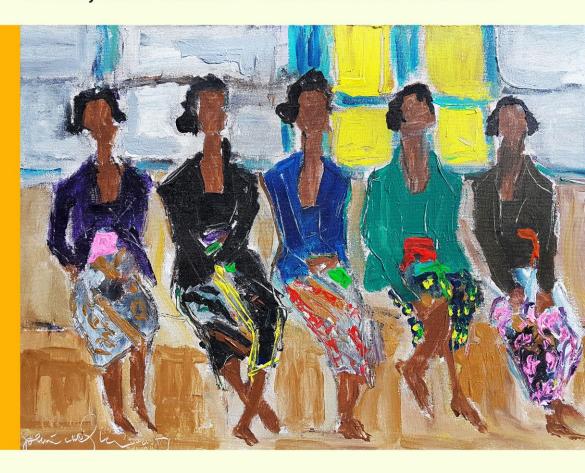
Salasika

INDONESIAN JOURNAL OF GENDER, WOMEN, CHILD, AND SOCIAL INCLUSION'S STUDIES



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North Kalimantan Aisyiyah's Contribution to Empowering Women for the Fulfilment of Political Rights

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to determine the ability of the Regional Leader of North Kalimantan Aisyiyah in contributing to the fulfillment of political rights through women's empowerment. The research employed a descriptive qualitative method with a narrative approach. This study focuses on the contribution of North Kalimantan Aisyiyah Regional Leaders in Empowering women to fulfill their political rights. Data analysis involved data collection, reduction, presentation, and conclusion. The results of the study indicated that the contribution of the Regional Leader of North Kalimantan Aisyiyah led to effective and responsive steps towards women's empowerment. Aisyiyah, a large organization, offers various programs of social activities including the involvement of women in politics, among them are political education activities. Although 'Aisyiyah is not a political party, it strongly supports its members who want to enter politics. The supporting factor is that government policies are not gender-biased. The women's empowerment programs to fulfill their political rights were good, but the public response to political awareness was low. It was a challenge to deal with.

KEYWORDS: CONTRIBUTION, WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT, POLITICAL RIGHTS.

INTRODUCTION

Indonesian women contributed not only to the struggle for Indonesia's independence but also struggle for equality since the 19th century. The struggle includes improving women's positions and roles and developing Indonesian women. The struggle for equality was finally recognized by the state by regulating it in the 1945 Constitution Article 28 (Mulawarman et al., 2020).

As people are more aware of men's and women's equality, women's leadership becomes a controversial issue leading to polemics and debates. This form of awareness also occurs in other parts of the world (Suryaningsi & Muhazir, 2020).

Although Indonesia gained its independence on August 17, 1945, the struggle against the colonials continued after the independence declaration because they did not

recognize Indonesia's independence. Indonesian women including Aisyiyah contributed to the struggle both before and after the independence.

Since centuries ago, Indonesian women have had a strategic role in society. In the 14th century, there were three Islamic kingdoms led by women, namely Sultanah Khadijah, Sultanah Maryam, and Sultanah Fatimah. Unfortunately, they had to hand over their power to men because the Mecca Qadhi fatwa prohibited women's leadership. During the Majapahit era, Tribuana Tungga Dewi (1328) was also a woman leader who later gave birth to the Majapahit's king, Hayam Wuruk. Besides, Aceh was once led by a woman Sultanah, Seri Ratu Tajul Alam Safiatuddin Johan. She ruled from 1641 to 1699. In South Sulawesi, Siti Aisyah We Tenriolle was the queen of Tanette in 1856. In Kutai, there was also a queen, Ratu Aji Sitti (Gunawan, Wawan and Evie Shofia Inavati (ed)., 2005). Women also contributed to the struggle for Independence. Some women heroes even led the Aceh wars. They were Raden Ayu Ageng Serang, Cut Nyak Dien, Tjut Meutia, and Admiral Malahayati. They were directly involved in various wars and set strategies and tactics (Mudzhar, HM Atho, et al, 2001; Mulawarman et al., 2022).

