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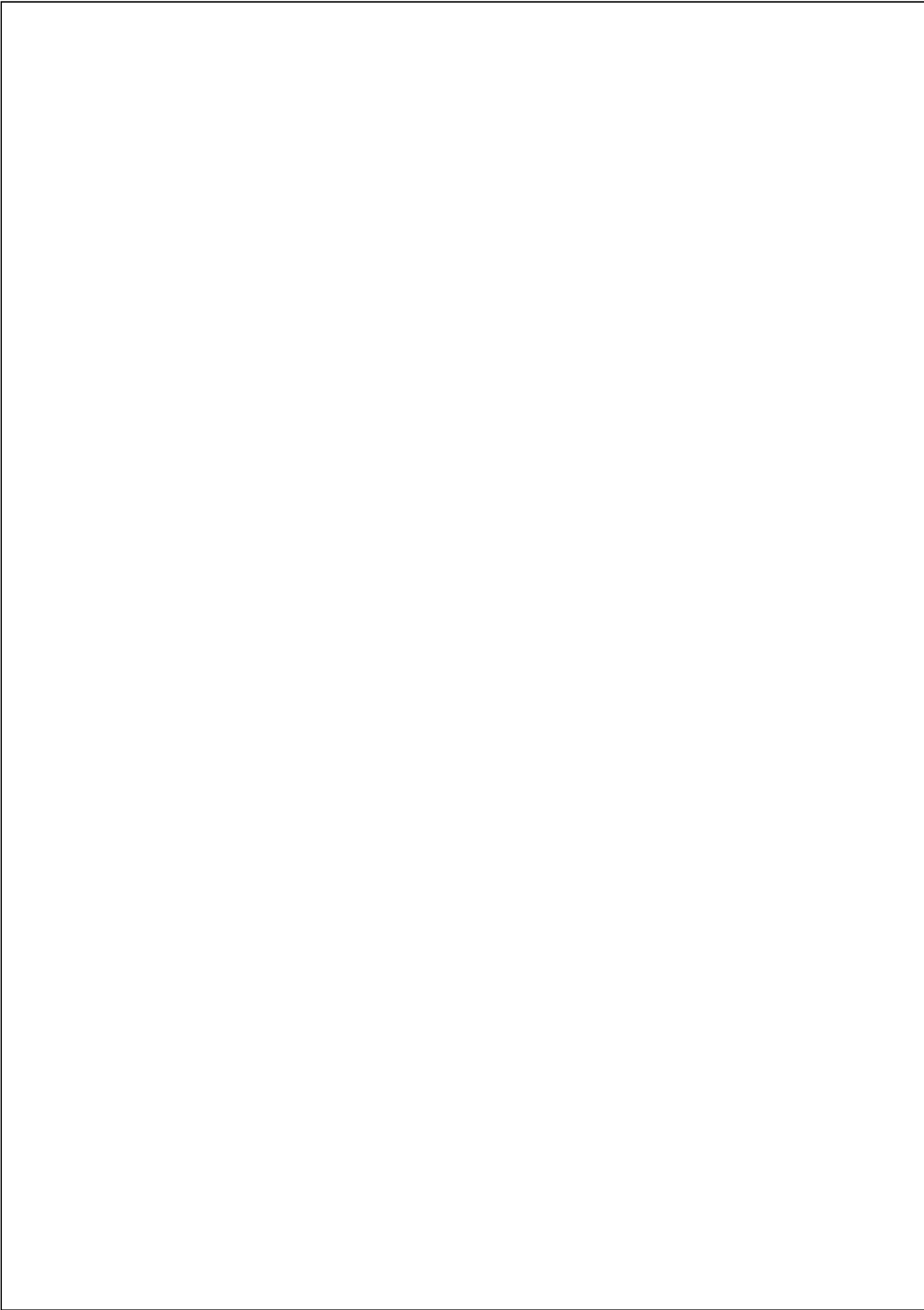
in Post Conflict Aceh
and Its Impacts on
Violence Againsts Women

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**Masculinities in Post Conflict Aceh and its Impacts on Violence
against Women**

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REMAKS

**Head of Center of Women's Studies
State Islamic University (IAIN) of Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh**

Center of Women's Studies (PSW) of IAIN Ar-Raniry would like to express sincere thanks and appreciation to UN Women and Partners for Prevention (P4P) for the productive collaboration in doing this research: "Masculinities in Post Conflict Aceh and its Impacts on Violence against Women". This research is conducted by a team consisting of eight researchers from PSW IAIN Ar-Raniry and Non-Government Organizations in Bireuen and Banda Aceh.

This policy research is a combination of regulation or policy review and observation as well as analysis of contexts and backgrounds in the makings and implementation of regulation and policy. This needs a hard work as the Aceh society is popular with its heterogeneous social, cultural, political and



even historical contexts that influence each others.

This research report is not a comprehensive document that answers all questions and queries on masculinity in post conflict Aceh. Nevertheless, this report is expected to be a significantly initial source in optimizing campaign for strengthening the efforts of building caring, sharing, collaborative and responsible values of masculinity in Aceh. PSW IAIN Ar-Raniry sincerely thanks all parties for their contributions to this research. In particular, we send our special thanks to the informants of the research for providing valuable information related to the research subjects. We are deeply indebted to our colleagues in UN Women Aceh for their assistance related to the administrative and managerial issues during the implementation of this research project.

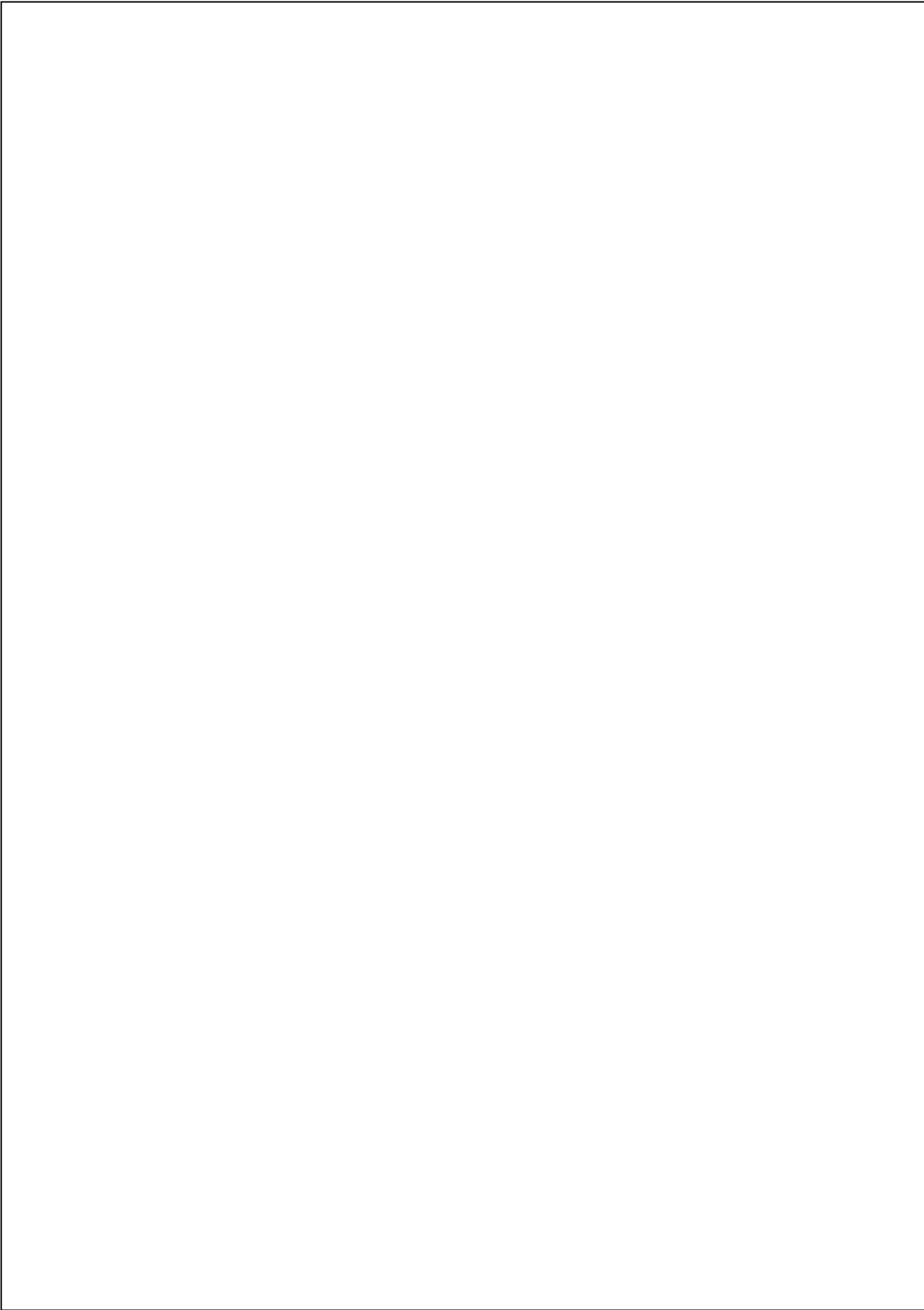
In this opportunity, we would like to express our appreciation to the Rector of ²the State Islamic University of Ar-Raniry and the Vice Rector of Administration and Finance for their direction and assistance for this research implementation. We also thank the translator team for translating the research report to English. We greatly appreciate all meaningful inputs and thoughts from Farid Muttaqin, Ita Fatia Nadia and Emma Fulu. Our very special thanks are dedicated to the researchers: Rasyidah, Munawiyah, Ismiati, Jamhuri, Masri-

zal, Khairani, Nashriyah, Ardiansyah, Tgk. Fariz Syah, and Faisal Riza, for their great contributions to this research project. We hope we can develop lesson-learned from this experience especially to improve our social sensitivity. Finally, we would like to thank, once again, UN Women and Partner for Prevention (P4P) for providing various assistances to this research project. May Allah SWT bless all our efforts. Aameen.

Banda Aceh, 20 November 2011

Rasyidah, S.Ag., M.Ag.





Remarks UN Women

UN Women is really happy to participate in this research project conducted as a collaborative work between UN Women, Partners for Prevention (P4P) and Center of Women's Studies at the State Islamic University of Ar-Raniry, Banda Aceh. UN Women would like to thank all individuals and organizations that have given their supports to the successful implementation of this research project.

