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RESEARCH REPORT

NARROWING THE GAP BETWEEN AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AND ADMINISTRATION: STUDY ON THE APPLICATION OF AFFIRMATIVE POLICY ON POLITICAL PARTIES' DPP STRUCTURE

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Affirmative policy in politics in Indonesia were first stipulated in the Law on Political Parties. The affirmative policy was later also contained in the Law on General Election (*Pemilu*). Affirmative policy in Law on Political Parties was set forth for the first time in Law No. 31 of 2002 concerning Political Parties. Article (7) letter (e) of the Law states that one of the functions of political parties is as a means of “political recruitment in the process of filling political positions through democratic mechanisms with due observance of gender equality and justice”. In addition, Article (13) paragraph (3) provides that “the management of political parties at each level shall be democratically elected through the political party’s deliberative forums in compliance with its Constitution and Bylaws with due observance of gender equality and justice”. Accordingly, the law urges political parties to take into account gender representation in the recruitment process and in the establishment of party management.

Law on Political Parties No. 2 of 2008 further strengthened the affirmative action provisions by stipulating that political parties observe a minimum quota of 30% women’s representation in their establishment and formation, as well as in the executive board. Article 2, paragraph 2 of the Law states that “the establishment and formation of political parties includes 30% representation of women”. Then in Article 2 paragraph 5 there is another provision stating that, “the executive board of political parties at the central level is arranged by including a minimum of 30% representation of women”. Furthermore, in article 20, the provision regarding the minimum of 30% representation of women applies also to the executive board of political parties at the provincial and district/city levels, provided this is in accordance with the rules in the political parties’ Constitution and Bylaws (*Anggaran Dasar dan Anggaran Rumah Tangga –AD and ART*).

Law No. 2 of 2011 on Political Parties, which is an amendment to Law No. 2 of 2008, retains all the affirmative action provisions regarding the establishment, formation, and management of political parties at each level. Moreover, there are additional affirmative action provisions in Article 1a of Law No. 2 of 2011 specifying that recruitment of prospective legislative candidates for the People’s Representative Council (*Dewan*

Perwakilan Rakyat –DPR) and Regional Representative Council (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah –DPRD*) by political parties “is carried out through a democratic selection of cadreship according to the AD and ART, taking into consideration the minimum 30% representation of women”. Thus, an affirmative policy for the nomination of women in legislative elections is well established in Law No. 2 of 2011 on Political Parties.

As of this writing, the DPR has neither enacted a new Law on Political Parties nor amended Law No 2 of 2011. The affirmative action provisions and their development as described above demonstrate that systematic efforts to increase women’s representation in the executive board of political parties are in place. Their implementation, however, remains weak because failure to comply leads to no sanctions for political parties. In addition, the formulation in the Law on the Political Parties Political Party Law suggests that the application of affirmative policy in a political party is still subject to internal regulations of the parties, such as the AD and ART (Margret *et al.*, 2018).

Data gathered by Cakra Wikara Indonesia (CWI) shows that there is a gradual increase in the percentage of women’s representation in the Central Executive Board (*Dewan Pengurus Pusat –DPP*) of political parties since the period after the enactment of Law No. 31 of 2002, after the enactment of Law No. 2 of 2008 until after the issuance of Law No. 2 of 2011 (Margret *et al.*, 2018). The data, however, does not cover all political parties in each of the time periods mentioned. The source of the data is the record of all of the Decrees issued by the Ministry of Law and Human Rights that ratified the organizational structure of Political Parties’ Executive Board throughout each period of time. Based on the data on the record of Decrees concerning the the establishment of Political Parties that CWI successfully obtained, in the period after the issuance of Law No. 31 of 2002 and Law No. 2 of 2008, the percentage of women’s representation in political parties’ Executive Board was still low (Margret *et al.*, 2018).

In the period after the enactment of Law No. 2 of 2011 and ahead of the 2014 General Election, CWI data shows that the Demokrat Party successfully achieved 39.3% of women’s representation in its DPP lineup. The other parties participating in the 2014 General Elections achieved more than 20% female representation in their DPP organizational structure, with the exception of the PDIP, which only reached 14.8%. The rising percentage of women’s representation in the political parties’ DPP management list

after the issuance of Law No. 2 of 2011 could be attributed to the further strengthening of affirmative action provisions in the Law compared to those in the previous one, by specifying that recruitment of prospective legislative candidates for the DPR and the DPRD by political parties is carried out through a cadreship selection according to the AD and ART, taking into consideration a minimum of 30% representation of women. Such increase should also be linked to the affirmative action provisions of the General Election Law No. 8 of 2012, which in Article 8 Paragraph 2e states that to be able to participate in the election, new political parties and parties that did not reach the electoral threshold in the previous election must meet the requirement of 30% representation of women in the party's executive board at each level.

Ahead of the 2019 General Election, the government issued Law No. 7 of 2017 on Election and the provision for 30% representation of women in the executive board at each level as a requirement to participate in the election that applies to all political parties in the election is specified in the Law in article 177 letter (d). Data shows that of the 9 (nine) political parties that were quantitatively examined in this study, 6 (six) of them managed to reach the requirement of 30% or more (Demokrat Party, PDIP, Golkar Party, Nasdem Party, PKB, and PKS). As for the other 3 parties (Gerindra Party, PAN and PPP) although they did not reach 30%, the figure was above 25%.

Increasing women's representation in the management of political parties' DPP as a systematic effort through affirmative policies is needed to fulfill the commitment to principles of justice and equality in democracy. Political parties play a central role in the process of political recruitment and cadreship. The presence of women is expected to lend color to these processes within political parties. Accordingly women need to be involved and provided with the opportunity to influence the party decision-making process. Data shows that men still dominate the top positions of the political parties' DPP. Towards the 2019 General Election, of the 9 political parties studied, PDIP was the only party led by a woman as the general chairperson. None of parties assigned a woman as the party's secretary general, and the Demokrat Party was the only one commissioning a woman the position of general treasurer¹.

¹ The data was obtained from the record of the Decrees issued by the Ministry of Law and Human Rights on the Management of Political Parties' Executive Board submitted to the Election Commission as one of the requirements to register to participate in the 2019 Election.

The description above reveals two issues. First, the affirmative action provisions both in the Law on Political Parties and the Election Law do not necessarily make political parties comply with the provisions of minimum 30% representation of women in their party management altogether. The next chapter will discuss this issue in detail. Nonetheless, parties that did not comply with the required number still managed to pass the factual verification process conducted by the General Election Committee (*Komisi Pemilihan Umum –KPU*) and were deemed qualified to participate in the Election. During this factual verification process, the KPU requested all political parties to make revisions to meet the administrative requirements.

