



Representation of Women in Structural Bureaucratic Positions

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to explain the level of representation of women in bureaucratic, structural positions and the inhibiting factors they face in occupying bureaucratic, structural positions in East Flores Regency. The research method used is qualitative descriptive with interviews of 13 informants determined through purposive. The results of this study explain that in the last three years, the number of female civil servants in echelons II and III is less than that of men. In 2021, there were three female civil servants left because, in 2020, one of the female civil servants died. Furthermore, in 2022, one of the female civil servants finished her term. The inhibiting factors faced by women in bureaucratic, structural positions are viewed in two forms: 1) internal constraints such as lack of self-confidence and the multiple roles played by women, 2) external constraints related to a) constraints from the family, and b) constraints from society related to the value system and norms. The research is expected as input for East Flores Regency.

Keywords: Female Representative, Structural Position, Bureaucracy, Civil Servant, Local government,

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Introduction

The reform era is an era of bureaucratic transition from traditional bureaucracy to modern bureaucracy. Transitions in the government's bureaucratic paradigm require policy changes to develop human resources. One of them is filling structural positions in the bureaucracy (Ali et al., 2017). In relation to structural positions at both the central and regional levels, it is inseparable from the involvement of women to be represented in occupying top-level manager positions (Sayrani, 2018). Thus, equal rights for women and men or gender equality is a prerequisite in the bureaucratic reform process in Indonesia (Turner et al., 2022).

Gender equality in Indonesia is still a problem that has not been appropriately resolved. The underrepresentation of women in the upper echelons has become the centre of research attention (Saraswati, 2016; Sipatuhar & Widaningrum, 2017). Even though more and more women are working in the world of work, a small percentage of women hold managerial positions (Krissetyanti, 2018). The similar phenomena happens in the public sector.

The underrepresentation of women in structural positions also occurs in East Flores Regency. East Flores Regency is one of the island districts in NTT Province. East Flores Regency also has ethnic, racial and cultural diversity. One example is in the marriage process where custom dominates, one of which is giving "belis".

In everyday life, social stratification views women as central to society and of high value. Therefore, even though people judge a woman not materially, they still look for comparison material in the form of "belis". Belis" is a form of respect for women, but on the one hand, it is also a bond of kinship ties and a symbol to unite men and women as husband and wife.

Uniquely in East Flores society, a woman's value in dowry is concretized by the value and size of an elephant's tusks. In general, the size and number of tusks depend on a girl's social status, the marriage system adopted and the negotiating skills of the man's family with the woman's family. More than that, women's education is sometimes a measure in determining "belis".

East Flores district, as a district/city, has regional apparatus organizations. This organization is headed by an official, referred to as a regional official. During the previous administration, several officials held positions in regional organizations that did not align with their educational background and work experience or career while serving as bureaucrats in East Flores district government agencies. The following is some data regarding the number of state civil servants or known as ASN (Aparatur Sipil Negara) in East Flores Regency.

Table 1 Number of State Civil Servants by Position and Gender

No	Position	Gender					
		Male			Female		
		2018	2019	2020	2018	2019	2020
1	Echelon I	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	Echelon II	27	23	29	3	3	4
3	Echelon III	119	143	147	31	35	35
4	Echelon IV	368	342	315	207	210	224
5	Echelon V	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total	514	508	491	241	248	263

Source: BPS East Flores Regency 2021

Based on data, the number of ASNs in the last three years according to position and gender has a reasonably large ratio between men and women, especially in Echelon II and Echelon III. It can be seen in the table above that every year, the echelon positions in the East Flores Regency government are still dominated by male ASNs, both in the highest echelon positions and the lowest echelon positions. The existence of quite significant differences between male and female ASNs can lead to gender discrimination in policy-making and decision-making.

The level of education is an essential aspect for ASNs in a career in government. The level of education possessed by ASNs in the East Flores Regency government based on data from the last three years, the highest number of ASNs in East Flores is at the Bachelor/Doctoral/Ph.D education level, which continues to increase every year for both male and female ASN. The lowest level of education possessed by ASN in the East Flores Regency government is at the elementary school level (BPS, 2021). Educational qualifications will support a person's ability to perform their functions professionally. Through education, ASN knowledge and abilities can be identified to make placement more manageable and closer to the desired expectations according to their field of work.

It raises questions: 1) What is women's representation in structural bureaucratic positions in East Flores Regency? 2) What do women face inhibiting factors in occupying structural bureaucratic positions in East Flores Regency?. Globally, the obstacles experienced by women in leadership point to two main factors: the persistence of unconscious bias against women as leaders and family conflict (Evans & Maley, 2021; Hill et al., 2016). Meanwhile, studies that examine the lack of representation of women in structural positions (e.g., Saraswati, 2016; Sipatuhar & Widaningrum, 2017) have yet to study the factors inhibiting female ASN from occupying structural positions. Apart from that, little research has been conducted in East Flores Regency with a similar theme. One of the research objectives is to fill the research gap

regarding barriers for female ASNs to occupy structural positions and issues of gender inequality.

