

Enhancing The Institutional Capacity of Political Parties to Achieve Affirmative Action in South Kalimantan

Peningkatan Kapasitas Kelembagaan Partai Politik untuk Mewujudkan Tindakan Afirmitif di Kalimantan Selatan

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ABSTRACT: *Affirmative action is a program that promotes equal and equitable representation for the involvement and inclusion of women in politics and governance, based on the recognition that women's rights are part of broader human rights. This study's objective is to thoroughly examine the practical use of affirmative action in national and regional political spheres, with a particular emphasis on Southern Kalimantan, which exhibits both patriarchal cultural idiosyncrasies and societal openness. Moreover, the study examines whether providing focused political education to female cadres within the established political party structure can increase women's representation. This study selects samples from five branches of the DPD/DPW of prominent political parties identified as the top five vote-getters in the 2019 elections in South Kalimantan. The use of institutional theory is encompassed within the analytical approach. Utilizing a descriptive qualitative methodology, the process of selecting study participants involves purposive sampling, which includes primary and secondary data sources. The results of this study significantly contribute to the support and validation of affirmative action policies and improve access to women's representation by emphasizing the importance of institutional aspects inside political parties. Promoting political education for women cadres directly fulfils fundamental elements of women's political and human rights. This effort requires the courage and generosity of political parties to advocate for special political education to be included in the party's constitution as a formal legal basis and a long-term commitment to upholding affirmative action as a social obligation of political parties.*

Keywords:

*affirmative action;
political education;
political party institution;
women cadres*

Kata Kunci:

*kader perempuan;
kelembagaan partai politik;
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ABSTRAK: Tindakan afirmatif adalah program yang ditargetkan untuk mempromosikan representasi yang setara dan adil untuk keterlibatan dan penyertaan perempuan dalam politik dan pemerintahan, berdasarkan pengakuan bahwa hak-hak perempuan adalah bagian dari hak asasi manusia yang lebih luas. Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk menyajikan pemeriksaan menyeluruh terhadap penggunaan praktis tindakan afirmatif di bidang politik nasional dan regional, dengan fokus khusus pada Provinsi Kalimantan Selatan, yang menampilkan idiosinkrasi budaya patriarki dan keterbukaan sosial. Selain itu, penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menguji pertanyaan mendasar tentang apakah pemberian pendidikan politik yang terfokus kepada kader perempuan, di dalam struktur partai politik yang sudah mapan, dapat menghasilkan peningkatan tingkat keterwakilan perempuan. Penelitian ini memilih sampel dari lima cabang DPD/DPW partai politik terkemuka, yang diidentifikasi sebagai lima peraih suara terbanyak pada Pemilu 2019 di wilayah tersebut. Penggunaan teori kelembagaan tercakup dalam pendekatan analisis. Dengan menggunakan metodologi kualitatif deskriptif, proses pemilihan partisipan penelitian dilakukan secara purposive sampling, yang mencakup sumber data primer dan sekunder. Hasil penelitian ini secara signifikan berkontribusi dalam mendukung dan memvalidasi kebijakan tindakan afirmatif dan meningkatkan capaian keterwakilan perempuan, terutama dengan menekankan pentingnya aspek kelembagaan di dalam partai politik. Dengan mendorong pendidikan politik bagi kader perempuan, hal ini secara langsung memenuhi aspek fundamental hak asasi politik perempuan. Upaya ini membutuhkan keberanian dan kemurahan hati partai politik untuk mengadvokasi pendidikan politik khusus perempuan untuk dimasukkan ke dalam AD/ART partai sebagai dasar hukum formal dan komitmen jangka panjang untuk menegakkan tindakan afirmatif sebagai kewajiban sosial partai politik.

1. Introduction

All citizens of Indonesia are entitled to equal rights and status under the law and government, including the ability to participate in elections as candidates¹. As an indispensable element of society, women are afforded equitable rights, capabilities, and prospects on par with their male counterparts. Ensuring equality and fair opportunity for women, commonly known as affirmative action, receives significant emphasis.

Affirmative action has historically been seen as a “special action” involving governmental, executive, and administrative steps to achieve meaningful gender equality, as required by the 1979 CEDAW and the 1953 UN Convention on Women’s Political Rights². Political party quotas, legislative quotas, and reserved seats are the three most common types of gender quotas³. Political party quotas are often implemented voluntarily and are specific to each party. These quotas aim to boost the representation of female candidates or elected legislators by determining the percentage of women involved⁴. Legislative quotas legally require national regulations requiring all political parties to field a predetermined portion of women as election candidates⁵.

Based on this premise, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action were produced at the Fourth World Women’s Conference in Beijing in 1995. This document then developed into an operational framework for advancing equality, development, and peace that all parties accepted, particularly for women worldwide⁶. At the UN World Conference held in 2000 in conjunction with the Millennium Summit, the commitment to advancing gender equality and justice was further reaffirmed. At the summit, the objective of achieving gender equality in all spheres—including politics and decision-making—was reaffirmed. This commitment was made clear in the Millennium Development Goals, which stated that a minimum representation of 30% is required to foster transformative change and produce observable effects on the standard of decisions made in gender-sensitive public institutions or in larger policy contexts that affect women’s lives⁷.