Strengthening women's representation in the management of political parties needs to be addressed because political parties play a central role in the process of formal political recruitment and cadreship. Efforts to strengthen women's political representation and leadership in legislative institutions are strategically related to the institutionalization and internal governance of political parties. Given the background, CWI sees the importance of strengthening women's representation and leadership in political parties, especially in the formal structure known as the DPP. In addition to looking into such significance in terms of quantity, this study also seeks to explore information about internal party governance, which includes internal party decision-making processes, the centrality of the General Chairperson's role, the space or room for internal dissent within the Central Executive Board, and gender responsiveness. Through this study, CWI intends to reinforce the understanding of women's representation in the party's DPP, not only with regard to their presence with regard to their quantity, but also in the diversity of experience in building and strengthening women's representation in a more substantive way internally within the party, especially how it is manifested in the structure of the DPP.

1.2 Research Problems and Questions

This study focuses on four political parties, namely: PDIP, Golkar, Nasdem and the Demokrat Party. PDIP and Golkar were selected on the basis that the two parties won the most seats in the House of Representatives as a result of the 2019 Election. The significance of the strength of these two parties in gaining voter support is taken into consideration as part of the study. Meanwhile, Nasdem was selected as the only party that managed to achieve a percentage of women's representation of more than 30% in the DPR

RI based on data from the same 2019 Election. The initial plan was to also look at the experiences of the Demokrat Party and PAN as two parties winning seats in the DPR RI that were identified to immediately hold a congress to establish of a new DPP structure in the early half of 2020. However, due to the pandemic situation and all restrictions that came with it, this research ended up not including PAN. The Demokrat Party is still included with a gradual increase in the party's percentage of women candidacy in the national legislative; 32.9% (2009), 36.6% (2014) and 39.4% (2019). Therefore, the Demokrat Party was selected to represent the medium-sized party that shows the potential for strengthening women's representation.

All parties that won seats in the DPR RI in the 2019 General Election would hold a Congress/National Convention of which one of the routine agendas was to establish a new management structure. The momentum for holding a congress or national convention is significant because it is a process of preparing the DPP management structure. It is worth observing since it will decide whether there will be changes in the representation of women in the DPP. To observe the trend of women's representation in the parties' DPP structure in the time span between the 2019 general election and post-congress after the 2019 election, CWI conducted a search for official data on the DPP structure issued in the form of a Decree issued by the Ministry of Law and Human Rights. The obtained data shows a trend that in aggregate there has been an increase in the percentage of women's representation in the DPP structure in the 2019 election compared to the previous 2014 election. Of the nine political parties that had successfully gained seats in the House of Representatives the DPR RI in the 2019 general election, PKB was the only one that experienced an increase in the percentage of women's representation in the DPP after the Congress/National Convention was held. Data shows that the other eight parties had less percentage of women's representation in the DPP structure after the Congress/National Convention compared to the time before the 2019 general election. This issue will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. After the 2019 election, each of four parties immediately held a congress with the following schedule; PDIP Congress was on 8 - 11 August 2019, Golkar National Conference was on 3 - 6 December 2019, Nasdem Congress was on 8 - 11 November 2019, and Demokrat Congress was on 14 - 16 March 2020.

The dynamics of changing the composition of the DPP structure and the potential for confusion in calculating the percentage of women's representation in the structure were

initial findings that helped the research team sharpen a number of research questions. The 30% women's representation in the formation of the organizational structure of parties' DPP seems to be a condition that has been recognized by almost all political parties, however "politics of presence" (Phillips, 1995) alone is no longer adequate, particularly with respect to the regulatory framework that urges and obliges parties to comply with as a requirement for them to register as a participant of the Election. To study the political process that is followed by a series of equality practices and has an impact of change or on transformative politics is essential when we want to evaluate affirmative political policies (Squires, 2007). For that reason, this research asks the following five exploratory questions:

- a. What is the representation (percentage) of women in the DPP structure of political parties in Indonesia?
- b. How does the process of forming the DPP structure of political parties in Indonesia work, in particular the four political parties that are the focus of this study?
- c. What is the impact of placing more women in strategic positions in the DPP structure with regard to recruitment process, cadreship and nomination of women candidates?
- d. What are the challenges in placing women in strategic positions in the DPP management?
- e. What are the factors that support the placement of women in strategic positions in the DPP structure?

1.3 Research Objectives

Through this research, CWI intends to build an understanding of the significance of women's representation in a political party's DPP structure beyond the issue of number, although quantity remains one of the measures of the integrity of internal democracy within the party, particularly with regard to equality. In addition, CWI also intends to identify the modalities needed for women to be able to enter the party's DPP management structure through identifying recruitment patterns and the set up of the structure. Furthermore, through this study, CWI wants to look into the various challenges and strategic opportunities for women in the establishment of strategic positions in the DPP.

1.4 Research Methodology

This research was conducted in two stages. The first stage involved the collection of secondary data in the form of Decrees published by the Ministry of Law and Human Rights

and official KPU's documents containing information on the composition of the parties' DPP management structure. Quantitative data processing was carried out in this first stage to identify the trend of data on women's representation in the DPP structure. The second stage involved collecting primary data through individual and group interviews in a focus group discussion (FGD) format by engaging a number of high-ranking party officials and cadres from the four parties that are the focus of the study: PDIP, Golkar, Nasdem and the Demokrat Party. Individual interviews were conducted with Lestari Moerdijat, a member of the Advisory Council of the Nasdem Party, and Willy Aditya, the Deputy Secretary General of the Nasdem Party, on two separate occasions. The FGDs were conducted in three rounds. The first was with cross-party female cadres: Imelda Sari (Deputy Secretary General of the Demokrat Party), Sri Rahayu (Head of the Health, Women and Children Division, PDIP), and Irma Suryani Chaniago (Manpower and Transmigration Division, Nasdem). The second round was carried out with some of the women cadres of the Demokrat Party sitting in the DPP structure; Melani Suharli (Member of the party's High Council), Tatyana Sutara (Vice Treasurer General), Firliana Purwanti (Head of the Bureau of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection), Diska Putri Pamungkas (Member of the Research and Development Body), Ni Luh Putu Caosa Indryani (Member of the Strategic Communication Body), and Fitri Rochmatia Noer (Member of the Doctrine and Training Division). Furthermore, the third FGD was conducted with female Golkar Party cadres who also sit in the DPP structure; Hetifah Sjaifudian (Vice Chairperson), Lindsey Afsari Puteri (Vice Secretary General), and Sekarwati (Vice Secretary General). The results of interviews with all ranks of the above political party administrators are the primary data in the compilation of this paper study.

1.5 Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Studies on gender affirmative policies are relatively easy and there are many of them available, especially those related to women's representation in the legislature, while only a small number of studies on the impact of gender quotas on political parties internally have been conducted (Caul Kittilson, 2006; Meier & Verlet, 2011 in O'Brien & Rickne, 2016). What is more, it is further described that there a kind of paradox; although political parties play a key role in the production and reproduction of "gender effects in politics", political parties are a missing variable because they have not been studied in depth in research on women and politics (Lovenduski, 2011). Specifically in the context of Indonesia, the study of the experiences of political parties and gender strategies is described as a "half-hearted"

effort (Soetjipto & Adelina, 2012) based on research on the experiences of the three parties that won the 2009 General Election.

