

Analysis of the Impact of Patriarchal Culture on the Role of Women in Politics and Governance

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Abstract: Women's representation in politics was echoed since July 7, 1954, by the United Nations Convention on Women's Political Rights. In Indonesia the birth of Law No. 68 of 1958 established the State Ministry for Women's Affairs in 1978 and ratified the Convention on Women's Political Rights to function to improve women's finances, health, and welfare education. However, it was only in 2003 that the government included a minimum of 30% representation of women in the registration of legislative candidates in Law no. 12 of 2003. Various supports, government regulations and intense campaigns by feminist activists have not directly had an impact on the existence of women in politics and other fields. The birth of Patriarchal Culture in ordinary society towards both men and women has an impact on the social and political aspects of society and contributes to the achievement of gender equality. This is the background for the author to analyze the impact of patriarchal culture on the role of women in politics. This article uses a literature review approach by collecting several reading sources, both scientific journals and books and laws. Based on the results of the analysis, there are several impacts from the development of patriarchal culture in society, namely: (1) Marginalization, (2) Subordination, (3) Stereotypes, and (4) Violence. Women who are required to take care of the house, children and family influence the parenting style of girls. Thus, affecting the representation of women in national political contestation in parliament.

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INTRODUCTION

Currently, the development of world civilization is so fast, and the impact of science and technology often shoots far to give birth to various innovations, development breakthroughs, and solutions to socio-cultural and economic-political problems in a country (Eto, 2016). Of course, this cannot be separated from the importance of competent human resources and a development-oriented culture. So many developed countries in the world are so active in utilizing all the potential of their human resources without discrediting differences in ability due to gender (Haghighat, 2014).

The culture of building by utilizing the potential of human resources owned by a country is carried out not only in one field but in all aspects of state life, such as education, economy, security, health, science, and the movement of the national political system in a country (Hutson, 2017). This tends to have implications for the active participation of the

entire community. Men and women from all levels of society actively participate in the process of developing community policies that reflect justice and equality, ensuring that all community problems are adequately represented. However, it is not uncommon to find it in the context of political representation (Mulupi & Zirugo, 2022). Women's participation is still very low and usually far from what is given by No. 12 of 2003, namely 30% (Quota of Representation) in the composition of the nomination of legislative members (Jubba et al., 2020).

The low number of female politicians in the parliament of Southeast Sulawesi Province has implications for the low political role of women in parliament, especially women's representation in the legislature in determining policy (Suhri Kasim, 2022). The results of the field study show that the low number of women in parliament has led to their low political role because men dominate in making decisions. As a result, the dominance of men in these political roles demonstrates that patriarchal culture is still deeply ingrained in our political culture, so that women's positions are always marginalized and their roles in various political decisions are always secondary.

Women's representation in politics and other fields has long been echoed, starting on July 7, 1954, when the United Nations (UN) held the Convention on Women's Political Rights (Bracke, 2022). In addition, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) was ratified by the UN General Assembly on December 18, 1979, and prohibits all forms of discrimination against women. Meanwhile, in Indonesia, the birth of Law No. 68 of 1958 on the ratification of the Convention on the Political Rights of Women had an impact on the formation of the State Ministry of Women's Affairs in 1978, which specifically functioned to coordinate programs that improved women's health, education, and economic welfare (Suryono & Raharjo, 2020).

Meanwhile, in the political field, the government's specific concern for women's rights was only accommodated after the 1999 general elections, which was stated in the Political Parties article of Law 31 of 2002 (Indrayana, 2008). According to this law, the management of political parties must prioritize gender equality and justice. However, the form of representation has not been explained in detail (Salim, 2015). It was only in 2003 that the government included a minimum representation of 30% of women in the registration of legislative candidates with the support of Law No. 12 of 2003.

All forms of support, including government regulations in the form of laws and intense campaigns for gender equality often carried out by feminism activists (Goetz & Jenkins, 2018), do not appear to have a direct impact on the pattern of women's representation in the public sphere or can raise awareness of the existence of women in various fields, particularly politics. For a long time, women have struggled with upholding justice and recognizing themselves, which is quite contrary to the culture that has been inherent in the community's view of women.

Women have always been portrayed as weak, fragile, and unfit to lead. This has carried over to the present day, resulting in society's assessment of women's weak character when leading, and in some eastern parts of Indonesia, there is an understanding that "education among women is not important because they will return to the kitchen and women should not lead men," so that politics or public affairs are indeed limited or

inhibited by the patriarchal walls of society. The formation of routines or cultures common to everyday people related to the labelling or stereotyping of women and men is a stumbling block to the success of strengthening gender equality in various aspects. The culture of the community is commonly known as "patriarchal culture," which is mushrooming and has an impact on the socio-political aspects of society. This is the background for the author's analysis of the impact of patriarchal culture on the role of women in politics.