Law Number 2 of 2011 on Amendments to Law Number 2 of 2008 on Political Parties in Indonesia formally lays out the rules for affirmative Action. Law Number 2 of 2008 addressing Political Parties and Law Number 7 of 2017 about Elections are amended by this law. These rules include various topics, such as the requirements for political party formation and their registration as election participants⁸. Additionally, they cover the management of political parties and the recruitment of members inside political parties⁹, the process of choosing candidates for numerous political posts, including candidates for the seats of President and Vice President, members of the DPR and DPRD, regional heads, and Deputy regional heads¹⁰. These rules apply to all administrative levels of election organizing bodies, as specified by the Election Law, including The Indonesian General Election Commission (KPU) and The Indonesian General Election Supervisory Body (BAWASLU). The demand for a 30% representation of women is central to these standards. By intentionally encouraging women to get involved in politics, affirmative Action acts as a conduit for promoting women’s rights in the public sphere. Pursuing women’s rights inevitably acquires a human rights perspective since women frequently find themselves

1 “Undang-Undang Dasar RI 1945” (1945) Article 28H Paragrap 2.

2 United Nation, “Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women” (1979), <https://doi.org/10.5771/1866-377x-2009-2-68>.

3 Abeeda Qureshi and Sara Ahmad, “Reserved Seats for Women in Pakistan: Reinforcement of Patriarchy and Powerlessness (2002–2018),” *Women’s Studies International Forum* 94 (July 28, 2022): 102629, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2022.102629>; Manuel Bagues and Pamela Campa, “Can Gender Quotas in Candidate Lists Empower Women? Evidence from a Regression Discontinuity Design,” *Journal of Public Economics* 194 (December 23, 2021): 104315, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jpubeco.2020.104315>.

4 Julia Sánchez-García, Ana Isabel Gil-Lacruz, and Marta Gil-Lacruz, “The Influence of Gender Equality on Volunteering among European Senior Citizens,” *Voluntas* 33, no. 4 (2022): 820–32, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11266-021-00443-6>; Mike Donaldson, “What Is Hegemonic Masculinity?,” *Theory and Society* 22, no. 5 (1993): 643–57; Noora Lari, Mohammad Al-Ansari, and Engi El-Maghraby, “Challenging Gender Norms: Women’s Leadership, Political Authority, and Autonomy,” *Gender in Management* 37, no. 4 (May 4, 2022): 476–93, <https://doi.org/10.1108/GM-06-2021-0159>. Professional and Political, Education, and Religion

5 United Nation, “Convention on the Political Rights of Women” (1953).

6 Juniar Laraswanda Umagapi, “Representasi Perempuan Di Parlemen Hasil Pemilu 2019: Tantangan Dan Peluang,” *Kajian* 25, no. 1 (March 31, 2020): 19–34.

7 UN Women, “Five-Year Review of the Implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (Beijing + 5) Held in the General Assembly, 5 - 9 June 2000,” United nations entity for gender equality and the empowerment of women, 2000, <https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/followup/beijing+5.htm>.

8 Article 2 Paragraph 2 and Article 177 Republik and Indonesia, “Undang-Undang Nomor 7 Tahun 2017 Tentang Pemilihan Umum,” Pub. L. No. 7, Undang-Undang (2017).

9 Article 2 Paragraph 2 Republik Indonesia, “Undang-Undang Nomor 2 Tahun 2008 Tentang Partai Politik,” 2008; Republik and Indonesia, “Undang-Undang Nomor 2 Tahun 2011 Tentang Perubahan Atas Undang-Undang Nomor 2 Tahun 2008 Tentang Partai Politik,” Pub. L. No. 2, Undang-Undang (2011).

10 Article 245 Republik and Indonesia, Undang-Undang Nomor 7 Tahun 2017 tentang Pemilihan Umum.

in marginalized areas that include social, political, cultural, and religious elements¹¹. It is critical to stress that Affirmative Action, a crucial component of citizens' actualization of their human rights, gets protection inside the legal system, most notably in Article 46 of Law Number 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights¹².

So far, gender norms have caused female political cadres to be ignored and marginalized, even when they have been elected to legislative seats¹³. This pattern was noticeable in the 2014–2019 elections, where it was notable that no women held commission chair or parliamentary leadership positions. However, from 2019 to 2024, progress was seen thanks to Puan Maharani's election as Speaker of the House of Representatives¹⁴. Reaching 30% female representation in parliament remains challenging in regional contexts like South Kalimantan Province. A meager eight out of 55 seats, or 14.54 percent, were held by women between 2014 and 2019. The following year, during the 2019–2024 term, this number increased to 11 women or 20%. Although this increase falls short of the desired quota, it still represents a significant and continuous improvement over the previous five years¹⁵.

Affirmative action should not be seen as discrimination but rather as a means of rectifying, aiding, and compensating for the historical and unjust treatment endured by women over the course of centuries. Its purpose is to accelerate the attainment of true equality regarding representation between women and men. This measure is of a limited duration and is intended to expedite the achievement of substantial parity between females and males. Once equality is achieved, this exceptional measure must cease¹⁶.

The previous studies on women's political representation, as regulated in the Election Act and the Political Parties Act, which also applies to the appointment of commissioners in the state institutions of the KPU and BAWASLU in 2020, have been reviewed by Ricky Santoso Muharam, *et.al*¹⁷. Similarly, a study related to the political education of women within the political parties body to realize gender equality by strengthening the quality and integrity of anti-corruption women politicians was written by Mirza Satria Buana, Erlina, and Eka Yulia Rahman¹⁸. Unlike previous studies, this paper will examine aspects of affirmative action implementation in South Kalimantan with a blend of the social dynamic of the Banjar community, closely intertwined with its cultural heritage, patriarchal culture,¹⁹ and public openness, significantly impacting women's ability to attain representation at the regional level, including in provinces and districts/cities. Using the institutional theory of women's political rights, the study will also examine the importance of political education for women in political parties for affirmative action. It then considers whether increasing political education for female party cadres could improve women's representation.

The analysis in this paper will be classified into four major sections, namely: The Dynamics of Women's Political Rights in Indonesia, The Pertinence of Women's Human Rights, Affirmative Action, Regulation, and Implementation in Indonesia, Political Party Institutions, and Women's Political Education in The Advancement of Affirmative.