Gender based violence including violence against women is among the most serious problems of human rights violation. Many efforts have been taken to reduce the prevalence of the violence, but the number remains high. This research on masculinities is meant to contribute to strategizing some actions already done to end gender based violence and violence against women, particularly these focusing on the prevention level before the violence is perpetrated. It is understood that gender based violence is strongly influenced

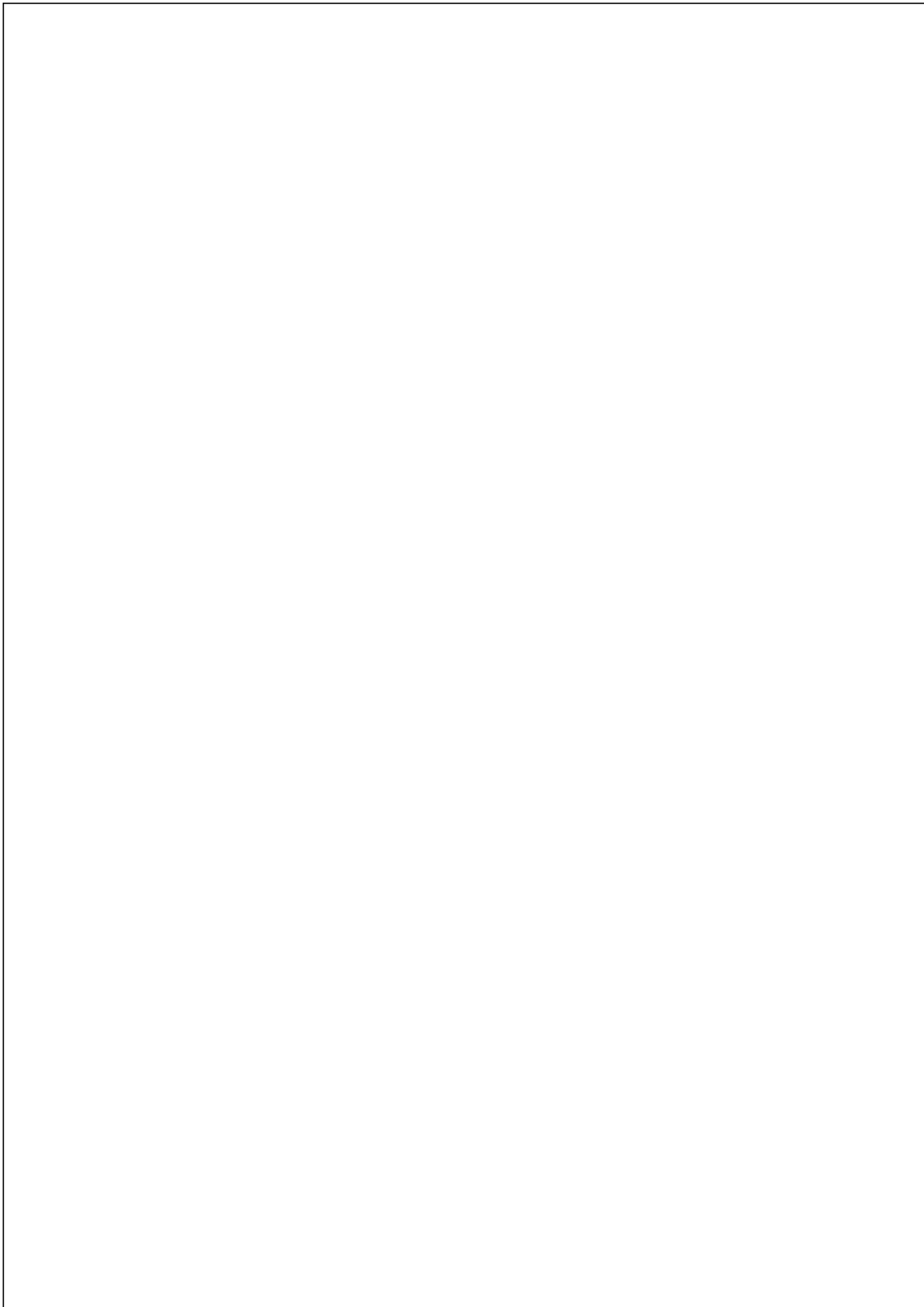


by patriarchal social construction that positions genders that are not considered 'masculine and men' in a subordinate power relation. Under such a circumstance, it oftentimes happens that an action considered a form of violence is not really viewed as violence; instead this is interpreted as a way of education that is 'clean' from violence. For instance, this research found, many husbands thought that it was acceptable or even an obligation of a husband to beat their wives who disobeyed their requests or instructions because husbands were heads of family and leaders over their wives. Even members of the society would think the same and, thus close their eyes from providing assistance for women encountering such a problem. Considering such a social-cultural phenomenon, it is very important to understand deeper social-cultural roots of gender-based violence and violence against women in a specific context, so we can make a more contextual and comprehensive strategy to end the violence. By addressing masculinities as a framework it is expected that this research would really contribute to deepening our understanding on social-cultural construction within the Aceh society that influences to abusive and violent perspectives and behaviors.

We really hope that the findings of this research will inspire many individuals and organizations to provide greater

contributions to end any forms of gender-based violence and violence against women. The context of Aceh as the focus of this research is expected to be an example for similar initiatives in other contexts.

Banda Aceh, 26 December 2011



ABSTRACT

The title of this research is “Masculinities within Post-Conflict Aceh and Its Impacts on Violence against Women.” The study aims to get deeper understandings and insights about the construction of masculinities within Aceh society. Moreover, this research is meant to elaborate the influences of cultural norms, religious understanding, and living through the conflict situation and parenting models to the development of masculinities and its impacts to abusive behaviors within the post-conflict Aceh society. This is a qualitative research; the data compilation is conducted through in-depth interviews about informants’ life history, field observations, and focus group discussions (FGDs). Informants of this research are categorized into three groups: violent men, gender equitable men, and women, living thorough the conflict situa-



tion in Aceh. This research's sites are Bireun and Aceh Besar district.

The research findings prove that agents and media for socialization of masculinity, including family, peer groups, idols, Islamic learning centers like *dayah* and *beut*, coffee shops, and the conflict situation. Generally that the construction of masculinity values and norms within the Aceh society as seen from life history of the informants is mostly dominated by patriarchal hegemonic masculinity perspectives. Parenting within a family is an influential aspect in the construction of hegemonic masculinity. Children raised in an authoritarian family will grow with a self-concept of masculinity dominated by hegemonic and dominant perspectives. It is easier for girls raised in such a family to perform social roles which are traditionally constructed as men's roles, like being a military troop holding a gun in the conflict. On the contrary, most of boys who appear to practicing and caring, collaborative, sharing, and responsible values of masculinity are those living in families practicing and applying the values of gender equality since their childhood in which they used to get engaged in, for instance, household works.

A social view that women are the second class of human beings is already introduced and constructed since an individual was in an elementary school. The values of hegemonic masculinity are developed through both formal and non-formal educations. The learning system and academic tradition of religious education like 'dayah' (traditional madrasahs) and 'balee semeubeut' (religious academic circle) contribute to the construction of hegemonic dominant masculinity and submissive femininity.

Such values of hegemonic masculinity lead to abusive attitudes when they are enforced by the tendencies of imitating and following an idol; getting social reward and punishment in family, school, religious class; and experiencing the violent conflict situation. Some of violent men and female informants living through the violent conflict situation show their agreement to the application and practice of physical punishment. In the context of education, informants differentiate physical punishment from violence applied in school, religious school, and to family as they view physical punishment is a method of education. Punishment using violence is acceptable and even encouraged as it is a good method of education as what they understood based on Islamic teaching and the Aceh 'adat' (custom).



The ideal image of being men is oftentimes connected to having a permanent job to earn family's incomes. This value becomes a life prestige that influences the way men in Aceh think and behave within the community and society. A situation when it is found that a man does not have a permanent employment, will lead to the development of social stereotypes that possibly produce a social-psychological pressure, open for violence. Men have greater opportunity to express and practice hegemonic masculinity as the available social space for this expression is broader and wider. On the other hand, a very few men in the society who openly apply non-hegemonic masculinity, among them, are men involved in women's rights movements.

Key words: masculinity, hegemonic, dominant, men, violence, women, conflict, Aceh.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

⁴ The interest in men and masculinity in a context of global work on gender equality has been growing in the last twenty five years. There is now a substantial body of works on the various aspects of men's identities and relations and there is growing focus on how the patriarchal system, as well as the power of individual men, works to the detriment of women but also, in certain specific instances, to the detriment of men themselves.⁴ Attempts are being made to understand how men contribute to inequalities and oppression, but also how they can become partners in social justice work (Ruxton, 2004).

² The concept of hegemonic masculinity has been globally influential after it was introduced in the 1980s through the work of Raewyn Connell. The concept of hegemony seeks to explain the exercise of power and, in particular, the ways in which power is reproduced and enacted in contexts where coercion is not explicitly used (or even threatened). There are several key elements of Connell's theory that are relevant for this research as outlined in the conceptual framework below.

Recognizing that in any setting there are multiple

¹ Breines, Ingebor, Robert Connell, and Ingrid Eide, ed., 2000, *Male Roles, Masculinities and Violence: A Culture of Peace Perspective*, Paris: UNESCO Publishing. See also Connell, R.W, 2000, *Masculinities*, Los Angeles: University of California Press.

masculinities, in the pursuit of gender equity ² it is important to understand more about masculinities that are counter-hegemonic, that is those that are not predicated on superiority, control and domination. There is a lack research in developing country contexts about how men engage in practices that are more gender equitable and may be traditionally seen as 'women's practices', and how men may distance themselves from hegemonic ideals. It is important to examine the heterogeneity of masculinity, and to try to understand the origins of this, in order to understand the specific social, cultural and political conditions in which some men in society reproduce hegemonic masculinity while others produce "caring", "collaborative", "sharing" and "responsible" masculinities. This research aims to look at how masculinities are being (and thus can be) constructed in ways that are and are not harmful to women and other men. Furthermore, the focus on life history interviews recognizes, as Connell (2007) has argued in *Southern Theory*, that it is important to put it into circulation experiences that come from outside the citadels of power.

⁴ This research is based on the understanding that the pattern of hegemony, social leadership and cultural definitions of gender can change. There will be a time when nonviolent and egalitarian masculinities will cease to be at the margin but will gradually become hegemonic among men, contributing to an end of gender inequality in the society as a whole.

B. Violence against Women in Aceh

There is no ² accurate data on the prevalence of violence against women in Aceh perpetrated in both private and in public spaces. This is in part because there are lack of institutions providing interventions and services for violence against women factors. Women and girls experiencing violence still face problems of limited access to crisis centers where they can report cases and seek assistance. Moreover, it has been found that in Aceh there is little coordinated reporting and recording of cases of violence against women among the different non-government organizations assisting such women.

Nevertheless, living in a conflict area has exposed women to various forms of violence. Even though there are no clear data, it is reported that many women and girls in Aceh experienced sexual, physical and psychological violence during the conflict. Rape was one of the most serious forms of violence against women perpetrated during the conflict. However, adequate interventions for women experiencing sexual violence are rare. Some women whose husbands were kidnapped and murdered during the conflict also faced difficult economic and social situations. Experiencing and or witnessing various forms of violence during the conflict possibly contributed to constructing these women's 'tough' characteristics in facing any life difficulties.

In 2006, the Indonesia's National Commission on Violence against Women (*Komnas Perempuan*) published a report describing cases of violence and discrimination



against women in refugee camps after the tsunami disaster. According to the report Komnas Perempuan found 191 cases: 146 violence, 38 discrimination, and 7 forced eviction. 44% of the total number of cases occurred in the domestic domain, 42% happened in public spaces and the rest were in state's rooms. From 146 cases of violence, 108 cases (74%) were sexual violence.²

From the reports of some crisis centers and women's organizations, domestic violence in its various forms covering psychological and physical dimensions is a serious issue within the post-conflict Aceh. Center of Integrated Service (PPT) of Aceh Province reported that in 11 months in 2007, 70 cases of violence against women, girls and boys were reported to the institution. 75% of these were domestic violence (Lailisma Sofjati, 2007). A joint assessment by UN Women, UNDP and UNFPA in Aceh Selatan in 2009 discovered that polygamy and marital rape are commonly experienced within Aceh society. Some cases of incest also happened within Aceh families.

The 2009-2013 Strategic Plan of The Aceh Women's Empowerment and Children's Protection Body (BP3A) mentions that the number of domestic violence cases is still high. The Aceh Gender Transformation Working Group (KKTGA) has handled 88 cases of violence in 2006, 60 cases in 2007, and 72 cases in 2008. Legal Aid of Women's Association for Justice (LBH Apik) of Aceh has received 110

² Komnas Perempuan's Annual Report of 2006

legal consultation requests on violence against women and children; 52 cases of the number were successfully solved.³

In addition, among the most tangible cases of violence against women within public spaces are rape and sexual exploitation. Some cases of rape, including against children reported by some Aceh-based newspapers like *Serambi* show an awful tragedy of violence against women and children in the area. A case of sexual exploitation was experienced by a young couple when a group of youth forced them to have sexual intercourse and video-recorded it (*Rakyat Merdeka*, May 29, 2007). In January 2010, it was reported that a girl was raped by three sharia policemen (*wilayatul hisbah*) (*Serambi*, January 12, 2010). Some cases of popular punishment within the society for those accused as breaking the *adat* laws and rules to some extent display an example of the influences of violent perspectives.

