanced with an increase in the quality of my human resources so that they can compete with men. That is, there is no point if the ability of human resources in understanding politics is low with the quota (Rasyidin & Aruni, 2016, p. 46).

Sub-district	Number of Members	
	Women	Male
West Denpasar	1	4
East Denpasar	1	4
South Denpasar	0	4
North Denpasar	1	4

Source: SK KPU N0. 84 Tahun 2022.

Through this table, the overall number of PPK members in Denpasar City in the 2024 elections is 20 people, consisting of 17 men and 3 women. This condition shows that the number of PPK members in Denpasar shows gender inequality. The number of male PPK members is more than women for each sub-district, which shows that there are still challenges and lack of implementation of the 30% women's representation regulation in electoral affairs. Given that there are not many studies that discuss women as organizers, especially as PPK, this discussion will explain the factors that challenge women's involvement in elections. In the study of *gender* theory, inequality and inequality are caused by social constructions in society that distinguish between men and women. This is a challenge for women experiencing bias in various aspects of life.

The relationship between men and women is not conflicting but rather forms a pattern of complementary relationships with each other, which means understanding each other's strengths and weaknesses to support the actualization of each other's potential. Gender inequality arises due to the inequality of conditions for men and women in obtaining opportunities and also their rights to play a role and participate in various fields of life, such as political, legal, economic, socio-cultural, educational and national defense and security activities and in terms of enjoying the results of development (Utaminingsih A., 2017, p. 21).

a. Gender Construction and Stereotypes

The social construction of Indonesian society that still places women below men, women are not placed equally, women are limited in scope only in the domestic sphere and are not free to enter the public sphere, in this case working as election organizers (Putri, Nizamudin, & Mulhimmah, 2022, p. 128). This is also one of the causes of women's low interest in politics, especially as election organizers. PPK's work system is collective and collegial, which means leadership, responsibility and making decisions together. However, because the dominant members of PPK are men, there is gender discrimination and injustice, such as stereotypes, marginalization, and subordination.

Social stereotypes against women are also experienced by one of the female PPK members in East Denpasar District, Eka Pricinila Krisnasuari, who is the youngest PPK member and also the first time in the world of work. Pricinila's position in the PPK membership is unique, not only as the only woman in the PPK structure in her working area, but also as a representative of the younger generation who are still carrying out their obligations in the academic field, who are trying to enter the world of work. Based on this, Pricinila certainly has her own challenges as a young woman in PPK. The presence of

young women in the PPK structure is not necessarily unconditionally accepted, but is often stereotyped against the capacity and legitimacy of young women. Nevertheless, Pricinila was able to prove that her role was carried out well with the stereotypes that she often got. In this case, stereotypes are not only the cause of women's low representation, but also a challenge for women themselves. Often women are seen as inappropriate for certain positions, because politics and government are more closely associated with the world of men. From this culture, men tend to be placed in positions outside the home (public), while women are placed in domestic positions. This kind of thinking construction arises because of gender stereotypes. So that it creates beliefs about the appropriate behavior for women or men to carry out (Artisa, 2014, p. 12).

b. Patriarchal Culture, Culture and Local Power Structure

Women are often socially constructed and assumed to be unsuitable outside of the domestic sphere and are often seen as inferior to others. This happens because of the assumption that women are more emotional and irrational, and therefore are not considered to be leaders. Moreover, this is supported by a patriarchal culture that also makes it more suitable for women to take care of domestic affairs rather than participate in political affairs. Social culture in Bali, in this case Balinese women, is often associated with their dual role as wives and career women. Women in this case often have to fulfill their domestic obligations before entering the public sphere. According to Pricinilla, the domestic sphere of women is not only experienced by married women, but they have also been educated since adolescence to learn to take on domestic roles, especially in the traditional part. So that often as Balinese women who are married or not married are faced with situations that must complete domestic and public affairs, therefore it is very necessary to make a priority scale between domestic and public affairs.

