Local Election During the Covid-19 Outbreak: Inclusivity and Challenges for Voters with Disabilities

Pilkada di Tengah Wabah Covid-19: Inklusifitas dan Tantangan Pemilih Difabel

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ABSTRAK

Keywords: Pemilih Difabel, Pilkada 2020, Wabah Covid-19

ABSTRACT
This study discusses the inclusiveness and challenges of voters with disabilities in the implementation of local election (Pilkada) during the Covid-19 outbreak. There are two things that need to be considered when...
implementing the 2020 local election, namely community participation, especially persons with disabilities and the application of health protocols. This study uses a qualitative research method with case study and a virtual ethnographic approach. The author focuses on the implementation of the 2020 local election in Sleman regency. In addition, the authors focus on three stages of local election, namely the stage of voter list matching and research (Coklit), campaign and socialization, and voting day. The results of the study show that political rights for voters with disabilities are regulated in several regulations, both at the international and national level. In addition, the General Election Commission (KPU) of Sleman Regency has carried out several preparations in the implementation of the 2020 local election during Covid-19 outbreak, such as conducting rapid tests for ad hoc organizers, conducting socialization and discussions with voters with disabilities, preparing health protocols at each stage, up to ensuring polling stations are accessible and inclusive. However, voters with disabilities experience several challenges based on the variety of disabilities in each stage. The author also found several challenges experienced by voters with disabilities in accordance with the variety of disabilities, both motivated by Covid-19 outbreak, as well as challenges that have often occurred from local election to local election. It is hoped that all stakeholders involved, especially in the Local Election, can have an inclusive perspective, so that the Local Election is more friendly to voters with disabilities.

Keywords: Voters with Disabilities, 2020 Local Election, Covid-19 Outbreak

INTRODUCTION

Commission II of the People’s Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia with the Ministry of Home Affairs, the General Election Commission (KPU), the General Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) and the Honorary Council of Election Administrators (DKPP) at a working meeting on Wednesday 27 May 2020 agreed that the 2020 local election (Pilkada) simultaneously be held on 9 December 2020 even though the Covid-19 outbreak has not abated. The decision that was taken caused controversy. The group that agrees has the opinion that the local election needs to be held considering that no one knows when Covid-19 will end, and it is not possible if the position of regional head is filled for too long by a substitute or acting regional head. For those who disagree, they consider the decision to be prone and considered hasty, given that the case curve for the spread of the Covid-19 outbreak has not yet decreased. Local elections were held during the Covid-19
outbreak will also affect the psychological voters, without exception voters with disabilities.

There are several important things to pay attention to when the 2020 local election is still being held during the Covid-19 outbreak, namely: First, community participation which is a political right for all citizens without discriminating against ethnicity, religion, race, gender, or physical condition, which aims as a means of conveying people's democratic rights. Local election which was held in extraordinary circumstances such as the Covid-19 outbreak should pay attention to genuine election values. This is the main milestone of an election or local election with integrity, which also includes four dimensions, namely accountability, transparency, accuracy, and compliance with ethics (ACE Project, 2013). Second, the implementation of health protocols. In implementing the 2020 local election during the Covid-19 outbreak, public safety and health is everything. World Health Organization (WHO) Indonesia (2020) in their Twitter account @WHOIndonesia also said that persons with disabilities are at greater risk of being infected with Covid-19. The reason is: persons with disabilities are difficult to access to sanitary facilities. They often touch many public objects, especially persons with visual disabilities. When in a crowd, they have difficulty maintaining physical distance. They also often have difficulty accessing information such as information on the spread of Covid-19 and the danger of being exposed to Covid-19. Therefore, it is important that election administrators also pay attention to health protocols.

Based on the numbers, persons with disabilities also belong to the minority group with the potential to be missed from the attention of the elections organizers. Based on data from the Regional Development Planning Agency (Bappeda) of the Special Region of Yogyakarta (2019) there are only less than 1% or as many as 27,129 persons with disabilities in the Special Region of Yogyakarta when compared to the total population of 3,842,932 residents. Meanwhile, based on data from the General Election Commission of
the Special Region of Yogyakarta (2019), the number of voters with disabilities in the 2019 Election is based on regencies/cities in the Special Region of Yogyakarta, namely: Sleman regency with a total of 2963 voters with disabilities, Gunungkidul regency with 2518 voters with disabilities, Kulonprogo regency with a total number of 2,293 voters with disabilities, Bantul regency with 1974 voters with disabilities, and the city of Yogyakarta with 1,697 voters with disabilities. Of the five regencies/cities in the Special Region of Yogyakarta Province, three regencies held the 2020 local election, namely Sleman Regency, Gunungkidul Regency, and Bantul Regency. This study will focus on discussing voters with disabilities with the research location in Sleman Regency which has the highest number of voters with disabilities.

The diffable group is classified into a minority group based on their number. The rights of persons with disabilities such as the right to get adequate infrastructure facilities, the right to get a decent job, to the right to participate in general elections are still marginalized. In addition, persons with disabilities in case of Election/Local Elections are still experiencing challenges and problems. Some of the challenges that are often faced from Election to Election and Local Election to Local Election by voters with disabilities include the absence of valid data for voters with disabilities, inaccessible polling stations (TPS), low understanding of the Voting Organization (KPPS) regarding accessible elections, understanding with disabilities towards their rights in the General Election/Local Election. As a result, their roles and contributions in general elections (Pemilu) are not maximally channelled (Amrurobbi & Pahlevi, 2020; Anomsari & Mursalim, 2020; Kharima, 2016; Nasution & Marwandianto, 2019; Syafi’ie, 2014). The diffable group has the same rights as other citizens of the country. One of the rights is to participate in general election or local election.

