Rudapest Institute

## Women and Cultural Patriarchy in Politics

### Krisna Yuda I Wayan<sup>1</sup>, Subanda Nyoman<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1,2</sup>Universitas Pendidikan Nasional, Denpasar, Indonesia yudakrisna0820@gmail.com

#### **Abstract**

This study aims to determine the political phenomena of women in a patriarchal culture in Gianyar Regency, Bali and to find out the perception of the community in Gianyar Regency, Bali on women's representation in the 2019 legislative elections. This study uses a descriptive qualitative approach. The sampling technique in determining informants used the purposive sampling method. Data collection is done through observation. Interview and documentation study. The results showed that the phenomenon of patriarchal culture influenced the political participation of women in Gianyar Regency, Bali. The low representation of women legislative members is due to the patriarchal culture which is still thick in Bali, especially the people in Gianyar Regency. Patriarchal culture is a major obstacle that hinders the political participation of Balinese women. Also, there are besides several other factors such as education and public understanding of the use of political rights for each community, the limitations of information media, human resources, and financial resources, cause the low participation of women in politics.

#### Keywords

women; cultural patriarchy; politics



#### I. Introduction

Gender equality is one of the most important pillars in supporting the development process. Through equality, women have the opportunity to develop their potential in various sectors. And the neglect of the importance of equality of women's roles and rights is one of the factors hindering the progress of a country.

The form of women's opposition to men's power is inseparable from an unjust patriarchal system. Society with a patriarchal culture from the beginning assumed that men were stronger than women in personal, family, community and state matters. Until now, patriarchal culture is still lasting in the fabric of Indonesian society. This culture can be found in various aspects and scope, such as economics, education, law, and politics. These patriarchal values are internalized and perpetuated through various social institutions such as political institutions, education, and beliefs, so that subordination is not felt as a system that directly suppresses and corners women (Abdullah, 2006: 84).

Various assumptions about women's involvement in politics, in general can be said to be late, because there is a lot of stigma that women are identified with the domestic sector so that very few women take part in the world of politics (Nimrah & Sakaria, 2015: 178). Nurwani (2017: 29) states that the participation of women which is still very limited to elite ranks or top leadership in politics is indeed hampered. Women's political awareness based on Indonesian history has grown since the First Women's Congress in Yogyakarta 1928. Furthermore, Law No. 12 of 2003 concerning elections provides a new opportunity by stipulating in article 65 paragraphs 1: "every political party participating in the election can submit candidates for members of the DPR, provincial DPRD, and regency / city DPRD for

Volume 3, No 3, August 2020, Page: 2158-2164 e-ISSN: 2615-3076(Online), p-ISSN: 2615-1715(Print)

www.bircu-journal.com/index.php/birci

email: birci.journal@gmail.com

each electoral district by taking into account the representation of women at least 30%. In addition to encouraging the strengthening of women's political rights in political parties, the same encouragement was also given to strengthen women's representation in the legislative body marked by the issuance of Law No. 10 of 2008 concerning the Election of members of the DPR, DPD and DPRD. The law expressly mandates that political parties in submitting a list of prospective candidates for the DPR, and the DPRD contains at least 30% representation of women and in every 3 (three) nominees there are at least 1 (one) female candidate.

Although various legal instruments have legitimized women's rights and participation in politics, until now between women and the political world are still two things that cannot be united with one another. Patriarchal culture is one of the strong magnets that limits women's participation in politics. As is the case with patriarchal cultural hegemony of world thought. Patriarchal culture also colors the existing cultural customs in Bali, as conveyed by Holleman and Koentharaningrat in Sudarta, that Balinese culture is identical to the patrilineal kinship system. (Sudarta, 2006). This reality has become so contradictory to the view of Hinduism as a teaching that is believed to be dominantly dominant by the majority of the Balinese, which in its teachings greatly glorifies women, even women are considered "magic" (having mystical powers) for men.

#### II. Review of Literatures

Forms of gender inequality also occur in Gianyar Regency. From the Population Census conducted in 2010 and based on population data in 2018, the total population in the Gianyar Regency was 508,100 people, with details of 256,400 men and 251,700 women. This shows that the number of male population in Gianyar is greater than the female population.

Gianyar Regency compared to eight other cities / regencies in Bali, is classified as a district with a fairly thick customs system, where the forms of upakara to the upakara companion are more numerous and complicated. Gianyar is also known as a district with a fairly solid kinship ties. In politics, women's participation in politics in Gianyar Regency is also still very low. The representation of women in Gianyar Regency shows that the number of women politicians elected as members of the Gianyar Regency DPRD in 2019 is still very low and experiences a great disparity with the number of DPRD members in the Gianyar Regency elected by 36 men compared to 4 women . The problem of women's representation in Gianyar Regency in politics seems to be far from the desired expectations. The data on women's political participation in Gianyar Regency in 2019 is as in Table 1.