Political scientists with a feminist perspective state that the implicit goal of the supporters of the inclusion of equality into political parties is to ensure a change in attitudes, perspectives, and actions to be more gender responsive (Lovenduski, 1995 in Krook & Childs, 2010). This alludes that the inclusion of women (from a gender perspective) is not only as part of a political party merely in the interest of their presence, but also to allow their influence in the series of policies and internal governance of party organizations in an equal and inclusive manner. In ideal terms, they call it an attempt of “feminizing parties’ programs”, which in turn has the potential to contribute to encouraging changes in the government (Celis *et al.*, 2016).

The central role of political parties in the context of electoral democracy is undeniable because women’s political representation is directly influenced by the recruitment and cadreship practices carried out by political parties, both in order to become legislative candidates and as party cadres. Parties often play the role of gatekeepers that control access to important positions with significant political influence. The party also has the authority to determine issues that are considered priority and politically urgent. Parties are the main formal channels for civil society members to voice their interests in order that they taken into account in the political decision-making process. Therefore, understanding the opportunities for women to achieve strategic ranks or positions in political parties will help us to understand the dynamics of women’s political representation –both descriptive and substantive (Morgan & Hinojosa, 2018)

CHAPTER 2

BECOMING PART OF THE DPP STRUCTURE: PROCESSES AND IMPACT

This chapter focuses on discussing the process and impact of the presence of women in the DPP structure of political parties. The discussion starts by providing an overview of data on the number of women in the DPP structure. The first sub-chapter discusses the quantitative presence of women in the DPP structure, which tends to fluctuate and not all complies with the minimum 30% rule for women's representation. This condition is then explained by looking further into the recruitment set up of the political parties' DPP structure, especially the four political parties that are the unit of analysis in this study. This section is discussed in more detail in the second sub-chapter. The third sub-chapter discusses the impact of the presence of women in the DPP structure of political parties in terms of recruitment, cadreship, and nominations. The presence of women in the DPP structure does not necessarily implies occupying strategic positions. The fourth sub-chapter discusses the factors that support and hinder women in occupying strategic positions in political parties DPP structure.

2.1 The Dynamics of the Number of Women in Political Parties' DPP Structure

As explained in the introduction, currently the affirmative action rules governing a minimum of 30% of women's representation in the management of political parties are contained in the Political Party Law No. 2 of 2011 and the Election Law No. 7 of 2017. In this section of this study, the discussion on the number of women in the political parties' DPP structure is carried out based on the data on the Decree of the of the management of political parties published by the Ministry of Law and Human Rights. The management of political parties is formed after a party's Congress/National Convention was held. Then the list of names of the party administrators resulting from the decision of the Congress/National Convention is submitted to the Ministry of Law and Human Rights to obtain a Decree of endorsement.

Result of data processing of the Ministry of Law and Human Rights' Decrees reveals that not all parties have complied with the provision of minimum 30% representation of women as governed by Law No. 2 of 2011. This condition is attributabe to the absence of strict sanctions in the event that they do not comply with the minimum quota of 30% representation of women as specified in the Political Party Law. The following table shows

data on the percentage of women's representation in the DPP structure of 9 political parties in the management period before the 2014 Election, before the 2019 Election and after the Congress/National Covention in post-2019 Election.

Table 1. Percentage of Women in Political Parties' DPP Structure

Political Parties	Before 2014 Election	Before 2019 Election	After 2019 and 2020 Congress
Demokrat Party	39.3	30.9	28.0%
PDIP	14.8	38.5	34.1%
Golkar Party	28.3	30.3	28.8%
Nasdem Party	21.8	36.0	32.1%
PKB	22.7	30.7	37.3%
Gerindra Party	26.4	28.5	25.9%
PKS	28.0	32.9	29.8%
PAN	21.1	29.7	26.5%
PPP	24.3	28.8	21,3 %

Source: Ministry of Law and Human Rights, processed by CWI

The data in Table 1 clearly demonstrates that no single political party has consistently fulfill the required minimum 30% representation of women in the management structure of the parties' DPP in reference to 3 (three) management periods, in the period leading up to the 2014 General Election, before the 2019 general election and after Congress of 2019 and 2020. In each time period, of the 9 parties there were always those that did not fulfill the 30% representation of women in the DPP structure. In the period leading up to the 2014 election, the Demokrat Party was the only one with a percentage of women's representation of above 30%. Meanwhile, PDIP is the party with the lowest percentage of women's representation, with only 14.8%. In the period leading up to the 2019 General Election, the number of parties that achieved 30% female representation increased to 6 (six). In the same period, three parties did not reach the 30% female representation, namely PAN, Gerindra, and PPP, whereas Gerindra was the party with the lowest percentage of

women's representation at 28.5%. Meanwhile, PDIP is the party with the highest percentage of women's representation at 38.5%.

In the period after the Congress/National Convention held both in 2019 and 2020, the number of parties that reached the percentage of 30% female representation decreased compared to the number for the period leading up to the 2019 General Election. In the period leading up to the 2019 General Election, of the 9 political parties, 6 (six) political parties achieved a minimum 30% percentage of women's representation in the DPP structure. In the post-Congress/National Convention period after the 2019 general election, this number fell to only 3 (three) political parties. In same period, PKB was the party with the highest percentage of women's representation in the DPP structure, which was 37.3%. Meanwhile, Gerindra remained as the party with the lowest percentage of women's representation at 25.9%.

Looking at the table by the management periods, there is no single party that consistently achieved the minimum requirement of 30% women's representation. Based on the average percentage of the three periods, the Demokrat Party is the party with the highest average percentage of female representation at 32.7%. Meanwhile, PAN is the party with the lowest average percentage of female representation, namely 25.7%. This average is obtained from the aggregate number of women's representation per three tenures in the political parties' DPP structure. Based on the data from period to period, the trend shows that PKB is a party with a consistently increasing percentage of women's representation. In the period leading up to the 2014 Election, the percentage of women's representation in PKB was only 22.7%. This figure increased to 30.7% in the period leading up to the 2019 General Election and 37.3% after the 2019 and 2020 post-congress period. On the contrary, the data shows that the Demokrat Party experienced a decreasing trend in the percentage of women's representation in the 3 management terms. In the period leading up to the 2014 election, the percentage of women's representation in the party reached 39.3%. This figure decreased in the period leading up to the 2019 general election to 30.9% and 26.5% in the post-2019 Election. In addition, as regards the percentage of women's representation in the 3 management periods, parties other than the Demokrat Party and PKB experienced a fluctuating trend. The parties' inconsistency in applying the provision of minimum 30% of women's representation in the management of political parties shows that women's representation in the political parties management structure is still perceived merely as a

formality. In general, no serious action has been attempted by any of the parties to enforce and comply with the provision of minimum 30% representation of women in party management as mandated by the Political Party Law.

2.2 Pattern of Recruitment and Formation of Political Parties' DPP Structure

This research conducted a qualitative analysis of four political parties namely PDIP, Nasdem Party, Demokrat Party, and Golkar Party. In all the four parties, it was found the General Chairperson has the full authority in establishing the DPP management structure. There are variations in the formation processes, especially in the way the Chairperson assigns members/cadres in the DPP structure.