In addition, there is a lot of literature that discusses the fulfillment of rights for persons with disabilities, especially in general elections or local
elections. Rita et al. (2016) found that the general election commission has a role to provide information, provide accessibility and increase the participation of disabled voters according to PKPU No. 5 of 2015. In addition, in his research, she found the challenges faced by persons with disabilities such as not being registered in the voter list, to lack of massive socialization. Halila (2017) in his study in the city of Yogyakarta, found that the KPU of Yogyakarta City has made efforts to fulfill the political rights of persons with disabilities in accordance with Law No. 8 of 2018. Saputra et al. (2019) also explained the efforts to fulfill the rights of persons with disabilities with a case study in the West Sumatra Governor Election. The results found that election organizers were still not optimal in fulfilling the rights of voters with disabilities. Such as at the stage of socialization, which was not carried out properly by the organizers, until the TPS which were not accessible. Permatasari dan Harsasto (2019) in their research found that efforts to provide the fulfillment of rights for persons with disabilities in the Central Java Governor Election, especially Semarang City, were not good either. Meanwhile, research by Kasmawanto and Nurjannah (2021) in Lamongan Regency in the 2019 Election has gone well with indications that the election organizers carry out socialization and involve people with disabilities at every stage.

Several studies on the fulfillment of the rights of persons with disabilities have focused on the role of election organizers in facilitating disabled groups in both the general election or regional head elections and what obstacles are experienced by the election organizers. Meanwhile, this research focuses on how inclusiveness is applied in the implementation of the 2020 Pilkada during the Covid-19 outbreak. Then this research also looks at the challenges faced by disabled voters, both those that have often occurred, and challenges related to Covid-19. Also, what are the efforts made by the disabled groups to increase the active participation of the disabled groups.

The active participation of all citizens including persons with disabilities in the political process is very important because it helps maintain

Fulfilling political rights for diffable groups will create inclusiveness in the General Election/Local Election. In general, inclusive Election/Local Election is defined as the holding of an Election/Local Election that removes obstacles, serves, is friendly, is open, and embraces all elements. (James & Garnett, 2020a, p. 292, 2020b, p. 117; Organization of American State, 2013, p. 14). In the 2019 Election, the General Election Commission of the Special Region of Yogyakarta was considered successful and won the 1st place award from the General Election Commission of the Republic of Indonesia in holding an inclusive and accessible election for voters with disabilities (KPU DIY, 2019). However, the situation of the Covid-19 outbreak adds to the vulnerability of persons with disabilities that has never been studied before. In addition, so far, the implementation of inclusive Election/Local Election further explains the relationship between the services provided by the government to voters, in this case voters with disabilities. However, this research, the author also wants to show that there are several intermediary actors in this case such as Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and families of the persons with disabilities themselves who also influence the use of suffrage and inclusiveness itself. On the other hand, this study also aims to analyze how the simultaneous local election, especially in Sleman regency, were carried out during the Covid-19 outbreak on 9 December 2020 from the perspective of persons with disabilities? How can the inclusiveness of voters with disabilities be accommodated or neglected and what challenges are felt by voters with disabilities in accordance with their various disabilities regarding the implementation of the 2020 Local Election in Sleman Regency.
RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses a qualitative method by combining two approaches, namely a case study and virtual ethnography approach. Creswell (2010, p. 265) explains that qualitative research methods are methods that explore and understand the meaning of an individual or group of people based on social problems. The case study approach is defined as a research approach that focuses on a case in detail and intensively. In addition, by using a case study approach, researchers should try to test units or individuals in depth (Ary et al., 2010, p. 29; Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). A case study approach is used when examining the stages of the local election that have been carried out such as coklit, socialization, campaigning, and voting. Researchers explore and understand a case in detail and intensively by interviewing and asking questions. The information submitted by the informants was then collected and analysed. The results of the analysis can be in the form of a description then interpreted and the result is a written report. While the virtual ethnography approach is defined as an approach that adapts some features of traditional ethnography to study people’s behaviour that appears in text-based communication via computer or internet media (Hine, 2000, p. 63; Kozinets, 2010, p. 58). Virtual ethnography approach is used when the author was directly involved in the online discussion event/webinar, online meeting, and online campaign conducted by the General Election Commission (KPU) of Sleman, NGOs with disabilities, as well as each candidate in order to collecting data. In addition, the approach used for adjusting to the situation that occurred in Indonesia, namely the Covid-19 outbreak. The informants in this study were General Election Commission (KPU) of Sleman, Sasana Inklusi dan Gerakan Advokasi Difabel (SIGAB), Sentra Advokasi Perempuan, Difabel dan Anak (SAPDA), Yayasan CIQAL, Himpunan Wanita Disabilitas Indonesia (HWDI), Ikatan Tunanetra Muslim Indonesia (ITMI), and the persons who are not during the Covid-19 outbreak.
RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This study looks at the implementation of the 2020 Sleman regional election which is inclusive during the Covid-19 outbreak by dividing it into several discussion focuses, namely: First, looking at the implementation of inclusive local election from a legal perspective that applies both internationally and nationally/locally. Second, looking at the implementation of inclusive local election from the three stages of local election, such as voter registration, socialization and campaign, also at the voting day.

Law Review on the Protection of Political Rights of Persons with Disabilities and the Participation Trends of Voters with Disabilities in Indonesia

1. International Law Review

Internationally, human rights, especially for persons with disabilities in the political field, are regulated in several mutually agreed upon regulations, such as:

1) Universal Declaration of Human Rights which is a general standard which states that international human rights must be protected. The General Assembly of the United Nations (UN) inaugurated Universal Declaration of Human Rights on 10 December 1948, which is based on several principles, namely Recognition of the inherent dignity and equal and inalienable rights as the basis of freedom, justice, equality, and world peace; Building good relationships between nations; Protection of Human Rights with the rule of law; Equality between men and women; and Cooperation between States and the United Nations (UN) to achieve universal recognition of Human Rights (HAM) and basic freedoms (Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia, 2016). Indonesia has ratified or adopted Universal Declaration of Human Rights principles into the 1945 Constitution (UUD) after the collapse of Soeharto’s authoritarianism regime, through a series of constitutional amendment processes. (Aji, 2019: 12)