C. Masculinities in Aceh

¹ Bringing masculinities and men into the central discourse of gender issues is important in preventing and eliminating gender based violence in Aceh. While a lot of men are involved in many forms of gender based violence, existing interventions and approaches only address women as victims. As many reports mention, female victims, especially

³ The 2009-2013 Strategic Plan of The Aceh Women's Empowerment and Children's Protection Body



of domestic violence, often decide to return to their homes with their abusive husbands, therefore, approaching women as only victims and abandoning male perpetrators in the response cannot end the cycle of violence.

The notion of what it means to be a man involves concepts of masculinity that are socially constructed. As a social construction, masculinities do not exist in a vacuum and must be understood in a social context. Hence, it seems that how a society idealizes its men by attaching certain social and cultural identities based on patriarchal values contributes to the way men treat and view their women, including, domination and abuse. While we agree that the patriarchal roots contribute to men perpetrating gender-based violence, understanding the localized sources of violent and abusive attitudes as they play out in practice can contribute significantly to developing effective interventions to end gender based violence.

Examining the heterogeneity of masculinity is important to understand specific social, cultural and political conditions in which men and society prefer to reproduce hegemonic masculinity rather than, for instance, “caring” “collaborative,” “sharing” and “responsible” masculinities. Men also need to be understood; men need a space where they feel comfortable to express their opinions related to what it means to be a man. Within patriarchal masculinity that expects men to be dominant and tough both physically and psychologically,

it is hard to find such a space for men. This research should be another way where men can seek for a comfortable space to communicate their experiences and thoughts of being a man in a society. Hence, this research is a process of understanding men or being men under a social construction of masculinities in post-conflict Aceh.

A better understanding and knowledge of the living masculinities is fundamental in building gender equality and ending gender-based violence. Nevertheless, this can take place only when such knowledge on masculinities inspires policy-makers to address men in their initiatives of enhancing gender equality and eliminating gender-based violence. Therefore, in this regard, it is indeed very important to involve policymakers and other related parties in enhancing women's rights and gender equality from the beginning of this research project. This research, therefore, is not meant as a separate endeavor from other actions in ending gender-based violence.

D. The Conflict and Post-Conflict Context

The Aceh conflict has long historical roots. Nevertheless, the turbulence significantly increased when in 1976 Hasan Tiro declared "independence of Aceh Sumatra" in Aceh with approximately 200 supporters'. In 1977, President Soeharto started sending in the military force and it marked the "beginning of counter-insurgency operation". Some of Tiro's supporters gained military training in Libya in the period

of 1987-1989 and, in 1989⁷ the Free Aceh Movement (*Gerakan Aceh Merdeka/GAM*) began “serious strikes against military in Aceh, prompting declaration of DOM (Daerah Operasi Militer or Military Operation Area) and military launch of *Kolakops Jaring Merah* Operation”. Responding to the situation, during the period of 1990-1991, “6000 Kopassus (special military force) troops were sent to Aceh.”⁴

After the reform movement in 1998 that led to national leadership replacement from Soeharto to BJ. Habibie, the situation was up-and-down. Some peace initiatives were assigned, yet violence remained a serious issue. In January 19, 2002, the Indonesia’s Army Force (TNI) “raided GAM HQ and killed its commander Abdullah Syafi’ie” (Reid, op.cit). In May 2003, the Government of Indonesia came up with the “declaration of military emergency (*Darurat Militer*), followed by TNI offensive *Operasi Terpadu* (Integrative Operation)” (Reid, op.cit). In May 2004, the military emergency changed into civil emergency (*Darurat Sipil*), yet 40,000 military troops remained in Aceh.⁵

In December 2004, a giant tsunami hit Aceh and killed more than 200,000 people. The post-tsunami rehabilitation and reconstruction programs were addressed; President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono has built *Badan Rekonstruksi dan Rehabilitasi* (BRR) or Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Agency. Later, it was followed by some peace initiatives to end

⁴ Reid, 2006

⁵ Reid, 2006

the conflict. Finally, in August 15, 2005, the peace agreement between GAM leaders and the Government of Indonesia was signed in Helsinki, Finland.⁶

Flashing back, unequal wealth distribution was oftentimes blamed as one of the main problems in leading to the conflict. In 1970s, natural exploration of Aceh began; in 1971, natural gas deposits were discovered. While natural gas and other resources, including timber and minerals were exploited mostly for the profit of foreign companies and elites in Jakarta, there was only 5 percent of the benefits remained in Aceh (Ranner, 2006). A peace studies scholar of Aceh, Kamarulzaman Askandar in "The Aceh Conflict and the Roles of the Civil Society" explains that the conflict in Aceh has escalated in two ways. First is "the attitudes of the Achenese have been hardened." At earlier level, the main demand was for autonomy and the implementation of the Sharia law; at the later period, it turned to the demand for independence, spearheaded by GAM. Second is "an escalation in terms of popular support..." in response to very policies that have been used to suppress." Askandar further mentions that in that second period of conflict, "[D]issillution with Jakarta (capital of Indonesia, center of national government) has enhanced this feeling and contributed too to the emergence of a nationalist sentiment."

Such a massive and long conflict in Aceh and living through various dimensions of violence has contributed to the

⁶ Reid, 2006



development of social circumstances where men have learnt to use violence and other dominant way of treating women in solving disputes. Such violent circumstances also create an environment where members of society, both women and men, children and adults, normalize the use of violence in solving conflicts and disputes. While it can be seen that during the conflict situation the use of violence was based on aggressive and abusive patriarchal masculinities, it can also be concluded that living in a militarized violent conflict has created a culture of violence which is based on patriarchal masculinities which continues in the post-conflict era. The end of the conflict has not ended the use of patriarchal masculinities and its articulations of violence. Therefore, under such a situation, it is not surprising to find recent cases of violence including domestic violence, rape, violence by teachers against students, and other forms of violence by governmental bodies as evidence of the use of patriarchal masculinities for violence in peaceful times.

In fact, in the post-conflict period, development programs have been initiated and implemented. This has opened up many economic opportunities for men in particular, including formal political leadership positions, business opportunities and well-paid positions in international organizations. Under dominant and patriarchal masculinities within the society being such men in post-conflict Aceh is considered an ideal achievement. Nevertheless, it is a fact

that there are still a lot of men who have not achieved such success. In the context of being ideal men as expected by the society in Aceh, being “left out” of the development process is stressful and uncomfortable. It is possible that this creates a sort of masculinity crisis where men feel disempowered and incomplete. In such situations, some men attempt to articulate or reassert their masculinity through violent and abusive attitudes and behaviors, especially in a society where men cannot easily find a comfortable space to speak about themselves.

Aceh society has many unique traditions and cultural practices related to masculinities and being men and boys. While several societies, with patriarchal values, tend to position men –and so masculinities– at the center of social interactions, it is important to examine the unique cultural constructions of masculinities in Aceh. This will deepen our understanding of the socio-political and cultural contributions to creating hegemonic masculinity as well as so called progressive or sensitive masculinities that include qualities such as “caring,” “loving” and “cooperation.”

E. Social-Religious Contexts

The Aceh society is tied with certain social conventions called *adat* agreed among the members of the society. This cultural convention controls the people’s attitudes and



behaviors. They loyally follow all the rules under a reason that these are a cultural heritage and they view *adat* as having a strong reference to Islamic sharia that becomes identical to the religious life of people in Aceh. A life slogan alive within the society is documented in a *hadih maja* (proverb), “*Adat ngon hukom lagee zat ngon sipheut*”⁷ –meaning that the relation between the *adat* and Islamic sharia is like substance and its nature– really reflects the existing contextual belief within the society. This *hadih maja* emphasizes the close relation between the *adat* alive in the area and Islamic law. Therefore, it can be said that the obedience to follow the *adat* rules is also meant the obedience to follow the religious norms.

As previously stated, the signing of Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) by Government of Indonesia and the Aceh Free Movement (GAM) in August 15 2005 marked the end of the Aceh conflict. It has led to the formulation of Law of Government of Aceh (LoGA) in 2006 that gives a legal privilege for Aceh people to build its own legal system based on Islamic and local customs (*adat*). Within this situation, the local government of Aceh has produced several laws based on Islamic sharia. Some of them are Qanun (local law) on Gambling (*Maisir*), Drinking Alcohol (*Khamar*) and Close Proximity (*Khalwat*) and Qanun on Islamic Crime (*Jinayah*) that legalizes stoning (*rajam*) as a form of punishment. Some

⁷ Tuanku Abdul Jalil, “*Adat in the Hadih Maja and Its Maintenance*,” in PKA-3, “*Proceeding of The Nusantara’s Cultural Meeting*,” Banda Aceh: Syiah Kuala University Press, 1988, p. 352.

district governments have issued a district law on dress code that mainly targets women (*Jakarta Globe*, January 28, 2010).

A number of local regulations called *qanun* made both at provincial and district levels to support the implementation of the post-conflict and post-tsunami developments as well as to improve the 'position' of the *adat* law emphasizes the special autonomy of Aceh, especially in terms of legal and political legitimacy to awaken Islamic teachings and the Aceh *adat* rules. Nevertheless, within this political dynamic, there are some *qanuns* that show the 'values' of patriarchal hegemonic masculinities both in their substantive materials and in their implementation. The overwhelming influences of the patriarchal construction within the society to the ways people think, especially policymakers, community leaders, and religious figures among others are assumed to be the key root of the problem. In addition, religious and cultural views approached as consideration in the makings of *qanun* seem to display patriarchal perspectives that are not women-friendly.

Under such circumstances, gender stereotypes based religious ideology which appears in the form of sex-based division of labor and women's domestication, for example, are evident within Aceh society. It has contributed to the weakening political participation of women. In the last legislative election in 2009, from 69 provincial parliament members, only 4 women are now in the legislative seats. Meanwhile, there is only one woman who now holds an



important position in the top executive body as a vice mayor.

Islamic traditions are in fact an important component in driving people's way of life in Aceh. In this regard, exploring how Islamic traditions, understandings and practices contributing to the construction of masculinities in Aceh is vital in addition to the experiences of living through a violent conflict. In the context of conflict, religious symbols were often used as a source of fighting spirit. For instance, Aceh people involved in the battle glorified the idea of martyrdom (*shahid*). Raising children patterns also play a key role in transforming religious values into certain masculinities construction. For instance, lullabies and religious supplication (*du'a*) to accompanying children before going to bed consist of sentences identical to patriotic characteristics such as *hikayat perang sabii* (story of jihad) and *do da idi do da idang* (songs for lullaby). It will be interesting to examine how the use of such religious spirit has influenced the development of certain forms of masculinities within Aceh society.

Education environment is a key factor in transforming masculinities and people's ways of life in Aceh society. Within the society, besides formal education, families are required to provide religious education for children; there is a social obligation of *intat beut* (providing religious education) for children of 10 years of age. In such an *intat beut* tradition, there is a tendency for families to send their children to *balee semeubeut* (religious academic circle) so they can undertake

religious education from a *teungku* (religious teacher). Some parents also send their children to a *dayah* or *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school). Hence, besides formal education, *balee semebeut* and *dayah/pesantren* are among the most important educational institutions in transforming certain social, cultural and religious values within Aceh society. While it needs more elaboration and deeper research, in general, it can be said that *balee semebeut* and *dayah* provide learning methods and academic traditions that promote patriarchal values of Islamic interpretation. Such patriarchal Islamic interpretation places men in a dominant position while domesticating women in a subordinate position. How this academic transformation of *balee semebeut* and *dayah* influences the development of patriarchal masculinities and submissive femininity is an important research subject on masculinities and being men in Aceh.

