

## Strategy to Reduce the Patriarchal Culture in Gender Politics after MOU of Helsinkiin Aceh Province Indonesia

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### ABSTRACT

*This study aims to determine the strategy to reduce the influence of the patriarchal culture in gender politics in the province of Aceh after the MoU of Helsinki is set. Patriarchal culture is deeply rooted in the people of Aceh and has affected Aceh woman so limited in politics area (public). The methodology used in this study is descriptive qualitative methodology. This study found that the implementation of the MoU and Law No. 11 of 2006 on Governing Aceh has been effectively implemented in Aceh, thus gender politics has begun to encouraging results. It can be seen on the percentage of representation of woman in Aceh before the MoU is only 6.4 per cent (in the 2004 election), while after the MoU rose to 7.6 per cent (in the 2009 election). The Government of Aceh has been consistently run MoU and the Law, though slowly pace. In addition, institutions that move as gender observer is needed to run affirmative action effectively and efficiently and continuously in Aceh.*

**Keyword:** Patriarchal culture, strategy, gender, politics, discrimination

### INTRODUCTION

Patriarchal culture has been long developing in Indonesian society in general and in the province of Aceh society in particular. This culture prefers man than woman, thus placing man higher than woman in all fields including politics. This patriarchal culture is systematically practiced by the people of Aceh as well as a social institution that has taken hold and become part of the culture in this province. Patriarchal culture is the result of social and cultural construction, which preserves power or superiority of man over woman and it is practiced in various parts of the world including in Aceh.

The strength of the primordial values and patriarchal culture that is run by the people of Aceh in various fields, has limited the activities of Acehnese woman, especially in the field of politics and public policy. It is common and caused by the effect of structure and culture that has been existing in the society. For example, in the structural field, there are still regulations that gender discriminatory or siding intact to gender, thus the policy is always charged to gender refraction or discrimination. Noting this problem, then in Aceh need to do or seek political empowerment activities for woman and should be increased their participation seriously and significantly. Strategies to reduce gender discrimination, especially in the field of politics, is a mandate of laws in the Republic of Indonesia, such as CEDAW (Convention on Eliminating discrimination against woman), the Beijing Flat form and the MDG's.

Access of woman in politics often do not get a decent place, even sometimes could be classified as excessive discrimination. This is done by a variety of reasons, both classical and contemporary reasons. In addition, the state of customs and application of Islamic law strengthen the implementation of a patriarchal culture in Aceh. Remains of Netherland colonialism still has a very strong influence and is still run by the majority of the people of

Aceh. The culture has become flesh so that the Acehnese people need concrete strategies (affirmative action) and specifically to reduce the influence of the patriarchal culture. MoU is set on 15<sup>th</sup> August 2005 in Filandia between the Indonesian government and the Free Aceh Movement (GAM). MoU is set to be a new blueprint for Aceh government in all areas, including political empowerment gender. Based on the MoU, it has spawned a new legal framework, which is Act No. 11 of 2006 on the Governing of Aceh. This law mandated that woman should be given the chance or opportunity that is wide enough to participate actively in politics and public policy.

Based on the above condition, this study intends to examine the ideal strategy to reduce the influence of patriarchal culture in the field of gender politics in Aceh, after the implementation of MoU. Referring to the background, then the formulation of problem in this study is: What is the ideal strategy to reduce the influence of the patriarchal culture in gender politics in Aceh after the MoU Helsinki?

## **RESEARCH METHODS**

This study was arranged by qualitative research with descriptive analysis approach, because the problem is very comprehensive, deep and very wide. Collecting data by interviewing informants, and reviewing existing documentation either sourced in books, journals and legislation relating to the object of the research, which is strategy to reduce the influence of the patriarchal culture in gender politics.

## **THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **Strategy**

Strategy is a planning that is put together, wide, comprehensive and integrated that connect the advantages possessed by an organization. In a general sense, the strategy is a way to get a win on to reach the goals. The strategy is basically the art and science of using and developing the power of ideology, politics, economics, socio-culture and defense to achieve a predetermined goal.

Following the opinion of the scholars as Anonymous, strategy is alignment of methods to the needs and abilities associated with efforts to strengthen leadership skills, entrepreneurship and management. Unlike the definitions raised by the Webster's Third New International Dictionary, strategy is the science and art of the use of political, economic, psychological and military forces of one nation or group of nations that allow the maximum support to policies that have been established both in peacetime and during the war [1].

### **Patriarchal Culture**

Patriarchal culture is a culture where men have a higher position than woman. In this culture, there is a clear distinction regarding the duties and roles of woman and men in public life, especially in the family. The male as the leader or head of the family has authority includes control over economic resources, and a sexual division of labor in the family. This led to woman having less access in the public sector than men.