Male ASN dominates gender representation in structural positions in the East Flores Regency government. The more significant number of female ASNs does not guarantee that there are also more female ASNs holding structural positions. Data from the last three years shows that the ASN with the most significant space group is in group III, and the lowest is in group IV. It provides excellent opportunities for employees to advance their career levels to be more motivated to improve work performance.

Furthermore, concerning the representation of women in public office in the current era, they have wide open access to enter the active bureaucratic vortex in the public sphere. However, the role played needs to be more strategic. It is because there are inhibiting factors or obstacles that women face in participating in the development process, including obstacles that come from within the woman herself (internal), such as feelings of guilt for neglecting family and work, multiple role conflicts, and obstacles from outside women themselves (external) such as family, society and work environment constraints.

It is essential in this research that the people of East Flores Regency think women have minimal opportunity to hold public office compared to men, where men hold the majority of public positions. There is a tiny possibility of women becoming leaders in holding public positions. This condition has brought about something that is not beneficial for women, potentially because patriarchal culture means that women do not have the right to exist in political life, resulting in fewer opportunities to take part in the public sphere. Thus, this research aims to investigate the phenomena of representatives of women in structural positions in bureaucracy in East Flores Regency".

This study contributes to gender studies, public administration, and organizational behaviour. First, it provides current data and analysis. This research fills a gap in the existing literature regarding the representation of women in bureaucratic positions. It offers empirical evidence that helps to understand the extent and nature of gender disparity in these roles. Second, this study contributes to theoretical development by applying and potentially expanding existing theories of gender representation and organizational behaviour. It provides a nuanced understanding of how these theories play out in the practical realm of public administration.

Literature review

Representation Concept

Hall (1997) dalam (Nugroho, 2020) explains that representation is the ability to describe culture, continuously formed through meaning and language, a form of symbol or representation. Substantially, the essence of the representational bureaucracy theory is a reflection of the diversity of the community served and the ability of the bureaucracy to respond to the various interests of various community groups in making public policy (Althaus & O'Faircheallaigh, 2022; Selden et al., 2003).

This problem of representative bureaucracy has become crucial, especially in societies with a high level of plurality. Ethnicity, race, ethnicity, religion, gender, level of education, and the like are several measuring tools that determine community representation in the public bureaucracy. Thus, it is necessary to ensure that bureaucrats appointed through the merit system can carry out public interests under their authority. Furthermore, to answer this problem, the theory of representative bureaucracy provides an exciting alternative to how bureaucracy works when there is no political coercion from the government. The bureaucratic merit system is built on the principle that bureaucracy (officials) is equally open to all groups, including ethnicity or religion, which means anyone who can simultaneously occupy a position in the bureaucracy. The meritocracy system also emphasizes equality of fair opportunity through an open system that allows everyone to access bureaucratic positions (Sayrani, 2018).