In Aceh men predominantly hold position as powerful religious leaders and *ulama* who have social, religious and political authority to develop Islamic interpretation which is formally implemented as local law that tends to promote patriarchal views. Male dominance does not apply only in the context of male *ulama* figures; but can also be found in the production and implementation of Islamic knowledge and Islamic law. Religious views that give greater authority to male *ulama* possibly contribute to strengthening patriarchal masculinities which place men in dominant social positions, including in the family. These issues will be explored in the

qualitative research as outlined below.

F. Understanding Masculinities: the Conceptual Framework

For the purposes of this research, we understand masculinities in the following way:

- a. ¹ Masculinities are performed through the practices of men, and these practices are shaped by notions (often an ideal) of how men 'should' and 'should not' be;
- b. ¹ Masculinities should be understood in the context of the benefits, and, power and privilege, which they give to all men over women in society; patriarchy is the social organization that allocates, distributes and secures the power of men over women. Gendered power also intersects with other forms of power, including those of age, class, ethnicity, etc.;
- c. ¹ In any settings, there are multiple masculinities that change over time, with differences sometimes found between ages, ethnics, social classes, groups, sexual orientations, etc. However, some masculinities have more power than others, as well as power over others. In any settings, masculinity which is socially dominant over others, is called hegemonic masculinity;
- d. Hegemonic masculinity is a cultural ideal of how to be a man, produced by men and women. Much of

the power of hegemonic masculinity comes not from coercion (or even threats) but stems from a widely held belief among men and women that this is how gender relations 'should be'. As such, women's practices as well as men's produce the patterns of life in which women are subordinated;

- e. The globalization of 'western' constructions of masculinity strongly defines hegemonic masculinity as heterosexual. Thus, it is a powerful driver of homophobia as well as source of resistance to engaging in practices or expressing feelings deemed to be 'womanly', particularly, activities of caring.
- f. ¹ Masculinities are shaped by many influences – economic, political, media, culture, religion, personality, childhood experiences, etc. Social institutions such as armies, the police, bureaucracies, schools and hospitals are contexts where masculinities are performed and gender hierarchies expressed and reproduced. Sometimes interactions with individuals, i.e. a teacher, friend or a grandmother, can be highly influential; sometimes its exposure to ideas, or a particular life experience allows development of particular ideas which might have been suppressed in other settings;
- g. Violence (or the threats of violence) may be used as a



way of attaining 'manhood' or it may be interpreted as a sign of failure to attain it by other means.

- h. The conflict in Aceh affected family relationships and dynamics, social structures, parenting practices, culture, gender roles, and politics and, therefore, gives impacts on the construction of masculinities at multiple levels

G. Research Objective

The research objective of the study is ² to understand the construction of masculinities in post Aceh conflict and its relation to violence against women, in order to develop a deeper insight into how to engage men and boys in the prevention of gender based violence (GBV).

H. Research Focus and Question

Generally, there are four research focuses in this research:

1. Perceptions on masculinities and their impacts to violent attitudes and behaviors.
2. The influences of social, cultural and religious values in developing masculinities and their impacts to violent behavior.
3. The impacts of experiencing life in conflict situation to masculinities and violent behavior.
4. The relation of raising children patterns and masculinities, and their impacts to violent behavior.

These four research focuses are derived into following research questions:

1. What are men's and women's perceptions of gender norms for men in Aceh?
2. What do men and women perceive to be indicative of a 'good man', 'valuable man' or 'successful man'? Has this changed during the conflict and post-conflict? How attainable is 'success' for different groups of men in Aceh?
3. What is the relationship between violence, relations with women, and being a 'good' or 'successful' man?
2. Did the conflict change men's use of violence towards other men, towards their wives or women in the community? How did it change? Is this changing during post-conflict? How?
5. How does religion influence the shape of masculinities in Aceh? What does influence men's use of violence or resistance to violence in Aceh?

I. Study Area

The qualitative research was conducted in two study sites, Bireun and Aceh Besar. Like mostly areas in Aceh, both sites were affected by the conflict. Bireun represents a rural area, while Aceh Besar which is very close to the capital city of Banda Aceh represents an urban area. Both Bireun and Aceh



Besar were affected by the conflict and, therefore, suitable sites for this research. Furthermore, they have a diverse set of populations from which to draw informants, and could be considered more widely representative of the conflict/post-conflict experience in Aceh.

In Bireun, Liga Inong Aceh or Aceh Women's League (LINA), a women's organization facilitating an empowerment and advocacy program for female ex-combatants, exists. The presence of LINA in Bireun helped a lot in observing the situation and identifying social issues in the area including those related to masculinities and violence. The data compiled by LINA proves that many forms of violence against women occur in Bireun area. The existence of this NGO also assisted in the identification of suitable informants.

Aceh Besar which is located in a borderline of the capital city of Banda Aceh displays relevant characteristics of urban social life. Aceh Besar was the major areas that were hit by the tsunami, and informants from this area were able to give the perspective of a tsunami-affected population. Furthermore, the increasingly conservative Islamic forces are also evident in Aceh Besar which is found to be a central basis of a terrorist group in Aceh recently. As it is very close to Banda Aceh, the central governance area where political and religious elites create a lot of influential policies, people in Aceh Besar are assumed to get the greater effects. In addition, as a mix rural-urban area, Aceh Besar displays diversity of ethnicities and religions.

J. Research Design

The qualitative research focuses on using life-history methodologies. In addition, library research and literature review play a crucial role in developing a more complete description of masculinities in the context of Aceh culture and tradition. Life history interviews were participated by 30 informants with approximately 1-1.5 hours for each informant. Interviews were audio-recorded on digital recorders and transcribed. Interviews were conducted in a language that is appropriate to the informant (Acehnese or Bahasa Indonesia).

1. Population

The study population was men and women aging 18 year old and above, in the study sites. The life history interviews were focused on the following three groups of people:

- a. Men who were known to have perpetrated physical and/or sexual violence against women and had lived through the conflict.
- b. Men who were known to display non-dominant masculinities - i.e. gender-equitable, involved in gender-related activist works, non-violent and/or engaged in roles usually associated with women's caring roles such as nursing, midwifery,



child care. Informants were chosen under several considerations including sharing of domestic burdens, not a perpetrator of violence, equality values in raising children, and perception on non-patriarchal masculinities.

- c. Women who had experienced living through the conflict.

2. Sampling Design and Procedure

Thirty life history interviews:

- a. Ten life history interviews with men who were known to have perpetrated physical and/or sexual violence against women and had lived through the conflict.
- b. Ten ² life history interviews with men who were known to be display non-dominant masculinities.
- c. Ten life history interviews with women who had experienced living through the conflict.

⁵ The informants were purposively sampled to meet the general criteria for the study through NGO networks and relevant organizations working on men and women and gender issues in the selected study sites. The men who were violent were identified through processes of social networking with men who are known in the area to have something which identifies them as characteristically hegemonically

(have authority in the society), masculine (e.g. police), or displaying masculinity protest, which arises among people who do not have much authority and have to use the hypermasculine displays in order to claim social status (i.e. militants, gangs, men who drink a lot in bars. Etc.). In order to get diversity, at least four men who were violent from higher social classes or who were not so obviously 'hegemonically masculine' were interviewed. Gossip in social networks was seen as a good way of identifying them.

The criteria used for selecting gender equitable men in this research are:

- a. Men involved in gender work, or working in women's organizations.
- b. Male gender activists – outside of their paid job.
- c. Men doing traditionally "women's work" – were specified to local context.
- d. Men promoting gender equality in any area of their life.

3. Data Collection and Analysis Strategy

Data was collected through interviews, field observation, and focus group discussions. The interviews with 30 informants were conducted through the following mechanism:

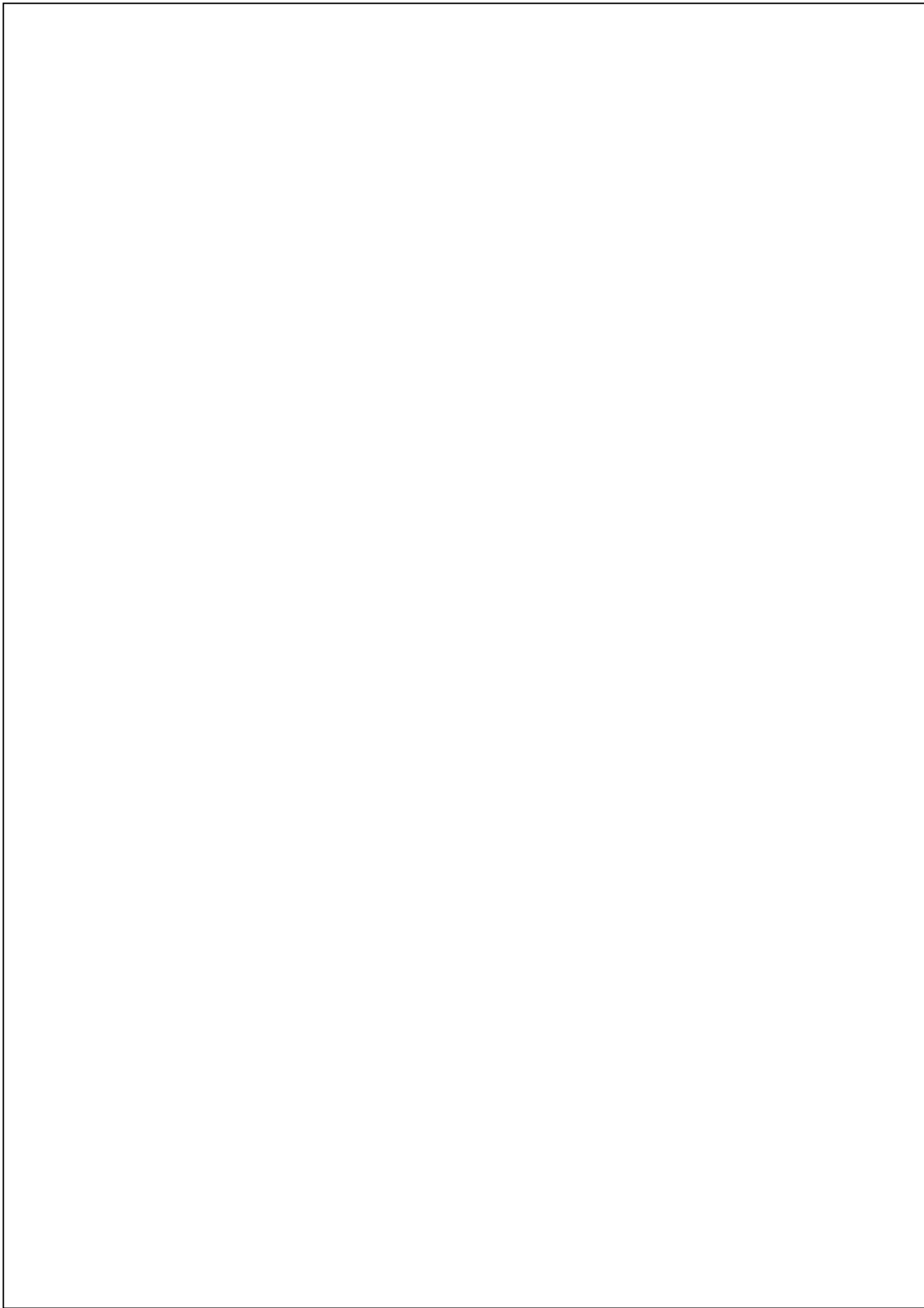
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- a. Each identified man was ⁵invited to voluntarily participate in two in-depth interviews that lasted for about an hour to an hour and a half. The interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed.
- b. Participants were not paid for their participation in this research, however, as a sincere appreciation, *bungong jaroe* (souvenir) was provided after finishing all the interviews.
- c. The interviews were conducted in local language or language that was appropriate to the informants, and were transcribed in the language used in the interviews.
- d. The transcribed interviews were translated into Bahasa Indonesia.