2. Method

The study used interview samples from five district board directors (DPD/DPW) chapters of significant political parties that received the top five vote totals in South Kalimantan's 2019 elections. The Golongan Karya

- 11 Lari, Al-Ansari, and El-Maghraby, "Challenging Gender Norms: Women's Leadership, Political Authority, and Autonomy"; Sukron Ma'mun and Ibnu Akbar Maliki, "A Socio-Historical Study of Women's Rights Advocacy in Islamic Legal Construction," *Journal of Southeast Asia Human Rights* 7, no. 1 (2023): 1–20, <https://doi.org/10.19184/jseahr.v7i1.39156>.
- 12 Republik Indonesia, "Undang-Undang Nomor 39 Tahun 1999 Tentang HAM," Pub. L. No. 39, Undang-Undang (1999).
- 13 Gülay Caglar, "Gender Mainstreaming," in *Politics and Gender*, vol. 9 (London: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 336–44, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X13000214>; Rini Sulastri, "Hambatan Dan Tantangan Perempuan Anggota Legislatif Pasca Affirmative Action," *Khazanah Multidisplin* 1, no. 2 (November 28, 2020): 137–55.
- 14 Haryanti Puspa Sari and Icha Rastika, "Puan Maharani Jadi Ketua DPR: Raih Suara Terbanyak Pileg, Minta Restu Ibu, Hingga Ingin Jadi Inspirasi Puan Maharani Jadi Ketua DPR: Raih Suara Terbanyak Pileg, Minta Restu Ibu, Hingga Ingin Jadi Inspirasi," *Kompas.Com*, 2019.
- 15 BPS, "Keterlibatan Perempuan Di Parlemen (Persen), 2019–2020," [bps.go.id](https://www.bps.go.id/indicator/40/464/2/keterlibatan-perempuan-di-parlemen.html), 2023, <https://www.bps.go.id/indicator/40/464/2/keterlibatan-perempuan-di-parlemen.html>.
- 16 Nation, Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women Article 4:1.
- 17 Ricky Santoso Muharam and Danang Prasetyo, "Pemenuhan Hak Politik Perempuan Sebagai Pengawas Pemilihan Kepala Daerah Serentak Tahun 2020," *Jurnal HAM* 12, no. 2 (August 26, 2021): 273, <https://doi.org/10.30641/ham.2021.12.273-284>; Ricky Santoso Muharam and Ari Pradhanawati, "Fulfillment of Women's Political Rights through Mainstreaming Gender Quotas in Election Supervisory Board" 13, no. 3 (2023): 406–23, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.26618/ojip.v13i3.12691>.
- 18 Mirza Satria Buana, Erlina Erlina, and Eka Yulia Rahman, "Paradigma Pendidikan Politik Antikorupsi Dan Kesenjangan Gender Di Partai Politik," *INTEGRITAS: Jurnal Antikorupsi* 7, no. 1 (June 25, 2021): 23–42, <https://doi.org/10.32697/integritas.v7i1.733>.
- 19 Ariani Lies, "Partisipasi Perempuan Di Legislatif Melalui Kuota 30% Keterwakilan Perempuan Di Provinsi Kalimantan Selatan," *Jurnal Konstitusi PKK-FH Universitas Lambung Mangkurat* II, no. 1 (June 2009): 46–60.

Party (Golkar), the Nasional Demokrat Party (Nasdem), the Demokrat Party (Demokrat), the PDI-P Party (PDIP), and the Kebangkitan Bangsa Party (PKB).

The study employs a descriptive qualitative technique to analyze and describe the implementation of women's political education functions on political parties in realizing affirmative action. The analysis was performed using institutional theory²⁰, in particular highlighting the structural dimensions of the internal political parties, to examine the political party surveillance system from a structural perspective to criticize institutional behavior²¹. The snowball sampling technique made it easier to choose informants based on specific goals and considerations, while the informer determination technique uses purposive sampling. Interviews with numerous cadres and administrators of political parties in South Kalimantan provided the primary data. They expected to have up-to-date information on the management style, organizational structure, political philosophy, and other essential elements of the political parties under investigation. Interviews were also conducted with elected officials from the province's South Kalimantan Provincial DPRD and the Political Division of the National Unity and Political Agency (Bakesbangpol). Secondary data comprised legal documents, rules, the party's charter (AD/ART), and political party administration directives.

3. Findings and Discussion

3.1 The Dynamics of Women's Political Rights in Indonesia

Human rights were established as the most fundamental entitlement in the UN Charter of 1945. The expansion of respect for fundamental freedoms and human rights, regardless of differences in race, ethnicity, religion, language, or gender, is stated expressly as one of the main objectives of the United Nations in Article 1. As emphasized in the UN Charter's goal to "reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, the intrinsic value of every individual, and the equal rights of all individuals, regardless of gender," the recognition of parity and equity between men and women has developed into a fundamental assurance for acknowledging and protecting human rights²². The UN General Assembly Mandate's Article 13 subsequently reinforced this claim of equality²³.

A further indication of the commitment to sustaining the ideal of equal rights for men and women, as stated in the United Nations Charter, is the Convention on the Political Rights of Women in 1953. The United Nations recognized that every person has an equal right to access public services inside their country and the right to participate in the governance of their country, either directly or indirectly, through representatives who have been freely chosen. Equal political rights for men and women²⁴, as outlined in the United Nations Charter and Articles 2 and 21 of The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, are the goal. Articles 1-3 of the Convention constitute a strong foundation and guarantee women's active political participation, eligibility for office, and the right to vote. It gives them the power to occupy public office and carry out all duties imposed by the national laws of various nations.

