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Misbah Zulfa Elizabeth
State Islamic University Walisongo, Semarang, Indonesia

Ririh Megah Safitri
State Islamic University Walisongo, Semarang, Indonesia

Sholihan Sholihan
State Islamic University Walisongo, Semarang, Indonesia

Arikhah .
State Islamic University Walisongo, Semarang, Indonesia

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Gender-Based Conflicts in Political Parties: Male Domination in Central Java's Politics

By Misbah Zulfa Elizabeth,¹ Ririh Megah Safitri,² Sholihan Sholihan,³ and Arikhah⁴

Abstract

Indonesian women's active participation in the political sphere has been supported by national legislation. However, it remains challenging for women to position themselves in the political arena, especially in a specific party's activities. There is contestation between male and female political cadres, which often escalates into conflict. Using a qualitative research method, this research aims to discover the root of gender-based conflicts within a political party context. This research found three kinds of conflict: overt, covert, and avoided. Overt conflicts occur in the official forum when women express their anger, dissatisfaction, and protests against their male counterparts. Covert conflicts occur when women do not express their dissatisfaction about the party's decisions and only show their anger outside of the forum. Avoided conflicts arise when women no longer wish to participate in the forum, so they leave the party and its activities. The root of the problems of these conflicts is gender asymmetry and the strong patriarchal culture in the organizations.

Keywords: Gender asymmetry, Political parties, Conflict theory, Patriarchy, Indonesia, Central Java

Introduction

The implementation of Indonesian Law number 8 of 2002 on the general election and Law number 2 of 2008 on political parties, both of which mentioned women's quotas in politics in general elections, has not provided political justice for women. Both laws were seen as revolutionary laws because they were the first time that a quota for women's involvement in politics was mentioned. The laws could be seen as a stimulus to increase women's participation in politics, but they have not hit the target as expected because of the strength of patriarchal culture. Political practices are prone to conflicts, especially among political party cadres, that marginalize women cadres' roles and positions (Elizabeth, 2019). The conflict is between those who support women's participation in politics and those who support patriarchal values. The lack of women's participation in politics is a worrying issue for a democracy. The asymmetry is pervasive, tarnishing the hard-earned democracy in Indonesia, which is unfortunate because women's participation in politics is a sign of a transition from authoritarian practices to more democratic ones (Mama, 2013). The openness of political space for women can become the basis for democratic development, but this does not seem to be the case in Indonesia (International Labor Conference, 2003; Simga & Goker, 2017).

Thus far, studies related to women's participation focus on two key issues. First, they look at women's involvement in a democratization framework and its central role in the

¹ Misbah Zulfa Elizabeth is faculty of Social and Political Science at State Islamic University Walisongo, Semarang, Indonesia. Email: zulfa_elizabeth@walisongo.ac.id. ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8221-2909>

² Ririh Megah Safitri is faculty of Social and Political Science at State Islamic University Walisongo, Semarang, Indonesia. Email: ririh.megah.safitri@walisongo.ac.id. ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1241-0731>

³ Sholihan Sholihan is in the Post-Graduate Program at State Islamic University Walisongo, Semarang, Indonesia. Email: sholihan@walisongo.ac.id. ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9425-8285>

⁴ Arikhah is Faculty of Islamic Theology and Humanity at State Islamic University Walisongo, Semarang, Indonesia. Email : arikhah@walisongo.ac.id. ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5798-3875>

transition to democracy (Ardiansa, 2017; Caul, 1999; Waylen, 2015). For example, Squires (2008) emphasized that women's participation in democracy is a positive movement, manifested through roles and dialogues designed explicitly for women. Second, research focuses on the perspective of women's competence and capacity in taking up positions in political and democratic arenas (Amina, 1998; Nimrah & Sakaria, 2015; Nurcahyo, 2016). For instance, Tucker pointed out that one of the barriers for women to being active in politics is the view that women are weak and incapable of taking up strategic positions in politics (as cited in Sumbas, 2020). From these two points of view, it could be concluded that research has focused on normative views of women. Therefore, more attention could be paid to the dynamics faced by women that make it difficult for them to be involved actively in politics.