RESEARCH METHODS

This article uses a literature review approach by examining, identifying, and examining problems that are in accordance with the title or topic of discussion that the author outlines and integrates them with theories that are relevant to the research topic (Bawa, 2016; Weiss, 2020). The author also collects several reading sources both scientific journals and books and laws that can support the topic of writing. The deepening of the material is done by reviewing reading materials where the author finds several things that are interrelated with the writing of this scientific work including: (1) the similarity in identifying women as weak, fragile, and not to be used as leaders. (2) That men are the best leaders who deserve to take care of public affairs and women are only limited to private affairs. This kind of thing is a culture that exists in the social system of society (Engbers, 2016). In general, in several studies and opinions of experts, it is referred to as Patriarchal Culture. All of this will certainly have an impact on the existence of women, especially representation in politics and decision-making.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Understanding the concept of gender is epistemologically defined in English as the real differences in behavior and values between men and women (Gergen & Davis, 2013). Therefore, gender only focuses on its meaning to explain the differences between men and women in a narrow sense. However, if gender is dissected much deeper, it will be found to have more interpretations than that. Robert Stoller (1986) was the first to use the term "gender" to distinguish between physical-biological definitions and socio-cultural characteristics of humans. Bayeh, was also instrumental in developing the term and definition of gender in social science (Bayeh, 2016). Risman, explains gender as a social construction or characteristic imposed on humans by human culture (Risman, 2018). The concept of gender is epistemologically defined in English as the real differences in behavior and values between men and women (Prescod-Weinstein, 2020). Therefore, gender only focuses on its meaning to explain the differences between men and women in a narrow sense. However, if gender is dissected much deeper, it will be found to have more interpretations than that. Robert Stoller (1986) was the first to use the term "gender" to distinguish between physical-biological definitions and socio-cultural characteristics of humans (Makarychev, 2021). In addition, the woman is said to be soft, beautiful, emotional, and devoted to her children. while men are considered strong, rational, male, and powerful. In defining gender (Game et al., 2020), provides several developments or divisions in the gender term, namely:

- a. Gender difference, which is the difference between men and women, especially differences in character, behavior, and expectations set for each person based on their gender.
- b. The gender gap, which is the gender gap, or the way men and women interact and view politics differently.
- c. Genderization, which is the mention of the idea of placing gender in one's own identity and the perspective of others.
- d. Gender identity, which is the behavior expected of a person based on their gender.
- e. Gender roles, which are the roles played by men and women and are practiced specifically according to local culture.

If we look back for a long time, there have been gender differences between male and female humans. The formation of gender differences is caused by various things or factors, such as being socialized, strengthened, and even socially constructed culturally through religious teachings and even the state (Järnefelt et al., 2015). In addition, gender-based violence and injustice can be caused by various factors (Chappell, 2017). These factors include (1) social structures such as social systems and political systems, as well as power that can be used to exert pressure, such as excessive authority in the family environment, and (2) market conditions that are a source of income for men and women, in this case related to religious ceremonies and sexual morality standards. So, in general, it can be defined as the differences between men and women that are socially and culturally constructed in terms of roles, behaviors, and characteristics that are considered appropriate for men and women and are interchangeable.

Concept of Patriarchal Culture

The division of labor carried out by certain groups of people begins with an understanding of the roles played by men and women. This is in accordance with (Rokhmad & Susilo, 2017), quote from Durkheim: "The division of labor is initiated by individual transformations brought about by the socialization process and internalized by individuals in the environment in which they are raised." This is consistent with Durkheim's statement in Abbas. The division of labor as conceptualized above will certainly give birth to an understanding in society that there are jobs that can only be done by men, which inadvertently identifies women's shortcomings due to their inability to perform certain tasks. As a result, the labeling of women in society is weak, fragile, and helpless, further strengthening the position of patriarchal culture's development.