Patriarchal culture as a cultural construction that is deeply rooted in society is a structural challenge that is not easy to overcome. Nevertheless, transformation of the system remains possible. In the political context, patriarchal culture often significantly limits women's space for movement and participation. Being a woman is a position that is not easy, because instinctively she appears domestic affairs, household affairs that are spread out and logically, ambition arises to compete with men and fellow women, and both want to be achieved to get happiness in life (Silaban, Mahyuni, & Sidemen, 2021, p. 557).

Balinese women who are not married are also required to have responsibilities in terms of daily customs. Women are required to establish a good relationship with the *community* and are also expected to help with family finances. All these activities run every

day, where women are required to be smart in managing time, how to prepare the needs of husband and children at home, then work, and also divide time for customary matters such as *ngayah*, *ngupuopin*, *mepeed* (Rusmini, 2010). Women are often placed in the domestic sphere, with the main responsibility of maintaining household harmony and performing ceremonies, but are not given the legitimacy to participate in decision-making concerning community life. This phenomenon shows how the patriarchal system is not only structural, but also cultural, where norms and habits indirectly limit women's space for movement (Utari, Erviantono, & Noak, 2025, p. 6). Women's interactions are limited by the rules of a patriarchal society, making women less free to express their desires.

The lack of women's participation at this level is often caused by the closed and non-transparent recruitment process. In many cases, recruitment is done informally by the head of the hamlet or the head of the neighborhood by involving relatives or close people, thus hampering access to information and equal opportunities for the wider community, especially women to be involved as part of the election organizers (Interview with the Chairperson of KPU Denpasar, Dewa Ayu Sekar Anggraeni).

c. Lack of Ecosystem Support (Family, Community, and Institutions)

Gender differences can cause marginalization of women if supported by government policies, beliefs, biased religious interpretations, traditional beliefs, and differentiating knowledge assumptions that seem to corner one of the men or women. In this context, PPK membership can be seen from the limited access to the quantity of women who are members of PPK. Although there is a policy related to a minimum of 30% women's representation, in practice women are often only placed in administrative or supporting positions, for example in South Denpasar women are placed as Inter-Time Substitutes (PAW). This is due to the lack of opportunities and institutional bias that entrusts more roles to men.

The difficulty of increasing women's participation is also influenced by women who are married, where women must be encouraged to take care of domestic affairs first before carrying out other tasks and roles. This double burden of women will be successfully carried out if they get support from their family and environment. Women often face a lack of support from their immediate environment, particularly their families, to engage in *ad hoc* agency work that demands irregular and often exhausting working hours. Support from the family is important for women who are married, because cooperation in taking care of the household can make domestic affairs and work run with such support (Interview with a woman from Sesetan Village, South Denpasar District, August 8, 2025).

In addition, local institutions or community organizations may not have actively encouraged or facilitated women to register and information related to the holding of elections. It is important that the KPU as the organizer conducts socialization not only related to my registration, but also related to the *adhoc* body organizers for the community to be more widely known. Without this support, women will find it difficult to balance domestic responsibilities and the demands of work as an *adhoc* body, causing them to be reluctant to apply or forced to resign. But not only married women need support from their family environment, young women or the younger generation also need it.

Family support, the role of communities or social organizations at the local level is also very strategic in building collective awareness about the importance of women's involvement in politics, especially in organizing elections. Communities that have a *gender* equality orientation and actively encourage women's participation will create a social ecosystem that facilitates women, including the younger generation, to view the political world as an inclusive and open space. In this case, community and organizational support also builds a network of relationships and as social capital to support women who will enter the public sphere. The role of women in politics, in this case the electoral world, is a problem that often women's activities in the political field become a heavy burden because they are still required to be fully responsible in the private sphere, namely carrying out their nature as women, namely taking care of the household (Wahyudi V., 2018, p. 72). This is a uniqueness of women, in the midst of holding a role in the household, women who are able and supported to have a career by their environment succeed in holding this dual role.

d. Perception of Image and Workload

Gender injustice is not only detrimental to women, but also detrimental to men, although the majority of victims are women. Forms of *gender* injustice resulting from the social construction of society include marginalization, stereotyping, double burden, subordination and violence (Putri, Nizamudin, & Mulhimmah, 2022, p. 126) . One of the main obstacles in increasing the role and representation of women in organizing elections is the low awareness and interest of women themselves to be actively involved, both as critical voters and as political organizers and participants.