Furthermore, the data were ²first examined in the form of life history case studies and then group analysis was carried out. For the group analysis ²the data was coded thematically using standard qualitative analysis techniques and was analyzed using content analysis and analytic induction.

4. Data Management and Confidentiality

- a. Confidentiality of the informants was a key ethical pillar of the research.

- b. Consent forms were not linked to the interviews in any way. They were kept separately from interview recordings and transcripts to protect confidentiality.
- c. Consent forms were kept in a locked filing cabinet.
- d. Names were not recorded on interviews. A coding system or pseudonym was used to identify informants.



RESEARCH INFORMANTS

A. Informant Coding System

As explained in the Introduction Chapter, informants in this research were composed of three categories: (1) women living in the conflict situation, (2) equal men and (3) violent men. According to the ethical consideration agreed between researchers and informants, this research would not open informants' identity. Therefore, this research reports by using a coding system did not always present informants' code completely, but code of area, category and order of informant. Below was the guideline to comprehend the coding system:

NO	CATEGORY OF RESPONDENR	CODE OF INFORMANT	CODE OF EXPLANATION
1	W O M E N	BO-W1-SV	BO = Biruen District AB = Aceh Besar District W = (Women) or female informant W1 = First female informant W2 =Second female informant Etc..... SV = (Sexual Violence) having experience of sexual violence ICS = (in conflict situation) women living in conflict situation IB = (<i>Inong Balee</i>) women turning into widow because of their husband becoming victim of conflict EXC = Female ex-combatant
2		BO-W2-EXC	
3		BO-W3-ICS	
4		BO-W4-ICS-IB	
5		AB-W5-ICS	
6		AB-W6-IB	
7		AB-W7-ICS	
8		AB-W8-ICS	
9		AB-W9-ICS	
10		AB-W10-ICS	

11	3 E Q U A L M E N	BO-EM1-WTW	3 BO = <i>Kabupaten Biruen</i> (Biruen District) AB = <i>Kabupaten Aceh Besar</i> (Aceh Besar District) EM= (Equal man) Informant from equal man category EM1= First equal man informant EM2= Second equal man informant Etc..... WTW=(Women's traditional work) informant who is willing to share household chores ACT = Informant who is woman's activist GEV = (Gender Equality Volunteer): Volunteer who fights for gender equality
12		BO-EM2-ACT	
13		BO-EM3-WTW	
14		BO-EM4-GEV	
15		AB-EM5-WTW	
16		AB-EM6-WTW	
17		AB-EM7-WTW	
18		AB-EM8-ACT	
19		AB-EM9	
20		BO-EM10-GEV	

21	3 V I O L E N T M E N	BO-VM1-EXC	3 BO = <i>Kabupaten Bireun</i> (Bireun District) AB = <i>Kabupaten Aceh Besar</i> (Aceh Besar District) VM=(violent man): Male perpetrator of violence VM1 = First violent man Etc..... DV= (Domestic violence) domestic violence perpetrator EXC = Ex combatant in the conflict era
22		BO-VM2-EXC	
23		BO-VM3-EXC	
24		BO-VM4-DV	
25		AB-VM5-EXC	
26		AB-VM6-DV	
27		AB-VM7-DV	
28		AB-VM8-EXC	
29		BO-VM9- DV	
30		BO-VM10-EXC	

B. Profile of the Research Informants

1. B0-W1-SV

The informant was the oldest of seven (7) siblings (4 females and 3 males). Both her mother and father were farmers. After graduating from a State's Islamic Junior High School (MTsN), due to no longer fund she did not continue her study. She took informal religious lessons (*beut*) in an Islamic boarding school (*dayah*) for about three years. Later on, the informant decided to discontinue her religious school for a while to follow a GAM military training, and then she was finally enlisted as a member of female military force

of GAM called *Inong Balee*. During the military emergency (*darurat militer*) the informant lived nomadically by staying in a relative's house to rescue herself from being caught by the Indonesian army. She was caught for one day and was released in the next day. As the oldest child, since she was a teenager, the informant had had sense of responsibility for her family's financial life. She worked in a rice field and as a tailor to pay her sister's and brother's tuition. From her point of view, in this peace era, she had to contribute something to protect her society, monitor Islamic *sharia* implementation and ensure the security of her village (*gampong*). By the time the interview was conducted, she was not married yet, but was already engaged with her own selected man.

2. BO-W2-EXC

The second female informant (30 years old) was an ex-combatant classified as a senior in her group. She was involved in many GAM battles and held a key position in various military operations. She was the oldest of three siblings (two sisters and one brother). Since she was one and a half year, she lived with her grandmother after her mother and father divorced. When she was at an elementary school, she lived with her mother and stepfather. However,



after accomplishing her elementary school (SD), she lived with her grandmother again and with her extended family. She told that she registered in the elementary school by herself after seeing her niece in the same age with her already went to the school. She also registered herself to an Islamic class (*mengaji*). She just finished her school until junior high school. When she was 17 years old, she joined the military training for being a GAM member. Violence that she witnessed during the conflict era in her community and that was also befell to her family, created retaliation in herself and developed into a reason for her decision to join GAM.

3. BO-W3-ICS

This 33-years old informant had a dark childhood. When she was 3 months old, her father abandoned her and her pregnant mother without a word. Her mother really panicked and just spent her time to look for her husband, so she was oftentimes ignored. Later, her grandmother, grandfather, uncle and aunt –her mother’s relative—took care of her. Her father had accused that the baby bore by her mother was not his baby. The informant told that she frequently felt sad to see her younger brother was unwanted by her father. The informant met her father again when she was at grade VI of elementary school. Currently both her mother and father had already remarried with others.

With the new husband, her mother had three children and her father had four children. The informant looked still very angry with her father. She told that her parents had already had their own lives. She and her younger sister were closer to her grandmother and grandfather. Later, she got married but when she was pregnant for three months, her husband was killed in the middle of the conflict. She remarried, but her husband was too jealous; she also got physical and psychological violence from her husband. She was oftentimes mocked as a whore. She then asked for a divorce. Eventually she remarried with her current husband.

4. BO-W4-ICS-IB

This female informant was a survivor of the conflict. She was involved in the conflict as a member of *Inong Balee*. Her father was a member of a separatist group called Islamic State of Indonesia (DII/TII) and Free Aceh (Aceh Merdeka/AM) and was being a fugitive of the Indonesian National Army (TNI). She was 54 years old when was interviewed. When she was 5 years old, she witnessed her house was set on fire and as a consequence, her family lived under poverty line and sometimes they had to stay in others' house. They had to move from a place to another



and even stayed in jungles. Her father had two wives and fourteen children --only nine of them were still alive (5 women and 4 men). The informant could only finish her school from a State's Islamic Elementary School (Madrasah Ibtidaiyah Negeri/MIN). She oftentimes joined her father in many meetings of *Aceh Merdeka*, so she was considered a member of *Aceh Merdeka* and was on the wanted-list as well. Her father was assassinated in 1986. She got married in 1971 when she was 14 years old and her husband was 25 years old. The informant had three children, two were women and the other was a man. Her son died when he was 25 years old after being shot during the military emergency in the conflict. She was caught once and arrested for a while. Her house was also set on fire. Living in such a life experience, she said, she did not take revenge because in her notion, that was the risk of a struggle. She viewed that the relationship of women and men has to be equal and both need to understand each other in the family.

5. AB-W5-ICS

Informant AB-W5 was 27 years old (born in 1983) who held a bachelor degree. AB-W5 was raised in an area affected the most by the conflict. In addition to living under the conflict situation, she was also brought up in a conflict within her family. When she was just five years old, her mother asked

a divorce from her father. Hitherto, the informant did not know the reason of her parent's divorce. Nevertheless, the true was, she was raised by her father's rearing pattern without love and affection of her mother. In 2004, in her status as a student at a university, she married her male friend who taught at the same Islamic school. Just after the marriage was declared, this marital relationship was disturbed by a quarrelling because her husband was jealous with her and another male colleague in the school. This case ended after the informant was willing to take an oath before the Qur'an that she would not make affair with other men and she was eager to quit working (teaching religious learning in the school). In 2006, she graduated from the university, and in 2007, with her husband's assistance she got a job in an NGO working on women's issues. When her professional carrier was getting better, problems started to be appear within her private life; she and her husband oftentimes had a quarrel. Her husband felt that her wife became arrogant because her salary was higher than her husband's wage. The informant felt that her husband was not used to be the way he was; he changed. Meanwhile, the social situation in the coffee shop the husband visited a lot for the last days, in the informant's opinion, has contributed to her husband's changing attitude who viewed his position as a man was challenged and threatened by her wife. Finally, in June 2010, both decided to separate in the condition of



having two children from their marriage.

3

6. AB-W6-IB

This informant AB-W6 was born in 1957 (53 years old). In her childhood, she lived with her parents who worked as farmers. She had four (5) siblings (4 females and 1 male); she was the fourth. The informant had done something that caused her younger brother died after being attacked and stung by a swarm of bees. She got a big anger from her mother and father. This case often triggered her mother's anger and she frequently was beaten. In her era, junior-high-school-age children usually got married; therefore, even though her parents encouraged her to continue her school to senior high school, she decided to marry after finishing her junior high school. After 21 years of having a family with five children, her husband died. Living as a single parent for years made the informant decide to remarry the second husband in 1997. At that moment, her husband was a youth key figure from her village and has not involved in GAM. When the conflict was heated and the people in Aceh were getting busy with the referendum, her husband was actively engaged in mobilizing mass to participate in the referendum. His being active in that movement had led him to be invited in joining GAM. Since that period, her husband was called *awak nangroe* (local term for GAM's member)

and began to be on wanted-list and lived in hidden places. Sometimes he went home at night and left just after dawn. In 2001 the informant was asked to identify her husband's body who had been shot and died in a hospital. From that moment, the informant became a single parent again. She run an equal upbringing pattern for her children in the division of household labors. Her sons were trained to clean, wash and cook. She did not feel ashamed to find her sons cook. She was proud of her children who were willing to help their mother.

7. AB-W7-ICS

The informant AB-W7 (36 years old) graduated from an elementary school. Since her childhood, she lived with her parents. She was the third from five siblings (4 females and 1 male). Her parents worked as farmers; they treated their daughters and sons differently. Her brother did not get any task at home; he focused only on his school. Meanwhile, she and her sisters were ordered to be responsible for cleaning and cooking. For academic matter, her parents supported both their daughters and sons to achieve the highest education level. The informant herself was not eager to continue her education because the distance from her home to school was too far. She got married when she was 20 years old. She started experiencing the effect of the



conflict in 1990s when she was conceiving her first child. She told, members of her community were oftentimes asked (by the Indonesian army) to gather in a small mosque (*meunasah*). Some of them were tortured, insisted to jump from a bridge, etc. She was terrorized by fear. She said, her being pregnant could not save her and invited compassion from those involved in the conflict, particularly after it was known that many of her relatives were joining GAM. Her home was located very close to mountain and made her oftentimes meet GAM members and greeted them. As a consequence, there was a rumor within the community that her husband was a member of GAM. As a result, the Indonesian army often visited her house to look for her husband. Since then, her husband hid and moved from one place to another and finally in 2001 her husband decided to join GAM and disappeared. In 2002, her husband came home and was shot and died.