The development of a patriarchal culture that harms women is actually supported by a large part of Indonesian society. This is in line with what Nurmila said: that every aspect of Indonesian society is governed by a patriarchal system that ensures that men always hold the most important, superior, and dominant position in society, and women are still seen as inferior to men (Nurmila, 2015). Conflicting relationships between men and women have existed for thousands of years (Madsen et al., 2013). When there are relationships of subordination and inequality in the workplace, these issues become even more pressing. Women's opposition to male power is inseparable from the unfair patriarchal system that makes women the shadows of men. Furthermore, according to

Alfian, who wrote a book entitled "Introduction to Gender and Feminism," the term "patriarchal culture" comes from the word "patriarchy," which refers to a structure that views men as the sole, central, and almighty ruler, so that gender inequality and injustice that affect all aspects of life are caused by the patriarchal system that dominates the culture of society (Alfian, 2016). In a patriarchal society, it is assumed from the beginning that men are superior to women in personal life, family life, and state society. This is in line with the view of (Sikweyiya et al., 2020), who says that patriarchal culture is a set of social and cultural conditions that make men appear better with the intention of controlling women by placing men in the position of women.

Patriarchal culture is a culture of orientation disparity where men control women. Before this culture entered the family, patriarchal culture focused on the ability of men to take over jobs paid by women (Kalunta-Crumpton, 2015). Patriarchal culture is also defined by (Muniarti, 2004) as a human system with the authority to decide what to do and what not to do. Since the justification is the same as the division of labor based on sex rather than gender, such a system is considered reasonable. In addition, Murniati revealed that some individuals have the belief that it is power that controls and dominates others, so this culture can spread from one generation to the next. When patriarchy is deeply embedded, it transforms into a system of social structures and practices where men hold all the power and privileges over women.

The Impact of Patriarchal Culture in Indonesia's Political System

Gender equality is one of the applications of human rights. However, in Indonesia, until now, the patriarchal culture is still developing in people's lives. Until the role of men is greater than women, or until the social status of society views women as always below men, The patriarchal culture that has long run through the social life of society has become one of the sources of the declining legitimacy of women in politics. This will certainly have implications for the placement of women in subordinate positions. This situation creates a situation of gender inequality between men and women. Various discussions and meetings have been echoed in Indonesia today by both the government and institutions or organizations engaged in gender strengthening, such as the current various discussions and women's movements, both on a national and international scale, to change the image and perspective of more equitable women. However, changing a culture that has been ingrained for a long time is not easy.

The things that can create cultural inequality between men and women have succeeded in influencing the pattern of positioning among the public in a job that involves both women and men themselves. For example, the role of women in the socio-political field where women are considered incapable or not charismatic in carrying out their political roles, especially as part of their representation in the legislature. Women's representation in the DPR RI has tended to increase since the 2004-2009 general elections but has not yet met the 30% representation requirement outlined in Law No. 10/2008 on Elections. One of the requirements for political parties to participate in the elections is the inclusion of at least 30% women's representation in the central management of political parties, as stated in Article 8 Letter d of Law No. 10/2008. The

following data on women's representation in parliamentary institutions is quoted in the databox:

Table 1. Data on the Number of Women's Representation in the General Election of Legislative Members

No	Year of Election	Total
1.	2004	65
2.	2009	100
3.	2014	97
4.	2019	120

Sources: National Labor Force Survey, 2022

As can be seen from the table above, women's representation in the context of national politics since the 2004 general elections has relatively increased but is still not at an ideal level. Inconsistency in representation can be seen in the 2004 general election, with women receiving 65 votes, and an increase of 100 votes in the 2009 general election. But in 2014, it returned by 3% to 97 people and increased again in 2019 to 120 people. As a result, there will be 120 women in parliament in 2022, or 20.8% of the total. Men make up the remaining 455 members of parliament. Suffice to say, the number of women entering politics is still far below what is expected. The entry of women into politics is still constrained by several conditions in society, including a culture known as patriarchal culture that can still be found among Indonesian people, especially those living in remote areas far from the center of development. This starts with the low representation or participation of women in the membership of political parties, government, people's representative institutions, and electoral management institutions, which will result in an excessive political system of ineffective political processes and public policies. Despite the fact that women have different values and interests from men, it is important for women to be represented in political institutions to bring about a more democratic political process. The democratic reform movement includes the women's political movement. In order to develop more gender-responsive and child-caring development policies, programs, and activities for better development, women and men must have equal opportunities to participate in politics.