This paper aims to complement the shortcomings of previous studies by focusing on women's experience in politics, particularly in participating in party activities. Because of the strong patriarchal culture in Indonesia, allowing women to be involved in the political sphere breaks religious tradition to a certain extent which could easily raise conflicts. This study focuses on such conflicts in a political party context that arise because of women's participation in politics. Three questions are formulated: 1) what gender-based conflicts arise in political parties? 2) what are the sources of these conflicts? and 3) how do women cadres in political parties express conflict?

The prevalence of gender-based conflicts in party activities indicates gender asymmetry in political parties' management and development. Gender asymmetry led to discrimination against female cadres in political parties, especially in the decision-making processes, thereby minimizing women cadres' potential to become leaders. Gender asymmetry is also affected by differences between women's cultural values and political parties' work culture. Gender stereotypes are one factor behind women's marginalization, stemming from the community culture that upholds traditional gender values. In other words, patriarchal values often translate into structural barriers in the form of gender-based conflicts in political parties. Such conflicts then accumulate into the marginalization of women in politics (Abdullah, 2016; Friedman, 1995; Robertson, 1992).

Literature Review: Gender Conflicts and Male Domination in Political Parties

Conflict is conceptualized as the difference between two people or groups who have differing goals (Fisher et al., 2000; Deutsch et al., 2011; Webel & Galtung, 2007). Another concept suggests that conflict is a difference in point of view formed by the history, personal character, way of life, and values that cause people to have different judgments on the same issue. Different views cause people to have conflicting goals (Fisher et al., 2000; Webel & Galtung, 2007). Conflict can take several forms, namely latent conflict, surface conflict, and open conflict. Latent conflict is not visible because it is below the surface. Surface conflict is not rooted in a deep issue, so it is often easy to overcome. Meanwhile, open conflict has deep roots (Fisher et al., 2000).

The main focus of conflict studies has been the themes of conflict in the workplace (Kammerhoff et al., 2019), community (Foster, 2019; Liu et al., 2017; Abokyi, 2018), and family conflict. Studies on family conflict itself are diverse, but the findings show unequal relationships are a common source of conflict (Cerrato & Cifre, 2018; Perry Jenkins & Gerstel, 2020; Tekkas Kerman & Betrus, 2020). Health problems of a partner or another family member can cause or be caused by conflict (Tekkas Kerman & Betrus, 2020; Bowen et al., 2018). Other triggers of family conflict are work that requires partners to separate (Xerxa et al., 2020), the impact of using social media (Berryman et al., 2018; Mahamid & Berte, 2020), and remote working arrangements (Spreitzer et al., 2017; Eddleston & Mulki, 2017). However, gender conflict in political parties seems to get less attention among scholars.

Studies on women in politics have been conducted by Iwanaga (2008), Siregar (2007), and Elizabeth (2019). Iwanaga examines the barriers to women's political participation due to the entrenched patriarchal culture. Siregar's (2007) study focuses on women who have entered politics. The findings state that the role of women in the legislature can be divided into descriptive roles and substantive roles. The descriptive role refers solely to their numbers within the legislature, while the substantive role refers to being in positions of power within the legislature. Wahidah found that women members of the legislature are still largely in descriptive roles. Elizabeth's (2019) findings are different from Wahidah's findings. According to Elizabeth, women in the legislature carry out resistance to their subordinate positions in a unique way.

This paper also draws upon research about male domination, which refers to an unequal relationship between men and women (Godelier, 1981; Miller et al., 2005) caused by the gender constructs within society which benefit men (Godelier, 1981; Moore, 1998). Men are generally seen as superior to women (Muszynski, 1991; Godelier, 1981). This hierarchical structure extends to various socio-cultural roles for men and women.

Researchers have increasingly carried out research on male domination in the public sphere. Gray (2018) traces a change in the landscape of work carried out by women, who have been working outside the home for more than thirty years, yet the question remains: why is male domination still present? The studies conducted by Shisler & Sbicca (2019) in the U.S., Boje et al. (2019) in Scandinavia, and Hirayama & Fernando (2018) in their study of the medical profession, all show women's career development is hindered by male domination.