Subsequently, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women in 1979. Its preamble elucidates that, despite the presence of other instruments, women still do not enjoy the same rights as men. Therefore, the convention is designed to intensify global efforts in combating and eradicating all forms of discrimination against women. This convention was subsequently ratified and incorporated into the national legal frameworks of each United Nations member state, including Indonesia, through Law Number 7 of 1984 on the Ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women²⁵.

The principle of recognition and protection of women's rights is also included in the Human Rights Law Number 39 of 1999, Law Number 1 of 1974 on marriage, and various other legislative provisions in force nationally aimed at protecting all Indonesian citizens from unrestricted discrimination based on gender, tribe, race, and religion.

20 Vicky Randall and Lars Svåsand, "Party Institutionalization in New Democracies," *Party Politics* 8, no. 1 (2002): 5–29, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068802008001001>.

21 Khikmawanto, "Pelembagaan Partai Politik (Assessment Derajat Kesisteman Vicky Randall Dan Lars Svasan Pada Partai Gerindra Kota Tangerang)," *Jurnal Mozaik* XIII, no. 1 (2021): 33–46.

22 Stephanie Farrior, *Equality and Non-Discrimination under International Law*, ed. Stephanie Farrior, Equality and Non-Discrimination Under International Law, 1st Edition, vol. 2 (New York: Routledge, 2017), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315094410>.

23 United Nation, "Mandate of UN Human Rights," 2023, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/about-us/mandate-un-human-rights>.

24 United Nations, *Women's Rights Are Human Rights, United Nations*, vol. 10 (New York and Geneva: United Nation Human Rights Office of The High Commissioner, 2014), <https://doi.org/10.1080/00064246.1979.11414043>.

25 Pemerintah Republik Indonesia, "Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 7 Tahun 1984," Pub. L. No. 7, Undang-Undang (1984).

Considering the historical context, women's engagement in Indonesia has been limited by patriarchal standards, as evidenced by the country's extensive history of women's political organization and participation²⁶. Notably, during Suharto's presidency (1966-1998), the government solidified traditional gender norms by implementing policies emphasizing nuclear families and limiting women's roles to parenting and domestic duties²⁷. However, starting in the mid-1980s and continuing into the 1990s, more women began participating in more significant movements and networks heavily influenced by the global human rights movement and feminist ideologies. These movements aimed to challenge the regime²⁸ but resulted in gender disparities in political involvement. During the early 2000s, women's advocacy groups advocated for a gender quota in elections. In 2008, this quota was ultimately implemented, mandating political parties to ensure a minimum of 30 percent female candidates²⁹. All these policies and regulations encourage and open up a wide range of insights and opportunities for women to enter and work in politics and government, significantly impacting women's representation.

3.2 The Pertinence of Women's Human Rights, Affirmative Action, Regulation and Implementation in Indonesia

Why must women's rights be distinguished when they naturally encompass human rights? Why is it necessary to have a specific human rights treaty that addresses women's rights when there are already broad human rights instruments? Women frequently discover themselves denied their human rights in many regions of the world due to their sex or gender alone³⁰.

Women's rights are integral human rights incorporated in international human rights treaties and other significant agreements; thus, they shouldn't be seen as special privileges. These rights have a global reach, covering fundamental rights such as the right to life, immunity from discrimination, privacy and property, access to public services, a dash of dignity, and freedom from torture, among many other essential liberties³¹.

Affirmative action is a concept that is subject to the same types of questions and reasons. Affirmative action refers to specific actions for women in the executive, legislative, and judicial spheres of government. The policies and practices covered by these actions include outreach and support programs, resource allocation and reallocation, preferential treatment, targeted hiring, hiring and promotion procedures improvements, setting numerical targets associated with predetermined timeframes, and implementing quota systems. These policies aim to accelerate concrete progress toward gender equality³².

As time passed, gender quotas and affirmative action became widely accepted and were implemented in several nations worldwide³³. Following the first non-racial and non-gendered democratic local elections held between 1995 and 1996, this strategy included women and people of black ethnicity as councilors in South Africa³⁴. Despite fragile economic conditions, African countries have made remarkable progress, with a notable increase in women in parliament over the previous three decades³⁵. In Pakistan, there is a favorable association between the number of female parliamentarians and the adoption of laws that support women's empowerment and fight gender inequality. However, this has not significantly changed how people view women's political participation³⁶. Ten of the 28 nations that make up the European Union have codified legislative candidate gender quotas, which apply equally to all political parties. Major political parties have voluntarily adopted these quotas in 13 more member states³⁷.

In Indonesia, several laws and rules have been put in place at the national level to control affirmative action policies, the introduction of quotas to ensure women's representation and the provision and protection of women's political rights. These formal legal agreements serve as the foundation for recognizing and upholding

26 Susan Blackburn, *Women and The State in Modern Indonesia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

27 Mikaela Nyman, *Democratizing Indonesia* (Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies Press, 2006).

28 Blackburn, *Women and The State in Modern Indonesia*.

29 Ken M.P. Setiawan and Dirk Tomsa, "Defending a Vulnerable yet Resilient Democracy: Civil Society Activism in Jokowi's Indonesia," *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 42, no. 3 (2023): 350–71, <https://doi.org/10.1177/18681034231209058>.

30 Nations, *Women's Rights Are Human Rights*.

31 Republik Indonesia, Undang-Undang Nomor 39 Tahun 1999 tentang HAM.

32 Nicole M Lederer, "Affirmative Action: A Never-Ending Story?" (The University of Adelaide, Australia, 2013).

33 Jennifer Rosen, "Gender Quotas for Women in National Politics: A Comparative Analysis Across Development Thresholds," *Social Science Research* 66 (February 2, 2017): 82–101, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2017.01.008>.