This condition cannot be separated from the influence of the patriarchal culture that is still strong in society, which places women in a subordinate position in social and political structures. Stereotypes that women are considered less assertive, irrational, or do not have leadership capacity also reinforce distrust of women's abilities in the public

sphere. This culture has internalized doubts in women about their own political capacity, so many women are reluctant or not confident to take on strategic roles in the EMB. These cultural barriers are structural and take place systematically, thus requiring affirmative policy interventions and fundamental political culture changes to encourage women's active participation in the democratic process (Sumarni, 2024).

Social culture in Bali, in this case Balinese women, is often associated with their dual role as wives and career women. Women in this case often have to fulfill their domestic obligations before entering the public sphere. According to Pricinilla, the domestic sphere of women is not only experienced by married women, but they have also been educated since adolescence to learn to take on domestic roles, especially in the traditional part. So that often as Balinese women who are married or not married are faced with situations that must complete domestic and public affairs, therefore it is very necessary to make a priority scale between domestic and public affairs. The stereotype of politics as a masculine domain further narrows women's opportunities for active participation, while excessive workloads cause women to face double pressure between domestic duties, customary obligations, and professional responsibilities in elections.

Efforts to Increase the Role of Women at the Sub-district Election Committee Level

Participation is one of the important aspects of democracy, political participation is not only limited to citizens using voting rights. But far more than that, political participation is an activity to get involved by citizens in the process of making and influencing government decisions and policies. In this context, participation in organizing elections. Participation in elections is not merely as an election participant, but also as an organizer. Every citizen has the right to participate in organizing elections, even women. Politics is not only limited to men even though politics has a masculine stereotype, so it often marginalizes women. Women's involvement in politics has been going on for a long time and is not a new phenomenon. The history of women's struggle shows significant progress in their participation in development, especially in the education, economic, social, cultural, and governance sectors (Utama & Susilowati, 2023, p. 229) .

In this context, through regulations made is one of the applications of the liberal feminist school with the existence of these regulations being the basis for guaranteeing and supporting equality and equal rights of men and women in organizing elections. PPK membership in the 2024 Election is regulated in PKPU Number 8 of 2022, mentioning the minimum 30% female representation. This means that normatively, citizens have the same rights to participate as election organizers, but in reality, PPK membership is still

dominated by men. Therefore, it is necessary to make efforts that can increase women's participation, because to encourage an increase in women's political participation, it is necessary to understand and analyze thoroughly so that an appropriate policy recommendation is produced. Many arguments explain the importance of women's involvement in elections and representation in politics, but empirical conditions also show many factors that hinder women's political participation (Artina D., 2016, p. 130) . The efforts that need to be done regularly to increase women's representation in elections:

1. Inclusive Socialization and Education Targeting Women to Increase Women's Capacity and Confidence.

Political socialization is necessary for the internalization process of political values, knowledge, and norms, often shaped by social and cultural constructions that place men as active political subjects, while women are more associated with the domestic sphere. As a result, women systematically receive less political exposure, whether in the family environment, education, or mass media. The lack of understanding about the flow and mechanism of selection, administrative requirements, and the roles and responsibilities of the organizing agency often makes women reluctant or feel unable to register. It is also not uncommon for them to feel that they are not suitable enough or do not have the required capacity, which is a form of internalization of long-standing structural inequality. This stereotype limits the space for women to be actively involved in electoral politics, both as organizers and policy makers. In fact, the differences in social roles between men and women are actually not sourced from biological nature, but are the result of social and cultural constructions that continue to be reproduced through educational institutions, families, media, and state policies.