Methods

This study uses qualitative research methodology to obtain a comprehensive understanding (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994) of the women cadres' experiences and roles in political parties, from the nomination period to the post-election period. The three groups of political parties in Indonesia—nationalist, religious community-based, and religious—were involved in this research. Each party group was represented by one party having the most representatives in the Central Java legislative board. However, the unit of analysis in this study is the political party. Informants of the parties consisted of the three prominent party leaders, committees, and five woman party cadres, both the party activists and those who become representatives in the Central Java legislative board. We carried out participative observations of Central Java Province's political parties to understand and map all forms of work programs and the political parties' work culture holistically (Spradley, 2007). Central Java was chosen as the research locus because it is a province in Indonesia where the participation rate of women since the enactment of affirmative action regulation is above the national level. The province is also culturally accommodating to social change.

Data were collected in several ways. In-depth interviews with political cadres, chairpersons of political parties, and members of parties who become Central Java representatives were conducted to collect detailed data regarding gender-based conflict in the political context. Focused-group discussions (FGD) with all informants in one party were also conducted to obtain objective experiences of gender-based conflict that had occurred. All the data collected was composed descriptively to be logically structured and easy to understand. Informants come from all the parties' committee members having representatives in local legislatures (DPRD).

All the data were analyzed under the lens of conflict study with a gender perspective. The analysis process was carried out by qualifying the data according to its substance and analyzing it by using conflict theory (Fisher et al., 2000; Ramsbotham et al., 2011, Coleman, 2006). The aim was to find out the conditions of the conflict that occurred. After that, we conducted an analysis of the conflicts by using a gender perspective. This kind of analytical

understanding is expected to provide a complete perspective on the phenomenon of conflict in the context of gender relations.

Results

The implementation of Indonesian Law number 12 of 2003, which is reinforced by Law number 10 of 2008 to accelerate women's empowerment in politics with the allocation of a 30% quota, has triggered the emergence of gender-based conflicts among political cadres. In this context, gender-based conflict is mapped into three levels: overt, covert, and avoided conflicts.

Types of Conflict

The first type of conflict that we found is overt conflict. Overt conflict is marked by the emergence of objections, claims, disappointments, and anger expressed openly in the forum. In a party meeting, Nina, one of the informants, expressed her anger, knowing that she was placed in an unpromising election region, and a male cadre replaced her position. She shouted: "This is discrimination. Injustice. We should have the same right as male cadres, but we do not get the right." Another cadre, Lala, argued: "Every political cadre's rights and obligations, both male and female, are the same." In a different party meeting, which discussed the organizational structure and placed women cadres in so-called "women-positions" as secretary or assigned to the divisions of women empowerment, health, or social welfare, one of the women cadres named Ria protested:

Yes, we are female, and gender construct imaged us as weak, incapable of doing any formal job. But I will make it clear that we are able to do any management and organizational job, not only writing and doing the jobs related to women and children. However, if there is no chance for us to prove our capacity and capability, no one will know us.

The expression of objections, claims, disappointments, and anger is displayed verbally in this kind of conflict. Everyone can see and feel the conflict because it was expressed in a formal forum, and they used words such as "right," "discrimination," and "women-positions" to draw attention to their views.

On the other hand, party administrators, who are generally male, are not always supportive of women in politics. As stated by Iman, a party leader: "I personally accept women in the party, moreover the regulations also support it. Only the conditions are not yet supportive." Other party leaders also expressed similar thoughts. This statement shows that the party leader, although he personally supports women's participation in political parties, feels that the situation is hampered by those in party management who do not support women in the political sphere.

The second conflict type is covert conflict which appears when political cadres have finished carrying out meetings, coordination, or other agendas. Anger is expressed outside the forum instead of in the forum. Covert forms of gender-based conflict in political parties may be similar in kind to overt forms, including dissatisfaction, anger, and disappointment, but these feelings can only be expressed outside the forum.