In 1912, a religious association initiated by Nyai Ahmad Dahlan called Sopa Trisno was established in Yogyakarta. The organization was the forerunner of the Muhammadiyah women's association known as Aisyiah (Darwati, 2022). According Muhammad (2020), education is the main prerequisite for elevating women's worth. He further stated that Islamic teachings that glorify women have been distorted, so women are often placed outside the core of Islamic teachings (Asikin, 2020; Mulawarman et al., 2020). Similar to Muhammadiyah, 4 female Nahdlatul members of Ulama. founded the Muslimat NU organization. Other organizations initiated by women are Wanodya and Mohammedaansche Vrouwen Vereeniging. In 1928, the association of women's organizations held the first Indonesian Women's congress in Yogyakarta (Aini et al., 2021). The purpose of the congress was to unite the ideas of advancing Indonesian women. The congress resulted in the formation of the Indonesian Women's Association (Perserikatan Perempuan Indonesia/PPI). PPI changed name to PPII (Indonesian Wives Association) in 1929. The formation of the association drew criticism from several women's organizations. They considered PPII as merely a group of the nobility's wives because only focused on domestic problems (Soetjipto AW, 2005).

Women's organizations initiate social movements, one of which is through empowerment. analysis is in line with Kindervatter's opinion stating that empowerment is a process of giving power in the education aiming form of increase citizens' awareness of. understanding of, and sensitivity to economic, and political social, developments. One of the goals of women's political empowerment is to increase women's participation in politics so that there are no more unequal policies that undermine women's needs.

The main problem with a women's organization that has been around for a long time is that it is as old as the organization it belongs to. Aisyiyah contributed a lot before Indonesia's independence. Aisyiyah, under Muhammadiyah, aims to advance women through the of Since teachings Islam. the establishment of Muhammadiyah, K. H. Ahmad Dahlan had nurtured women by forming a recitation group called "Sopo Tresno" under his guidance and his wife, Nyai Walidah. In addition, K. H. Ahmad Dahlan established courses, special recitation groups for women, and a women's school (Lastariyah, 2007).

Women's involvement in politics is regulated in law no. 12 of 2003 Article 65 paragraph one stating that every political party participating in election may nominate candidates for members of DPR (House of Representative) and DPRD (Regional Legislative Council at province and municipality levels. In DPRD, each electoral district needs have at least 30% representatives. Women's inclusion in the political and election law is expected to gradually reduce the marginalization of women from the formal political process, dismantle "the ties of political men" masculine political conspiracies, and increase women's political in parliament. representation According to the General Election Commission (KPU), in the 2019 election general in North Kalimantan, the number of voters changed. Previously there were 451,656 voters, with 237,085 male voters and 214.571 female voters. It became 450,108 voters with 236,229 male voters and 213,879 female voters spread over 2,184 polling

stations, 482 villages, 53 sub-districts, and 5 districts/cities.

Few women in North Kalimantan hold legislative positions due to their association with a particular party and personal experience. However, society views it merely as a matter of meeting the requirements. It was proven in DPRD votes. Of 35 candidates in North Kalimantan, only 4 women passed: Norhayati Andris (PDIP), Siti Laela (Golkar), Hi Asmah Gani (Golkar), and Tamara Moriska, SH (Hanura). It suggests that gender equality is a widely accepted principle but has not been fully implemented. The explanation above shows the lack of women's participation in politics.

Almost century since its establishment, Aisyiyah certainly has had a fairly influential role in empowering women in the country. As an organization, Aisyiyah has 33 provincial leaders, 370 Aisyiyah subdistrict leaders, 2,332 Aisvivah district managers, and 6,924 Aisyiyah city leaders. Muhammadiyah, where Aisyiyah belongs, is famous for its charity. Muhammadiyah schools colleges are spread over almost all provinces in Indonesia. Like Muhammadiyah, charity is at the heart of Aisyiyah. Based on the data from the Aisyiyah headquarter website, its charity in education amounts to 4.560 schools consisting of Playgroups, PAUD (early childhood education), Kindergartens, Child Care Centers, Elementary Schools, Junior High Schools, etc. (Muhammad, 2020).

METHODS

The study took place in January 2022. It is narrative research

employing the qualitative descriptive method. In this study, the researchers tried to describe the contribution of North Kalimantan Aisyiyah regional leaders in empowering women to fulfill political rights.

The research focused on assessing the contribution of the regional leadership of North Kalimantan Aisyiyah in empowering women to fulfill their political rights.