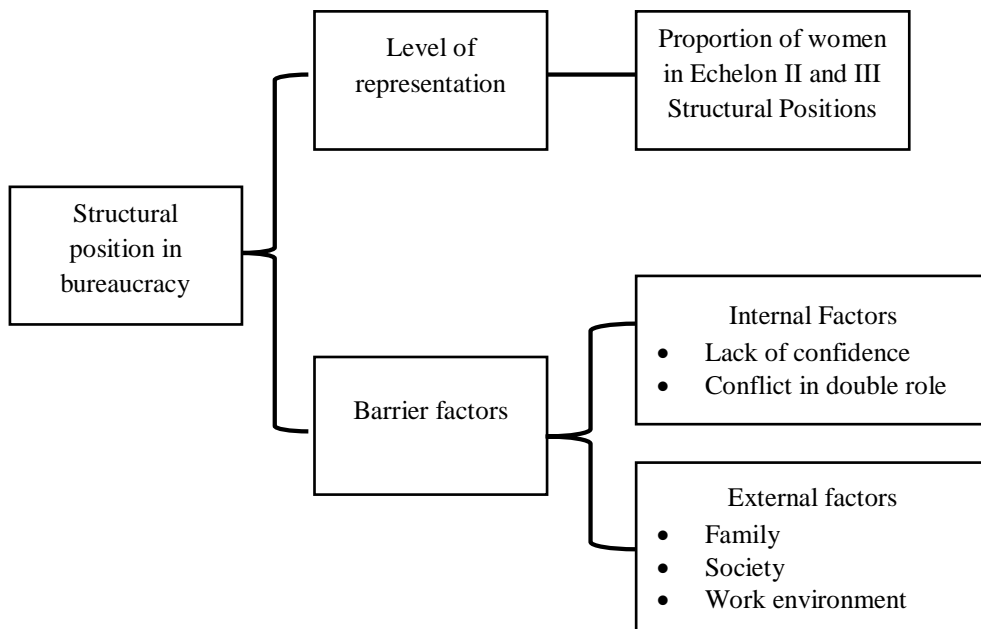
Passive and Active Representation

The context of the discussion regarding representation then touches on the issue of passive and active representation (Mosher 1968 dalam Abas, 2018). If bureaucrats reflect the social background of the public they serve, this is passive representation. This representation is the composition of bureaucrats, which reflects the population based on race, ethnicity, political party, and social status. Meanwhile, active representation occurs when a bureaucrat acts similarly to the interests of those he represents. The bureaucratic theory of representation thus focuses on the translation from passive representation to active representation, emphasising what and when a bureaucrat makes decisions that benefit the people he represents.

Gender in Bureaucracy

The concept of gender emerged because scholars saw that women's subordination was common and had been going on for years with the advantage of being on the side of men; thus, it almost became an ideology (Davis 1991, Albert Dan Gilbert, 1992 dalam Partini, 2013). *Gender ideology* differentiates the ideal roles and positions of women in the household and society. Gender ideology often corners women into feminist traits, namely the characteristics of appropriateness that are considered following their womanhood, which has the impact that everything that goes according to gender ideology brings a feeling of security for the majority of men and a small number of women. The characteristics of appropriateness that apply in society are closely related to the culture of each region because the views of the society concerned determine gender.

Figure 1. Research Framework



Source: Munandar (2001) and Partini (2013)

Method

This research aims to empirically examine the representation of female state civil servants or known as Aparatur Sipil Negara (ASN) in structural positions at echelon II and III in East Flores Regency and the inhibiting factors. The representation of female ASNs in the current era has many open access to develop themselves. This condition does not seem to free female ASNs from structural traps because, at the same time, women are hampered by political conditions that have been internalized by patriarchal ideology. Therefore, the opportunities for

women to hold structural positions are smaller. Women who are married and have a family tend to have less opportunity to occupy bureaucratic management positions because they are hampered by dual roles and family conditions (Lapian et al., 2022). The type of research used is a case study. Informants in this research will be selected purposively and analysed using model proposed by Miles, Huberman, and Saldana (2014), namely data reduction, data display and verification/conclusion drawing.

This research interviewed 13 informants selected based on a purposive sampling technique, which aimed to recruit informants with unique characteristics who were knowledgeable or had experience with the research topic to achieve the research objectives (Boyras, 2019). The criteria for informants are determined by five criteria, including (1) Regional Secretary who has authority and responsibility regarding all regional apparatus and administrative duties; (2) Head of BKD who carries out the duties of employee development, education and training, data management employee transfers, and employee development, as well as secretarial implementation; (3) female ASN with structural positions in echelon II and III as representatives of the minimal number of female ASN; (4) Female ASN who do not occupy Echelon II and III positions as a comparison; (5) Male ASN with Echelon II and III positions as a comparison with female ASN. These five criteria are limited to ASN in East Flores Regency.

Primary data was collected through semi-structured interviews using a face-to-face method. Before the interview, the aims, methods and significance of this research were introduced to the informants. All informants were interviewed individually; thus, informants could explain their experiences and opinions regarding women's representation and its obstacles. The interview was recorded, reduced, transcribed, and then analyzed. Next, the coding stage refers to identifying topics, issues, similarities and differences expressed by the sources. The coding process is assisted by qualitative software. In the coding section, we also summarize our findings from the verified transcripts with relevant theoretical quotations (Choi & Park, 2014). Testing the truth of the data uses source triangulation by verifying interview results with data from secondary sources.

Results

Proportion of Women in Structural Bureaucratic Positions at Echelon II and III

Information to find out about the proportion of women in structural positions in echelon II and echelon III was obtained through interviews with Mrs. Apolonia Corebima, SE., M.Si. as Head of the Regional Development Planning, Research and Development Agency (BP4D). He stated that:

"For echelon II in terms of women, there are only 2 people, this is because many women in the bureaucracy have only S1 education and also if you look at their work experience and human resources which are still minimal, here there is no distinction between gender, all structural positions are seen from experience and education of both men and women. Even though there are also women who have master's degrees, judging from their work experience and skills they do not meet the requirements to become the head of an agency. For echelon III A and echelon III B, in my opinion, this is sufficient because many important positions such as heads of fields are already occupied by women. This is of course seen from the women's own skills and experience during their work period" (East Flores, 9 September 2022)

Mr Paulus Igo Geroda, S.Sos., M.AP as Regional Secretary of East Flores Regency, said that:

"In order to occupy a structural position, there are terms and conditions that must be fulfilled by every ASN so that both men and women have the same opportunity to reach the peak career position, and we are currently in East Flores for echelon II A until now a woman has never filled it" (East et al. 23 2022).