Efforts that can be made are to seriously provide women with opportunities and positions as election organizers, in this case as PPK by providing socialization and also encouraging women to have the courage to become election organizers. One concrete example that occurs in Denpasar City is the marginalization of women seen from the recruitment of adhoc body members who lack information to the wider community, so that people who register as PPK are those who are close to related stakeholders so that coercion and monotonous people who know the information on the recruitment of organizers (Interview with the Chairman of KPU Denpasar, April 28, 2025). The lack of information spread is due to the lack of socialization from related parties, according to Pricinila that this socialization is also needed to target the campus for the purpose of regeneration to young people, especially for women to have more awareness to want to

enter the political sphere. In addition, this effort can also be carried out with the support of active internal and external campus organizations that will support relations and also culture related to elections in this case (Results of interviews with Members of the East Denpasar District Women's PPK, June 29, 2025).

Socialization of strengthening political education for women through socialization, workshops and other activities in the community so that women have the confidence to be able to compete with men in the selection of members of the adhoc body of election organizers. The importance of continuing to encourage the presence of women in the membership of election organizers to the polling stations has two interests, namely first, political interests in the public sphere in the election organizing body itself. Second, the interest in maintaining women's representation from the selection stage until they are elected to the election organizing body, of course the fulfillment of women's representation must be in line with their capacity and capability as election organizers.

2. Building Networks and Community Support for Female PPK Candidates

One important strategy in encouraging women's involvement in politics and organizing elections is through the presence of mentoring and role models who come from fellow women. This can be done by making women who have served or are currently serving as members of election organizers, such as PPK, can become inspirational figures that encourage the participation of other women. Their experience in managing election logistics, overcoming technical challenges, and adapting to a masculine work environment is invaluable knowledge capital for new female candidates who want to get involved.

Efforts to increase these women also need support from organizations to open up opportunities for women to further increase awareness and also interest in women entering the realm of politics and organizing elections. This is also supported by preparation for women to take part in basic political education from high school to the university realm, encouraged to actively participate in organizations (Priandi & Roisah, 2019, p. 113). Through these organizations, it aims to build women's awareness and prepare themselves to become leaders and get to know the world of politics in a small scope, as well as to expand access to information for young women to find out about open recruitment related to the formation of adhoc bodies. This information should also be socialized to the campus realm as well as internal and external campus organizations in order to filter competent young women for regeneration and open awareness for other women.

The benefit of this organization is also to support women who want to join as election organizers, that actually the world of politics is also quite promising and also

opens up other opportunities for women to show their abilities more. Women in this case are not only to be supported to start in the political field, but also supported morally and materially to ensure that these women get strategic positions. In addition, through organizations, women who were previously unfamiliar with politics can be introduced to the importance of participatory democracy and gain an understanding of how to be part of the electoral process. This organization-based approach is considered more effective because it utilizes social structures that are already familiar and trusted by the community. In addition, the existence of these organizations also strengthens the legitimacy of women's participation because they have the support of their organizational networks. Creating or strengthening support networks for women who are interested or are in the selection process to become PPK requires the involvement of active roles from civil society organizations, women leaders, or even the Denpasar KPU to form mentor groups. The main goal is to provide information, motivation, and practical support to increase women's confidence and readiness to face the selection process.

3. Advocacy for Affirmative Policies and Supportive Work Environment

This problem can be solved with support from the government, such as the existing policy of paying attention to the minimum 30% representation of women. However, this policy is not enough if the realization of women's representation is only to fulfill the quota. In fact, women should get a composition at least equal to men as organizers. Women's struggle to increase women's representation in the legislature through affirmative action can be done by involving more women in political parties. Empowering women in political parties is the earliest step to encourage equality and justice to be achieved between men and women in the public world in the not too distant future (Nimrah & Sakaria, 2015, p. 178). Encourage the Denpasar KPU and related parties to consider affirmative policies or more gender-sensitive selection criteria to increase women's opportunities, as well as create a supportive and women-friendly PPK work environment. This can be done through policies that can emphasize gender equality in recruitment, or even target a minimum percentage of female representation if possible and in accordance with regulations. In addition, ensure that PPK schedules and workloads are made more "friendly" for women who may have multiple responsibilities, and ensure that there are facilities and a safe and conducive environment while on duty.