2) The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) is a follow-up to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The ICCPR guarantees freedom of politics for everyone. This is explained in Part I Article 1 which states “All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.” The ICCPR was then ratified
on 28 October 2005 by Indonesia and is contained in Law Number 12 of 2005 concerning Ratification of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

3) The Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) is a convention that focuses on discussion on the rights of persons with disabilities. The CRPD is an international Human Rights (HAM) instrument to respect, fulfill, and protect the rights of persons with disabilities (Development tool and Human Rights Instrument). In addition, the purpose of this convention is to promote, protect and guarantee the basic equal rights and freedoms for all persons with disabilities, as well as respect for the dignity of persons with disabilities as an inherent dignity. (Repindowaty, 2015, p. 9)

2. Local Law Review

Indonesia is a state of law, as stated in Article 1 Paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution, where the state is the guarantor of law enforcement, including guarantees for the protection of human rights, which have become part of the Indonesian law (Latief, 2007, p. 121). In the context of national law in Indonesia, there are several legal frameworks that guarantee the rights of persons with disabilities in the implementation of the General Election/Local Election. We can see this below:

1) The 1945 Constitution (UUD) is the constitution of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, one of which regulates the rights to vote or to vote (right to vote) for every individual or citizen who has met the requirements to become a voter. This is stated in article 1 paragraph (2), article 2 paragraph (1), article 6A paragraph (1), article 19 paragraph (1), and article 22C paragraph (1). However, the 1945 Constitution does not specifically explain that the right to vote for citizens in local election (Pilkada). The 1945 Constitution only mandates Article 18 Paragraph (4) which reads "Governor, Regent, and Mayor respectively as heads of provincial, regency, and city governments are democratically elected". The article has multiple interpretations, local election (Pilkada) can be interpreted as direct elections by the people or indirectly through Regional People's Representative Assembly. Regardless of the pros and cons of this argument, it is clear that the Indonesian people have the right to vote without discrimination.

2) In Law Number 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights, it describes human rights in politics, including the local election. This is stated in several articles, such as article 23 paragraph (1), and article 43 paragraph (1). Meanwhile, articles that regulate political inclusiveness, one of which is for persons with disabilities, are explained in article 3 paragraph (3), article 5 paragraph (3), and article 41 paragraph (2).

3) Law Number 8 of 2016 concerning Persons with Disabilities was made with the background that most persons with disabilities in Indonesia live in conditions or conditions that are vulnerable, backward, to poor. This is
because there are still restrictions, obstacles, difficulties, and reduction or elimination of the rights of persons with disabilities. Guarantees of political rights and accessibility, especially in the implementation of General Elections/Local Election for persons with disabilities are explained in several articles, namely Article 13 points a, f, and g; Article 75 paragraphs (1) and (2); and article 77.

3. Election and Local Election Law Review

Apart from being seen from the perspective of international law and national law, the rights of voters with disabilities in the implementation of the General Election and Local Election are also guaranteed in the Election and Local Election law.

1) In Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections there is an article that explicitly guarantees equal rights for persons with disabilities, namely Article 5 which reads "Persons with disabilities who meet the requirements have the same opportunities as voters, as candidates for members of the DPR, as candidates for members of the DPD, as a candidate for President/Vice President, as a candidate for DPRD member, and as an election organizer".

2) In contrast to the Election Law, in the Local Election Law both Government Regulations in Lieu of Law Number 1 of 2014, Law Number 1 of 2015, and Law Number 6 of 2020, there are no articles that explicitly explain the guarantee of the rights of voters with disabilities. Although the KPU as the organizer of the General Election/Local Election has the authority to make a technical regulation called the General Election Commission Regulation (PKPU), it is necessary to continue to emphasize the rights of minority groups, especially persons with disabilities in the law governing the elections in the future. With a clear legal umbrella, this can strengthen the rights of persons with disabilities in the Local Election.

As the concept of equal rights between human beings, human rights do not require differences for persons with disabilities. Respecting, protecting, and fulfilling the rights of persons with disabilities is the state’s obligation. The regulation, which has been described in depth above, is very firm in protecting the constitutional rights of persons with disabilities without discrimination and with disabilities also have the right to get easy access, especially in General Elections and Local Election. Some of the above regulations can be regarded as affirmative action. De Vries in Mariliz Marx (1998, p. 67) dan McDonald (1994, p. 43) defines affirmative action as a means that allows groups that were previously disadvantaged or not facilitated by the state, to become groups that have equal opportunities and are facilitated by country.
**Trends in Participation of Voters with Disabilities in Indonesia**

The General Election Commission both at the national and local levels, in this case as one of the Local Election organizers, has made several efforts from Election to Election or Local Election to Local Election such as grouping disabled voters based on their different disabilities in the final voter list (DPT), coordination between the KPU and NGOs with disabilities, socialization and simulation of voting for disabled voters, to providing accessible polling stations. This is done in order to ensure the voting rights of persons with disabilities, create inclusive Local Election, and increase voter participation. (Amrurobbi et al., 2020, pp. 147–160; Andriani & Amsari, 2020, pp. 777–798; Rahman & Indrayati, 2019, pp. 151–162)

Voter participation is an interesting thing to discuss in the implementation of the 2020 simultaneous regional elections held during the Covid-19 outbreak. The General Election Commission (KPU) of the Republic of Indonesia targets national voter turnout of 77.5%. However, in the reality, that number is not reached. Based on data from the KPU of the Republic of Indonesia, the voter turnout in the 2020 Local Election during the Covid-19 outbreak reached 76.09% or slightly below the national participation target. In contrast to the 2019 General Election, the participation reached 81.97% of the national target of 77.5%. (Jelita, 2019; Komisi Pemilihan Umum Republik Indonesia, 2021, p. 1; Putri, 2020). If we are more focused again into the issue of voters with disabilities, the same thing happened. The participation of voters with disabilities in the 2020 Sleman Regency Local Election during the Covid-19 outbreak is still very low, it has even decreased compared to the 2019 Election. This can be seen in the table 1 below.