Table 1. List of Elected Candidates for Gianyar Regency DPRD Members in 2019

	political parties	Select									
No		Area 1		Area 2		Area 3		Area 4		Area 5	
		L	P	L	P	L	P	L	P	L	P
1	Gerakan Indonesia Raya parties	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
2	Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan parties	3	1	6	1	5	1	3	1	5	0

3	Golongan Karya parties	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0
4	Demokrat parties	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0
5	Kedalian dan Persatuan Indonesia parties	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	7	1	9	1	7	1	5	1	8	0

Source: Website of the Election Commission (KPU) of Gianyar Regency, 2020

Based on the background of the problems that have been raised, the researcher is interested in examining some of the problems in "Women and Patriarchal Culture in Politics".

#### III. Result and Discussion

#### 3.1 The Political Phenomenon of Women in Patriarchal Culture in Gianyar Regency

Political imagery is formed based on information received, both directly and through political media. Political imagery is one of the effects of political communication in a paradigm or mechanistic perspective, which is generally understood as an inherent impression in the minds of individuals or groups. Nevertheless the image can be different from the real reality or does not reflect the objective reality. The political image as explained by Arifin is related to the formation of public opinion, because basically political public opinion is built through political image. (Sutarto, 2019)

Social reality that illustrates the minimum tendency of women's political participation and the low representation of women in the legislature is certainly influenced by many factors. One of the factors that were allegedly very strong influence was political culture. The most dominant culture in Indonesia is patriarchal political culture.

Besides that, the community in Gianyar Regency is also known as a society that has a strong patriarchal culture, which places women in positions that are always below men and of course also places women in a position that prefers domestic roles. That is, women are burdened with greater responsibilities in household care (home maker), care, care and education of children and moral guardians. Women's activities as breadwinners, actively involved in community organizations and political parties are only considered as secondary roles, while men's positions are often associated with the public environment, which is related to matters outside the home, including political affairs.

As the times grew, patriarchy also continued to renew itself. Walby (2014: 33) argues that there have been many changes in patriarchy both in terms of content and form. Changes to the level of patriarchy include aspects of gender relations such as the slight reduction in salary differences between men and women, and the increasingly close gap in the qualifications of male and female education. However, several other aspects of patriarchal relations have increased.

A patriarchal political culture builds the perception that women are inappropriate, inappropriate and not fit into the political world, because:

- a. women are more suitable to be in the domestic area (home);
- b. politics is identical with things that are masculine (hard, dirty, cunning, evil, etc.) and certainly only suitable for men, and women who are identical with feminism (gentle, gentle, etc.) certainly not fit into that world;
- c. women are creatures number two (inferior) and weak in their minds and;

#### d. men are the leaders of women, and not vice versa.

This condition influences and / or inhibits women's participation in the political sphere, especially women's representation in Parliament, which until now has not met the expected percentage. This is due to the still developing mindset of the people in Gianyar Regency who still consider women in the domestic sphere. According to Walby (2014: 261-278) in addition to the level of patriarchy, changes also occur in the form of patriarchy. The change in the form of patriarchy took the form of private patriarchy and public patriarchy.

In addition, the participation of women in politics is still very limited. Although there are rules that require a quota for women, but it is only used as an administrative complement. Even among the political elite only include the names of women, but in fighting for women's election, it is still far from expectations.

# 3.2 Community Perception in Gianyar Regency against Women's Representation in Legislative Elections

Perception attached to women is the role as the second area after men. The perception of women as weak creatures provides an idea that women should not struggle with the political world which is full of violence and dialectics of power.

Women are considered unable to lead and make strict policies because the patron who has formed women as sentient beings, means that women cannot give decisions when using the feeling side in assessing a decision. Assumptions like that that make women a little role in the world of politics.

But actually the role of Indonesian women in national development is an important and interesting issue of all time. But still most development planners ignore women who make up half of the population. In fact, they are the most significant human resources (HR) where their economic contribution has the same status as men.

Many things happened and there is in Gianyar Regency that requires adequate representation of women in quantity and quality in state institutions and other public sectors to create fundamental changes in the life of the state and society. Political opportunities have been made so that women can participate in politics, but when women have participated, many obstacles and challenges are still found.

There are various obstacles that must be faced by women when participating in politics, both from internal political parties and from outside. One of the obstacles faced by women in Gianyar Regency in participating is the development of issues that women are not fit to get involved in politics. Women in Gianyar Regency are still trapped in political culture which does not allow them to play a full role in political life. The movement of women engaged in political life has been limited and patterned. But many women who enter politics are not aware of this.