One of the subjects that became a trigger for the women cadres to be angry is the process of determining board members of the party. Many women who are active in the party are eligible to join the party leadership management. However, meetings to determine the board members often do not include women. This is because the party meetings are usually held for long hours, and the actual discussions only occur late at night when women have left the meeting to tend to their domestic roles. At the time of the announcement, the new board

members of women party activists were placed in a division traditionally associated with women's roles, such as the division of women's empowerment or health affairs. These positions are not strategic and reduce the chance for women to fully participate in the party's decision-making process. In response to this condition, women cadres are often dissatisfied. However, because they are aware of the limitations, they constrain themselves by not expressing disappointment openly and only showing it outside the forum. As explained by Ani: "I also want to be angry and express my anger in front of the forum, but I don't feel it is appropriate to do that. That's why I'm holding back and understanding the situation."

This situation also happened in other parties, where the activists commonly shared that they could not express their disappointment openly in front of other party management. Ira and Wahyu, cadres from different parties, said:

As newcomers, we know that men hold strong positions in politics. It is impossible for women to get strategic positions in the party. So we decided to express our protest outside the forum. We are aware that this is not an effective way of protest, but at least the other party management know that we are angry.

The third type of conflict is avoided conflict which occurs when women political cadres do not show differences of opinion with party administrators who hold patriarchal views, neither in the forum nor outside the forum. Their disapproval is shown in silence. Avoided conflict is indicated by women cadres leaving the forum or other meetings and leaving the political party circle. Women cadres leave the party meeting without considering the impact of their actions hereafter as their walkout is another form of gender-based conflict.

Nani, a woman activist of the nationalist party, said that she is one of many women victims of unequal treatment in political parties. Various disappointments were experienced, both in organizational and non-organizational problems, leading her to conclude that politics is not a world for women. Several cadres left the party meeting forum when the discussion was deadlocked, but several other female cadres felt very disappointed and lost hope for a career in political parties. Yulia from the nationalist party and Nirma from the religious community-based party said:

We also experienced problems in the party management structure, the order in the list of candidates, the electoral districts, as experienced by other friends from other parties. Some friends fight formally, but some are unable, so they give up or even quit their activities in political parties.

Zuma, one of the women activists in a religious-based political party, said:

I decided to stop my activities in political parties and will be active in the social and educational world. I have experienced several disappointments, from the serial number to the electoral district being also changed. I have struggled in many ways, but the patriarchal culture is too strong. A political party is an arena with man culture within it. I'm unable to live in such an unequal gender relationship like this. I chose to back off.

Women's expression of conflict can take on a diversity of forms. The most obvious is the expression of anger in verbal and behavioral forms. It is shown in a formal open space, while other conflict expressions are shown in a more subtle form and are outside the formal space.

Causes of Conflict

The data from observations, participative observations, focused-group discussions, and interviews showed that the causes of overt, covert, and avoided conflict are interchangeable. However, to determine the cause of each conflict, it is necessary to look for causes that exist in each type of conflict. In three parties in which this research was conducted, the causes of overt conflict are: 1) women cadres being placed in an unpromising election region and men cadres replacing them in their former election region, 2) women cadres being placed in “woman positions” in party management structure, such as in the position of secretary, division of women’s empowerment, or division of social welfare, and 3) women cadres feeling that they are never involved in the decision-making process within the party.

For covert conflict, the causes of conflict are: 1) women cadres being placed in unpromising election regions, 2) women cadres not being involved in the process of decision making in the party meeting, 3) party elites replacing the position of women cadres in their election. Compared to overt conflict, the causes of covert conflict are similar. The cross-checking process explained that these causes were dominant in political parties. Only some women cadres dared to express conflict openly and some did not engage in conflict for various reasons.

For avoided conflict, the causes are: 1) women cadres feeling there is no room for protesting, and 2) women cadres experiencing disappointment from the process of organizing the board, determining the names of candidates, placing them in electoral districts, and the serial number of elections. Women cadres avoided conflict after they repeatedly protested and tried to fight for their right to no avail. In the end, they left the meeting forum and their activities in political parties.