In PDIP, the process of establishing the DPP structure is conducted in a top-down manner. After being selected through the Congress, the general chairperson who also acts as a formateur appoints his or her members/cadres to take up positions in the DPP structure. Anyone appointed by the general chairperson must be ready to take the assignment, and the appointed members/cadres will only know about their assignment when it is announced in the Congress. Compared to other parties, PDIP has a very lean DPP structure, as shown in Table 2 below. Therefore, the appointment of members/cadres is carried in a very cautious manner based on the selection of members/cadres that the chairperson really trusts.

Table 2. The Size of Political Parties' DPP Structure

	2009	2014	2019	After the 2019 and 2020 Congress
PDIP	27	27	39	44
Nasdem Party	-	133	25	53
Demokrat Party	37	191	288	100
Golkar Party	109	276	261	222

Source: Ministry of Law and Human Rights, processed by CWI

A process similar to that of the PDIP took place also in the Nasdem Party. After being nominated by the High Council and inaugurated in the Congress, the appointed general chairperson appoints his/her members/cadres to fill positions in the DPP structure. In the process, the general chairperson formed a small team and held consultation meetings with senior party figures. After that, the list of names to fill the management structure is submitted to the party's High Council before the Congress ratifies it the next day. In contrast to other parties, due to its relatively new establishment, the Nasdem Party intensively recruits members using talent-scouting methods from outside the party, including in filling strategic positions in the DPP structure.

The process is quite different in the Demokrat Party. After being elected by the Congress, the general chairperson is given 1 (one) month to form the structure of his DPP management. In the process, the general chairperson considers input from various elements in the party. The names of the members/cadres that emerge in the process are then selected and negotiated with the party's Advisory Board. After that, he or she will ask the willingness of the members/cadres that has been selected and negotiated. A space for a two-way dialogue is developed in the process. The members/cadres who have accepted their assignment are then given the freedom to recruit members to work with them.

In the Golkar Party the chairperson is also elected during the National Convention. After that, he or she is also appointed as the head of the formateur team with the authority to establish the management structure of the DPP. With the help of a number of team members, the general chairperson prepares the names of the projected members/cadres to fill the DPP structure. The general chairperson then request the willingness of the members/cadres to be put on the list before it is finally decided in a formateur team meeting and announced to the public. To be put on the list of candidates to fill the DPP management structure members/cadres of Golkar Party has to meet several requirements, one of which is a minimum five years of active membership.

Table 3. The Process of Formation of Political Parties' DPP Structure

PDIP	The general chairperson appoints members/cadres. No space for dialogue exists.
Nasdem Party	The general chairperson appoints members/cadres. Space for dialogue is relatively closed.
Golkar Party	The general chairperson requests members'/cadres' willingness. Space for dialogue exists.
Demokrat Party	The chairperson asks members'/cadres' willingness. A large space for dialogue exists.

Source: results of FGDs with DPP administrators from PDIP, Demokrat Party, Golkar Party and Nasdem Party, processed by CWI

The table above shows the various mechanisms for establishing the management structure of political parties' DPP allowed by the four political parties that are the focus of qualitative analysis in this research. In the four parties, the general chairperson has huge control on selecting or appointing cadres to become part of the party's structure. Variations exist in the space of negotiation or dialogue with respect to the election or appointment. PDIP reveals the narrowest space, with the general chairperson's very large power and closed dialogue space, while the Demokrat Party shows a degree of flexibility for dialogue.

2.3 The Impact of the Presence of Women in the Political Parties' DPP Structure on Recruitment, Cadreship, and Nomination Process

Political parties have not taken the presence of women in the DPP structure very seriously. In the previous section's explanation, the data shows that the representation of women in political parties' management structure fluctuates. Political parties have not been consistent in enforcing the minimum 30% rule for women's representation in the party's DPP structure. This state of affairs reflects the lack of seriousness of political parties in engaging women and meeting the statutory affirmative rules concerning the political parties' DPP structure. The presence of more women in political parties' DPP structure will certainly lend different colors to the work processes within the parties. In this case, the impact of women's presence is observed with regard to recruitment, cadreship, nominations, and party programs. The impact of the presence of women is seen in the four

parties that are the locus of the research, namely the Demokrat Party, Nasdem Party, Golkar Party, and PDIP.

From the perspective of, the presence of women in the DPP structure can be interpreted as a great opportunity and motivation for other women to enter the DPP structure of political parties either through invitations or through their own will. In this context, women can act as a mouthpiece in recruiting other women who are considered potential. Usually each party has a recruitment system that is different from one another. For example, the Demokrat Party normally adopts recruitment procedure through extending “invitations” to both relatives and individuals of those who work for party members. Meanwhile, the Golkar party has established a more institutionalized recruitment system by utilizing the party’s wing organization. It also uses an approach similar to that of the Demokrat Party with regard to taking advantage of those with connections to the party’s high-ranking elites. For its part, Nasdem Party recruits members through talent scouting mechanism. The pattern of recruitment through “invitation” is a condition that women may utilize when they are present in the management structure. Women who are serving on the governing board can recommend other women who are considered to have the potential to take up space in the political party.

The problem is, the final decision on the individuals to sit on the political parties’ DPP management structure tends to be made top-down (the establishment of the political parties’ DPP structure is discussed in the previous section). This top-down decision may have either a positive or negative impact on the presence of women in a party’s DPP structure. The factor of proximity to party officials turns out to be the model for political parties in establishing their DPP structure done in a top-down manner. The presence of women in the party’s executive board will at least open up opportunities for other women and create a new culture that supports other potential women to engage in political parties.

Furthermore, a stigma lingers within the society that women do not have the capacity to have a career in politics. The presence of women in the party’s DPP structure is expected to reduce this stigma. Efforts to bring more women into the DPP structure should be well institutionalized and emanate from political parties’ awareness. However, in reality political parties in Indonesia have yet to be more observant of the issue.

With regard to cadreship, the presence of women in the party's DPP structure can open up space for other women in the regeneration process. Officially, regeneration or cadreship processes take place differently in each party. Each party has an academy that is used to develop its cadreship. Political parties conduct education and training activities as part of the cadreship development. Formal cadreship is usually conducted in a business as usual manner without taking aspects of gender equality into consideration. In this sense, the presence of women is seen as a process of regeneration that directly engages women in political parties' activities and work. It is hoped that engaging more women to participate in cadreship will not only increase their capacity, but also their involvement in the parties' works and activities. Through these activities, women's presence in the management structure will be particularly helpful in embracing and involving other women in various activities of the political parties. This process is known as "sisterhood". Sisterhood is a familiar term within the Demokrat Party's internal environment. This culture could develop because of the opportunities provided by the party to female cadres. It is important to note that the presence of women will encourage parties to include more women directly in the activities of political parties. Practising the culture will make it possible to involve women in the processes of cadreship through internal party activities. The presence of women in top-level management structure will widely open up opportunities for other potential women to become good cadres.