34 Brian K. Majola, "Political Party and Municipal Councils' Strategies in Empowering Women Ward Councillors in South Africa," *Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies* 11, no. 2 (March 5, 2022): 264–74, <https://doi.org/10.36941/ajis-2022-0050>.

35 Valentina Dimitrova-Grajzl and Iyabo Obasanjo, "Do Parliamentary Gender Quotas Decrease Gender Inequality? The Case of African Countries," *Constitutional Political Economy* 30 (January 21, 2019): 149–76, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10602-018-09272-0>.

36 Qureshi and Ahmad, "Reserved Seats for Women in Pakistan: Reinforcement of Patriarchy and Powerlessness (2002–2018)."

37 Bagues and Campa, "Can Gender Quotas in Candidate Lists Empower Women? Evidence from a Regression Discontinuity Design."

affirmative action in Indonesia, enabling the full implementation of programs. The following table provides a detailed summary of these provisions.

Table 1. Regulation of Affirmative Action and Quotas for Women's Representation in Indonesian Laws and Regulations

No	Laws and Regulations	Article / Paragraph	Information
1	Law Number 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights	45	In this law, women's rights are human rights.
2		46	Within the electoral system, encompassing political parties, the election of legislative members, and the appointment processes within the executive realm, it is imperative for the judiciary to guarantee the representation of women following the prescribed criteria.
3	Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning Elections	10 (7)	The composition of KPU membership, provincial KPU membership, and District/ City KPU membership considers the representation of women, ensuring a minimum of 30% (thirty percent).
4		22 (1)	The President forms a selection team comprising a maximum of 11 (eleven) members while ensuring the representation of women is at least 30% (thirty percent).
5		52 (3)	The composition of PPK membership considers women's representation, ensuring a minimum of 30% (thirty percent).
6		55 (3)	The composition of PPS membership takes into account the representation of women, ensuring a minimum of 30% (thirty percent)
7		59 (4)	The composition of KPPS membership takes into account the representation of women, ensuring a minimum of 30% (thirty percent)
8	Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning Elections	173 (2e)	Ensure the inclusion of a minimum of 30% (thirty percent) of women's representation in the management of political parties at the central level.
9		245	Article 243's list of candidates includes a representation of females of no less than 30% (thirty percent).
10		246	In the list of candidates, as indicated in Paragraph (1), there is a minimum of 1 (one) female candidate for every 3 (three) candidates.
11		248 (1)	The KPU verifies the completeness and accuracy of the administrative requirement documents for prospective DPR members and ensures the fulfillment of women's representation of no less than 30% (thirty percent).

12		248 (2)	The Provincial KPU verifies the completeness and accuracy of the administrative requirement documents for candidates vying for provincial DPRD membership while confirming the fulfillment of a minimum of 30% (thirty percent) women's representation among the candidates.
13		248 (3)	The District/City KPU verifies the completeness and accuracy of the administrative requirement documents for potential district/city DPRD members. Additionally, they conduct verification to ensure the fulfillment of candidates amounting to a minimum of 30% (thirty percent) women's representation.
14		249 (2)	If the list of potential candidates does not incorporate a representation of women amounting to at least 30% (thirty percent), the KPU, Provincial KPU, and District/City KPU afford political parties the chance to enhance the candidate above list.
15		248 (1)	The KPU verifies the completeness and accuracy of the administrative requirement documents for potential DPR members and ensures women's representation of at least 30% (thirty percent).
16		248 (2)	The Provincial KPU verifies the completeness and accuracy of the administrative requirement documents for potential members of the Provincial DPRD. They also conduct verification to ensure the fulfillment of candidates amounting to a minimum of 30% (thirty percent) women's representation.
17	Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning Elections	248 (3)	The District/City KPU verifies the completeness and accuracy of the administrative requirement documents for potential district/city DPRD members. Additionally, they conduct verification to ascertain the fulfillment of candidates amounting to a minimum of 30% (thirty percent) women's representation.
18		249 (2)	If the list of potential candidates lacks women's representation of at least 30% (thirty percent), the KPU, Provincial KPU, and District/City KPU offer political parties the chance to enhance the candidate list.

19	Law Number 2 of 2008 Concerning Political Parties	2 (2)	Paragraph (1) stipulates that establishing Political Parties involves a 30% (thirty percent) representation of women.
20		2 (5)	The management of political parties at the central level, as indicated in Paragraph (3), is formulated by incorporating a minimum of 30% (thirty percent) representation of women.
21	Law Number 2 of 2011 concerning Amendments to Law Number 2 of 2008 concerning Political Parties	2 (2)	The establishment and establishment of Political Parties, as referred to in Paragraph (1), includes 30% (thirty percent) of women's representation.
22	Constitutional Court Judgment Number 22-24 /PUU-VI/2008	judgment conclusion	Despite being perceived as reverse discriminatory, affirmative action does not violate the Constitution because it aims to establish the basis for equal justice between men and women.
23	Constitutional Court Judgment Number 82 / PUU-XII/2014	judgment conclusion	The affirmative action policy encompasses not only women and gender equality but also extends to disabled individuals, indigenous communities, and other minority groups. The state has implemented this policy to ensure equal opportunity for these specific segments of society. Given that the inclusion of women in leadership roles within the Council of People's Representatives (DPR) is a type of affirmative action mandated by the Constitution, it is imperative that legislators actively incorporate this policy into their legislative decisions.

Source: Secondary Research Data, 2023

The recognition and protection of affirmative action policy is encoded in three laws: Law Number 39 of 1999 on Human Rights, Law Number 7 of 2017 on Elections, and Law Number 2 of 2011 on amendments to Law Number 2 of 2008 on Political Parties. These three laws are essential legislation that play a crucial role in achieving women's political rights, significantly contributing to ensuring women's representation and advancing Indonesian democracy.