In an interview with Mr. Rufus Koda Teluma S. Sos as Head of the Personnel and Human Resources Development Agency, on August 23, 2022, he said:

"The most important requirement for an ASN to occupy a structural position is the level of education and ability, not gender, so there is no difference. "All ASNs are considered the same, so if they have the right criteria, they can occupy important positions in echelon II or III."

Based on the interview above, this study concluded that both men and women have the same opportunity to occupy structural positions if they meet the requirements. Educational qualifications, experience, and skills are requirements that must be met. The level of education is very important because it is the basic competency for placing an ASN in occupying a position, be it a structural or functional position.

Inhibiting Factors from Internal Factor:

Confidence

That study found that self-confidence influence female ASNs representation in occupying structural positions. This study interviewed Mrs. Jariah Parmin, SST., M.Keb. as Head of the Women's Empowerment Division of the Department of Population Control and Family Planning, Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (PPKBPPPA) of East Flores Regency, who stated that:

"Today, it is seen that if a woman has been given the trust to the level that she is elected, then she is special, and if there is a woman who competes in an organization and appears on the surface, it means she is very extraordinary, but in general, women actually do not want to bother with office matters. This assumption makes many ASN women personally doubt their ability to appear as a leader because it will be in the public spotlight. If they make a mistake, it will not be very pleasant for them. This problem of self-confidence has been experienced by several friends. Before I became head of the Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Division, it had actually been offered to several friends but they rejected it on the grounds that they were afraid, hesitant, unable to appear as public speakers. and various other reasons. The real reality is that they lack self-confidence, so they refuse for various reasons" (August 18, 2022)

Mr. Aloysius Bau Kabelen, S.Kom., M.Si, as Secretary of the Regional Personnel and Human Resources Development Agency (BKPSDM) of East Flores Regency, said:

"I think women in the bureaucracy dare to lead an agency, but the obstacle is that there are women who still feel lacking in self-confidence or inferiority, which is an obstacle to the lack of women becoming leaders in the bureaucracy. Apart from that, it may be the influence of women's level of education and skills that makes them feel less capable of leading an agency. It can be seen from cases that have occurred several times where there were women in Echelon II who were in charge, but only a few years or even months later, their positions were replaced due to performance problems. "Apart from that, there were several women who, when appointed to be leaders, refused and asked to be replaced with someone else" (August 22, 2022)

Mrs. Leoni Deran Ola, S.E. Head of the Research and Development Division of the Regional Development Planning, Research and Development Agency, on August 15, 2022 said:

"It is different. For example, if the person concerned is promoted because they may have the ability, skills, and good work experience, they will automatically be confident. However, if you occupy a position, one of these aspects does not automatically result in a lack of self-confidence. Many cases of lack of self-confidence have occurred in the

bureaucracy. One example was during the election of the head of the BP4D division, which I now lead. Before me, several friends were even offered via chat and letters by office holders, but they refused for various reasons, such as being afraid, not yet able, not having the courage to appear, being busy with family, not being able to, and many other reasons. However, actually, they lack self-confidence. When I was offered this opportunity, at first, I was hesitant and lacked self-confidence, but when I asked my husband, and he gave me input, I finally took this position.

Mr Drs. Emanuel Lamury, as Head of Expert Staff for Economics and Development at the Regional Secretariat, said:

"Self-confidence depends on the person too. Some people who have graduated from high school and who lead organizations are also capable. Some even have a bachelor's degree, which does not necessarily mean they can afford it. Of course, all of this is a matter of self-confidence and responsibility. An example of this was during the election of the Head of Expert Staff for Economics and Development at the Regional Secretariat, which I now hold. In fact, in the past, several women were offered this position. However, they refused it for the same reasons, such as feeling inadequate, afraid to appear in front of the market language was stage fright, some said they were not ready, and some said they were busy with their families later and did not have time. "Actually, I think they lack self-confidence" (August 23, 2022)

The conclusion obtained is that the internal factor of self-confidence plays an important role in being able to occupy echelon III structural positions for both men and women—lack of self-confidence in a person. However, self-confidence in representing women in structural bureaucratic positions also varies. Sometimes, we feel unsure of ourselves, but if we are entrusted with carrying out duties and responsibilities, we must develop confidence in ourselves. Researchers conclude that a lack of self-confidence can prevent women from occupying structural bureaucratic positions.