RESULTS

A. RESEARCH INDICATOR

1. Aisyiyah North Kalimantan and Politics

The interview with Aisyiyah management suggested that there was a considerable number participated members who including political institutions members of the Indonesian Ulema Council of North Kalimantan, the head of the health service, and of the Ministry members Religion, Meanwhile, etc. the regional leaders of Aisyiyah who were involved in North Kalimantan politics were around 5-10%.

2. Women's Empowerment

The interview also indicated that women's political empowerment activities organized by Aisyiyah's central board in the reformation era workshops, included seminars, research, book publications, and campaigns as forms of women's political movements. In addition, Aisyiyah continued to run leadership training and education for sakinah (happy) families. Run by Aisyiyah central leadership, the training aimed to equip women with skills

and knowledge about women's roles in society.

3. Contribution of North Kalimantan Aisyiyah Regional Leaders

The North Kalimantan KPU issued policy brief on women and attended a discussion with two pairs North Kalimantan governor candidates. The discussion led to a commitment actively and to passively women in represent politics.

The contribution of North Kalimantan Aisyiyah regional leaders to women's empowerment can be seen in Figure 1.



Figure 1. Contribution of Aisyiyah regional leaders to women's empowerment.

The contributions of Aisyiyah North Kalimantan to fulfill women's political rights can be seen in Figure 2.

The result of political rights fulfillment of women empowered by the North Kalimantan Aisyiyah regional leaders can be seen in Figure 3.



Figure 2. Contributions to fulfill women's political rights



Figure 3. Result of political rights fulfillment of women empowered by the North Kalimantan Aisyiyah regional leaders

DISCUSSION

a. 'Aisyiyah North Kalimantan and Politics

Aisyiyah, approaching a century, has had many experiences in serving the community. Aisyivah has gone through various eras in Indonesia's history from Dutch and Japanese colonization, New Order, to the The birth reformation era. Aisyiyah cannot be separated from women's hopes and goals to take part in the public sphere without undermining the domestic area (household). Aisyiyah programs cover religion, society, education, economy, and health. Aisyiyah also participates in developing women's political awareness to respond to issues and changes. Since the first general election in 1955, Aisyiyah has been actively involved in women's political empowerment activities. Aisyiyah disseminates information about general elections to the public through Qur'an recitation groups, meetings organized by Aisyiyah, or personal communication.

Suara Aisyiyah magazine published articles on the general election and its implementation in April 1954. The magazine included articles on general elections and implementation and the meaning of the Constituent Assembly and the Representatives. House of The magazine explained that both institutions were temporary and the general election aimed to form a Constituent Body and House of Representatives replace to temporary parliament. The stages and schedule of the general election were also provided in the magazine. politics, Concerning Aisyiyah provides political education to the wider community, enabling people, especially women, to be more critical and open to politics. Therefore, Aisyiyah does not aim at practical politics because it was founded as a non-political women's organization, just like Muhammadiyah.

Women's presence in public spaces is still criticized by some people. Women's territory, the kitchen domestic (read: sphere). still mindset of occupies the the patriarchal society. Current practices are still not in favor of women voicing themselves in the decisionmaking process both at the micro macro levels. Meanwhile, women have contributed greatly to government revenue, for example, in markets and health centers. Most of the workers in the health sector

women. Regarding this, are Mardianah said. "Just look at the Puskesmas markets and (public health Women center). dominant. Therefore, women have contributed greatly to government revenues." Aisyiyah's view on the political role of women can be seen decisions from the made by Muhammadiyah through its institutions, Majlis Tarjih and Tajdid.

In 1976, when the patriarchal view in Indonesia was still very strong and gender discourse had not emerged, Muhammadiyah through Tarjih (2010) and Tajdid issued a decision on the position of women, especially Muslim women, in politics compiled in Adabul Mar' ah fil Islam. Regarding the hadith narrated by Al-Bukhari stating that women should not be leaders. Syamsudin stated that this view was influenced by Arabic culture, which was dominated by men. The view then influenced Muslim countries to reject women in politics. According to him, the above hadith, which seems to prevent women from must becoming leaders, understood clearly and more deeply by considering the background (Asbabul Wurud). The hadith is the response of the prophet Muhammad to the Persian King who would appoint his daughter as a successor to his father's leadership. Prophet's statement was based on his knowledge of the Princess' inability to handle complex and difficult state affairs.