Patriarchy is a term used to describe a social system in which men as a group controlling power over woman [2]. Islam is not a religion of patriarchy. Islam does not teach that the position of woman is under a man. Islam teaches that the responsibility of a married woman becomes her husband's responsibility. Hadith shows that Islam gives great respect to woman, because the best Muslim man is the man who is kind to his wife. Islam gives high honor for the Muslim woman. There is no obligation for them to make money, because the obligation

for a living is the responsibility of husbands (men). It portrays woman as weak and weighed on men, but this is a tribute to the woman of Islam with respect to their task which is very hard in the family.

Islam gives equal rights and obligations for both men and woman, but men are given a higher rate than woman, not to patronize but in a household, men become the priesthood who has responsibilities and duties that are not easy in keeping their families.

Following the opinion expressed by [3], patriarchy is a system of dominance and male superiority, the control system of male to female in which woman dominated. The patriarchy is inherent with ideology, which states that males rank higher than females. Thus creating a social construction that is composed as control over woman and men have full power to control it.

### **Politics**

Taking into account the opinions of political scholars such as Aristotle (384-322 BC), who was the first to introduce the word through his observations about human politics, he described politics as *zoon politikon*. Aristotle saw politics as a natural tendency of human beings and can not be avoided, for example when he tries to determine his position in society, when he tried to achieve personal well-being, and when he attempted to persuade others to accept his view. Aristotle concluded that the effort to maximize the ability of individuals and to achieve higher status of social life is through political interaction with other people. These interactions occur within an institution that is designed to solve social conflicts and establish state goals. Thus, the word of politics indicates a life aspect, which is political life, political life is commonly understood as life aspects relating to the elements of power: the state, power, decision making, policy, and distribution or allocation.

In general, it can be said that politics is a variety of activities within a political system (or state) relating to the process of determining the goals of the system and carry out those goals. Decision-making as to whether the objectives of the political system that involves a selection of some alternatives and the preparation of the priority objectives that have been set up. As for implementing those goals, it needs to be determined public policies regarding arrangements and distribution or allocation of resources that exist. To be able to play an active role to implement these policies, it needs to have power and authority, which will be used both to foster cooperation and to resolve conflicts that may arise in the process. The used ways could be persuasive and if need be coercive. Without coercion, the policy was simply a statement of intent.

Politics is an attempt or a way to obtain something desired. But there are some people who think that politics is not only about power within the state or actions undertaken by state authorities. In some aspects of life, humans often perform political acts, either in trading politics, cultural politics, social politics, as well as in other aspects of life. Politics always involves the goals of the entire community (public goals) and not the individual's personal goals (private goals). Political concerns the activities of various groups, including political parties and personal activities.

### **Gender Politics**

There are two of the most decisive power in this world, which are the sword and the pen. Both are involved in the tremendous tight competition. But in fact, there is a third power that is more powerful than both, that is the woman. That quote was mentioned by Muhammad Ali Jinnah, as Indian politician and founder of Pakistan [4].

Indonesian history recorded in the pre-independence of Indonesia, there were many powerful woman, like Cut Nya 'Dien, Christina Martha Tiahahu, Cut Meutia, etc. They fought for motherland. Luck for RA Kartini, because she was symbolized as a figure of our woman's emancipation, even though her struggle was done without arms. However, we can also note in separate sheet that Kartini is a figure that is at once unable to resist patriarchal culture. Kartini was not able to fight for higher education to the Netherlands because her father did not approve, and Kartini also must be willing to accept polygamous marriage proposal, because Kartini is not the only one [4].

Gender politics is to choose a policy that is more supportive and in line with the woman (without any discrimination) and they became the main object of the policy practitioners, either in politics or in other fields. Gender politics does not only analyze of gender empowerment, but also analyze gender and discrimination and does not deny gender in various activities [5].

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

Based on the data obtained from the results of the study, it found some issues related to strenght of the implementation of patriarchy culture on gender politics in Aceh after the Helsinki Mo Uare:

Referring to the results of interviews conducted by the author with the informants found that the influences of patriarchal culture in gender politics after the MoU has not been encouraging yet. There instill among the Acehnese people think that woman have not been deserved being actively involved in public spaces or in politics because politics area belongs to men, in which the political world is the world that has a hardness that is very prominent in it. If we refer to CEDAW, there is no longer discrimination in life, especially in politics. In addition, the men have not been able to provide significant support in reducing their superiority in the various activities of life.