Double roles

The internal inhibiting factor that a woman carries as an ASN is her dual role as an ASN and as a housewife. Thus, the researcher interviewed Mrs. Apolonia Corebima S.E., M.Si. as Head of the Regional Development Planning, Research and Development Agency, who said:

Many women in the bureaucracy actually want and also dare to become leaders or heads of departments. However, some obstacles hinder women in the bureaucracy from giving up their intentions. It is because women in the bureaucracy are not only responsible for activities and activities of the bureaucracy but also have a lot of work and responsibilities as housewives that must be done, especially taking care of children or pregnancy, whereas being the head of a leader's department will be really busy which will take up much time. Even work in the office has to be done at home, while children really need a mother's attention, especially if they are pregnant but work demands cannot wait. "Therefore, many women often consider the position offers given" (East Flores, 9 September 2022)

It is also in line with what was said by Mrs. Sri Ari Rahaju, S.Sos., M.AP. as Head of the Population Control and Family Planning, Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Service, he said:

"In addition to being busy in the office, women are also busy as housewives, so if an offer is made to occupy a position, women always think about it. What's more, women here in Flores, there are many family activities related to customs that are required to be present, apart from that, women also have to take care of children and the household. When pregnant, women are less able to work harder, but as heads of departments in the bureaucracy are required to work extra. These are the things that prevent women from holding positions in the bureaucracy" (East Flores, 18 August 2022).

Researchers concluded that dual role conflict affects a woman's psychology. Female ASNs are aware of their role as ASNs and as housewives so they must have good time management. This inhibiting factor means that women rarely occupy structural positions in the bureaucracy.

Mrs. Jariah Parmin, SST., M.Keb. as Head of the Women's Empowerment Division of the Department of Population Control and Family Planning, Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (PPKBPPPA) of East Flores Regency, stated that:

"Definitely, because on the one hand, he has to appear in public successfully, but at home he has to be successful in delivering his children and saving his family. This is a bit difficult because not all women can play the role. So, when women are offered positions in the bureaucracy, they must really consider it" (East Flores, 18 August 2022)

Mrs. Clara Romana Bonevirgin Hadjon, S.Si, is Acting. Head of the UPTD Environmental Laboratory of the Environmental Service, he said:

"Certain. We have to be good at dividing our time. There must also be considerations between work in the office and at home. "So the difficulty for women in occupying important positions in the bureaucracy is due to the role of women themselves, which, apart from playing an active role in the bureaucracy, also plays a role in the household" (East Flores, 12 August 2022).

Mr. Aloysius Bau Kunciden, S.Kom.M.Si, as Secretary of the Regional Personnel and Human Resources Development Agency (BKPSDMD), said the same thing:

"Certain. Because when he carries out his duties in the organization, his family's role will automatically be disrupted. Disturbed in the sense that it returns to the self in question. How he manages himself, both office and household matters." (East Flores, 22 August 2022)

The results of the interview above show that the dual role that occurs in female ASN has a good side. One of them is cultivating the nature of multitasking in a woman. On the one hand, female civil servants appear successful in public, and at home, they are also successful in leading their children to success.

External Factors from Family Obstacles

Family conditions influence decisions taken because they are under family pressure and supervision. Researchers interviewed Mrs. Carolina Dorothea Nancy Tonor, ST, as Head of the Natural Resources, Energy and Water Sub-Division of the Regional Secretariat of East Flores Regency to find out aspects of external factors regarding family constraints. She said that:

The family is one of the obstacles for women to occupy structural bureaucratic positions. "This is because, apart from being busy taking care of children and the household, there are also women who are still taking care of their parents' families, so when they are offered structural positions, these women always consider it. Considering that positions such as heads of departments or heads of departments require people who are really focused on their work." (East Flores, 23 August 2022)

In line with what was said by the previous informant above, Mr. Expert Staff for Economics and Development at the Regional Secretariat of East Flores Regency, Mr. Drs. Emanuel Lamury, said that:

The family is one of the factors that prevent women from occupying important positions in the bureaucracy. It is, of course, because many women in the bureaucracy prioritize their family activities, especially their children, rather than office matters. "Apart from that, women will have difficulty carrying out their duties and responsibilities when they are pregnant, while work demands do not take into account the condition of the woman herself" (East Flores, 23 August 2022)

Mrs. Herminigildis Baya Leyn, as Head of the General and Civil Service Sub-Division of the Environmental Service, said:

"That is relative, yes. There is a group of men who consciously feel that their wife's presence in public will benefit them. Benefits in terms of financial, social status, and family pride. "But there is also a group of men who feel that their existence as husbands is starting to be threatened, so women should not hold their position too high because it will threaten their role as head of the family" (East Flores, 12 August 2022).