The failure to achieve the national voter with disabilities participation target can be caused by several problems, one of which is the Covid-19 outbreak. In fact, it is not only voters with disabilities who experience some obstacles in participating, but in this case, based on the results of the research that focuses on the issue of voters with disabilities in Sleman regency, in
general, the decline in targets and participation of voters with disabilities is caused by the persons with disability’s own internal factors and one of the factor is the Covid-19 outbreak. Although both international and local legal reviews have guaranteed political rights, in this case the right to vote for disabled groups. This will be clearly explained in the next section.

### Table 1. Comparison of the Participation of Voters with Disabilities in the 2015 Local Election, the 2019 General Election, and the 2020 Local Election in Sleman Regency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Voters</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2015 Local Election</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>19.79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2019 General Election</td>
<td>1195</td>
<td>40.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2020 Local Election</td>
<td>1091</td>
<td>25.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: General Election Commission (KPU) of the Republic of Indonesia (2015) and General Election Commission (KPU) of Sleman Regency (2019; 2020)

**Voter Registration: Challenges and Roles of Voters with Disabilities**

ACE Electoral Knowledge Network (in Hasyim Asy’ari, 2012) explains that there are several principles that are absolute requirements in the implementation of the General Election/Local Election. The stages of voter registration must pay attention to several principles: First, the principle of being comprehensive or able to contain all citizens of the Republic of Indonesia who have met the requirements. Second, the principle of accuracy, means that the voter list contains accurate information about voters. Third, the principle of cutting-edge, which means that the list of voters is compiled based on the latest information from voters. The voter registration stage is also often seen as a crucial stage because election administrators must be able to ensure that people who have qualified as voters are registered and can exercise their voting rights on polling day.

**Efforts to Secure Voting Rights During the Covid-19 Outbreak**

Indonesia is a country that uses the type of voter registration conducted by election organizers based on data from the government (Ramadhanil et al., 2019, p. 8). The General Elections Commission (KPU) in the 2014 General
Election began to collect data on persons with disabilities as voters based on 5 (five) types of disabilities, namely: 1. Voters with visual disabilities, 2. Voters with physical disabilities, 3. Voters with hearing impairments, 4. Voters with mental disabilities, and 5. Voters with other disabilities. The voter data collection is called the stage of matching and researching voter data (Coklit). Coklit is an activity of updating voter data carried out by the Voter Data Update Officer (PPDP) by visiting the house and meeting voters in person or door to door. Then, the results of the Coklit stage will become the KPU’s material in compiling the voter list.

Prior to the Coklit implementation, the KPU held technical guidance which was provided to improve the understanding of PPDP officers. The technical guidance for PPDP is carried out by the Voting Officer (PPS). The material provided was not only about the stages and schedules for updating voter data, checking PPDP logistics in the field, as well as knowledge about the 2020 Local Election, but also provided material related to technical and work operational standards. One of these basic techniques is related to marking in the statement if the voter data is suitable and providing notes or information for voters with disabilities in accordance with the disabilities experienced by voters. In order to make it easier for PPDP officers in classifying voters with disabilities whom they meet during the Coklit process, PPDP has guidelines for the category of diffable groups. This is explained in the 2020 PPDP Concurrent Local Election Workbook (Komisi Pemilihan Umum Republik Indonesia, 2020, p. 16). In the midst of the Covid-19 outbreak, the General Election Commission (KPU), in this case the KPU of Sleman, carried out several strategies in matching and researching voter data ahead of the 2020 Local Election. One of them is using Personal Protective Equipment (PPE) to ensure both Coklit officer and the voters who were registered were spared the Covid-19 outbreak. This is also stated in the General Election Commission Regulation (PKP) Number 6 of 2020 Article 5.
Persons with Disabilities and the Challenges in Voter Registration

Even though PPDP has used PPE and they have been confirmed to be negative for Covid-19 from the rapid tests that have been carried out, voters with disabilities still feel unsafe from the Covid-19 outbreak. This anxiety does not occur to all types of difflable, but it occurs in voters with visual impairments who need to hold a lot of objects, voters with hearing disorders who have difficulty communicating because they use masks, and Voters with mental disabilities who do not understand the importance of using PPE. Apart from the Covid-19 outbreak, social attitudes and negative stigma towards persons with disabilities in Indonesian society are also challenges that often occur. Discriminatory attitudes can occur in the implementation of the General Election/Lokal Election. There are still many families who feel that persons with disabilities are a "disgrace", and the family is very closed or overprotective. They feel there is no need to invite family members with disabilities to participate in the General Election/Local Election. The reality on the ground also shows that there are still many persons with disabilities who do not have an electronic Identity Card (KTP-el), and there are even persons with disabilities who are not registered on the family card. Whereas the electronic Identity Card (KTP-el) is one of the requirements to be registered as voters based on PKPU Number 17 of 2020. Another challenge faced by voters with disabilities in the voter registration process is the attitude of election administrators who are not inclusive. For example, in the implementation of voter data matching and research, there are still organizers, especially ad hoc officer who do not understand the variety or type of disability.

If we look back at the history of holding general elections or local elections in Indonesia, chaos or disputes often occur due to inaccurate voter lists. An inaccurate or problematic voter list becomes an opening for the occurrence of acts of marking up votes or the appearance of fake votes. It can benefit a particular candidate and otherwise harm another candidate. This incident can also be a potential for voter list disputes. A dispute is defined as a
dispute that occurs between the parties to the agreement due to default or the implementation of an unfulfilled obligation carried out by one of the parties in the agreement. Usually these disputes are factual in nature or disputes that exist in their perceptions only. (Amriani, 2012, p. 13; Rahmadi, 2011, p. 1)

Voting Rights of Persons with Disabilities: The Role of SIGAB, SAPDA, CIQAL, HWDI, and ITMI

Inclusiveness for persons with disabilities in the voter registration process is the struggle of communities or NGOs that focus on the issue of persons with disabilities and understand the needs of persons with disabilities. The results of interviews with SIGAB, SAPDA, CIQAL Foundation, ITMI, and HWDI as NGOs that focus on disability issues show various efforts, such as: First, advocating to the Department of Population and Civil Registration (Disdukcapil) of Sleman regency and assisting voters with disabilities in making electronic ID cards. Second, socializing and giving advice that persons with disabilities also have the same right to vote in the 2020 local elections. These NGOs provide education that persons with disabilities need to be registered on the voter list. Third, cooperate with the General Election Commission (KPU) of Sleman Regency, especially in the process of voter registration stages.