Furthermore, looking further into the following, here are the weaknesses faced by women due to the patriarchal culture of society: 1) Women do not realize that they have the same human rights as men; 2) Women often struggle to overcome shyness and fear of being wrong; 3) Women have more difficulty making decisions because they are less able to think clearly and logically; (4) There is a domestic workload for women; (5) Women always pay attention to family factors or habits related to the organization; (6) Women always consider compatibility with religion; (7) Money is always a concern for women; (8) Women are less able to accept the power that has been given to them, and when they do, they prefer to give in; (9) Women's minds are less stable and more susceptible to influence because they are less able to control their emotions; (10) Women are difficult to unite in their opinions because they are unable to unite strongly (Murniati, 2004). So that the patriarchal culture formed among the community will have an impact on the community itself in all aspects, including the following:

a. Marginalization

The phenomenon of patriarchal culture among the community, especially those that occur in the eastern regions of Indonesia (Lawelai et al., 2022), can provide a little picture of why jobs for women are so limited and there are not as many job options as those available to men. The perception that giving jobs to women is only suitable as household assistants, waiters, and so on, has limited their abilities a lot. The lack of positive exploitation of women's employability has also resulted in a lack of trust in women workers and other restrictions that are not available to men.

In some circles of society in Wahai Village, Central Maluku Regency, during the author's observations, there is a paradigm of thinking where people tend to like to see men working in neat clothes (uniforms) rather than women. So that the successful head of the household (male) can be used as an indicator of economic success for family size. On the other hand, women are only seen as those who take care of the house, be it through cleaning, cooking, taking care of children, and so on. In addition, the ability to obtain upgraded skills or major skills improvement is widely available for men who are considered strong and able to do all jobs, both "rough" and light work, which is enough to increase the dominance of work competition for both men and women, so that women's position in fighting for independence and economic empowerment is quite limited. Furthermore, according to World Bank data in March 2020, the influence of gender equality also occurs in the mining world, and cases of female workers are considered unsuitable for heavy physical work, which is identical to the mining industry (Sovacool, 2021). Men and women differ not only in the type of work they do, but also in the amount of money they earn. Meanwhile, according to BPS data, there are differences in the number of male and female workers, which will affect the socioeconomic conditions of women.

Table 2. Data on Indonesia's National Labor Force by Gender

Gender	Percentage of Formal Labor by Gender (Percent)		
	2019	2020	2021
Men	47,19	42,71	43,39
Women	39,19	34,65	36,20

Sources: National Labor Force Survey, 2022

The level of labor presentation by gender in 2019 was dominated by men (47.19%), who were far ahead of women, who were only in the range of 39.19%, as shown in the table above. Meanwhile, in 2020, men had a labor presentation rate of 42.17%, while women had a labor presentation rate of 34.60%, and in 2021, men had a labor presentation rate of 43.39% and women had a labor presentation rate of 36.20%. This can explain the dominance of employment for men over women. In the political context, it is also not much different, as in the description of Table 1 related to the number of legislative members who are women. Where the dominance of men is quite high, which can indirectly illustrate the minimal involvement or participation of women in the political context, they are still under the shadow of many men who are seen as mentors for women, not based on capacity or ability. Restrictions like this have resulted in economic poverty. This can occur because of the assumption that women's work is inferior to men's work.

b. Subordination

Subordination is an assessment that one gender is weaker or lower than another, which in fact is more often experienced by the female gender than the male. This often happens not only in developing areas; even in developed areas, there are still many assumptions that the male gender is stronger than women. This kind of assessment will certainly have an impact on treatment that is differentiated based on the appearance of gender. One form of subordination that often occurs in Indonesia (Priyono et al., 2018), the world of work subordination is found especially in decision-making positions and several other strategic positions. This opinion is in line with the author's findings in several observations and literature reviews conducted, where it was found that the position of women was a lot like that of companions compared to direct decision-making subjects. This is largely due to people's perceptions of women's limited abilities and the prevalence of women as second-class citizens from a practical political standpoint, which some disagree with.

This view of subordination can be an obstacle when drafting various regulations related to a gender perspective. for example, the Elimination of Sexual Crimes Bill and so on. In addition, the existence of subordination has also affected the initial assessment of several platforms or political parties that will propose women in their political battles. There are doubts about women's ability in political or seat battles, and there are inadequate concepts offered. The study "On the Same Page?" was published by researchers from the University of Western Australia. Widia Primastika wrote, "Support for Gender Quotas Among Members of the Indonesian Parliament" on trito.id. In this exploration, various elements are described as the causes of the low number of female parliamentarians, according to the assessments of male and female parliamentarians. A survey was conducted among 104 members of parliament, 54 men and 50 women, for this study. The research showed that male politicians have difficulty finding female candidates who can win legislative elections. In addition, male politicians believe that cultural, religious, and social barriers make it difficult for women to win legislative seats.

c. Stereotype

When ordinary people compare women to men, they tend to judge based on what they see or feel, whereas women are weak, emotional, illogical thinkers who always rely on feelings in decision-making. This kind of thing is a general perception of a person or group that does not match the actual empirical reality, which leads to unfair treatment and discrimination that can harm women regarding the assumption that women's work is only about household chores and is not suitable in the public area. The image and point of view of certain groups or types that arise from society's assessment of a person, especially in the political context, play a part in determining the composition of women in various aspects. With labeling, women will usually be considered weak, uncritical, and so on, thus influencing society's perspective on women's gender. This kind of thing will certainly apply to the nomination of women in general elections for both the legislature and the executive. Women who have higher work achievements but do not get positions that match their achievements sometimes face injustice due to these stereotypes.