Mr. Simon Sinu Tukan, S.IP, also said something similar. As Head of Procurement, Transfer, and Promotion of the Regional Personnel Agency and Human Resources Development, he said:

"Actually, family is not a barrier that limits a woman from obtaining an important position in the bureaucracy. However, many women always prioritize their family interests or activities rather than obtaining a position in the bureaucracy. "This means that women in the bureaucracy do not really hunt for their main positions. They continue to work and earn income." (East Flores, August 22, 2023)

External obstacles originating from the family become pressure for female ASNs. The attitudes and responses of each family certainly vary. The family considers the busy schedule that women face in the office, so most women prioritize the condition of their families rather than improving their performance.

External Factors from Society

External obstacles from society are related to the local value system and cultural norms for pursuing a career in the organization. Researchers interviewed Mrs. Clara Romana Bonevirgin Hadjon, S, Si, as Head of the General and Personnel Section of the East Flores Regency Environmental Service. She said that:

"In my opinion, the obstacle from the society that prevents women from competing for high positions in the bureaucracy is society's view of women, which has become a culture that women are always slow and less agile in doing things. Apart from that, there is also a societal view that women are better at taking care of the household and do not need to obtain high positions. This view is the benchmark for women in the bureaucracy wanting to pursue high positions." (East Flores, August 12, 2022)"

Mrs. Apolonia Corebima SE., M.Sc. as Head of the Regional Development Planning, Research and Development Agency, said:

"Social culture is an inhibiting factor for women in the bureaucracy, wanting to obtain high positions such as heads of departments or heads of departments. There are still many people who think that women cannot do anything and will always lose and be weak when they do something, in this case, of course, in matters of leadership. "This assumption is always carried over and even embedded in women themselves so that women in the bureaucracy always feel like they will lose and feel inferior when competing for positions" (September 9, 2022)

Mr. Aloysius Bau Kabelen, S.Kom., M.Sc., as Secretary of the Regional Personnel and Human Resources Development Agency, said:

Women always lose in competing to obtain positions in the bureaucracy due to the cultural view that women are born only to take care of children and the household, so they do not need to obtain high positions. Apart from that, there is also society's view that women are weak and slow in all matters, so they are not good at important positions. "This view is not only in the community environment but also in the bureaucratic environment. When a woman is appointed as an official, such as a section head, and is wrong or slow in carrying out her functions, the woman will become the talk of the town, not only in the bureaucratic environment but also in society" (East Flores, August 22, 2022)

The results of the interviews show that the value system and cultural norms of the local community influence women's careers in bureaucratic organizations. The assumption that women are born to take care of children and the household is still inherent in some communities. Apart from that, society also considers women less worthy of being leaders and weaker than men.

External Factors from work environment constraints

Obstacles in the work environment relate to competition between women and men in work. To find out aspects of external factors regarding the constraints of the work environment, the researcher interviewed Ms. Carolina Dorothea Nancy Tonor, ST, as Head of the Natural Resources, Energy and Water Subdivision. She said:

"I see that the obstacles in the work environment that prevent women from pursuing a career in the East Flores bureaucracy are very real. It can be seen from the view that women are weak and cannot lead, so they do not need to be leaders. Apart from that, there are many women who, when they lead and make mistakes, become the subject of gossip in the work environment. "This makes other women who want to become leaders end their desires and prefer to be ordinary employees, essentially continuing to work and getting a salary every month" (East Flores, 23 August 2022)

Mrs. Sri Ardi Rahaju, S.Sos, M.AP. as Head of the Population Control and Family Planning, Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Service, said:

"The work environment is indeed a problem for a woman to have a career in the bureaucratic world. This is because women are always filled with feelings of inferiority when carrying out their activities or will feel embarrassed and inadequate when presenting material to the public or friends in the bureaucracy. Because in general, if even the slightest mistake is made, his name will become the subject of gossip in the bureaucratic environment. This of course really puts women at a disadvantage, so many women are afraid to compete in the bureaucracy" (East Flores, 18 August 2022)

The same thing was also said by Mr. Rufus Koda Teluma, S.Sos as Head of the Regional Personnel and Human Resources Development Agency, he said:

"In general, the obstacle that can be seen in the bureaucratic work environment is that there is an opinion that women are slow and less agile and, therefore, less suitable to be leaders. "Apart from that, it can also be influenced by 'insiders' so that if a female ASN has good contacts at the top, then she will get a good position too, and if not, then her position will be just the same" (East Flores, 23 August 2022)

Mrs. Margaretha Muda Marlimah Limahekin, S.P. as Head of the Environmental Management Division of the Environmental Service, said:

"The obstacles in the bureaucracy that prevent women from pursuing higher careers that I can see are that many women who are considered to have leadership will hinder the running of the bureaucracy because women's leadership is considered slow and motherly, so they are more suitable to be ordinary staff" (East Flores, 12 August 2022).