Many activities done by woman, but they are limited in the private sphere and are not in the scope of the public or the scope of the conventional political participation. Today Acehnese woman are exposed to some conventional barriers that impede their progress in the political field significantly. Thus, their limitations became more politically powerful, automatically more firmly in the patriarchal culture of the Acehnese. Leaders of political parties in general are still held by men, and hardly be given to woman. In fact, the law No. 11 of 2006 on Governing of Aceh as a derivative of the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU), has been given a quota of woman's representation in politics at least 30%, but in reality, has not actually executed.

Law of the Governing of Aceh instructs and gives opportunity to reduce the patriarchal culture within the Acehnese woman. On the other hands, in the context of the Republic of Indonesian, there are many laws relating to gender empowerment. For example, Act No. 6 of 2009 concerning empowering and protecting woman, Regulation of the Minister of Internal Affair of the Republic of Indonesia No. 15 of 2008 Concerning General Guidance to the Implementation of Local Gender Empowerment and the Indonesian Presidential Instruction No. 9 of 2000 Concerning Gender Empowerment and Development as well as Aceh Qanun No. 6 of 2009. All of these regulations were executed after the reformation and after the MoU was held, as a basis for reducing the influence of patriarchal culture in Aceh.

The legal basis for reducing the superiority of men has been prepared by the Republic of Indonesia and the Aceh province; this is the strategy of reducing the patriarchal culture in Acehnese society. If all rules are executed significantly, then the influences of patriarchal

culture will be reduced gradually. Appreciation of the patriarchal culture should be reduced by applying the whole laws in Aceh society seriously. Affirmative action needs to be effectively, efficiently, and continuously structured from time to time.

Apart from that, the practice of reducing the influence of this culture needs to be applied the theory of feminism that sees woman have equal roles to men. Democracy will be weak if the women are not given enough opportunity to engage freely proceeding public policy or political space.

There are still woman in Aceh province that allergic to public space or politics. It is also the understanding left by Dutch colonialism. The Dutch said that if the Acehese woman involved in politics means they have against their nature as woman, this statement is still embraced by most women in Aceh. Given these influences, it is women who are experiencing internal and external problems to get involve in politics or space for their political participation.

On the other hand, it was found that in Aceh still stick to the customs and it is hard to break, especially influenced by the modernization that attacks all aspects of life including politics. The desire of woman in politics is very strong, especially in local politics, yet when they involve themselves in the political space they are faced with the task in the private or domestic space that can not be circumvented. Limited political education to the woman is also reinforced patriarchal culture.

Lack of political party's role in providing political education to its constituents causes of woman in Aceh have a shortage of political science. When a shortage of political knowledge will be shaping political culture, either parochial political culture, social political culture and partisipatory political culture. This political culture will strengthen or weaken the patriarchal culture.

Strategies to reduce the influence of the patriarchal culture in gender politics in Aceh needs to strengthen the affirmative action through the application of Article 75 (5) of the Governing of Aceh Law, either by the Aceh government, Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) of Acehese woman, academics and political parties in Aceh. Political education must be given in a suitable and continuously manner to woman. If this can be done in earnest way, then the patriarchal culture on gender politics in Aceh can be effectively minimized. This strategy should be used consistently by observers of gender politics in Aceh, knowledge of the gender politics should be given to Aceh woman in accordance with the mandate of CEDAW and the Beijing Plat form that has generated at international level with the aim is to empower the gender politics around the world.

The interpretation of Islamic law that is not yet fully sided with gender politics also reinforce patriarchal culture. In Islam, there is no significant difference between men and woman, just devout that makes the difference between them. However, in the context of a patriarchal culture of Aceh province strongly supported by the existence of Shari'a interpretation that is not fully align to the woman, especially in politics. In addition, the making of qanun in Aceh is always based on Islamic law, these bylaws reinforces patriarchal culture among the people of Aceh.

The strategy to reduce the influence of the patriarchal culture in gender politics in Aceh is the need to interpret Islamic law more thoroughly, comprehensively, fair and pro-gender politics. Because Islamic justice uphold gender politics equality. If the interpretation of Islamic law is no longer discriminatory, it is by itself a patriarchal culture in gender politics will gradually decrease and the effect will be very significant. The ulamas also need to understand the

culture of patriarchy so that in interpreting the verses of the Qu'ranshould be seen in different perspectives, so it does not cause multiple interpretations among the ummah or the people of Aceh in general. indeed, Islam glorifies woman so that woman have a higher degree than men, but in the perspective of a patriarchal culture against Islamic law. Patriarchal cultural put aside woman in the category of second-class citizens. Therefore, the role of Islamic law in gender politics need to be strengthen and combined with the existing legislation, as politics and religion can not be separated. When religion has been running parallel with the politics, gender politics itself will be more powerful and the influence of patriarchal culture will be decreased.