From several sources of research, women are conceptualized as weak, a form of perception that has been built by society, especially in societies where patriarchal culture is still very strong. generalized labeling and community assumptions, as well as various treatments of young women and young men. In contrast to femininity, masculinity traits are more praised and accepted. This is influential in the political context, where many people consider men who are dashing, authoritative, and masculine to be more worthy than female characters, who tend to be built smaller themselves.

d. Violence

Cases of violence or domestic violence in 2015 were mostly committed by husbands, namely 55.9%. This means that half of the violence was directed at women, specifically the wife. This certainly occurs due to many factors, including labeling in society related to women themselves and so on. Data from the National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan) also noted that during 2004–2021 there were 544,452 cases of domestic violence. The Annual Record of Komnas Perempuan (2021) in the *Sapientia et Vistus Journal* (2021) by Jovanka Yvas Modiono said that the patriarchal culture that places women in charge of households and childcare is the cause of the increase in cases of violence against women during the pandemic. Many similar jobs expose women to the stress and fatigue that leads to domestic violence.

In line with this, (Hall, 2017) outlines the factors that cause violence, one of which is the existence of a patriarchal culture that places men much higher than women in the hierarchy, allowing many arbitrary acts to occur. In the national political system, gender discrimination to the point of violence also occurs when women participate in national politics; the thought of weak women is utilized by certain individuals to provide mental and psychological pressure to political opponents, in this case women.

Seeing the impact or consequences of patriarchal culture in society has more or less discredited the role and function of women in development and their involvement in the dynamics of national politics. Since the Old Order Era, women's struggle for equal rights for men and women has been achieved directly through Indonesian women figures, including R.A. Kartini, who since 1908 has successfully pioneered the struggle for justice and gender equality in various fields, one of which is equality in obtaining education and recognition. The struggle of R.A. Kartini and other figures certainly received a lot of criticism that arose not only from men, but also from some women who viewed women as having limited roles and so on. This criticism indirectly creates a patriarchal culture in society that assesses the function and social level of women, who are always under men. The failure to fight for gender equality is also caused by women's low understanding and awareness of gender issues. Women display their beauty more than their independence. Implicitly, women recognize the dominance of men. In addition, there are still many people who adhere to the concept of patriarchal culture, so women are required to be at home taking care of children and families rather than earning a living. This will have an impact on how parents raise their children, especially girls.

CONCLUSION

The role of equality in the context of community participation is very important to be applied at the level of national politics and the division of labor in various political, social, cultural, economic, and defense fields. so that gender issues become important to discuss, especially in politics. where women's representation still does not meet the demands of Law Number 10/2008 concerning Legislative Elections. One of the requirements for political parties to participate in the elections stated in Article 8 Letter d of Law Number 10/2008 is the inclusion of women's representation of at least 30% in the central management of political parties. As a result, the roles and active participation of political party's influence women's representation in national political contestations in parliament.

There are several impacts arising from the development of patriarchal culture in society, namely: (1) marginalization, which results in poverty; (2) subordination, or believing one gender is the main thing; (3) stereotyping or creating a standard image of certain groups; and (4) violence, with a series of actions both physical and psychological. In addition, there is an understanding that is still inherent in Indonesian society, especially in those far from the national capital, where there are many circulating views that women are weak or vulnerable beings who are not suitable to be involved in political matters and other developments or the view that women are only at home taking care of children and families rather than earning a living. Thus, giving birth to a patriarchal culture among themselves. so that gender inequality in various fields is included in it.

The recommendations made in this study, where patriarchal culture has contributed to many problems of gender inequality in Indonesia, particularly women's representation in politics, emphasize the importance of women's empowerment and long-term participation in various fields in order to increase the level of active women's participation. In addition to carrying out the mandate of the law, political parties' intense socialization and political education of the community help the larger community understand the importance of women's roles in policymaking in a democratic country. so that all levels of society and the various problems faced by women can immediately get more attention from their representatives in parliament and other fields. In addition, future research can use different research methods and variables.

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