Expression of Conflict

Each type of conflict showed a specific type of expression. In covert conflict, the expressions of conflict are complicated. Although the conflicts are expressed in anger, disappointment, and dissatisfaction, they express the conflict outside of the forum. In overt conflict, anger, disappointment, and dissatisfaction are expressed openly so every person present in the meeting knows and hears the message. They also see the attitudes and behaviors of the women cadres who protest the party management. An example is the one shown by Nina and Lala. They show their anger in a loud voice and a tone of anger known to everyone in the party present, using firm words while moving their limbs. In responding to open expressions of anger directed by women to party officials, the party administrators, as stated by Budi and Wahyu, only responded formally to calm the atmosphere and hope that women cadres would understand the difficult situation they face in defending women.

Covert conflict involves verbal expressions, attitudes, and actions in different forms. The expressions of anger, disappointment, and dissatisfaction are expressed in words, with voices, attitudes, and behaviors shown openly outside of the forum. So only those who listen to the complaints, anger, and dissatisfaction of the women’s party cadres know and respond. They usually express their anger to fellow women or male administrators who are seen as supporting the women cadres. In covert conflict, the expression of female cadres is not too loud. In fact, they tend to use a low voice and use words that are not straightforward.

One of the leaders of a religion-based party, Rony, stated that although some cadres did not show their anger openly, the party leadership knew how they felt. The party leadership also knew that the anger of the women cadres was directed at them. Party leaders often ask women cadres to be patient and understand the party’s current state. What was conveyed by Rony was also confirmed by Gilang, the leader of the nationalist-based party, and by Rozak from a party with a religious community base.

Avoided conflict also involves verbal expression, attitudes, and actions. Verbal expressions are not limited to those around political parties, but may be shared in various social circles of female cadres so that their disappointment is known by many fellow men and women activists. The verbal expression of disappointment can be seen from the tone and choice of words. As mentioned in the previous section, Zuma was furious, and her expression was that of losing hope in the political party. Therefore, her attitude and actions were firm, leaving the party and carrying out other activities outside of political parties.

Party officials generally recognize this situation but do nothing to address the issue. Rozak, one of the party officials, stated that the management knew about the condition but could not do much. According to her, party administrators cannot stop female activists from leaving political parties if they find other fields of activity outside of politics.

Table 1: Gender-based Conflict in Political Parties

Cause of Conflict	Expression of Conflict	Parties in the Conflict
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The determination of electoral districts ● The determination of electoral serial numbers 	Showing the disagreement openly	Women candidates and party administrators
	Discussing and expressing their disappointment with other women activists or men activists supporting women's struggle outside the forum	Women candidates and party administrators
	Withdrawing themselves from any party activities	Women candidates and party administrators

Source: Primary Data

The description of the conflict between woman cadres and political party administrators is mapped in Table 1 above. The sources of gender-based conflict in political parties are the determination of electoral districts and serial numbers determination. The triggers develop three forms of conflict between women cadres and party administrators. These conflicts are expressed in various degrees of openness. However, they all imply women's disagreement with the administration, which men often dominate.

The core problem of the conflict between women party activists and party officials is gender asymmetry rooted in cultural value. The triggers of conflict were electoral districts' exchange and replacement of electoral serial numbers. The conflict escalated because there is no support from the party against women's involvement and there is no channel that allows women to convey their aspirations reasonably. Table 2 below elaborates on the aspects of conflict (Fisher et al., 2000).

Table 2: Aspects of Conflict

Aspect	Description
Person	Women activist or political party management
Core problem/Root cause	Gender asymmetry
Triggers	Exchange of electoral districts, replacement of electoral serial numbers, and women cadres' position in party structure
Mobilizing factors	Enactment of the regulation about 30% quota for women in politics
Aggravating factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Insufficient channel of communication ● Party indifference

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Insufficient support for women involved in a political party
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Source: Primary data

Table 2 shows the entrenched patriarchal values within the political party. Gender asymmetry was the root cause/core problem in the conflict within political parties. The triggers, mobilizing factors, and aggravating factors could all be linked to patriarchal values.