Women's representation is not only based on numbers or quotas, but must also target changes in institutional processes and structures. Therefore, affirmation strategies need to include structural and cultural dimensions, such as the creation of an equal, non-

discriminatory and gender- inclusive work culture. In addition to encouraging active participation, affirmative policies also help overcome the obstacles faced by women in politics. Community stereotypes that make women have a double burden and the view that women do not have a leadership spirit can be overcome with this policy. As a result, women are often only at the middle level and rarely occupy top positions. If the government continues to consistently implement and make innovations in affirmative policies, the impact will be great (Sumarni, 2024, p. 9). Efforts to encourage affirmative policies need to be strengthened through a more organized and systematic advocacy mechanism. One way is to form a communication forum between female PPK members in each sub-district to become a space for sharing experiences, identifying common problems, and formulating joint strategies in responding to gender challenges in the field. Such a forum has the potential to become a safe and strategic space for women to articulate the gender issues they face, as well as fight for the need to strengthen women's capacity in elections.

CONCLUSION

Through the policy regarding 30% women's representation in elections, it is contained in Law No. 7/2017 on General Elections, precisely in Article 52 paragraph 3, which means that the provision of PPK membership composition that takes into account women's representation is part of the gender affirmation policy in the electoral system in Indonesia. This policy emphasizes the importance of women's participation in organizing elections as part of the principles of inclusive and equitable democracy. In its implementation, the formation of PPK at the sub-district level needs to ensure that the number of women in the PPK membership structure reaches at least 30% of the total members. This means that this policy has the main objective of ensuring that women are not only participants in the elections, but also have an active role in overseeing and managing the elections. With a minimum representation of 30%, women have a greater opportunity to be involved in the decision- making process within the PPK, so that the electoral policies implemented can be more inclusive and consider a gender perspective. In the context of organizing elections, the substantive role of women in the PPK is important to ensure that processes that are sensitive to gender issues are socially just and encourage wider public participation. The presence of women in public decision-making spaces provides an opportunity to bring a more inclusive, empathetic and communicative approach to policy and program implementation (Kantola & Squires, 2007,

p. 94). This becomes particularly relevant in the context of the work of election organizers, which demands administrative precision, good public communication, and managerial capacity to manage social and political dynamics during the election stages. During the 2024 elections, women who become PPK members not only carry out administrative functions, but also hold important responsibilities in cross-institutional coordination such as communication with Bawaslu at the sub-district level, facilitating the recapitulation process, and increasing the credibility of elections at the sub-district level. The role of women in organizing the election stages, especially in terms of coordinating with related parties, has a very different impact from men. In fact, not only with other agencies, but also within the internal membership, the role of women in terms of communication plays an important role in maintaining inter-personal team stabilization. This was further stated by the Chairman of KPU Denpasar that when women coordinate with related institutions/agencies in electoral affairs, coordination and cooperation are better when women do the communication. The role of women in this case can be seen in how women communicate by prioritizing a more empathetic, persuasive, and dialogical approach so as to create a more harmonious working relationship between institutions.

Through the Decree of the Denpasar City General Election Commission Number 78 of 2022 concerning the Determination and Appointment of Subdistrict Election Committees in Denpasar City for the 2024 General Election, there are a total of 20 PPK members spread across four sub-districts in Denpasar City. This determination not only aims to ensure the readiness of election organizers at the sub-district level, but also pays attention to the principle of women's representation as stipulated in PKPU No. 3 of 2022, which regulates that at least 30% representation is considered. However, in reality, based on the KPU Decree, of the four sub-districts in Denpasar City, one sub-district does not represent women's representation, namely South Denpasar District. The PPK membership in South Denpasar is entirely male, meaning that the representation of women's participation is not considered in accordance with article 5 of the PKPU. The involvement of women as PPK members in the 2024 elections in Denpasar City reflects an important shift in the political representation of women in the realm of organizing elections. Their presence is not merely administrative or symbolic, but shows substantive contributions in various aspects of the implementation of the electoral stages, ranging from cross-institutional coordination, logistics management, to more empathetic and inclusive public communication. This shows that women have an equal and in some contexts even superior capacity to carry out technical and strategic tasks in organizing elections. Factors