8. AB-W8-ICS

This informant was 52 years old. Her father was a government officer who often experienced work mutations to other cities; her family had to follow him move out. The informant was the third of five siblings (3 males and 2 females). She was 10 years younger than her older brother.

For her parents, having the first daughter after two earlier boys was indeed the most wanted moment. The informant then grew up into a spoiled girl not only by her parents but also by her two older brothers. The informant said that she was very close to her brothers who loved her very much. In fact, after waiting for seven years, the fourth child, another girl, was born. Since junior-high-school-age, her brothers left home to continue their education. During holidays, their brother went home and they always showed their affection and love. Her brothers were not reluctant to get involved in doing household chores, including cooking to help their parents. The informant went to an elementary school and an Islamic Boarding School (*dayah*) for seven years. She continued her school but dropped out at third grade of senior high school; at that time she met her first husband, a member of the Indonesian army who worked in her village. Because of the conflict situation, they had to live separately; her husband operated his duty and it was unsecure for her husband to visit his wife's family. If they wanted to meet, they would make an appointment to meet in certain cities assumed safe and secure. When her husband came back to Jakarta, her family suggested the informant refused to join him. They lived separately and finally got a divorce with the informant's request. The informant remarried a man who worked as a construction labor and a breeder.



9. AB-W9-ICS

This 41-year old informant lived in a village categorized as a poor village in a remote area. Her father was the only government officer in the village. Their lives were also better than others in the area. The informant was the second of four siblings (two females and two males). Among them, she was the only who held a bachelor degree. Even though her parents were quite wealthy and insisted their children to continue their education, it was apparent that her siblings did not want to do so. Even her youngest brother graduated only from an elementary school because he was not interested in going to school. While the informant, in addition to going to public school, since in the elementary until junior high school, also went to an informal religious school next to the village she lived. As a consequence, she was very busy with her studies and was rarely at the home, including for doing household tasks. Nonetheless, her brothers were free at all from doing household jobs compared with his sisters. The informant got married when she was 24 years old. At that time, the conflict had already started, though it did not affect her life much. The informant and her family preferred avoiding any problems corresponding with the conflict and the conflict-involved parties. The conflict gave a greater effect to her life when her husband was shot in front of her eyes and her two children by GAM because he was assumed as a

traitor or spy (*cuak/pengkhianat*). Such a terrible moment had changed her life to become a single parent for both her sons who also witnessed their father's murder. For two years, the informant lived with a serious trauma; every day she had to be accompanied by her family. When she had just survived from her suffering, loss and trauma; the horrible tsunami hit the area and exacerbated her life because she again lost her youngest son. She was relatively tougher and stronger after seeing other families who suffered more due to the loss of their entire family members. In post-tsunami, she worked with an international Non-Government Organization (INGO) and Aceh Reintegration Body (BRA). Her involvements in these organizations helped her to keep stronger. During her work with BRA, she got an acquaintance with a GAM figure and finally she got married but *sirri* marriage (unregistered marriage). The informant became the second wife and had one daughter from this relationship. However, some of her families hated her because of her decision. They considered that the informant was betrayed her husband who was shot and murdered by GAM.

10. AB-W10-ICS

The informant was 33 years old and graduated from a senior high school. Since her childhood, she experienced



a bitter life because of the conflict. She and her family initially lived in Calang, Aceh Jaya district. Her parents were fruit farmers. However, since the conflict worsening the condition in Calang, they decided to move out to Banda Aceh city. Her parents did anything to earn a living to support the family. Realizing her eagerness to go to school, the informant stayed with other people as a domestic worker to fund her school tuition. She moved from one house to another. She was once expelled by her employer because the female employer was jealous with her. From year to year, the informant tried to be tough and she had been through bitter moments, until she eventually finished her senior high school. The informant married a man, a GAM combatant. To save her husband, the informant had to live nomadically. Living with a great suffering and deep pain, she had determined to cultivate a deep anger against poverty and motivate her for being rich so she could show off to other people who hurt her. However, in fact, she experienced economic ups and downs and her life was even getting more dropped. She thought that she already failed to reach her obsession; she demanded her children to achieve it. She admitted that sometimes she was out of control and was really tight and tough in punishing her children because she was afraid that her children would also fail, just like her.

11. BO-EM1-WTW

The informant BO-EM1 was born in 1957. He was the youngest of five siblings (3 males and two females). When he was in an elementary school, his father died. His sisters and brothers became his friends. The informant told that when his brothers and sisters still lived together in one house, all household tasks were performed by his sisters. However, when his sisters moved out, and his older brother got married in 1975, the informant stayed with his mother and was fully engaged in helping his mother take care of their house. He finished his formal education until a junior high school. He spent his non-formal education in two well-known Islamic boarding schools in his area for about four years. After finishing his education in the boarding schools, he left his house to work as a sales clerk. When the conflict was getting bigger, he was forced by his employer to stop working. Another person then asked him to work as a selling controller. Even though the condition was getting harder due to the conflict, he was still survived and kept working. In 1992, he got married and along with his wife he developed his own business. His experience with his family and his independency when he stayed out from his parents made him get used to doing household chores when he built his own family. The informant said that when he was a child, his friends were getting used to washing their own clothes, but



when they married, the situation changed. The informant realized that the benefit of the way his family treated him by asking him to do domestic tasks has contributed to developing his understanding about the difficulty in doing domestic work. Therefore, he was willing to share the jobs with his wife, even though they had a domestic assistant. The informant had three daughters. This time he is a *naib imam* (one of religious leader positions at village level) who was responsible for compiling many complaints from members of the society in his village, particularly domestic problems, and for giving advice for them. He was also involved in assisting women's organizations' implementing their programs in his area.

12. BO-EM2-ACT

The informant BO-EM2 was the ninth child from ten siblings. His mother was a farmer and his father was a boat maker who was only able to go home once a month. The informant was close to his mother because he spent much more time with his mother than with her father. Going home from school, he usually came to rice-field with his mother and at night he attended religious learning sessions (*mengaji*). The informant worked in an organization focusing on women's issues. He said domestic tasks were a form of women's destiny and men were responsible for

heavy work as it was not possible for women to perform menial and heavy work. Therefore, since he was a child, he did not get involved in domestic tasks, but he took care of cows and ducks. He appeared to not supporting women's leadership because he believed that men were leader over women. The informant held a bachelor degree. In 2003, he married and his wife was currently working in the same organization with him. He and his wife were women's activists. They had one daughter. In his family division of labors was applied as the same job division before he had his own family; all domestic tasks were ceded to his wife and he was a breadwinner.

13. BO-EM3-WTW

This male informant worked as a teacher. He was born in 1958 in North Sumatera when his parents became refugees there after the conflict of DI/TII happened in Aceh. When he was six years old, his mother died. Afterwards, he and his family came back to Aceh. His father remarried and he had three siblings and six stepsisters and brothers. Based on an observation, the informant was seen as a person involved in household chores in his family, such as cooking, washing dishes, and washing clothes. His academic career began from a State's Islamic Elementary School (MIN), State's Islamic Junior High School (MTSN), State's Islamic Senior



High School (MAN), and finished with a Diploma 1. Since her mother died and his father remarried, the informant lived with his uncle. Since his childhood, he was trained to doing various works viewed as traditional women's roles, such as cooking and washing, though he also worked in rice fields. He kept being involved in such an experience until he got married and had children. He viewed that violence was not allowed.

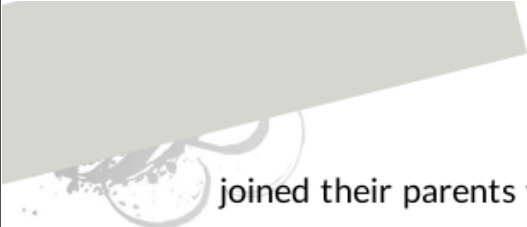
14. BO-EM4-GEV

The informant BO-EM4 was born in 1968. He was the fifth of eight siblings (2 males and 6 females). The informant was categorized as an equitable man. He worked as a teacher in an Islamic senior high school. He also dedicated his life as an *imeum meunasah* (religious leader at the village level that has responsible to lead praying) in his community and was often assigned to deliver preaching at the Friday prayers. He had taught teachers on gender-based curriculum and gender-based roles, and delivered a speech about gender equality in the Friday prayers. He was born into a poor farmer family. However, with strong commitment and desire he and his family had to education, he could finish his education from a university. His academic experiences started with an elementary school, MTsN, MAN, and

Department of Literature ² at the State's Islamic University (IAIN) of Ar-Raniry. Since he was at MTsN, the informant was assigned to washing and ironing his own clothes as well as washing dishes. His father was a religious teacher (*tengku ngaji*), teaching in his house every night. He told that, his parents were very discipline in educating him, especially with regard to religion. If he and his siblings broke the rule, they would be beaten as a sanction. He rarely communicated with his father because at that time, such a communication with a father in a family was rarely developed in his community context. If children wanted to communicate with their father, their mother would be the mediator. In 1992, the informant graduated from the university and in 1994 he got married. The informant had three daughters. With his wife working as a teacher, the informant tried to create gender equality in his family and community by maximizing the role he played as a *imam* (religious leader at village level).

15. AB-EM5-WTW

The informant AB-EM5 was born in 1958. He finished *Sekolah Rakyat* (SR) equivalent to elementary school and he continued his education to an Islamic Elementary School (MI). Due to a financial demand in his family, since he was a child, the informant and his siblings, both women and men, were very helpful in assisting their mother and father. They



joined their parents to work in rice fields. The informant also helped his father to run a barber shop and to look for grasses for their live-stock. Moreover, the informant assisted his mother at home even though there was no one asking him to do so. He told that such awareness came from his own perspective after finding his mother get too tired to work at home. When he started his own family in 1973, he was not reluctant to assist his wife in doing any tasks. He was not ashamed because he got used to doing them. Even though some people called him with stereotypical joke regarding his role at home, he did not feel any problem. The informant had three children (1 boy and two daughters). Both his daughters died in the tsunami disaster in 2004. Currently the informant was assigned as an *imeum mukim* (village religious leader) and with this position, he oftentimes mediated family disputes. In his opinion, it was difficult to build awareness among men to get engaged in sharing domestic roles; he was doubtful and hesitant to disseminate the messages to other men. But, to his son, he always told him to do so. He mentioned that his son who had already had a family always wanted to help his wife.

16. AB-EM6-WTW

The informant AB-EM6 was born in 1956. He was the second child of four siblings (3 males and a female). His father was a farmer and a swallow breeder, while his mother was a teacher in a non-formal Islamic school. Since the informant was a kid, he always helped his father in clove garden with his younger and older brother after school. Meanwhile his sister always took care of house with his mother after school. He could finish only from junior high school and he dropped out from school in the first grade at senior high school due to his delinquency (1974). Shortly afterwards, he worked as a clove farmer and helped his mother to sell cake made by his mother and his sister. When he was in the mountain to plant clove, the informant mentioned that he got used to cook by himself and to manage his needs independently. In 1980 the informant got married and had 2 children (a boy and a daughter). For six years, he lived in his mother in law's house until he could afford a house. When living in his own house, he could freely help his wife cook, wash, and do other domestic tasks which could not be carried out in the house of his mother- and father in-law. The informant had a principle that he had to help his wife and he could not bear his wife do all the household tasks by herself. He did it without any embarrassment, though he had not known about the concept of equal gender



relationship. He viewed that his economic life was difficult, but he and his family were always thankful because both their children understood and always helped their parents. However, the severe tsunami had claimed the lives of his wife and both the children. The informant lived with a great sorrow and deep pain for a long time. As the time went by, the informant remarried his wife who was 18 years younger than he was. From this marriage, the informant had a child who was 10 months when he was interviewed.