Discussion

The Policy of 30% Quota for Women in Politics as the Mobilizing Factor of the Conflict

This research shows that the government policy of a 30% quota does not guarantee women's participation in political party activities (Elizabeth et al., 2021). Despite the 30% quota for women to take part in the public world in political parties, the masculine culture within political parties discriminates against women. As a result, the quota of 30% women as party administrators, as stated by law, can not be reached. There is conflict within the party between women cadres or activists and party administrators. Party leaders and administrators believe the prevailing stereotype in society that politics is not the domain of women. Meanwhile, party women cadres view their presence in political parties as a right because state policies have supported them.

The 30% quota for women is a government policy as a consequence of Indonesia ratifying the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1984. Therefore, as a state policy, its implementation is expected to be swift. However, this policy stands against traditional values regarding gender. The regulatory position related to this quota moves all parties involved in the political sphere to react. Women who have been forced to remain silent by cultural values feel they have the support to move forward and involve themselves in politics (Elizabeth, 2019; 2021). Meanwhile, those that have controlled political parties, generally men, also reacted by defending their own power. Men must also try to accommodate regulations that encourage women to enter politics. Therefore, such a conflict is a widespread phenomenon because the regulation applies throughout the territory of Indonesia.

Asymmetrical Gender-Relation as the Source of Conflict

Gender-based conflicts in politics are indicators of asymmetrical gender relations in the management and development of political parties (Richardt, 2008). Overt, covert, and avoided conflicts, are different expressions caused by male domination in the party management (Nimrah & Sakaria, 2015; Waylen, 2015). The three types of conflict are included as open conflict (Fisher et al., 2000; Coleman, 2006) which appears on the surface and has deep roots in community values (Fisher et al., 2000; Ramsbotham et al., 2011). One value referred to is that men are superior to women (Fakih, 2008). The supposed superiority of men over women results in the phenomena of "big-manship" in any social process (Nurchahyo, 2016; Pambumdi, 2007; Simga & Goker, 2017), including politics (Adelina, 2004; Agustina, 2009; Elizabeth, 2019).

Asymmetrical gender relations are also reflected in stereotyping, subordination, and violence toward women (Fakih, 2008; Information, 2005; Muszynski, 1991; Mosse, 2007). This seemed to be perpetuated by the Javanese patriarchal culture (Fakih, 2008; Megawangi, 1999). Ramsbotham et al. (2011) call this the power structure of man. Kimmel (2017) and Fisher et al. (2000) underlined the pervasiveness of this view and its potential in raising a conflict. This can be shown in the power of the party's daily management and the inferior position of women in a cultural context, which then affects them in political life (Macdonald et al., 1997). On the one hand, women want to be actively involved in the political sphere, but on the other hand, men are displeased if women enter the male-dominated space. It can be

concluded that the primary source of the gender-based conflict in a political party is gender asymmetry structured by social and cultural concepts (Fakih, 2008; Kimmel, 2006).

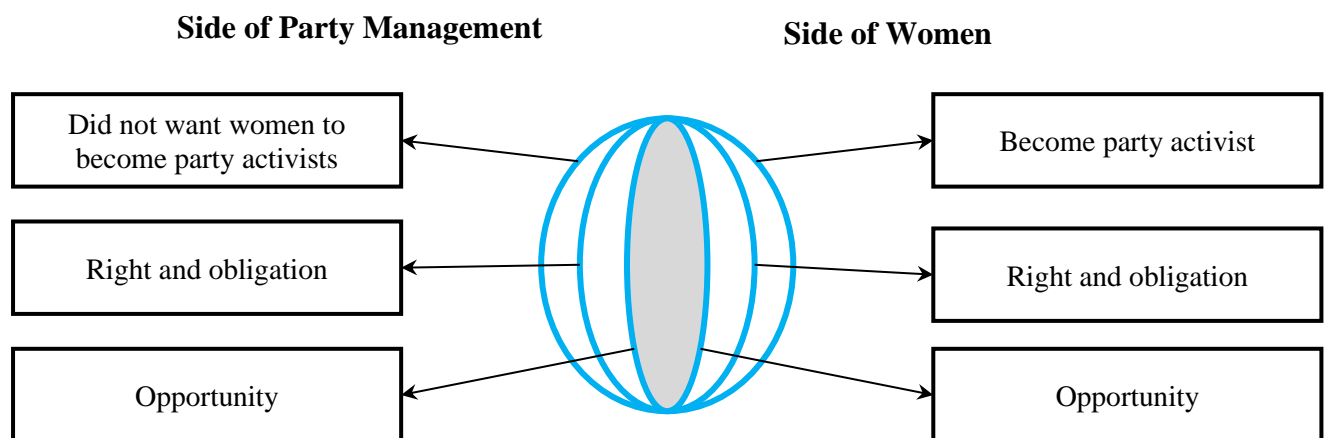
Male Domination as the Expression of Gender Asymmetry