Based on the results of the interview above, the researcher concluded that women's career success influences the friendship environment in the bureaucratic environment. What usually happens is unhealthy competition between colleagues in an organization, both men and women, for promotion to higher positions. The assumption that women work more slowly than men also influences work environment conditions to prevent women from ascending to leadership positions.

Discussion

Description of Women's Representation in Structural Bureaucratic Positions

This research presents data obtained during research from the interview process documentation related to Women's Representatives in Bureaucratic Structural Positions in East Flores Regency. Representativeness is a concept of a pattern of recruiting someone into a strategic position, especially regarding the issue of equality of opportunity and a person's representation in the bureaucracy. To see and know a person's representation in structural positions, researchers have conducted research using the theory put forward by Partini (2013) and Munandar (2001) to see the representation of women in structural positions through several aspects, namely the level of representation and inhibiting factors.

Representatives of Women in Bureaucratic Structural Positions in East Flores Regency, from the researcher's observations when they visited the research location, the researcher was able to comment that the Representative of Women in Structural Positions in East Flores Regency was not balanced or equal. It is described in the results of research and discussion regarding Women's Representatives in Structural Positions in East Flores Regency, namely as follows:

Level of representation

According to Partini (2013) and Munandar (2001), the level of representation is related to how many women occupy structural positions. If the level of women's representation is low, it means that there is no equality in structural bureaucratic positions in a government. The assessment of the level of representation is aimed at answering the proportion of women in echelon II and echelon III positions in a government organization. It relates to how many (proportion) women are in echelon II and III structural positions in East Flores Regency.

The role of women in government bureaucratic life should not be underestimated and limited simply because women are thought to be weaker than men. Women have proven to have a very important and strategic role in various fields ranging from politics, arts, science, social reform, sports, and others (Krissetyanti, 2018). The role of women's representation in government organizations is very much needed for decision-making and policy formulation, as is the level of representation of women's representatives in structural bureaucratic positions in East Flores Regency.

The proportion of women in structural bureaucratic positions at echelon II and II in East Flores Regency aims to determine the number of women and men who sit in structural bureaucratic positions in East Flores Regency. Based on the results of interviews with several informants, it is known that the proportion of female and male ASN occupying a position is very large, especially in echelon II positions, both echelon II A and echelon II B. For echelon II A, there is only one position, namely Regional Secretary, but Until now, it has never been occupied by women. For echelon II B, from the results of the researcher's interviews, only two female ASNs held echelon II B positions. Apart from that, it was dominated by men. For echelon III positions, both echelon III A and III B, the proportion of female and male ASNs is quite balanced. For more details, see the table below:

Table 2 Proportion of Bureaucratic Positions in East Flores Regency

No	Position	Gender						Total
		Male			Female			
		2020	2021	2022	2020	2021	2022	
1	II/A (Pengatur Muda)	1	1	1	0	0	0	1
2	II/B (Pengatur Muda Tingkat I)	28	31	32	4	3	2	100

No	Position	Gender						Total
		2020	Male 2021	2022	2020	Female 2021	2022	
3	III/A (Penata Muda)	89	84	43	16	16	3	251
4	III/B (Penata Muda Tingkat I)	58	61	65	19	19	30	252

Source: BKPSDM East Flores Regency

The aspect of the level of representation is that the proportion of women in echelon II and III structural positions still needs to be equal. Judging from the aspect of women's representation in occupying structural bureaucratic positions in East Flores Regency, in particular, only two people occupy echelon II positions because their educational qualifications are linear with their position and also their abilities. Comparing the number of female ASNs in echelons II and III, more female ASNs occupy structural positions in echelon III, but this comparison is quite large. The difference in comparison between the number of female ASNs in 2022 in echelons II and III is 88.58%.

Table 3 Number of Civil Servants According to Position and Gender in East Flores Regency 2020-2022

Structural Position	Gender					
	2020	Male 2021	2022	2020	Female 2021	2022
Echelon II	29	32	33	4	3	2
Echelon III	147	145	108	35	35	33
Total	176	177	141	39	38	35

Source: BKPSDM East Flores Regency

Referring to the data in the table above, it can be seen that the number of female ASNs in echelon II and echelon III over the last three years in East Flores Regency has continued to decline and is still very less in number compared to the number of male ASNs. It is because one female ASN in echelon II in 2020, totaling four people, died, so in 2021, there will be three people. Then, in 2022, another female ASN will finish her term of office due to retirement. However, until now, there have been no additional female ASNs in echelon II. Meanwhile, there are more female ASNs in echelon III, whose position is below echelon II. It shows that there is no equalization of ASN, both women and men, in occupying structural positions. More female ASNs are in echelon III. Structurally, echelon III is below echelon II, but in echelon III, female ASNs are still not equal to men.