A further impact of the presence of women in the party's DPP structure concerns candidacy for legislative elections. Policies on nomination process are different from one party to another. Golkar and Nasdem will go through a selection process with the aim of getting candidates with high level of electability. Nasdem Party adopts a strict selection mechanism using survey results in order to place candidates in the right electoral districts. Examining this in detail, political parties go through a series of steps in the process. The first stage of the selection process involves screening the names of candidates, which is then followed by a survey process to determine the level of electability of the prospective candidates. The next step is for the party's Election Winning Body (*Badan Pemenangan Pemilu –Bappilu*) to enter the determination stage. In this case, the main consideration for nomination is always related to the level of individual electability of the prospective candidate. On the subject of representation of women in the nomination process, Golkar party implements a one-gate policy through the Women's Unity Organization of the Golkar Party (*Kesatuan Perempuan Partai Golkar –KPPG*) whose role is to prepare proposals for

women's names to be nominated in the legislative elections. Meanwhile, PDIP has a nomination system that provides privileges, namely prioritizing individuals who are members of the party's DPP structure.

It is obvious that the presence of women in the party's DPP structure has an influence on women's nominations. In 2014, the average percentage of nomination of women who served in the party structure to advance to the legislative election was 54.1%. In other words, more than half of the women who were sitting on the party's DPP structure ended up running for seats in parliament. In 2019, however, the number decreased to 47%. The greater the presence of women in the management structure, the more opportunities provided for them to be nominated or expected to be nominated. With regard to PDIP's nomination concept, the presence of more women in the DPP structure can be interpreted as more nomination because of the privilege given to individuals who are sitting on the party's DPP structure.

In addition, the presence of women in the DPP structure also has an impact on the institutional processes of policy-making and program implementation within the political party. Women who are part of the party management structure have the opportunity to influence and shape policies. Correspondingly, they can influence decision-making within political parties as well. In essence, women's voices can determine the policies issued by the party. The presence of women in the party's DPP structure can also give color to various party policies. Women who are in the party's DPP structure can influence programs or policies that favor women. On top of that, the presence of women can also provide a wider space for programs related to women's needs.

2.4 Factors that Support and Hinder Women in occupying Strategic Positions in the DPP of Political Parties

At the beginning of this research, CWI collected information on the composition of members of political parties' DPP that registered as participants in the 2019 Legislative Election. To obtain this information, CWI referred to official data available on the KPU website. Data processing by CWI produces information about the proportion of positions or ranks that can be said to be "strategic" in the DPP and the presence of female cadres to fill these positions, as presented in the following table:

Table 4. Proportion of “Strategic Positions/Ranks” Filled by Female Cadres in the DPP of Political Parties Participating in the 2019 Legislative General Election

No.	Political Party	Number of Strategic Rank / Position in the DPP	Number of Women Filling the Strategic Rank / Position in the DPP	Percentage of Women in Strategic Rank / Position in the DPP
1	PSI	6	4	66,67
2	PKPI	35	10	28,57
3	Berkarya	11	3	27,27
4	Nasdem	19	5	26,32
5	Demokrat	68	17	25,00
6	PDIP	23	5	21,74
7	PPP	46	8	17,39
8	PBB	46	8	17,39
9	PKB	19	3	15,79
10	PAN	26	4	15,38
11	Garuda	7	1	14,29
12	Hanura	52	7	13,46
13	Gerindra	121	16	13,22
14	Perindo	16	2	12,50
15	Golkar	264	27	10,23
16	PKS	29	2	6,90

Source of Data: official documents submitted by political parties to the KPU to fulfill one of the requirements to register as a participant in the 2019 Legislative General Election. The official document was uploaded and published on the KPU’s official website (<https://infopemilu.kpu.go.id/pileg2019/verpol/skparpol>). The data was accessed and reprocessed by CWI on March 1, 2019.

The strategic positions in the DPP identified in the table above consist of the positions of general chairperson of the party, secretary general, general treasurer, head or coordinator of divisions/departments and other positions with certain designations that function to oversee units within the organizational structure of political parties. It should be noted that between political parties there is a use of different terms for designating and citing positions/divisions/units, albeit the authority they referred to is similar. The data above shows that of the 16 political parties contesting in the 2019 Legislative Election, only PSI had more than 30% of its strategic/leadership positions in the DPP that is filled by women.

At a later stage in this research, CWI found that there were various meanings of “strategic positions” in the DPP of political parties. In interviews conducted by CWI with a number

of cross-party administrators of Golkar, PDIP, Demokrat Party and Nasdem Party, it was revealed that the meaning of “strategic” is related to the significance and functionality of the position for the party. One commonality of the meaning of “strategic positions” appears when they are interpreted based on access to the decision-making process in the DPP, which can also be identified based on the type of meeting they are involved in (eg limited meetings, core team meetings, plenary meetings, and so on). CWI has tried to map the meaning as follows:

Table 5. Mapping of Stratification of Position in DPP based on Authority and Function

First / Top Layer	General Chairperson; Deputy Chairperson; Secretary General; General Treasurer
Second Layer	Deputy Secretary General; Deputy General Treasurer; Division / Department Coordinator
Third Layer	Head/chairperson of agency/division/department

Source: documents of Decree on Party Management Structure and results of FGDs with DPP administrators from PDIP, Demokrat Party, Golkar Party and Nasdem Party, processed by CWI

Based on the data collected from the 4 political parties that are the focus of this research, there are various factors that support women to occupy these positions. These factors can be grouped into 2, namely internal and external factors.

The internal factors refer to things that are considered necessary for women to be able to occupy strategic positions in the political parties’ DPP structure. The *first* factor is capacity. Based on the experience narrated by the informants, the skills required to be able to occupy strategic positions in the political parties’ DPP structure are quite diverse, ranging from intellectual capacity, interpersonal skills, networking skills, to the ability to negotiate. The *second* factor is track record. Women with a good track record generally get better opportunities, especially in political parties that do talent scouting such as the Nasdem Party. Delving into the issue of track record, each party also has its own benchmark. In the Golkar Party, for example, the benchmarks are achievement, dedication, discipline, loyalty, and impeccability (*prestasi, dedikasi, disiplin, loyalitas, tidak tercela* or PD2LT). The *third* factor is confidence. The *fourth* is connection, particularly to the party elites holding strategic positions. The *fifth* is responsiveness to party needs. The *sixth* is the

courage to take a stand, especially in special situations such as approaching the election of the party’s general chairperson where there is more than one candidates competing for the position.

One of the external factors that support women is the partisanship of the party/party leader. Based on the experience narrated by the informants, the partisanship of the party/party leader also determines the opportunities for women to occupy strategic positions in the DPP structure of political parties, especially in the context of political parties in Indonesia whose decision-making is centered on the general chairperson, including in the formation of the DPP structure. Additionally, sisterhood is also a strong supporting factor. Sisterhood here refers to solidarity between female cadres in the party. According to the informants, sisterhood is very helpful in opening up opportunities for women to participate in political parties. Usually senior female cadres initiate sisterhood by providing opportunities for other female cadres by mentoring and/or “pushing” them to be directly involved in party management. Of the four parties that are the focus of this research, sisterhood that in a broad sense refers to a network of female cadres who support each other in party organization, is the strongest found in Golkar Party and Demokrat Party.