With the concept of gender equality, women have struggled on all fronts and their position has increasingly been calculated. History has recorded that this republic had had a female president, many female ministers, politicians, corporate banker bosses, chancellors and other prestigious positions. But the fate of women is not always directly proportional to the progress achieved by their elite. There are still many women who wallow with poverty, ignorance, backwardness, and not all of them are able to prosper themselves with other men.

In many areas they are still struggling with limitations, struggling for prosperity and so on. This phenomenon also still occurs in Gianyar Regency, where women have begun to have success in various sectors but there are still some who are struggling with limitations in the economic sector to politics. Therefore, the struggle of women needs support from various parties, especially their own people, because the one who can understand and understand the

needs of women is only women themselves. Although it is true that men can fulfill it, it is not as sensitive as women.

In Gianyar Regency the level of women's participation in the legislative election contestation has increased from the 2014 election to the 2019 election, this can be seen from the increasing number of women who are members of the Gianyar Regency DPRD. In the 2014 legislative elections, 39 male members, 2 female members, while in 2019 37 male members, 4 female members from a total of 41 elected DPRD members. Based on these data shows the level of women elected to the Gianyar Regency DPRD only increased by 5%. This shows that the public or community trust in Gianyar Regency towards female candidates has increased although not yet significantly.

Whereas based on voter data in the 2019 election in Gianyar Regency, it showed that the greater number of female voters was 185,438 people while 184,111 men were men. From this it shows that the women in Gianyar Regency in determining their voting rights are still dependent on and follow the choices of men.

It is very necessary that political education is carried out on a massive scale by the government, political parties and other stakeholders in providing understanding to the public about the need to exercise their voting rights. The form of a person's political participation is apparent in his political activities. According to Rosenau in Nimmo (2000: 47) divides political participation into two categories of citizens who are audiences of participation in political communication, namely: first are people who are very concerned about politics, second are people who are only mobilized for political purposes.

Furthermore, according to Nimmo (2000: 47) a person's involvement in political participation is influenced by factors:

- a. Official opportunities, meaning that there is a chance for someone to be involved in political participation because they are supported by policies made by the State. Official involvement of women in participation in politics is so wide open both in terms of the law that provides a gap in the form of a 30% quota for women and there is also an opportunity from political parties in the form of cadre for women.
- b. Social Resources, meaning that political participation is determined by social class and geographical differences. In reality, not all people have the same opportunities regarding social and economic resources to engage in political participation. Regarding geographical differences, there are also differences in participation such as age, gender, ethnicity, residence, religion, and so on. On the other hand, the source of funds also becomes a barrier for women to get involved in politics. But there are also things like those behind women who also determine women's political participation. So this will incite political dynasties for certain groups. In terms of participation, there are still many women in Gianyar Regency who determine their participation depending on their men, both in exercising their right to vote which still follows their male choices.
- c. Personal Motivation, meaning that the motives underlying political activities vary greatly. This motif can be intentional or unintentional, rational or irrational, inspired psychologically or socially, directed from within oneself or from outside, and thought out or not thought about. Sometimes the fear for women to take part in politics is still very large. Sometimes, the involvement of these women must have the permission of their men. This causes the lack of motivation from personal women to indeed participate and participate in politics.

#### IV. Conclusion

The low representation of women legislative members is due to the patriarchal culture that still thickens in our society. The patriarchal social system and structure has placed women in a position that is not equal to men, and thinks the political stage is the world of men. This is what makes women's opportunities limited to become a member of the legislature. On the other hand, ignorance, lack of empathy, and lack of attention of state personnel, mostly men, towards women's issues and the welfare of the people with a gender perspective. The number of female members in policy making and formal / public laws of the Indonesian state is very minimal to be able to influence the system. Issues such as these that then make people perceive that women do not deserve to be on a hard political stage. Women deserve to do domestic work.

Based on the theory of patriarchal culture according to Walby, patriarchal culture also changes in the form of patriarchy. The change in the form of patriarchy took the form of private patriarchy and public patriarchy. In the form of private patriarchy, the main arena of oppression of women lies in household production, with a patriarchy controlling women individually in the home. In private patriarchy, the principle patriarchy strategy is exclusion. This is in the form of female exploitation by not involving it in the public sphere. Whereas in the form of Public Patriarchy, in work and the state, although the family does not cease to be a patriarchal structure in the public form, it is no longer a superior arena. In addition, in private patriarchy the appropriation of women's work occurs by patriarchal individuals in the family, while in the public form the dredging is carried out collectively. Women's participation in politics is influenced by three factors: the first is Official Opportunities, Social Resources, and Personal Motivation.