17. AB-EM7-WTW

The informant AB-EM7 was born in 1981. Because of his parents' difficult financial condition, when he was one year old, his grandmother took care of him until he was 10 years old. The informant was the first grandson in his big family. Though the informant lived with his grandmother and grandfather, his parents regularly visited him, particularly his father who was concerned and kept monitoring his education. His grandmother was step-mother of his father, but in his point of view, his grandmother was very kind and was always wise and fair to her grandchildren and children. In the age of 10, his parents asked him to live with them again. His grandfather was a merchant, but around 1993, his grandfather died. The informant was the first child in his family and he had six siblings (2 females and 4 males). His

mother and father both were a farmer. They liked to go to rice field early in the morning and went back to the home at noon. While the parents were at work, he and his sisters and brothers were staying at home; his parents asked them to help each other when his mother and father worked. The informant graduated only from an elementary school because he enjoyed working in his relative's shop in market and was happy earning money. He spent his night to learn in an informal Islamic education in the house of a religious teachers (*teungku*) and in a small mosque (*meunasah*), and at noon, he was busy with his work. His mother always expected that he could carry on his education but he was persistent to keep working. Later on, he regretted the decision on his education that he made in hurry and without thinking about the future. The informant then decided to leave home for working any possible job that he could do and earn money. When he was 25 years old, the informant got married with a 24 year old woman and they had a boy. The informant worked in a temporary project job, so he relied on the existing project to earn money. If he got a project, he would leave the home for months and on the contrary if he did not have any work to do, he had much time at the home. He currently spent his daily life at home while his wife worked as a seller with her mother to support their family finance. In such a circumstance, the informant often undertook tasks of nurturing their son and taking care of a

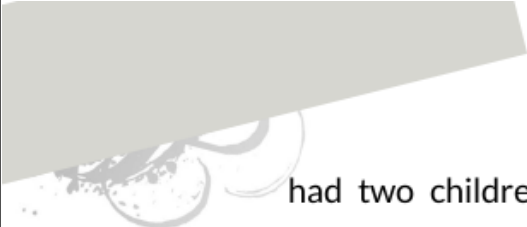


house. In his perspective, he had to do it regardless he liked or disliked, because this was for the sake of the goodness of himself and his child. His wife sometimes disallowed him to perform domestic tasks, but for the informant, this was for their own good. During the interview he was not quite open in terms of his role in the household when his wife was working. He said that a husband was like a driver and a wife was like a driver assistant ³ (*kernet*).

18. AB-EM8-ACT

The informant AB-EM8 was 38 years old and held a bachelor degree. He played a role as *ulama*, a preacher and a social worker of women's rights issues. The informant was raised in a less-communicative family environment. His father did not talk a lot after facing a traumatic failure in running a business. Like the father, his mother appeared to be quiet. Living under such an environment in the family had caused a trauma in the informant's life when the situation once made his losing an opportunity to get a scholarship to study abroad. Since his childhood, he got used to helping his mother take care of younger brothers and sisters and manage the home. He did all the tasks because he wanted to reduce his mother's burdens. His father did not care about these tasks and his younger brothers

and sisters were still young. Inspired by his religious teacher as his life idol, the informant worked hard to go through his education with limited support from his parents. When he was a teenager, he stayed in his relative's house and he could earn money by giving a private teaching to pay his tuition. He did any efforts to fund his school fees. Some members in the community he lived once made a joke of the informant as womanly after they found him in a rice field to assist his mother. Nevertheless, he just ignored the stereotypical joke as he wanted to show his compassion to his mother and his willingness to help her. In the post-tsunami and post-conflict era, the informant wanted to be a social worker working on women's rights issues. This occasion gave the informant a significant opportunity to learn and comprehend diverse realities of discrimination against women. He used the knowledge he got from his involvement in women's rights to reflect his childhood experiences he considered injustice. Various training programs he attended contributed to improving his capacity in helping other people and benefited to wipe out the traumas he experienced from the parenting approach in his childhood. With wide knowledge in Islam, it was easier for the informant to understand the concepts of gender equality. He got married in 1997 with a woman's rights activist and now they



had two children (a girl and a boy). His childhood experience became a good lesson from him not to imitate his parents in treating his children. With this commitment to the equal relationship, the informant made an endeavor to build an equal relationship in his family.

19. AB-EM9-WTW

The informant AB-EM9 was born in 1972 in a rural area where people generally worked as farmers. His father was a teacher of an elementary school who was really tender and concerned about his children while his mother was relatively firm and 'strict' to her children. The informant was the fifth of seven siblings (three girls and four boys). As the fifth child with two elder sisters and two elder brothers, the informant was not involved a lot in doing household tasks. His elder brothers were assigned to bringing a bucket of water to their traditional house and to taking care of their cattle. Meanwhile, his two elder sisters took care of all domestic chores. Yet, he and his brothers got used to washing their own dirty clothes. Since he was in senior high school, the informant also went to an

Islamic school for more than four years. At his senior high school-age, the informant was commenced to work by helping his relatives in running a business in other areas. Nonetheless, the conflict stopped the business and he finally came back home. In his village, boys were oftentimes suspected as 'the enemy' during the conflict, so he moved out to Banda Aceh city where he went to a university. The informant got married in 2004 and had a child. He said that he had a gender-equal family; there was no sex-based division of labor in the home; he and his wife shared household tasks based on available time they had. Sometimes he did cooking and another time his wife did cooking and another time they cooked together and do other jobs. The informant, bachelor in economy, was praised by members of his community who saw him very smart in guiding and upbringing his child who was already able to read in the age of three. The informant said that he learned the concept of gender equality from various social realities he dealt with related to women's experiencing multiple burdens. He gained stronger awareness about it when he worked in an NGO focusing on women's rights issue. He got stronger understanding that doing household labors was not only a way of helping wife, but this was a husband's



responsibility. He pointed out that livelihood in Islamic context was not only meant earning money but also providing food, house and cloth for family. The awareness about the existing gender gap and inequality within the society has strengthened his commitment to actively doing public education on violence.

20. BO-EM10-GEV

The informant was born in Bireun district from a farmer family. He was the fifth child of eight siblings, two boys and six girls. Six of the children worked as a government officer now, including the informant. When he was a child from elementary school until junior high school, her older sisters washed his dirty clothes as he had many sisters in his family. When he was in junior high school, he started ironing his own clothes and continued on doing so until he had his own family. His parents never treated their sons and daughters differently. The informant said he was not prioritized by his parents because he was a boy. He earned a bachelor degree and he recently worked as a teacher in Bireun. The informant got married in 2000 and had three children, two daughters and a boy. For the informant, holidays were the days for all family

members for doing household tasks and for relaxation and refreshing together.

21. BO-VM1-EXC

The informant BO-VM1 was the six of seven siblings (5 girls and 2 boys). The five elder sisters were born in a consecutive way and he became the first boy in his family and was followed by his younger brother. He said that since he was a child, he found equality in doing household tasks in his family except in freedom of interaction as his elder sisters was strictly restricted to go out from the home while he himself could go freely anywhere. In his childhood, it was common for him to be beaten, tied to a tree and to receive other forms of punishment for the sake of disciplining him. Unlike at home, in school, he hit his teacher who wanted to punish him. He attended elementary school, junior and senior high school in engineering. Afterwards he joined police department and quitted from the police to be enlisted in the GAM army. Being a member of GAM brought him to be involved in some gun contacts. In his point of view there was no gender equality between women and men, because women had nine lusts and one brain, while, on the contrary, men had nine brains and one lust. Leadership in family, in his opinion,



must be authorized to men because they were the breadwinner.

22. BO-VM2-EXC

This male informant, more than 40 years old, was an army. He went to elementary school, junior high school, and finished a senior high school. He said that when he was a child he was once punished by his parents by being tied to a fruit star tree and beaten because of taking his parent's money without permission. The informant began his involvement in GAM in 1986; it was started when he was in Malaysia. He read history books about biography of the Leader (*Wali*) of Aceh and a book of Free Aceh that inspired his sympathy to GAM movement. In his opinion, the book revealed that Dutch never stated that Aceh was conquered under the Republic of Indonesia. At that time, Aceh was a kingdom. Based on this understanding, he said it was his responsibility as an Acehnese to defend for Aceh (from 'the occupation' Indonesia). After attending some military training programs, the informant visited some villages to call for public supports to GAM's movement. When the conflict in Aceh was at the peak, he departed abroad to seek a political asylum. Living abroad he and his wife were sent to jail more or less

four years. Released from the prison, the informant worked there for a while and eventually he went back to Aceh to get involved in the fights. He said, men were the first to having a privilege in making a decision in a family; the second was women and the last was children.

23. BO-VM3-EXC

The informant BO-VM3 was 40 years old. He was the second of four siblings (2 girls and 2 boys). They all could only finish elementary school because their parents could not afford their school tuition. Since he was a teenager, he already had sense of responsibility in helping his parents to earn livelihood and make additional incomes. He was encouraged by his being the oldest son in the family. The informant then left the house to stay and work in other cities. When he was 21 years old, the informant left for Malaysia to work there. He tried to learn about the mission and struggle of GAM. He got interested in, and later on, he decided to join GAM. Since that moment, the informant was continuously active as a GAM combatant. The informant stated that he has to be loyal in working on bringing the prosperity into reality in Aceh. He looked so proud of his involvement in the struggle because in his view the welfare that Aceh



people enjoyed at the moment was part of the struggle during the long conflict. At 31 years old, the informant got married with his current wife who was 17 years old at that time. They had four children (2 girls and 2 boys), but their first child died. He said, even though he lived in a violent situation during the conflict for many years, the informant viewed that he refrained for violence in the family. He informed that he never fought with his wife because his wife always obeyed him and followed any of his decisions. The informant viewed that the main task of a man was earning a living and the main task of a woman is being a housewife to take care of their children and to manage households. The informant did not agree with women's leadership that would create a difficulty for the women; when they had to work outside the home, it could trigger their husband's jealousy. Unlike women, men could go anywhere without anyone resisting him.

24. BO-VM4-DV

Based on the field observation and information collected from community members, the informant was a perpetrator of domestic violence. It was said that his wife once reported a case of physical and psychological abuse encountered by herself and

her children by the informant to a village people-in-charge. The informant got divorced with his wife and remarried with his wife after being mediated by a village people-in-charge. The informant, BO-VM4, was 31 years old and economically came from a lower-middle class family (not so poor). He had only a brother. After his father died, his mother married another man and had 5 children (4 boys and a girl). Since there were many boys in the family, they were also involved in household tasks, such as washing dishes and cooking, even though the informant pointed that domestic chores were women's role, but the boys had to do them whether they like them or not. He said he himself and his brothers got used to washing their own dirty clothes. When he was a child, he got physical punishments almost every day when he went home late. The informant was expelled from school when he was at the year two of senior high school after fighting with his teacher. He said that he was stigmatized as a naughty boy because of his 'free' interaction with friends' influence and his being out of control of his parents. He was oftentimes accused as a culprit at school, even though he did not make any wrongdoings. One day, there was a 'riot' in his school and he was suspected for doing that; as he did not do, so, he rejected the accusation. He finally fought



against his teacher and the case ended up with his being expelled from the school. Since that moment, he left his home and went to several cities like Medan, Jakarta and even Malaysia. In Medan and Jakarta, he worked by doing anything in markets. He once worked as a driver there. In Malaysia, with a provision of illegal ID, he worked in a factory. When he was 23 years old, the informant got married and he had two children (a girl and a boy). Recently, he worked as a driver. In the interview, the informant shared his opinion that it was not allowed for everyone to commit domestic violence. Nevertheless, he told if necessary, for the sake of educating wife, a husband could slap her once. Such an action was also applied to children, if they were not willing to do mandatory prayers; their parents had right to beat these children. The informant also said that it was impossible for a man to do household jobs because a wife (as an 'assistant') was responsible for doing domestic works while the husband was the 'head.' He made a stereotypical analogy for a family in which the wife worked and her husband was unemployed by saying that the situation was like a car when its "front wheel was harder than the rear wheel" that would make the car's being unstable. During the conflict, when many people left and escaped from Aceh, the informant decided to come back to his hometown

from Malaysia because he worried about his mother who took care of her children while his step father worked in Jakarta as a driver. The informant said that he witnessed various forms of violence and tried hard to stay in his village without being too much involved in the conflict. He tried to be neutral and kind to both sides of GAM and the Indonesian army. The informant mentioned that he had a trauma of a gun sound; if he heard it, he would run continuously until two hours and would not go home until two days. However, the informant decided to stay in his village.