As NGOs, they carry out the role of intermediary actors. Noeleen Heyzer in Affan Gaffar (1999, p. 203) explains that there are three types of roles played by various intermediary actors, namely: First, supporting and empowering communities at the grassroots level, which aims to create sustainable development. Second, increasing and expanding political influence through cooperative networks, either within a country or with international institutions. Third, can take part in determining the direction and development agenda. Although there are still some problems and challenges faced by voters with disabilities, NGOs, and the KPU, from time to time the list of disabled voters has improved and increased. It can be seen from the number of voters with disabilities are increasing from the 2015 local election, the 2019 election
and the 2020 local election, one of which is because the voter registration, especially for the disabled are getting better. This can be seen in the table 2 below.

Table 2. Increase in the Number of Final Voters List for Voters with Disabilities in Sleman Regency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Final Voter List of PwDs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2015 Local Election</td>
<td>1480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2019 General Election</td>
<td>2963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2020 Local Election</td>
<td>4272</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The increase in the permanent voter list for persons with disabilities is one of the characteristics of the success of KPU of Sleman Regency in ensuring the right to vote for disabled groups who have met the requirements.

Reflection: Coklit and Inclusive Elections

If we refer to the challenges and obstacles that occurred at the Coklit stage and have been described above, the author draws a common thread that the implementation of Coklit still cannot be said to be a Coklit stage that is in accordance with ethics or indicators for the implementation of inclusive local election, although the KPU of Sleman Regency and the NGOs have made several efforts. This is for several reasons: first, the Coklit stage is not yet universal or general. Considering that there are still some voters with disabilities who do not have an ID card or family card and are not registered in the voter list. In addition, there are still families that prevent disabled voters from registering as voters. Second, the Coklit stage is not yet fair because there are still many diffable groups who have not been registered as voters, so in the end they do not receive justice and the same rights as other people to be able to vote in the
2020 local election. Third, the Coklit stage is not yet serving. This can be seen from the fact that many PPDP do not understand the various diffabilities. Fourth, the Coklit stage is still not friendly because there are still many ad hoc bodies that are not inclusive, so they do not understand how to treat and communicate with voters with disabilities.

**Political Literacy for Voters with Disabilities: The Dynamics of Socialization and Campaigns During the Covid-19 Outbreak**

In this study, researchers used the concept of voter literacy proposed by Denver dan Hands (1990, p. 263). They argue that political literacy has the aim of increasing knowledge and understanding of political processes and political issues which enable people to carry out their role as citizens effectively. In this section, the authors divide into two interrelated issues in terms of political literacy for voters with disabilities in the implementation of the 2020 local election in Sleman Regency, namely the socialization stage carried out by the KPU Sleman and the campaigns carried out by the candidates.

**Dissemination and Dynamics of Voters with Disabilities**

1. KPU and Literacy of Disabled Voters

   The General Election Commission (KPU), in this case the KPU of Sleman Regency, has the task of carrying out all stages of organizing the local election, one of which is socialization. Damsar (2017, p. 70) and Suyanto (2010, p. 13) define socialization as an interaction process in which a person learns how to think or acquire knowledge, feel, and act, all of which are very important in creating effective social participation in the community.

   Based on the results of the Focus Group Discussion (FGD) in collaboration with the *Komite Independen Sadar Pemilu* (KISP), the KPU of Sleman Regency conducted socialization as a form of political education ahead of the 2020 local election. The material presented by the KPU of Sleman Regency is related to the legal basis for the implementation of the 2020 local
election, the stages of the local election, and the importance of exercising voting rights. In addition, the impact of the 2020 local election during the Covid-19 outbreak forced the KPU of Sleman Regency to provide socialization related to the implementation of health protocols in the implementation of the local election.

2. Stages of Socialization: Voters with Disabilities and Challenges

The KPU of Sleman Regency has attempted to provide election dissemination to increase the literacy of voters with disabilities in the 2020 local election. However, in practice, the socialization carried out by the KPU is still ineffective. This is because not all voters with disabilities can immediately understand and understand related to electoral politics. There is a need for a sustainable socialization of political education. This in turn will create an increase in understanding, especially in relation to electoral politics. Socialization of political education should not only be considered as an incident or activity that is carried out incidentally or carried out close to the activities of the General Election/Local Election.

Not only that, as a result of the spread of the Covid-19 outbreak, disabled voters also experienced difficulties in participating in the socialization of the 2020 local election, whether through online or offline media. The Covid-19 outbreak forced organizers to reduce face-to-face meetings. Socialization is done online through webinars. However, in the field, there are still many persons with disabilities who do not understand how to use online media.

Based on data from the Ministry of Communication and Information of the Republic of Indonesia (2020) in 2018, there are several obstacles for them, one of which is persons with disabilities who have not used the internet such as not knowing how to use technology, not being interested or not feeling the need to use it because they do not know the function of the internet, and high internet operating costs. This unequal opportunity creates a digital divide.
Gargallo-Castel et al (2010, p. 121) and Van Dijk (2006, p. 221–235) explain the digital divide as a gap that occurs in those living below the poverty line, rural communities, the elderly, and persons with disabilities in accessing technology, information and communication (ICT) and its use for various activities.