The decision of *Majlis Tarjih* (2010) compiled in Adabul *Mar'ah fil Islam* affirms that women may become leaders. Women may become judges, school directors, company directors, sub-district heads, ministers, mayors, etc. Can women

be heads of state? According to Syamsul Anwar (2007), although there is no clear statement regarding the matter, the decision does not prohibit women from becoming heads of state.

Syamsul Anwar (2007) explained that Adabul Mar'ah fil Islam divides the political role of women into two parts: 1. direct involvement in practical politics in formal political starting institutions. from legislative level such as DPR, and 2. indirect contribution such as actively involved in activities that empower and develop the community. Aisvah, the Chair of the Cadre Division for Aisyiyah's Central Leadership, stated that Aisyiyah views politics not in a sense of power narrow governmental political or institutions. A similar opinion was expressed by Hastuti Nur Rochima, the Chair of the Research and Development Institute. According to her, Aisyiyah allows women to enter politics. However, it does not have to be in formal political institutions (read: DPR). In a wider scope, women can play an active role in society, for example, involvement in meetings related to decision-making for life sustainability.

(nickname), Aisyiyah an Regional Leader in Kendal, for example, is involved in Musrenbangdes (village development planning deliberation). Most Indonesian women need empowerment. There are millions of illiterate or semi-illiterate women, and some female workers earn a low income. Their physical and mental readiness and skills are far from the standard. Few women policymakers. The above explanations describe the current condition of women. The sad reality of women encourages discourses and movements to increase women's participation in politics.

Aisyiyah agrees that women's involvement in politics opens their way to policy making. Women who become regional heads (read: mayors, regents, governors) should not be questioned. They hold the because of position their competence, not because of their husbands.

Aisyiyah administrators participate in political institutions are not few, some of them are members council in various agencies. Some them of are members of the Indonesian Ulema Council of North Kalimantan Province, the head of the health service, members of the Ministry of Religion, etc. In addition, around 5-10% of Aisyiyah regional leaders were involved in North Kalimantan politics. The data collected in the research suggested that the political fulfillment of cadre rights women, in general, was good. Some women even actively voice their opinions in a discussion or decisionmaking process.

According to Max Weber (2012), social action theories are directed at other people or groups. On the other hand, individual actions directed at inanimate objects are not social actions. This is in line with Berger and Luckmann's theory of social construction describing social processes through actions and their interactions where an individual creates a subjectively divided reality. According to Berger and Luckmann in Muta'afi (2015), social construction the interaction between each individual and the environment and aspects outside oneself or the

subjective meaning of the objective reality of people who go about their daily activities. Luckmann and Berger's theory aims to redefine the notion of reality and knowledge in a social context.

Berger and Luckmann (2013)believe reality that socially constructed in the that sense individuals have built a society so that individual experiences cannot be separated from society. relation to the above theory, social interaction is a reciprocal interaction between the government and the community to solve problems.

b. Women's Empowerment

Aisyiyah does not prohibit women to involve in the public sphere including politics. This view is based on the decision of the Majlis Tarjih (2010) and Tajdid Muhammadiyah, which Aisyiyah under established. Aisyah stated that culturally there was no prohibition against women becoming leaders; many women were even kingdom leaders. Aisyah further explained that religious factors prevented them from becoming leaders.

Aisyiyah believes that women's political contribution is not just in a form of power. In a broader scope, it can also be women local leaders who involved in community decision-making. This opinion is in line with Prof. Miriam Budiarjo's (2008) statement explaining that politics is an activity related to the power, decision-making, policy, distribution, or allocation of Regarding values in society. women's roles in politics, K. H. Ahmad Dahlan remarked kitchen affairs should not prevent women to take part in public spaces.

According to Aisyiyah, Islamic teachings do not prohibit women being leaders. Household from affairs should be a responsibility between husband and wife. Women's involvement in the public sphere will not reduce the love of a mother for her child or a wife for her husband. According to Ais, a mother's love for her child or a wife's love for her husband should not be interpreted as a physical presence. Women who take part in public spaces, for example, regional and council heads members, indirectly set good examples for the family, including their children (Antonio. 2021: Antonio Suryaningsi, 2022; Carmela, 2021; Ramayanti, 2021).