3.3 Political Party Institutions and Women's Political Education in The Advancement of Affirmative Action

Affirmative action is being amplified, emphasizing the importance of political parties as part of the expanding democratic process³⁸. The importance of party institutionalization in this setting is evident. While this is especially relevant to newly established democracies in former third-world nations, its applicability is also seen in Indonesia³⁹. In this context, institutionalization refers to the process by which a party shows itself and includes ingrained cultural norms, attitudes, and behavioral patterns. There are two primary components of this process: internal and external. While the exterior facet deals with the party's contacts with the society it is a part

38 Frank de Zwart, "The Logic of Affirmative Action: Caste, Class and Quotas in India," *Acta Sociologica* 43, no. 3 (2000): 235–49, <https://doi.org/10.1177/000169930004300304>.not a primordial given. They also agree that the state (through its power to dominate discourse

39 Andreas Ufen, "Political Party and Party System Institutionalization in Southeast Asia: Lessons for Democratic Consolidation in Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand," *Pacific Review* 21, no. 3 (2008): 327–50, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09512740802134174>.

of, including its ties to other institutions, the internal facet deals with developments within the party⁴⁰. Each of these characteristics includes both structural and attitudinal elements, resulting in a thorough matrix:

Table 2. The Dimensions of Party Institutionalization

	Internal	External
Structural	Systemness	Decisional Autonomy
Attitudinal	Value Infusion	Reification

Source: Randall and Svåsand, "Party Institutionalization in New Democracies" (2002)

This essay restricts its focus to the internal aspects of political parties, which, seen from the political party's institutional structure, includes the scope, density, and regularity of interaction that help form the party as a whole or "Systemness," a notion. Systemness is a predetermined routine that regulates behavior within it and is divided into three main categories: organizational structure, party wings, and AD/ART (Articles of Association and Party's Constitution). Value Infusion is covered in more detail in a separate section titled Attitudinal. This analysis considers the party's ideology, program, support base, orientation, and political endeavors⁴¹.

3.3.1 Aspects of Systemness in Political Parties

Party's Constitution (AD/ART), Organizational Structure, and Party Wing are the three critical categories for systemness. Notably, political education similar to regeneration or technical advice (BIMTEK) is only included in political parties' constitutions and households (AD/ART). It is provided to all members and cadres, both men and women. There is no specifically designed political education for women that would improve the political comprehension of female cadres and members. For instance, in AD/ART PDI-P, political education is carried out through the cultivation and dissemination of Bung Karno's teachings, deepening understanding of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, NKRI, and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, knowledge of the rights and obligations of citizens of the state in building ethics and political culture; and consistent and continuous chairmanship of party members, which is addressed to all cadres and members.

All Regional Leadership Councils (DPD) and Branch Leadership Councils (DPC) in Indonesia must follow the AD/ART, which is decided by the Party Leadership Council (DPP) at the national level. The party's ideology, guiding principles, distinctive traits, vision, and goals, as they are expressed via political activity, are all depicted in AD/ART. Its importance is enormous and crucial for determining the course and fulfillment of a political party's goals⁴². Therefore, any changes to the AD/ART content of the political party must be made at the national level. Political parties' internal organizational structures already have a minimum of 30% female representation at the DPD/DPW level. Political parties in South Kalimantan have proven their dedication to achieving this minimal quota despite the affirmative action regulations primarily about a minimum of 30% female representation at the DPP level. Unfortunately, the Party's AD/ART does not include political education specifically geared toward women. AD/ART should place its trust in the party, the highest foundation of the organization, to implement affirmative action by providing women-specific political education to its cadres and members.

Based on interviews with several cadres and political party managers, it was stated that no substantial obstacles were found in any political party structure. This is because all political parties have understood and complied with the legislative requirement to include a 30-percent female representation in the party's organizational framework. This percentage has exceeded 30% across the board, including in core management, even within the Golkar party, which uses a tiered structure that starts with members, moves through cadres, and ends with administrators. By ensuring the election of women to party management, this method shows the party's support. According to PDIP, gender equality was practiced long before affirmative Action became popular and went beyond electoral criteria. The party strives to have at least 30% women in its organizational structure and its slate of candidates.

The Vice Chairman for Women's Affairs is also appointed by PDIP, who actively oversees women's activities. Meanwhile, Nasdem's dedication to women's emancipation is evident in Garnita Malahayati, a party wing created to regenerate female cadres. To guarantee equal rights for all party members, the Democratic Party highlights its commitment to developing political education among party officials, regardless of gender, through training, seminars, and workshops.

⁴⁰ Randall and Svåsand, "Party Institutionalization in New Democracies."

⁴¹ Randall and Svåsand.

⁴² Hera Alvina Satriawan, "Kedudukan AD/ART Partai Politik Dalam Hierarki Peraturan Perundang-Undangan Terkait Kewenangan Uji Materil Oleh Mahkamah Agung," *Jurnal Hukum Bisnis Bonum Commune* 5, no. 1 (February 2022): 54–66.

In numerous political parties, women's political education is facilitated by the women-only wing of the respective party. Nevertheless, not all political parties in South Kalimantan establish a dedicated branch (party wing) that can effectively advance women's political education. The table below displays the presence of the political factions within the five parties that are the subject of investigation in southern Kalimantan.