As an alternative to online socialization, the implementation of offline or face-to-face socialization also faces challenges and obstacles for voters with disabilities when the Covid-19 outbreak is still spreading. This was conveyed by several resource persons, activists and those who are not members of NGOs. The reason is because the Covid-19 outbreak is considered a dangerous threat to fellow voters with disabilities and is afraid of unsterile socialization places. In addition, for voters with disabilities who are blind, they will often hold objects around them that are not necessarily sterile from Covid-19, for voters with disabilities with physical disabilities they have difficulty accessing socialization places. Meanwhile, voters who are deaf and speech impaired have difficulty communicating because the mouth area is covered by a mask. Another problem that poses a challenge for persons with disabilities in socialization is the lack of understanding of local election organizers, especially at the ad hoc level. Based on observations, there are still many election organizers, especially at lower levels such as the Sub-district Election Committee (PPK) and the Voting Committee (PPS) who do not understand how to provide socialization to persons with disabilities based on the type of disability.

3. Socialization and the Efforts of NGOs

As intermediary actors, SIGAB, SAPDA, CIQAL, HWDI, and ITMI also have the responsibility to be able to provide socialization for the 2020 local election, although they do not comprehensively explain all stages of implementation. Then, the five disabled NGOs in collaboration with the Komite Independen Sadar Pemilu (KISP) conducted a socialization on 30 November
2020 which invited the KPU of the Republic of Indonesia, the KPU of Bantul Regency, the KPU of Gunungkidul Regency, and the KPU of Sleman Regency.

On this occasion, the KPU of the Republic of Indonesia explained the legal basis for the local election which was held during the Covid-19 outbreak. Meanwhile, the KPU of Bantul Regency, the KPU of Gunungkidul Regency, and the KPU of Sleman Regency conveyed several activities in preparing for the 2020 local election that were accessible for persons with disabilities and safe from the Covid-19 outbreak. Apart from the local election organizers, the diffable group also conveyed several possible challenges such as difficulties in implementing health protocols, difficulty communicating due to wearing masks, and possibly inaccessible polling stations. On the same occasion, the KPU of Bantul Regency, the KPU of Gunungkidul Regency, and the KPU of Sleman Regency also committed to be able to involve diffable groups in every stage of the local election.

4. Reflection: Inclusiveness at the Socialization Stage

Although the KPU of Sleman Regency and NGOs with disabilities have made several efforts to create an inclusive local election, especially at the socialization stage, this stage still cannot be considered an inclusive socialization stage for the following reasons: first, the socialization stage is not yet general and universal because this stage cannot cover or targeting all voters with disabilities with a variety of disabilities, especially in the online socialization stage. Second, the socialization stage is not fair, considering that there are still many voters with disabilities who find it difficult to get information, especially for voters with disabilities who are not members of NGOs. Third, this stage is not yet serving due to unsustainable socialization/political education. Fourth, this stage is not friendly because there are still many voters with disabilities who are afraid of socialization places that are not sterile from Covid-19 in the implementation of offline socialization, and there are still many ad hoc organizers who do not understand how to communicate and provide services in socialization based
on their variety of disabilities.

**Campaign and Vote Barn of Voters with Disabilities**

1. Candidate Campaigns and Strategies in Attract Voters with Disabilities

   One of the impacts of the Covid-19 outbreak is forcing each pair of election candidates to campaign through online media such as social media. In Indonesia itself, social media has been considered an effective tool in conducting political campaigns (Abdillah, 2014, p. 8; Ediraras et al., 2013, p. 587; Fadhlurrohman & Purnomo, 2020, p. 311). Ideally, campaigns should not only be oriented towards a large voter group population, but should also target the entire voter group, including voters with disabilities. Based on the author's observations in the social media accounts used for the campaign by each participant of the 2020 Sleman local election, it shows that:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate Pair</th>
<th>Campaigns for Voters with Disabilities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Danang Wicaksana-Agus Choliq</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslimatun-Amin</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kustini-Danang</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   Based on table 3 above, candidate pair number 1, Danang Wicaksana Sulisty-Agus Choliq, posted 12 campaigns with voters with disabilities. Candidate pair number 2 Sri Muslimatun-Amin Purnama only posted 2 campaigns with voters with disabilities. Meanwhile, candidate pair number 3 Kustini Sri Purnomo-Danang Maharsa posted 4 campaigns with voters with disabilities.
Table 3. Campaign Issues of the Candidate in the 2020 Sleman Local Election

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Candidate Pair 1</th>
<th>Candidate Pair 2</th>
<th>Candidate Pair 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economy</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infrastructure</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on the table 3 above, the issue of candidate pair number 1 Danang Wicaksana Sulisty-a-Agus Choliq, namely economic issues with 6 posts, infrastructure issues with 2 posts, health issues with 3 posts, and administrative service issues 1 post. Candidate pair number 2 Sri Muslimatun-Amin Purnama only focuses on campaign issues related to economic improvement, especially for persons with disabilities, improving infrastructure, and inclusive services. This can be seen from 2 posts that focus on economic issues, 1 post that focuses on infrastructure issues, and 1 post that focuses on inclusive services. While the candidate pair number 3 Kustini Sri Purnomo-Danang Maharsa focused on economic issues with 2 posts, education issues and administrative service issues with 1 post each.

Based on the results of the content analysis conducted on the three pairs of candidates, it shows that although the Danang Wicaksana Sulisty-a-Agus Choliq pair campaigned the most for the persons with disabilities,
however, community engagement is more inclined towards Kustini-Danang because out of the 7.9 thousand people who have followed the Kustini-Danang page, there are 167 likes and 14 comments on posts. In addition, the comments conveyed by the community have the nuances of support for the Kustini-Danang couple and an explanation that groups with disabilities also have equal rights in all activities, one of which is local election. Although in fact the Kustini-Danang candidate pair did not cover much of the program for persons with disabilities. Kustini even said that if they won the elections, Kustini-Danang would continue the Sleman Regency government programs which they rated well and there was no new program offer to improve conditions for persons with disabilities.

1. Campaign and Challenges for Persons with Disabilities

During the Covid-19 outbreak, campaign strategies must be adjusted, by maximizing the use of social media. Although campaigns on social media are considered to be effective during the Covid-19 outbreak, on the other hand, campaigning through social media is a challenge for voters with disabilities. In addition to social media, online seminars or better known as webinars are also considered less effective for voters with disabilities.