The findings of subsequent research is that the role of Aceh government in promoting or socializing the concept of gender politics to the people of Aceh is not optimal, although the legality or the rule of law as there has been a stepping stone. For example, the act on the election, the law on political parties and the law on Aceh government, even in the Acehqanun. It is caused by most of them have not been very encouraging in understanding the concept of gender or many Acehnese woman are still gender-blind, so there are still many people in Aceh are not yet understand the concept of gender politics well. In addition, gender budgeting should be realistically set by the provincial government so that gender becomes more realistic. The government also needs to establish or placing bureaucratic gender sensitive, so easily do the political empowerment of gender in Aceh.

**Table 1. Number of Members of District/Town House of Representatives Election Results of 2004 and 2009**

No	District	Total	2004				Total	2009			
			L	%	W	%		L	%	W	%
1	Banda Aceh	30	28	93	2	7	30	30	100	-	-
2	Aceh Besar	35	34	97	1	3	35	35	100	-	-
3	Nagan Raya	25	24	96	1	4	25	24	96	1	4
4	Aceh Singkil	25	24	96	1	4	25	21	84	4	16
5	Bireuen	32	30	94	2	6	34	32	94	2	6
6	Lhokseumawe	25	22	88	3	12	25	22	88	3	12
7	Pidie	45	43	95	2	5	45	43	95	2	5
8	Langsa	25	22	88	3	12	25	21	84	4	16
9	Aceh Utara	45	40	88	5	12	45	44	97	1	3
10	Aceh Tenggara	25	23	92	2	8	25	23	92	2	8
11	GayoLues	20	19	95	1	5	20	18	90	2	10
12	Simeulue	20	18	90	2	10	20	17	85	3	15
13	Tamiang	30	28	93	2	3	30	26	86.6	4	13.4
14	Pidie Jaya	-	-	-	-	-	25	22	88	3	12
15	Aceh Tengah	30	27	90	3	10	30	28	93	2	7
16	Aceh Timur	35	34	97	1	3	35	33	92	2	6
Total Amount		457	428	93.6	29	6.4	479	406	92.4	33	7.6

Source: National Election Commission in Aceh province in 2009

Strategies for the above are all elements of government need to work in earnest and sustained over time. In accordance with the MoU instructs that political education should be run significantly to all people of Aceh, including the woman, so gender politics will be more empowered and recognized by all components of the nation and the people of Aceh in particular. Promotion of gender needs to be improved by involving all elements of the gender observers, including the woman themselves, woman organizations or non-governmental organizations (NGOs) of woman both in the province of Aceh, in the Republic of Indonesia as well as from the international level. In order for this program to work effectively, it needs to be supported by an adequate budget, and the need to put up a significant gender budgeting and equitable. Aceh Government through the Bureau of Woman Protection and Empowerment in Aceh Province or at the district/city needs to prepare programs in favor of the woman, and an understanding of the concept of gender politics needs to be given to the people of Aceh, to even be sustainable included in RPJMD (the Medium Term Development Plan) Regent/Mayor (Sustainability development) throughout the province.

Referring to the MoU Helsinki as a blueprint for the development of new gender politics in Aceh, the application of the points in the MoU needs to be done seriously. This is the most powerful strategies to reduce the influence of patriarchal among woman in Aceh. Law No. 11 of 2006 specifically mandated that there should be no discrimination between men and woman in all fields of specialty in the field of politics. Both of these became the basis of the basic strategies to minimize the influence of patriarchal culture in the lives of woman in Aceh. If the application can be maintained properly, it can be ascertained that the patriarchal culture can be diminished and ultimately gender politics in Aceh increasingly powerful.

Based on the table above, the representation of woman in Aceh in politics or in the legislature or House of Representatives District / City (DPRK), can be visible (real). Quantitatively, there has been an increase of about 1.2 percent in the last election in 2009.

## **CONCLUSIONS**

Based on the description and analysis of the above, then that becomes the conclusions in this study are:

1. Not all instruments of political empowerment gender in Aceh are running effectively yet as it calls by CEDAW, the Beijing Flat Form, MDG's and the law relating to the political empowerment of gender in general.
2. According to the research results that have been obtained, the strategy to reduce the influence of the patriarchal culture in the context of gender politics in Aceh province is already running although not optimal. It has been demonstrated that woman's representation in local legislatures has increased from 6.4% in the 2004 elections to 7.6% in the 2009 election.

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