Table 3. The Roles and Functions of Party Wing

Political Party	Party Wing	Party-wing Function
Golkar	Kesatuan Perempuan Partai Golkar (KPPG)	The party wing conducts political education for women through seminars, teaching, and training, collaborating with institutions external to the party.
Nasional Demokrat (Nasdem)	Garnita Malahayati	As a repository for political education, women's issues, and women's empowerment. Garnita Malahayati proactively enforces gender-based affirmative action for women.
PDIP	does not have a women-only party wing, the Vice Chairman for Women and Children actively oversees women's political education	Women frequently engage in celebratory events on annual occasions dedicated to women or national holidays, such as seminars, women's dialogues, or other ceremonial activities.
PKB	Wanita Bangsa	The Party Wing, known as Wanita Bangsa, organizes and develops specific programs for women's activities within the party. Additionally, they are tasked with identifying and selecting qualified female candidates for at least 30% of the party's nominations. The party's wing is actively engaged in the region's unification.
Demokrat	does not have a women-only party wing	There is a lack of gender-specific political education for women. The BPOKK (Badan Pembinaan Organisasi dan Kaderisasi) implements the framework.

Source: Primary Research Data, 2023

Additionally, the DPP routinely invites party members from the DPD and DPC levels to participate in focused workshops on women's political education at the central station. Regrettably, the activities conducted by the party wing are frequently ceremonial and "soft" in nature, as they remain intimately linked to the traditional role of women⁴³. Political parties often relegate women's wings to a secondary and symbolic political role. The women's branches have been inadequately formed and have not actively participated in the candidacy process, primarily focusing on supporting the kaderisation of talented women politicians⁴⁴.

3.3.2 The Aspect of Value Infusion in Political Parties

Value infusion refers to the extent to which party supporters—whether official party members or not—can recognize the party and show higher loyalty than personal interests. This factor, connected to the party's prowess in fostering its culture or value system, can be considered a crucial component of party cohesion. This study evaluates the infusion of values through the party's philosophy, program, base of supporters, and direction and focus of the conflict⁴⁵.

43 Misbah Zulfa Elizabeth, "Resistensi Perempuan Di Lembaga Legislatif (Studi Kasus Di Kalangan Anggota Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Provinsi Jawa Tengah)" (Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2015).

44 Bambang Arianto, "Menakar Sayap Politik Perempuan : Studi Garnita Malahayati Partai NasDem Yogyakarta," *Ijd-Demos* 1, no. 3 (2019): 307–29, <https://doi.org/10.31506/ijd.v1i3.25>.

45 Matthias Basedau and Alexander Stroh, "Measuring Party Institutionalization in Developing Countries: A New Research Instrument Applied to 28 African Political Parties," *SSRN Electronic Journal* (Hamburg, Germany, 2008), <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1119203>.

Value infusion encompasses several sub-indicators, including party ideology, party platform, and the pattern and direction of political party struggle. In terms of ideology and party platforms, all are aligned with Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. Every political party recognizes the significance of political education for women and women's political representation. Political education targeting women is perceived as a means to enhance political insight and refine decision-making abilities within organizations (parties) and when assuming legislative roles⁴⁶. Affirmative action policies mandating a 30% women's quota do not pose significant challenges for political parties. The 30% quota has proven adequate in both the organizational structure and candidacy.

Political parties, however, put the success of female candidates in the hands of competition when aiming for a 30% presence in parliament, embracing both win and defeat as inherent to such battles. Political parties should not simply abdicate their obligations and ignore the cultural and environmental paradigms that cast doubt on women's capacities to analyze and make judgments on par with males, even though victories and losses are expected in competitions. Societies that embrace patriarchal norms continue to be shaped by this persistent viewpoint. Women continue to receive less trust and encouragement than males do. Furthermore, a feeling of unity among women's organizations hasn't emerged yet, which might support the empowerment of female characters. Therefore, political parties are more obliged to provide opportunities and assistance⁴⁷.

The essential political education for female cadres must consider systemic hurdles, such as patriarchal culture, social conventions, and religious beliefs that influence societal attitudes. This is true for cadres who want to advance personally within the political party and those who want to run for office. Political parties should simultaneously promote political education to the broader public following legal requirements and AD/ART⁴⁸. This moment is a chance to spread political education that emphasizes gender equality and can encourage change while challenging outmoded societal beliefs.

The extent to which political parties work to promote gender equality within their ranks and throughout the Indonesian political landscape must be confirmed by further investigation of the party's programs and endeavors. Due to various internal reasons, many women still doubt their abilities. These variables include a woman's current economic and financial situation, her political knowledge (including formal education and political insight), her political networks and affiliations, and the pervasive "double burden" she bears, particularly regarding family responsibilities and support. The socially ingrained cultural and religious conventions continue to encourage women to rely on their spouses for decision-making approval⁴⁹. As a result, these factors contribute to women's low level of engagement in political party organizations and positions of higher strategic leadership, such as those of administrators or legislative candidates.

Affirmative action aims to establish an inclusive atmosphere that welcomes all societal groups, especially those underrepresented in the development field. Its objective is to encourage political engagement and advance a just and equitable democracy⁵⁰. Although formal legal restrictions govern Affirmative action, there are still specific gaps in its implementation. While this strategy has significantly boosted the number of women in politics, it hasn't necessarily removed all of the difficulties that women face⁵¹. To comply with official criteria, political parties ensure that 30% of women are represented in organizational structures and candidacy. South Kalimantan is not exempt from this phenomenon's prevalence throughout Indonesia. Political parties that have excluded particular political education for female cadres or members from their programs have, from an institutional standpoint, hampered the policy's ability to vigorously promote women's representation. As a result, the goal of having women holding 30% of legislative seats has not been attained.