Meanwhile, the face-to-face 2020 local election campaign carried out by each pair of candidates also poses several challenges for voters with disabilities. Based on the results of interviews with disabled voters who are members of and not affiliated with NGOs, the author analyzes several problems that occur during the face-to-face 2020 local election campaign.

First, candidate and successful teams that is not inclusive, where face-to-face campaigns carried out by candidate pairs and success teams did not invite all or representatives of voters with disabilities according to their variety of disabilities; do not understand how to lead the way for persons with visual impairments; lack of knowledge in communication, especially persons with speech and hearing impairments, and persons with mental disabilities;
until the campaign is carried out in a room with terraces which will make it difficult for the persons with visual impairments, persons with physical disabilities, and persons with mental disabilities to access.

Second, the practice of money politics. Based on an interview with one of the voters with disabilities who did not want to be named, he found that one of the 2020 local election candidate pairs in Sleman Regency gave the lure of money and goods. The lure was conveyed to the heads of NGOs directly.

Third, incomplete information due to minimal campaign frequency. In addition to the issue of media for delivering campaigns, the frequency of campaigns is actually an important thing to pay attention to. The assumption is that the more candidate pairs, campaigners, or political parties are active in campaigning and are recognized by the public, the greater the chance for the community to vote for them.

2. NGOs and Their Role in Political Campaign

The campaign is one of the stages in the implementation of local election which can be used as a place to carry out political contracts and create a balance between state power and people’s sovereignty as stated by Chandoke in Effendi (2018, p. 133). The five NGOs assisting disabled groups took an active role in overseeing the implementation of the right to vote for persons with disabilities at the 2020 local election campaign stage during the Covid-19 outbreak so that voters with disabilities could articulate their interests to prospective regional leaders, especially in Sleman Regency, and know the program, until the vision and mission of each candidate. Even though as organizations that have a large mass base, the five NGOs did not mobilize voters with disabilities to choose certain candidates, because their rights and choices were completely returned to the voters themselves.

The five NGOs do not have a clear political contract or do not carry out a political contract as evidenced by a formal legal agreement document. The political contract in question is only verbal, in which the disabled group
expresses interests or programs that are friendly to persons with disabilities such as accessibility and fulfillment of jobs, economy, education, and health. The diffable group expects inclusiveness in all fields. While the candidate pairs only accommodate aspirations and offer their vision, mission, and program. This is considered not a political contract that can be realized properly, if there is no follow-up or escort from the diffable group itself. Follow up or escort can be done by participating in activities such as the Development Planning Conference (Musyawarah Rencana Pembangunan/Musrenbang) at every level.

3. Reflection: Inclusiveness at the Campaign Stage

At the campaign stage, the KPU of Sleman Regency and NGOs have also made several efforts to create inclusive local election during the Covid-19 outbreak. However, based on field findings, this does not necessarily happen. There are several reasons that make the campaign stage not inclusive, namely: first, the campaign is not universal and general because it has not been able to target all elements with disabilities according to their variety of disabilities and not all voters with disabilities with various disabilities can participate in online campaigns. Second, the campaign cannot be said to be fair because it has not been able to direct or target all persons with disabilities in accordance with their variety of disabilities. Third, the campaign is not fully serving because the intensity of the campaign is still lacking for voters with disabilities. Fourth, the campaign is not yet friendly, considering that both candidate pairs and campaigners/campaign teams understand how to communicate with persons with disabilities based on their different disabilities.

Voting Day and Challenges for Voters with Disabilities

Voting is one of the processes of political participation for disabled voters. Budiardjo (2010, p. 367) and Surbakti (2010, p. 179) define political participation as the activity or participation of a person or group of people in political life by choosing leaders directly or indirectly, influencing the process of making and implementing policies resulting from political decisions. This section explains how the KPU seeks to make inclusive voting in the 2020 local
election, the realities and challenges experienced by disabled voters, and the results of monitoring the accessibility of the 2020 local election in Sleman Regency.

**Pursuing Inclusive Voting Day During the Covid-19 Outbreak**

The implementation of the local election voting during the Covid-19 outbreak forced the KPU as the election organizer to be able to prepare a safe and comfortable voting process. In creating an inclusive 2020 local election during the Covid-19 outbreak, the KPU of Sleman Regency has made several efforts to create an inclusive local election of Sleman Regency, such as providing technical guidance (Bimtek) to organizers at the polling station (TPS) or KPPS level, in coordination with KPPS to ensure that TPS are accessible, and monitoring or supervising the establishment of TPS (Nasir, 2020).

In addition to accessibility at polling stations, the KPU of Sleman Regency has also provided several facilities to support the implementation of inclusive regional elections during the Covid-19 outbreak for voters with disabilities, such as providing tools in the form of braille templates provided for blind voters. The KPU of Sleman Regency has also provided capable KPPS officers to assist voters with disabilities in exercising their voting rights at TPS by observing the principles of direct, general, free, confidential, honest, and fair. Apart from accompanying officers, the KPU of Sleman Regency also allows the families or relatives of voters with disabilities to be able to assist persons with disabilities in exercising their voting rights in accordance with applicable regulations.

**Voting: Reality and Challenges of Voters with Disabilities in the Field**

Although many policies and methods have been prepared to support the implementation of inclusive and accessible local elections during the Covid-19 outbreak, especially in voting, there are still many obstacles and challenges that occur both from internal factors and external factors for
disabled voters. Based on the results of interviews with SIGAB, SAPDA, HWDI, ITMI, and CIQAL, Covid-19 is a serious new challenge and obstacle for voters with disabilities to come to polling stations (TPS). The Covid-19 outbreak has limited the space for voters with disabilities to move. In addition, as in the local election stages before election day described above, internal factors of disabled voters, such as unsupportive families, often become a challenge and an obstacle for disabled voters to be able to vote on voting day. In addition, this vulnerability is caused because groups with disabilities with various disabilities are difficult to apply rules such as physical distancing, because in their daily activities some of them need assistance, meaning that they must always interact with other people to carry out their activities. Also, some of the persons with disabilities will hold many objects around which are not necessarily sterile.