that influence women's low involvement in election administration stem from deep-rooted social constructions in society, which place women in a subordinate position and limit their space to the domestic sphere. These external barriers are reinforced by internal barriers such as double workloads and women's low confidence or interest in entering the public sphere. The dominance of men in the collective and collegial structure of PPK also creates a discriminatory space that is difficult for women to penetrate. Analysis through the perspective of feminism, especially the theories of Hannam, Utaminingsih, and Fakihi's equilibrium theory, shows that the challenges faced by women include marginalization, subordination, stereotypes, and excessive workload. These four aspects are interrelated and construct a social reality that keeps women away from strategic roles in elections. Even at the most basic level such as KPPS, the non-transparent and informal recruitment process closes the opportunity for women to participate fairly.

Efforts to increase women's participation need to be based on affirmative policies such as a minimum representation of 30% in adhoc bodies, but it is not enough to stop at fulfilling quotas. There must be seriousness in encouraging meaningful participation, which is not just symbolic. The government, election organizers, civil society organizations, and the wider community need to work together in conducting educational campaigns, building women's confidence, and providing social and family support so that women can carry out their strategic roles without the burden of discrimination. In addition, it is also necessary to make efforts to strengthen women's confidence as election organizers and also to encourage increased participation and representation of women in elections. One of the efforts to increase women's confidence is by conducting educational campaigns related to gender equality in elections on a massive scale aimed at the wider community. Not only does it require a structurally open space, but it must also be supported by the awareness and courage of the women themselves to be actively involved. This awareness needs to be cultivated through continuous advocacy, especially in encouraging women to understand the importance of their involvement in the political decision-making process. The support of the social environment, especially from the smallest unit, namely the family, is an important element in shaping women's political awareness. The family can be the initial space for political socialization that equips women with the courage and moral legitimacy to enter the political arena, which is often still dominated by men. When women get support from their families and neighborhoods, they will be more psychologically and socially prepared to take on public roles and face challenges in policy-making spaces.

The findings in Denpasar City show that although women's participation is still low, the women involved have proven to perform well in terms of accuracy, speed, and responsibility. Therefore, concrete steps are needed to open access to information, bring the recruitment process closer to the women's community, and involve local women leaders to increase women's collective interest and awareness in politics. Women bring unique working approaches, such as empathetic and dialogic communication styles, administrative rigor, and the ability to build harmonious social relations. This not only increases the effectiveness of the implementation of the election stages at the sub-district level, but also strengthens the legitimacy of the democratic process through a more gender-sensitive administration. In addition, women's experiences as PPKs, conveyed through public spaces such as radio broadcasts, also encourage increased awareness and participation of other women to be involved in organizing elections. Thus, increasing women's participation as election organizers is not only an indicator of representation, but also an important milestone towards a more just and gender-equal political order.

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Regulation:

- Peraturan Komisi Pemilihan Umum No. 8 Tahun 2022 tentang Pembentukan dan Tata Kerja Badan Adhoc Penyelenggara Pemilihan Umum dan Pemilihan Gubernur dan Wakil Gubernur, Bupati dan Wakil Bupati, dan Walikota dan Wakil Walikota.

Peraturan Komisi Pemilihan Umum No. 3 Tahun 2018 tentang Pembentukan dan Tata Kerja Panitia Pemilihan Kecamatan, Panitia Pemungutan Suara, dan Kelompok Penyelenggara Pemungutan Suara dalam Penyelenggaraan Pemilihan Umum.

Surat Keputusan Komisi Pemilihan Umum Kota Denpasar Nomor 84 Tahun 2022 Tentang Perubahan Atas Keputusan Komisi Pemilihan Umum Kota Denpasar Nomor 78 Tahun 2022 Tentang Penetapan Dan Pengangkatan Panitia Pemilihan Kecamatan Pada Kota Denpasar Untuk Pemilihan Umum Tahun 2024.

Undang-Undang Nomor 7 Tahun 2017 Tentang Pemilihan Umum.