Therefore, the Party's AD/ART must expressly state that political education for women will be included. This instruction should be carried out gradually from the central to the branch level under supervision to accomplish

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- 46 Manon Tremblay, "Women's Political Representation: Does the Electoral System Matter?," *Political Science* 57, no. 1 (2005): 59–75, <https://doi.org/10.1177/003231870505700105>; Katelyn E. Stauffer, "Public Perceptions of Women's Inclusion and Feelings of Political Efficacy," *American Political Science Review*, 2021, 1–16, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055421000678>.
- 47 Mouliza K.D. Sweinstani, "Partai Islam, Tafsir Agama, Dan Representasi Perempuan Dalam Partai Persatuan Pembangunan," *Politika: Jurnal Ilmu Politik* 10, no. 2 (October 2019): 179–98, <https://doi.org/10.14710/politika.10.2.2019.170-185>; Sulastris, "Hambatan Dan Tantangan Perempuan Anggota Legislatif Pasca Affirmative Action."
- 48 Putri Handayani Nurdin, "Politik Hukum Pengaturan Pendidikan Politik Oleh Partai Politik," *Jambura Law Review* 1, no. 2 (2019): 144–66, <https://doi.org/10.33756/jalrev.v1i2.1977>; Else Suhaimi, "Prinsip-Prinsip Umum Rekrutmen Politik Sebagai Landasan Idil Penyusunan Pola Rekrutmen Dalam AD/ART Partai Politik Di Indonesia," *Jurnal Tripantang* 7, no. 1 (June 15, 2021): 27–51, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.51517/jhtp.v7i1.295>.
- 49 Julie Lassébie, "Gender Quotas and the Selection of Local Politicians: Evidence from French Municipal Elections," *European Journal of Political Economy* 62 (December 28, 2020): 101842, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ejpoleco.2019.101842>.
- 50 Department Economic and Social Affairs and United Nations, "Inequality in a Rapidly Changing World," World Social Report 2020, 2020.
- 51 Bagues and Campa, "Can Gender Quotas in Candidate Lists Empower Women? Evidence from a Regression Discontinuity Design."

affirmative action objectives. The need to consider the peculiar situations of women in society, particularly within political parties that men frequently control, justifies the introduction of women-only political education. As political education for women is intrinsically linked to women's issues in patriarchal countries, doing this is essential for securing access to and the exercise of that right.

By providing more assistance, more possibilities, and more opportunities for collaboration for female party volunteers, political parties need to spark changes in their internal administration. This holds for people inside and outside the party system, including party leaders, elected officials, and diverse political stakeholders⁵². The need to maintain women's representation in local and federal politics cannot be overstated. To achieve this, political parties must consistently emphasize the development of cadres and the dissemination of political education. The growth of Indonesian democracy founded on gender equality will be aided by this united effort.

4. Conclusion

Based on the explanation above, it can be inferred that although affirmative action is formally regulated in numerous international conventions and national legislations, further endeavors are necessary to implement it on both national and regional scales, particularly within South Kalimantan. The reinforcement of affirmative action can be achieved through the enhancement of institutional aspects within political parties, specifically by placing greater emphasis on prioritizing specialized political education for female members. The significance of this emphasis arises from the fact that such education encompasses the fundamental aspects of women's political and human rights. Unfortunately, the explicit incorporation of women's specific political education is not delineated in political parties' AD/ART (party's constitution), thus impeding the complete actualization of its fundamental nature. The constraint is underscored by the political parties' dependence on their women-only wings to oversee the provision of political education for female cadres and members. Frequently lacking a solid institutional foundation within political parties, these activities and programs tend to be more symbolic than having a substantial impact.

Consequently, their deficiency lies in the insufficient knowledge necessary to provide political education that significantly contributes to enduring and gender-inclusive transformation, particularly within policy formulation. Political education emphasizing women's intelligence in politics and broad perspectives is thought to boost women's representation at the national and regional levels in South Kalimantan.

The implementation of internal changes within political parties is of utmost importance. These reforms necessitate political parties to demonstrate bravery and generosity in fighting for the incorporation of specialized political education for female cadres inside the political party's constitution and bylaws (AD/ART). The proposed inclusion will establish a formal legal basis and demonstrate a strong dedication to ensuring the ongoing existence of affirmative action. This dedication, in turn, reflects the party's social obligation to foster skilled female personnel and secure loyal backing from women voters and potential female leaders. Efforts directed toward promoting political education among cadres and female party members through collaborative initiatives will significantly contribute to the advancement of democracy in Indonesia by augmenting the representation of women. This study focuses on the internal institutional aspects of political parties but does not explore the outward features of parties. The acknowledgment of this constraint is evident in this work, highlighting its value as a source of research material for future academics.

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52 Julie Ballington et al., *Pemberdayaan Perempuan Demi Partai Politik Yang Lebih Kuat* (New York: UNDP, 2011).

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INTERVIEW LIST

Fitri Ridani. Golkar DPW South Kalimantan. Banjarmasin, June 22, 2023. At 13.30 WITA
Gusliana Rusiani. Golkar DPW South Kalimantan Banjarmasin. August 22, 2023. At 16.00 WITA
Ida Saptika Dewi. Political Section of Bakesbangpol South Kalimantan Province, Banjarbaru, July 31, 2023. At 11.20 WITA
Mariati, Gina. Nasdem DPW South Kalimantan. Banjarmasin, July 23, 2023. At 12.00 WITA
Muhammad Syarifudin. PDIP DPW South Kalimantan. Banjarmasin, June 13, 2023. At 14.15 WITA
Noorlatifah. Demokrat DPW South Kalimantan. Banjarmasin, June 3, 2023. At 10.15 WITA
Suripno Sumas. PKB DPW South Kalimantan. Banjarmasin, August 11, 2023. At 14.00 WITA
Zulfa Asma Vikra. Demokrat DPW South Kalimantan. Banjarmasin, July 23, 2023. At 13.30 WITA

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