Another challenge and obstacle is the lack of knowledge of ad hoc organizers, especially the KPPS. Actually, the lack of understanding of KPPS in providing services for persons with disabilities is a classic problem in the implementation of the General Election/Local Election (Amrurobbi & Pahlevi, 2020; Dedi & Soedarmo, 2020, pp. 14–28; Kharima, 2016; Muladi, 2005, p. 261; Saputra et al., 2019). During the 2020 Local Election in Sleman Regency, these problems still occur. In addition, the local election this time was held during the Covid-19 outbreak and was different from the previous Election/Local Election.

If we refer to the criteria described in the KPPS guidebook, it is certain that there will be TPS that are accessible for persons with disabilities. However, in practice, until now, accessibility at polling stations is still a mere wishful thinking. As if you don’t want to learn from mistakes in the implementation of the previous General Elections and Local Election, in the 2020 local there are still many inaccessible polling stations found. Based on the results of observations made in two villages, namely Balecatur Village at Gamping Sub-district and Wonokerto Village at Turi sub-district, the authors
found that there were still many inaccessible TPS, such as in Balecatur Village there were two inaccessible TPS, namely TPS 10 at Sumber Hamlet, and TPS 28 at Prengdawe Hamlet. Meanwhile, in Wonokerto Village, there are four TPS which are not accessible, namely TPS 03 at Gondoarum Hamlet, TPS 04 at Sempu Hamlet, TPS 06 at Dukuhsari Hamlet, and TPS 21 at Sangurejo Hamlet.

The inaccessible polling stations are considered to be a challenge for disabled voters, especially for voters with physical disabilities, voters with visual impairment, and voters with mental disabilities in exercising their voting rights. For voters with speech disabilities, at the time of voting, they also have difficulty communicating with KPPS officers because the officers' knowledge is still minimal to know how to communicate with voters with speech disabilities. In addition, for voters with hearing impairment, there is no interpreter or language translator facility at the polling stations that have voters with hearing impairment. Another challenge for voters with hearing impairment is that they have difficulty communicating because they wear masks, considering that one of the tricks or ways for them to know what the other person is saying is by looking at the movement of the other person's lips. However, on the other hand, the KPU also allows voters with disabilities to be assisted when exercising their voting rights if they wish. In addition to the classic challenges that often arise from local election to local election, based on the results of field observations, there are still many voters with disabilities who do not understand the importance of using personal protective equipment to prevent exposure to the Covid-19 outbreak. Some of the explanations above are evidence that the implementation of the 2020 Sleman Local Election during the Covid-19 outbreak cannot be said to be inclusive.

**The Role of NGOs in Voting Day**

When persons with disabilities actively participate in the election stage, it means that persons with disabilities also take influence in choosing leaders who will later become places for persons with disabilities to depend on their
future and express their opinions as a form of prosperous citizens. Based on the results of interviews with SIGAB, SAPDA, CIQAL Foundation, ITMI, and HWDI, they carried out several activities to support and increase the participation of voters with disabilities, especially in the 2020 local election of Sleman Regency. Some of these activities include providing education on the importance of using voting rights, especially in the 2020 local election, providing education not to accept bribes in the form of money politics, reminding voters with disabilities to use their voting rights according to their hearts and consciences, and remind voters with disabilities who come to polling stations to always comply with health protocols. This is done through networks owned by the five NGOs and using platforms such as WhatsApp groups. They have WhatsApp groups with several levels, for example WhatsApp groups with disabled activists from the village, sub-district, district, to provincial levels. This shows the facilitation of social media which helps activists from NGOs to connect and organize.

With these activities, it is hoped that voters with disabilities can become active voters and vote rationally. Rational choice behaviour is based on the fact that all decisions made by voters are rational.

**Reflection: Inclusive Voting Day**

The voting stage is a crucial stage because at that stage, voters come to the polling station to exercise their voting rights and determine which candidate will be elected. The KPU of Sleman Regency and NGOs have also made efforts to create an inclusive voting stage. However, if we reflect on the findings in the field, this stage is far from being inclusive. The reasons are because: first, this stage is not yet universal and general, considering that there are still many families that prohibit diffable from exercising their right to vote for reasons of shame / seeing diffable as a disgrace. Second, the voting stages are not yet fair, because there are still some voters with disabilities who have difficulty accessing or visiting polling stations and exercising their voting rights.
rights. Third, this stage is still not serving, because there are still KPPS officers who are not inclusive and understand how to provide services for voters with disabilities. Fourth, this stage is not yet friendly, on the grounds that there are still many polling stations that are not accessible.

CONCLUSION

The holding of the 2020 local election during the Covid-19 outbreak became a new challenge for the 270 regions that held it, including Sleman Regency. Not only for local election organizers, voters – in this study, voters with disabilities – experienced the same thing. The General Elections Commission (KPU), in this case the KPU of Sleman Regency, has also sought several strategies or activities to support the 2020 local election which is inclusive during the Covid-19 outbreak. But unfortunately, the participation of voters with disabilities in the 2020 local election of Sleman Regency during the Covid-19 outbreak is still very low, it has even decreased compared to the 2019 Election. The author concludes that the decline in participation in the 2020 local election of Sleman Regency occurs because there are still several problems and challenges for voters with disabilities, in this case the author looks at the three stages of the local election and sees according to the variety of disabilities. The author also concludes that the 2020 local election of Sleman Regency cannot be categorized as an inclusive local election. This conclusion is also supported by the acknowledgment of NGOs and voters with disabilities who had to struggle to convey their vote on the day of the 2020 local election.

Therefore, it is hoped that the results of this research can be a reference, improvement, and reflection for all relevant stakeholders such as the government/policy makers, KPU of Sleman Regency, NGOs, voters with disabilities, and political parties to be able to create inclusive local elections in the future.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