Table 6. Mapping Challenges and Support for Women in DPP

Factors	Internal	External
Supporting Factors	Capacity; track record; confidence; connection; responsiveness to party needs; courage to take a stand.	Partisanship of the party/party leader; sisterhood between female cadres.
Challenging Factors		The assumption that “politics is male”; domestic burden.

Source: results of FGDs with DPP administrators from PDIP, Demokrat Party, Golkar Party and Nasdem Party, processed by CWI

Nevertheless, the challenges for women as DPP members are generally external. The notion that “politics is male” is one of the most fundamental. Even though political spaces are now more open to women, this assumption is in fact still firmly entrenched in the

internal circles of some political parties. This assumption makes women hesitant to take part in political parties. Based on the experiences told by the informants, women tend to withdraw and limit themselves because this assumption is still strong. And then when women decide to take part in political parties, this assumption often makes them belittled or underestimated despite having a proven track record and great capacity.

Another factor that poses a challenge for women is domestic burden. Constructions that associate women with domestic responsibilities such as taking care of children and managing the household restrain them from participating in politics. Based on the experience narrated by the informants, such condition has narrowed the room to maneuver for women, in contrast with men's space, which is much more flexible because they do not have the domestic burden that women have to bear. Thus it becomes a challenge for women to manage domestic affairs while simultaneously pursuing their political careers. Sometimes, the expectation imposed on women to always put the household/family first also makes women have to miss the opportunity to take part in politics, including taking up strategic positions in the DPP structure of political parties. Barriers become even greater when women also play a role as the family's breadwinners.

CHAPTER 3

REVIEWING THE PARTIES' INTERNAL DEMOCRACY

In the previous section, the recruitment pattern has been explained in the process of filling out political parties' DPP structure. In general, each political party has different policies in conducting the recruitment process. One obvious aspect in selecting and deciding the formation of political parties' DPP structure is the dominant role of the general chairperson of a central political party. This chapter discusses the internal decision-making processes of political parties, which can reveal how democratic the internal decision-making processes take place in a party. Democracy is also reflected in the discussion on the parties' openness for dissent internally within the party's DPP. In addition, this chapter also discusses gender responsiveness within political parties with reference to the AD and ART as well as the potential female cadre process carried out within the political party itself.

3.1 Centralization of Internal Party Decision Making

This section discusses the role of the general chairperson in decision-making within political parties. In general, there are parties whose institutional management is carried out centrally. The manifestation of this centralization is reflected in internal party decision-making. With regard to internal decision-making, each party has a pattern or mechanism that is different from one another. One of the findings of a previous research regarding political parties shows that one of the characteristics that emerge is the dominance of political party leaders in making internal party decisions (Soetjipto & Adelina, 2012).

In this research, decision making in political parties is approached based on three aspects, which include decision making in establishing the political party DPP structure, in deciding the legislative candidates, and in determining candidates' serial number and electoral district. The description of decision making in these three aspects is examined based on the 4 (four) political parties that are the subject of the study. Each party has a different decision-making mechanism in establishing the structure of the party's DPP, legislative candidates, as well as designating the serial numbers and electoral districts. Characteristics in political parties indicate the role of the general chairperson of political parties is very

central in decision-making. Some conditions indicate that political parties tend to be centralized in making decisions related to these three aspects.

First, concerning decision-making in establishing the political parties' DPP structure. To establish the party's DPP structure, the elected general chairperson has full authority to form the party's executive board. The mechanism has been discussed in the previous section. One of the obvious characteristics is that the general chairperson plays a central role in determining each member of the DPP executive board, as well as deciding the open or closed dialogue space in the process. Although an open space for dialogue is provided in forming the structure of the party's DPP, the final decision remains in the hands of the general chairperson. Such condition exists in PDIP, where the party's DPP structure is established on a top-down basis. That the general chairperson dominates decision-making is also established in PDIP's AD and ART document. The general chairperson directly appoints individuals to fill the positions in the management structure of the party's DPP. This method of appointment reflects the dominant role of the general chairperson in deciding the members the party's DPP structure. The general chairperson has full authority, and the whole process is carried out in a closed manner. Such condition creates a negative impact on women who have the potential and aspiration to serve in the party's executive board. A general chairperson that has no gender perspective or is not sensitive to affirmative action in political institutions will not give space to women unless they have connection to party elites.

Similar condition is found in the Demokrat Party. The party's AD and ART document governs that the general chairperson has the authority to dismiss and appoint the party's DPP board. In practice, in establishing the individuals to sit on the DPP structure the chairperson still considers input from various elements in the party. In comparison, there is a huge difference between PDIP and the Demokrat Party with regard to the mechanism. A space for dialogue is still open within the Demokrat Party, in the spirit of asking willingness of cadres to be appointed in the party's DPP structure. However, it should be underlined that the AD and ART stipulates that the general chairperson of the Demokrat Party has absolute power in determining the structure of the party's DPP. The final decision on the individuals to positions in the party's DPP structure is fully made by the general chairperson.

The Nasdem Party shows a different condition. In terms of establishing the party's DPP structure, Nasdem has a selection mechanism, which begins by forming a small team. Establishment of the management board involves various parties and senior figures to produce the names of individuals to sit on the party's DPP structure. Unlike the PDIP or the Demokrat Party, the executive board of Nasdem's DPP is decided at a meeting of the High Council and later ratified in the party's congress. This is stated in the party's in article 24, paragraph 9 of the party's constitution (AD) that reads, "The High Council has the right to decide, approve, and revoke all party policies". It suggests that that the institutional mechanism in decision-making, especially with regard to the establishment of party's DPP structure is carried out at the High Council meeting. And in this respect the High Council is different from the party's general chairperson.

Meanwhile, in internal decision-making within the Golkar party, there is room for dialogue in determining the structure of the DPP before a decision is made. In the AD and ART of the Golkar party, the composition and names of the management in the Golkar party's DPP structure are determined by the general chairperson with the help of the formateurs. In general, the role of the general chairperson in decision-making, especially in establishing the party's DPP structure is very central. In view of the four parties that are the case studies in the research, Nasdem is the only party (with regard to the AD and ART) whose final decision on the management structure of the DPP is made by the High Council meeting.

Second, concerning decision-making in the nomination of the legislative candidates. It should be noted that in certain parties, the individuals sitting in the party's DPP structure are those who are projected to become legislative candidates. Thus, the mechanism of establishing the structure of the party's DPP, which is under the authority of the general chairperson, will automatically influence the nomination of the legislative candidates. This condition exists internally in PDIP. The role of the general chairperson is highly central in determining the course of candidacy both in the executive and legislative spheres. The pattern of appointing PDIP DPP management structure in a top down manner has the consequence that individuals in the party's DPP are projected as legislative candidates. Thus, in PDIP the role of the general chairperson in nominating individuals for legislative candidacy is already demonstrated in the establishment of the party's DPP management structure.