Regarding male ASN data, it changes every year because there are male ASNs who retire. The positions of echelon II and echelon III do not increase. However, in the inauguration of echelon II and III officials, the appointed officials replaced retired officials. For promotions, the positions are refreshed or transferred to another office with the same echelon position. This phenomenon requires attention from the East Flores Regency government, especially for women, in efforts to equalize the state civil service.

Factors Inhibiting Women's Representation in Structural Bureaucratic Positions

Internal Factors

This study found lack of self-confidence as factors Inhibiting Women's Representation in Structural Bureaucratic Positions. Self-confidence is related to feelings of inadequacy and considering other people to be better than themselves. Research results found that a lack of self-confidence in female ASNs greatly hinders them from being able to have a career and compete in the bureaucratic world. Self-confidence needs to be a focus because it is critical for the career development phase. Self-confidence is derived from a person's belief in themselves regarding

their ability to produce certain performances with the potential to influence their lives (Galizzi et al., 2023).

The second indicator of internal factors is how time is distributed and the roles played by women as civil servants and homemakers. Does the role a woman plays as an ASN affect her role as a housewife? There was a time when women were faced with two choices between the role of mother and the role of ASN.

Aspects of dual role conflict relating to the role of women in occupying organizational structural positions and the role of women in their families are affected by the division of roles played both in the organization and at home because of their household. Meanwhile, men experience only one role conflict. Therefore, women in the bureaucracy are aware of their role as ASNs. As housewives, they have to be really smart in time management, so this becomes an inhibiting factor for women in the bureaucracy to occupy a structural position (Johannes et al., 2022; McLaren et al., 2019)

External factors

Obstacles from the family relate to decisions taken always under family pressure and supervision. The aspect of external factors in the representation of women in occupying structural bureaucratic positions in question is how the family responds in supporting women to occupy structural positions in the East Flores Regency. Family is an external factor that plays a big role in every decision women make.

Researchers found that the family is an obstacle in supporting female ASNs to occupy structural bureaucratic positions. It is because apart from having duties and responsibilities as ASNs, women are also busy taking care of their family's interests. Hence, women are less able to express themselves in the bureaucracy. Obstacles from the family related to the family's attitudes and responses in supporting women to occupy structural positions vary. Obstacles that come from the family can be seen from the busyness of women in the bureaucracy itself, namely that many women in the bureaucracy prioritize family interests rather than improving their performance to obtain high positions (Powell & Butterfield, 2015; Srivastava et al., 2020).

Moreover, these obstacles from society are related to whether the value system and cultural norms of the local community influence women to pursue careers in organizations. The lack of representation of women in echelon II and III structural positions is closely related to norms. Women are limited by the existence of a normative framework that considers women do not have full rights to determine their life choices (Gallant, 2014; Krissetyanti et al., 2017).

Researchers found that the value system and cultural norms of local society influence women to pursue careers in a bureaucratic organization. There is an opinion that being born only to take care of children and the household means that women are not fit to be a leader. Apart from that, there is another opinion that women will always be weak and slow in carrying out their duties, so they are not suitable to be leaders.

In East Flores Regency, with its culture, namely the Lamaholot culture, women do have a good place and are respected, but in traditional matters, they are still held by men, and women continue to follow what men say. In organizations, there is no influence, but when it comes to customs, it is very influential. Women must be within the role of men because the structure of society in East Flores Regency is patrilineal.

The third indicator of external factors is constraints from the work environment. Constraints in the work environment relate to competition between men and women in work. A person's success tends to influence the circle of friends. Unhealthy competition often arises when co-workers get higher positions, whether male or female (Dragišević & Mihić, 2020). This competition prevents women from pursuing careers in the bureaucracy. Moreover, the assumption that women are weaker than men is also inherent in the work environment. Women's leadership is considered to be destroyed because of their slow performance and are more suitable as ordinary staff. The negative perspective generated in bureaucratic organizations hinders women's performance. This pressure means that women do not have the space to show their skills at work (Johannes et al., 2022).

Conclusion

The representation of women in structural bureaucratic positions in East Flores Regency is still dominated by men. The proportion of women in structural bureaucratic positions in echelons II and III in the East Flores Regency government is unequal between female ASNs and male ASNs. The number of female ASNs in echelon II and echelon III over the last three years in East Flores Regency has continued to decline and is still very small compared to the number of male ASNs. This is because one female ASN in echelon II in 2020, totaling four people, died, so in 2021, there will be three people. Then, in 2022, another female ASN will finish her term of office due to retirement.

The inhibiting factors faced by women in occupying structural bureaucratic positions in East Flores Regency can be seen from two forms of obstacles, namely internal obstacles such as lack of self-confidence, which is also related to the level of education and ability, the dual roles played by women, how women divide their time between office work and household matters, including external constraints related to; a) obstacles from the family, namely support from the family in supporting women to appear in public; b) constraints from society related to the value system and norms of the local community.

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