The government and elements of political parties need to provide education and understanding to the public that political rights are owned by all elements of society, both men and women. And it is also necessary to educate that the age that has developed as currently women and men have the same rights and obligations, both in terms of politics, work, and social status. So that it can stop the gender equality gap in Gianyar Regency can decrease and further increase the degree of women in the eyes of the public. And also to party elites to give breadth to women to participate in politics and not just use them as administrative complements. In addition, the community should not position women always in the domestic position / household affairs, because all elements of society both men and women have the right to develop themselves both in work, social and also participate in political contestation.

Women in Gianyar Regency in particular are also expected to never feel themselves inadequate and afraid in political matters and participate in elections. because with the presence of women in parliament can give a new color and improve every policy especially relating to women and can increase the degree of women in the eyes of society

#### References

- Adji, et al. (2009). "Konstruksi Relasi Laki-laki dan Perempuan dalam Sistem Patriarki (Kajian terhadap Karya Djenar Maesa Ayu dengan Pendekatan Feminisme)" Laporan Penelitian. Tidak Diterbitkan. Bandung: Universitas Padjadjaran.
- Dewi, Machya Astuti. (2006). Konteks Global dan Nasional Gerakan Perempuan Di MAsa Orde Baru: Kelahiran Dan Dinamika Gerakan Yasanti, Disertasi, Universitas Erlangga, Surabaya.
- Feybe M.P Wuisan. Keterwakilan Perempuan dalam Politik di Lembaga Legislatif (Suatu Kajian pada DPRD Kota Tomohon Periode 2009-2014).
- Gegel, Ni Made Ras Amanda. (2006). Jurnal Kajian Bali. Volume 06.
- https://www.kpud-gianyarkab.go.id (di akses pada tanggal 20 September 2019).
- https://www.gianyarkab.go.id/index.php/baca-berita/3638/Gambaran-Umum (di akses pada tanggal 15 Januari 2020).
- Huntington, Samuel & Nelson. (1990). Partisipasi Politik di Negara Berkembang. Jakarta: Rineke Cipta.
- Murniati. (2004). Getar Gender, Perempuan Dalam Persefektif Agama, Budaya, Dan Keluarga. Magelang:Tera.
- Parawansa, Khofifah Indah. 2002. Hambatan Terhadap Partisipasi Politik Perempuan di Indonesia. IDEA International Publications. (di akses pada tanggal 27 maret 2015).
- Phierquinn. 2012. Budaya Patriarki dalam Pendidikan Gender di Masyarakat. https://phierda.wordpress.com (di akses pada tanggal 27 Agustus 2019).
- Pusat Bahasa. (2014). Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia Edisi Keempat. Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Putra, Dedi Kurnia Syah. (2012). Media dan Politik. Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu.
- Rahman, Mujibur. (2007). Menggugat Partisipasi Publik Dalam Pemerintahan Daerah. Banyumedia Malang.
- Riduwan. (2013). Metode dan Tehnik Menyusun Proposal Penelitian. Bandung: Alfabeta.
- Setiawan, Hersri. (2012). Awan Theklek Mbengi lemek; Tentang Perempuan dan Pengasuhan Anak. Yogyakarta: Sekolah mBrosot dan Gading Publishing.
- Sugiyono. (2007). Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif dan Kualitatif dan R&B. Penerbit Alfabeta, Bandung.
- Sutarto, et al. (2019). Political Imaging Techniques Carried Out by Baitul Muslimin Indonesia (BAMUSI) in Increasing Public Political Support for PDI Perjuangan Medan City. Budapest International Research and Critics Institute-Journal (BIRCI-Journal). P. 164-174.
- Tandang Assegaf, Nurcahaya. (2004). Kembalikan hak Perempuan. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Timur.
- Undang-Undang Nomor 12 Tahun 2003, yo UU.No. 10 /2008, Tentang Pemilihan Umum Anggota Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, Dewan Perwakilan Daerah, Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah.
- Undang-Undang No. 2 Tahun 2008, Tentang Partai Politik.
- Walby, Sylvia. (2014). Theorizing Patriarchy. Diterjemahkan oleh Mustika K. Prasela dengan judul Teorisasi Patriarki. Yogyakarta: Jalasutra.
- Wardani, Eka Harisma. (2009). Belenggu-Belenggu Patriarki: Sebuah Pemikiran Feminisme Psikoanalisis Toni Morrison Dalam The Bluest Eye. Semarang: Fakultas Ilmu Budaya UNDIP.