Social judgment on women's capacity, which is often considered inadequate in taking on public roles, especially in the political field, encourages the neglect of women's conflict expression in party activities (Hughes et al., 2017; Simga & Goker, 2017). The ideal value in society regarding the domination of men has indirectly constructed perceptions of women as playing a minor role in politics (Nimrah & Sakaria, 2015; Pambumdi, 2007; Simga & Goker, 2017). Despite this fact, women activists have worked as much as possible by preparing themselves to carry out their duties as political cadres, but this is often overlooked. In her study about women's role in the public sphere, Indah (2013) concluded that women's status as the "second human" in society's daily activities is reflected in politics. Thus, women's insights, skills, and efforts are not leveraged. Moreover, their expression of conflicts is also diminished, if not completely ignored.

The depth of the problem shows in the various obstacles that continually arise (Ford & Parker, 2008). This is because political parties represent culture and patriarchal society (International Labor Conference, 2003). Therefore, it is understandable that instruments of political party organization are also embedded in patriarchal culture (Fakih, 2008; Kimmel, 2006). Thus, the policy products and the attitudes of political parties and board members are expressions of these patriarchal values. This argument strengthens Rabo's (2005) ideas stating that although the policy is an agent of cultural change, factually, cultural change is not easy. There are always conflicts between the new values and the traditional values held by society (International Labor Conference, 2003; Kimmel, 2006; Mackey, 1997; Rabo, 2005).

Women's demands are actively expressed in the political field when they become members of the legislature. Yet parties and party officials demanded that the women's presence would not change their status quo. Women demand to become legislature members because women feel they need to express themselves and serve. Meanwhile, men also think that their involvement in politics is equally pressing and they want to devote themselves to society and the state. If traced more deeply, both men and women perceive that their political involvement is both a right and an obligation towards the state.

Figure 1: Position, Interest, Need



As can be seen in the onion analysis (Fisher, 2000) in Figure 1, the demands of women activists are similar yet different from that of the male political activists. The patriarchal culture

has emphasized the superiority of men and the subordination of women. The conflict is still there because, as Fisher et al. (2011) assumed, there is no negotiation point between the sides.

Although this study found that conflicts were expressed publicly, and women sometimes expressed their anger at the injustice they experienced, women did not show their anger aggressively. Social norms limit women from expressing their anger freely (Fakih, 2008; Kodiran, 1999). Even some women do not express their dissatisfaction publicly, but covertly, and some lose hope, so they leave the meeting forum and stop participating in politics altogether. This study underlined how deep gender values are enculturated in society and its overall social processes, including political life. As Slade (2008) stated, this phenomenon is proof of persistent gender inequality, and it is a detrimental aspect of society.

Conclusion

The 30% women's quota policy does not guarantee the mainstreaming of women's roles in the political sphere. Efforts to signify women's roles in party activities have constructed gender-based conflicts that place women as the dominant actor. Various forms of marginalization of women and their political roles, from the nomination process to the implementation of party programs, represent the perpetuation of gender inequality in the public structure. The marginalization of women in party activities contributes to the weakening of women, which refers to the construction of negative stereotypes of women and the neglect of women's aspirations in public roles. Thus, the expectations for women's roles remain stagnant. These traditional values that express gender inequality are the source of gender-based conflicts in the political sphere, including overt, covert, and avoided conflict. The novelty of this study lies in using research on conflict to view the phenomenon of gender in the political world. The conflict perspective used in research on gender phenomena in the political realm provides insight into gender-based conflicts. This perspective provides space for further studies regarding accommodation spaces for men and women in the political sphere.

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