The Golkar Party shares some similarities in terms of nominating legislative candidates. The role of the general chairperson is highly central in nominating the candidates who will advance in the legislative election. The designated candidates are the ones that have been recommended. With reference to the process of nominating women in the Golkar party, the recommendation process is given through the KPPG. The proposed name to be recommended is later decided by the general chairperson. This condition is different from that of the Nasdem Party, which conducts an initial survey to establish the potential electability of individuals participating in the nomination. Based on the potential for electability, the Bappilu will make a decision concerning the individuals who are entitled to advance in legislative nomination. The same process takes place within the Demokrat Party, where in the preparation of its legislative candidates the party's Bappilu will go through a series of selection process putting into consideration the inputs from various elements in the party

Third, concerning decision-making as regards the establishment of candidates' serial number and electoral district. Establishing the candidates' serial number and electoral district also subjects to the general chairperson's policy. PDIP is an example of a party whose general chairperson has a dominant role in making decisions regarding legislative candidacy. DPP administrators are prioritized to get serial number 1 (one). This policy is an unwritten internal rule in the PDIP, and is carried out entirely at the general chairperson's discretion. In addition to determining the serial number, the general chairperson also has a role in determining the electoral district for legislative candidates.

As regards the Demokrat Party, the mechanism for placing legislative candidates in certain electoral districts in the Demokrat Party is determined by the general chairperson. Likewise, the determination of the legislative candidates' serial number is the authority of the general chairperson as well. In practice, internally within the Demokrat Party a space is still open for dialogue to determine the serial number, but the final decision remains in the hands of the general chairperson by taking various considerations into account.

By exploring the processes of decision-making in political parties on the three aspects from establishing the party's DPP structure, the legislative candidates, to deciding on the candidates' serial number and electoral district, the emphasis remains on the central role of the general chairperson. The general chairperson has absolute authority in making these

three decisions. This condition is more common in the internal PDIP. The dominance of the general chairperson in decision-making will close the space for further involvement of women in party work unless they are close to the general chairperson.

3.2 Room for Dissent Internally within the Party's DPP

This section will examine the extent to which members/cadres who hold positions in the DPP structure of political parties have room to speak and have an opinion, especially different ones, internally within the DPP. In general, the power of the general chairperson is very large in internal decision-making. However, in the PDIP, Golkar Party, Nasdem Party, and the Demokrat Party, there are differences with regard to providing space to express different opinions or view points.

In PDIP, the general chairperson has a highly central role. The general chairperson makes various party decisions that are taken on a top-down basis, both those made for the interest of the parties and for external affairs. Therefore, the decisions are basically instructions. In addition, the general chairperson is also supported by the Center for Situation Analysis and Control, of which one of the duties is to “supervise, control and take action in order to carry out the instructions of the Chairperson of the Party as the center of the party’s political power” (Article 29 of PDIP’s Constitution). Consequently, the room for different opinions is relatively closed. Even so, it does not mean that differences of opinion are completely impossible, but with certain consequences.

In the Nasdem Party, the general chairperson also plays a central role in decision-making. However, the room for different opinions within the DPP is relatively open. This is made possible by at least two things. The first one is the openness of the general chairperson to listen to different opinions, although the final decision remains his or hers. The second is the culture of the party itself that is relatively more egalitarian as regards to senior-junior relations within the DPP compared to other parties. This culture allows members/cadres to ask each other for opinions and discuss them. Even so, the Nasdem Party exercises strict supervision and control to prevent factions from emerging internally within the Party’s DPP.

Similar condition is found in the Demokrat Party, especially under the leadership of Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono, who proactively seeks opinions from his members/cadres since the

beginning of the establishment of the DPP structure. This indicates that the general chairperson is open to the opinions of his members/cadres, including those with differing opinions, and tries to accommodate these opinions in the party policy formulation process. One slight different is that the Demokrat Party does not carry out internal supervision and control as tightly as that of the PDIP or the Nasdem Party. These two factors allow enough room for dissent within the DPP to be expressed, although unless it is properly managed it may lead to the formation of factions.

Different condition occurs in the Golkar Party. Golkar Party does not experience personalization², the implication of which is that a change of general chairperson takes place on a regular basis. Whether or not the room is open to express and have different opinions in the internal environment really depends on the leadership style of the incumbent chairperson. The general chairperson does have a central role but his/her power is not always absolute. Therefore, room for differences of opinion is still open to a certain degree. In the context of the election of the general chairperson or ahead of the national convention (*Musyawarah Nasional –Munas*), during the selection, nomination, and election periods, differences of opinion within the DPP are also very likely to occur. In fact they quite often happen because as a party that does not experience personalization, there are usually more than one candidates contesting for the position of general chairperson, which has an effect of the formation of factions internally within the party.

3.3 Gender Responsiveness in Internal Political Parties

Cakra Wikara Indonesia seeks to examine the extent to which political parties carry out gender-responsive efforts. Two indicators are scrutinized to this purpose. The first is the affirmative policy in the party's AD and ART. The second is the process of cadreship of potential women, both the ones carried out institutionally by the political parties and by individuals within the parties.

With regard to affirmative policy in the AD and ART of political parties, CWI summarizes them as follows:

² It refers to the condition when certain figures are more prominent than their political parties. The personalization of political parties is characterized by several things, namely the identity of the figure as the party's image, the role of the figure as the party's main vote-getter, and the dominance of the figure within the party - characterized by the length of time the figure has been in power in the party and the ownership of financial resources (Darmawan, 2018).

Table 7. Affirmative Policy in Political Parties' AD and ART

	Affirmative Policy in the AD and ART
PDIP	<p style="text-align: center;">PROMOTION FOR POSITIONS</p> <p>Article 20 of AD: (1) The Party assigns Party Members for political and public positions. (2) Any Party Member who is elected and sits in the political and public positions are party officials who must abide by and comply with the rules and orders of the Party in accordance with to their rank. (3) The placement of Party Members in political and public positions is carried out through a selection process by considering a minimum of 30% (thirty percent) of women's representation. (4) Further provisions regarding the assignment of Party Members to political and public positions are governed in the Party's Bylaws.</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">EXECUTIVE BOARD</p> <p>Article 60 of AD: (1) The overall structure and composition of the Party's DPP are determined by compulsorily pay attention to the women's representation of 30% (thirty percent). (2) The overall structure and composition of the Party's DPD (executive board at provincial level) and DPC (executive board at district/municipality level) are determined by compulsorily pay attention to the women's representation of 30% (thirty percent).</p>
Nasdem Party	<p style="text-align: center;">EXECUTIVE BOARD</p> <p>Article 20 of AD:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The Central Executive Board (DPP) must include a minimum of 30% (thirty percent) of women's representation and or pursuant to the prevailing laws and regulations. 2. Regional Executive Boards and Provincial Executive Boards, District/Municipality Executive Boards, and Party Branches are obliged to fulfill 30% (thirty percent) women's representation pursuant to accordance with applicable laws and regulations.
Golkar Party	<p style="text-align: center;">PROMOTION FOR POSITIONS</p> <p>Article 19 of AD:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Any Golkar Party cadre can be promoted and assigned to public positions, both in the executive and legislative offices; 2) The promotion and assignment of cadres as referred to in paragraph 1 (one) shall be carried out through democratic and open selection, taking into account gender equality and justice on the basis of achievement, dedication, discipline, loyalty, and impeccability (PD2LT); 3) The selection as referred to in paragraph 2 is further governed in the Bylaws.