Maftuchah Yusuf (2005)also emphasized that women's involvement in the public sphere should aim to elevate the family's dignity and welfare. Many Aisyiyah administrators are members political institutions. Some of them are council members in various regions and political parties or legislature members. Around 5-10% Aisyiyah Central Executive members were involved in politics. Muhammadiyah Central Executive instruction No. 03/INS/I.0/A/2008 allows its cadre, including Aisyiyah's, to involve in a political campaign or as candidates of legislative members, but they will be deactivated from structural position Muhammadiyah until the election finishes.

Accordingly, Aisyiyah administrators who are involved in politics will be deactivated from their position in Aisyiyah management. Confirming this, Latifah Iskandar, Aisyiyah Central Executive member and former member of the 2004-2009

House of Representative (DPR), explained that when she was elected as a legislative member, she was no longer active in Aisyiyah and became an ordinary member.

One achievement of women's involvement in politics is the passing of the law requiring a quota of 30 percent of women in parliament. In addition, women's involvement in contributes solving politics to problems in society. The law on trafficking and domestic violence are indicators of women's influence policy making. Women's contribution to society is also manifested in Posyandu (integrated healthcare center), women's social work in the healthcare sector. Women's involvement in decisionmaking is expected to develop gender-sensitive policies. Men and women are not opponents but partners in managing life, like a husband and wife in the household.

The North Kalimantan Aisvivah empowerment programs carried out well. It was indicated by the cadre or community's active participation in the public sphere. people However, some were reluctant respond the to to empowerment program due deep-rooted beliefs and pragmatism culture.

Miran suggests two characteristics of women's empowerment. The first is *kodariyah*, participating collectively in the development. The second is enlightenment and awareness to participate.

The emancipatory spirit promoted by Aisyiyah changes individual and collective perspectives. In this regard, women will understand if there is a responsibility or social construction of society.

c. Regional Leader of North Kalimantan Aisyiyah,

Based on the interview results and data obtained from informants, the researchers can conclude that the head of Aisyiyah used a strategy of synergistic socialization with the East Kalimantan KPU, delivered a policy brief about women, and held discussions with East Kalimantan governor candidates. As a result, there was a commitment to actively and passively represent women in politics.

This is in line with the social process theory according to Lamon de Chart (2014) stating that "all accumulations strategically are aimed at maximizing effective communication achieve to understanding in a conscious state manifesting it in Regarding this theory, the result of community interaction is the result of a process in the form of numbers as the final identification.

CONCLUSION

women's empowerment programs conducted by the Regional of North Kalimantan Leader Aisyiyah were quite good because of the responsiveness of 60% of women who participated in the socialization process, webinars, and external activities. Although some people's political rights were not fulfilled, they voted in elections, using their prerogative rights. Public space involvement, around 70%, was also good. The strategy implemented by the Regional Leader of North Kalimantan Aisyiyah helped the community to understand, take an initiative, and participate in political activities.

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ABOUT

SALASIKA etymologically derived from Javanese language meaning 'brave woman'. SALASIKA JOURNAL (SJ) is founded in July 2019 as an international open access, scholarly, peerreviewed, interdisciplinary journal publishing theoretically innovative and methodologically diverse research in the fields of gender studies, sexualities and feminism. Our conception of both theory and method is broad and encompassing, and we welcome contributions from scholars around the world.

SJ is inspired by the need to put into visibility the Indonesian and South East Asian women to ensure a dissemination of knowledge to a wider general audience.

SJ selects at least several outstanding articles by scholars in the early stages of a career in academic research for each issue, thereby providing support for new voices and emerging scholarship.

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SJ aims to provide academic literature which is accessible across disciplines, but also to a wider 'non-academic' audience interested and engaged with social justice, ecofeminism, human rights, policy/advocacy, gender, sexualities, concepts of equality, social change, migration and social mobilisation, inter-religious and international relations and development.

There are other journals which address those topics, but SJ approaches the broad areas of gender, sexuality and feminism in an integrated fashion. It further addresses the issue of international collaboration and inclusion as existing gaps in the area of academic publishing by (a) crossing language boundaries and creating a space for publishing and (b) providing an opportunity for innovative emerging scholars to engage in the academic dialogue with established researchers.

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All articles will be preceded by an abstract (150-200 words), keywords, main text introduction, materials and methods, results, discussion; acknowledgments; declaration of interest statement; references; appendices (as appropriate); table(s) with caption(s) (on individual pages); figures; figure captions (as a list); and a contributor biography (150 words). Word length is 4,000-10,000 words, including all previous elements.

TIMELINE AND SCHEDULE

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