	Affirmative Policy in the AD and ART
	<p>EXECUTIVE BOARD</p> <p>Article 18 of the ART:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Requirements to become Party's Executive Board: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. An active member for at least 5 (five) years; b. Shall have achievement, dedication, discipline, loyalty, and impeccability (PD2LT); c. Shall have capability and acceptability; d. Shall have no involvement in the G 30 S/PKI; e. Shall be willing to spend time and able to cooperate collectively in the Party; f. Shall have concluded the Education and Training of Cadres of Golkar. 2) No member of the Party Executive shall take up concurrent position in management of the Party's Executive Board/Leadership, which is vertical by nature; 3) The composition of the Executive Board at every level of the organization must pay serious attention to the representation of women.
Demokrat Party	-

Source: Parties' AD and ART documents, reprocessed by CWI.³

Given the table above, it is obvious that PDIP and the Golkar Party have affirmative policy for the formation of executive board and in member promotion processes. PDIP puts a minimum figure of 30% for both even though the phrasing is weak, i.e. "considering" and "taking into account" 30% of women's representation. Similarly, Golkar Party's document is also weak, using only the phrase "pay attention" to women's representation without even specifying the minimum number. Meanwhile, the Nasdem Party only has affirmative policy for the executive board, but the phrasing is relatively strong, namely "include" a minimum 30% of women's representation, as mandated by prevailing laws and regulation. Of the 4 parties that are the focus of this research, only the Demokrat Party that has absolutely no affirmative policy in the AD or ART.

³ The AD and ART documents are of each of the following parties: the 2019-2021 AD and ART of PDIP; AD and ART of Nasdem Party No. M.HH – 20. AH. 11.01 of 2017; AD and ART of the Golkar Party No. VIII/MUNAS-X/GOLKAR/2019 of 2019; and AD and ART of the Demokrat Party of 2020.

Even so, the cadreship of women in the Demokrat Party is one of the strongest among the four parties that are the focus of this research. Based on the experiences told by informants and observations made by CWI, the Demokrat Party has a fairly strong sisterhood culture. Senior female cadres who occupy strategic positions not only actively take part for themselves, but also open up opportunities for other potential female cadres, which is by mentoring and even “pushing” them to be directly involved in party management. This turns out to be important because apart from helping potential female cadres to develop, sisterhood also opens up opportunities for these potential female cadres. Moreover, for the process of forming the DPP executive board in the Demokrat Party, members/cadres who are asked for their willingness by the general chairperson are given the freedom to recruit members to work in their team, thus sisterhood does have an influence in increasing women’s representation.

The Golkar Party has a strong tradition of cadreship of potential women. Senior female cadres who occupy strategic positions in the Golkar Party's DPP also open opportunities for other potential female cadres. Based on the experiences narrated by the informants, sisterhood opens opportunities for potential female cadres in two ways. *First*, directly with senior female cadres “pushing” other potential female cadres to join the DPP structure. *Second*, indirectly, in which senior female cadres involve their junior counterparts in various party activities to the effect that the potential female cadres become visible and taken into account by party leaders, including in the process of establishing the DPP management structure. In addition, sisterhood also nurtures the experience of potential female cadres to help them pursue their political careers. In this case, senior female cadres become their mentors. In Golkar Party, sisterhood has been established a culture: passed down from generation to generation. Therefore, the Party has a good circulation of female cadres. This does not exist in PDIP and NasDem Party. It should also be noted that the sisterhood has not developed through the initiative of senior female cadres, but has also been made possible by the climate of openness within the party.

CHAPTER 4

EPILOGUE

This section contains conclusions from research results on women's representation in political parties' DPP management structure as well as recommendations. The conclusions include the presence of women in the management of the DPP of political parties, as well as several factors that pose challenges or obstacles, as well as those that provide support for women to be involved in party management. Furthermore, most of the recommendations are aimed at improving political parties' internal statutory policies and mechanisms to encourage increased representation of women in their DPP management structure.

4.1 Conclusion

The Law on Political Parties and the Law on Elections already stipulate that political parties are required to have a minimum of 30% women representation in their executive board. In the Election Law, such provision is obligatory for political parties in order to qualify to become contestants in legislative elections. In practice, however, political parties treat this order as a mere administrative procedural requirement to be fulfilled to qualify as participants of the Election. This is indicated by the insignificant number of women in the party's management structure assigned to strategic positions. In general the involvement of women in the party's DPP executive board shows an increasing trend, albeit still quite far from the ideal of equality and transformative politics within the party.

The representation of women in political parties' DPP management structure is greatly influenced by their internal conditions. Women with capacity and good track record as well as connections have the potential to reach strategic positions in party management. However, the conditions and culture within the party such as the absolute power of the parties' general chairperson and the closed process of decision-making can create obstacles for women to be more actively involved. The stigma that exists, namely the assumption that women are unable to take part in politics, only adds to the severity of the challenges for women. Personally, women also have to face domestic workloads that have the potential to hinder their involvement in party management. On the other hand, the party's internal conditions that allow a climate of openness, the presence of gender-responsive

policies, partisanship of party leaders towards women, and a culture of sisterhood can support women to achieve strategic positions the political parties' DPP.

4.2. Recommendations

Reflecting on the experiences of political party cadres who were interviewed in this research and the results of the quantitative data searching on the composition of the DPP structure, CWI formulates three recommendations in order to encourage the strengthening of women's substantive representation in the DPP executive board. First, CWI is of the opinion that the Law on Political Parties needs to be revised, not only in the gender affirmative action clauses but also as a whole within the framework of encouraging internal party reforms. Proper interpretation of the affirmative policy that provides a minimum 30% of women's representation needs to be restored; namely as a tool or a means, instead of as an end. The affirmative policy of minimum 30% women's representation is actually a "temporary means" to bring into reality the inclusive and equal political principles and practices. As long as the principles of inclusiveness and equality are reduced to a sheer presence of women, affirmative action policy remains merely a political rhetoric.

Second, political parties need to develop detailed internal technical rules and regulations to be used as indicators of the party's strategy for implementing affirmative policies. Political parties need to describe in their internal policies, for example in the AD and ART, the strategies that they will use to achieve equality. So far, in Indonesia, affirmative policies that govern women's political representation in the legislature and in political parties are in the form of "pressure" from outside. It will be difficult for policies even at the level of a law to beat internal party regulations that are more binding and more organic by nature to be practiced by all internal party components.

Third, political parties need to be continuously encouraged to commit to the transparency of criteria and the principle of non-discriminatory recruitment in the process of establishing the DPP management structure. This means the need for multi-stakeholder cooperation outside parties such as civil society groups, the media, researchers, academics and electoral democracy activists in particular to jointly oversee the performance of political parties not only prior to the Election but also in the interim. Realizing the gap between administrative rules and the essence of affirmative policies is the first step to substantively strengthening women's representation in the context of electoral politics.

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