25. AB-VM5-EXC

The informant AB-VM5 was 26 years old. He was the oldest child and had three siblings (2 sisters and a brother). When he was a child, his father was very strict in 'disciplining' him. The informant said that his father actually loved him, but he could not be argued and debated. If he did so, his father would be so angry with him. More than that, his father even threw the informant with a stone. His younger brother once stole; finding this, his father pursued him by holding a long jackknife. The informant said that his father was not really devout in doing religious rituals like prayers, but he was very helpful to others. His mother died in the



tsunami and no longer after that his father died. The informant became the head of the family who played a role of funding the tuition of his younger brother and sister who went to nursery school and Islamic boarding school. In 2003, the informant decided to join GAM in the division of logistics, following his father as a logistic provider. Even though the informant was chased several times, but he was never involved in any battles and gun contacts. The informant had a heart feeling in losing his best friend from the same logistic division who died because of the gun shot. He said, he felt really sad and tried to press this feeling because he could not do anything except accepting the condition. The informant said that he wished to be more religious than before. He encouraged his brother and sister to keep learning Islamic teachings because these were seen as an important life provision. He stated that thinking that he was a naughty man, he did not want to get married with a naughty woman, so he was interested in a female graduate of Islamic boarding school. He did not want to find the “naughty” wife like himself. He was disappointed with the current situation in which many couples having non-marital sexual relationship or blood-tie sexual relationship; he mentioned that such a situation could not be found during the conflict. His experiencing a tough education from his parents was a bitter life experience that he

did not want it to happen to his sister and brother. He tried hard to control himself not to commit violence, even though the society observed that he was a violent man. Recently he worked in a cargo to transport bricks, sands and fishes with his Hercules car.

26. AB-VM6-DV

The informant AB-VM6 was 35 years old and had six siblings (4 sisters and 2 brothers). As his father was a religious teacher teaching in his house, the informant did attend his father's classes in Islamic teaching and reciting the Qur'an in the house. He informed that at the time he was a child, he and his peer friends did not have much opportunity to do wrongdoing or to skip the class; there was no television at that era. He lived with his parents since his childhood. After dropping out from the first grade of junior high school, he left home and worked as a driver assistant in a city. He liked playing soccer, gun and war games. In his childhood, the forest near his village was still green and there was a tree called *saron* and he liked making a bullet from the *saron* fruit for his rubber weapon to shoot his enemy in the war game. His parents sometimes got angry when they found their children were shot in the war game. The informant told, "If my father heard his children joint the game, he would slap us and we would escape and the problem ended." In 1996, when he was 20 years old), the informant got married



and from this marriage he had 3 children (a girl and two boys). He viewed that, a wife had to obey her husband. When her husband came home (from work), she had to smile, made him a coffee and stand by to serve him. He said that when he had a quarrel with his wife, he beaten her, but it was “a love punch” as he did not beat her hard. When the informant was assigned as a village secretary in 2003, the conflict was heated. He had to hide outside his house many times and slept in his brother’s house to avoid GAM and Indonesian Army who often asked much information about their respective rival. In 2005, he got married with his second wife whom he knew in his brother’s house. From this marriage he had a child. With his second wife, the informant mentioned, he had a conflict in the family when he had a disorder mood. For him, such a domestic conflict was an ingredient of a marriage life that made him love his wife more. He added that a marriage with no conflict was like placid water; the more conflict the couples had, the more love the husband had for his wife. In educating children, he shared, he followed his father’s way that he viewed suitable for him; he hit his children as a warning. He told that his wife did not mind if he beat their children. As a community leader, he had to mediate some family disputes reported to village people-in-charge. Currently, the informant worked as a construction laborer.

27. AB-VM7-DV

The informant AB-VM7 was 32 years old. He had eight siblings; four of them died and the rest were a sister and three brothers. He was the oldest child in the family. He informed that his parents were very strict in disciplining their children. In his mind, that was the common way the generation of his parents educated their children. If they thought their children made a mistake, they would punish them by beating with rattan divided into eight slices; the rattan was usually hung in the entrance pillar or in the central door of the house. The informant once hid the rattan, but his parents made the new one. He informed that his parents applied the same punishment for all children considered guilty by beating them up. But, he told, if the children did a good deed they would not get anything. The informant stopped his school at his third grade of an elementary school. He discontinued his education after being punished there; he and his schoolmates were caught when they smoked a cigarette in the school. The school sanctioned them by asking them to smoke a lot of cigarettes that burnt their lips. He could not accept such a penalty of being asked to smoke many cigarettes while his mistake was



smoking a cigarette. He decided not to go to the school again and transferred to an Islamic boarding school. There, he was oftentimes beaten with a ruler until the ruler was broken but the experience did not leave any retaliation in his life. When he was a teenager, he met someone visiting his village to inform people in the village about the GAM movement. He concluded that this was a form of *jihad* (war in the name of God) to fight for the freedom of the people of Aceh. Later on, with other nine people from the village, he participated in GAM military training and afterwards he was many times involved in various battles. He was never doubtful to join in the battles because he thought he was ready to die. He shared an experience of encountering life difficulties during his staying in jungles and for him this was a sacrifice. The informant had two children from his marriage life. He worked as a fisherman and dam fisherman to fulfill his family's financial needs. In his opinion, an ideal man was a man who were responsible for people under his authority (his wife and children).

28. AB-VM8-EXC

The informant AB-VM8 was 48 years old. He had five siblings (3 sisters and 2 brothers). The informant started his education at the age of 10 and finished only

from an elementary school level called *Sekolah Rakyat*. In addition to going to *Sekolah Rakyat*, he attended non-formal Islamic training. He told that he never got punishment like being beaten by his parents at home; he got a punishment of being beaten at the religious education if he skipped the class or made a mistake. After graduating from *Sekolah Rakyat*, he worked in a school of engineering for a while and became a driver of a public transport. Later, he registered as a GAM combatant and reached an important position as a commander of a variety of military operations in his area. The informant told that in his childhood he liked playing bamboo canon to welcome the Eid (Muslim's festival after Ramadan fasting). He added that he could not play freely like children in the recent generation who could play jumping in a small mosque (*meunasah*). When the conflict was heated, the informant rarely came home; his wife was beaten by a member of the Indonesian army seeking information about his existence. The informant said that he tortured with many ways those who were viewed to betray the GAM movement. He added that he felt happy to torture the betrayers. During the interview, it was observed that the informant appeared to be an assertive person as seen from the decisive way he answered the research questions. He had five children, four girls and a boy. In educating his children, the informant mentioned

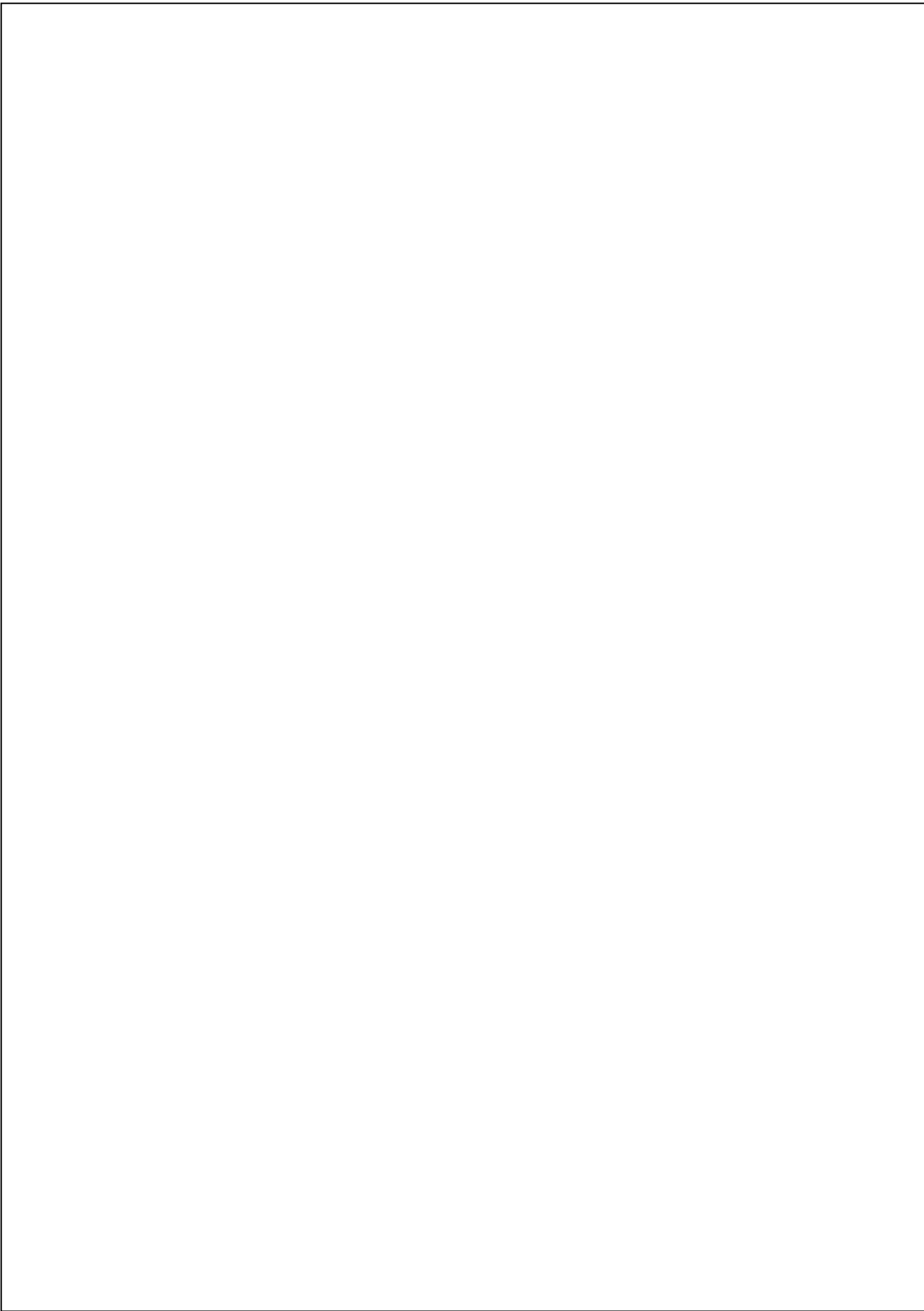


firmly that hitting children could be allowed if they did not do mandatory prayers. In his mind, an ideal man was a man who was brave, dedicated to parents, taking care of his wife and obedient in doing religious rituals and orders.

29. BO-VM9- DV

The informant was born in 1972 in Leubume village and lived in Cot Tufah village. His parents were a farmer. He was able to finish his elementary school but dropped out at the second year of junior high school. The informant was the youngest of seven siblings (four sisters and three brothers). His mother died when he was 7 years old. His father remarried and lived separately with his children, though his father and his wife often visited them. The informant was then raised by his older sister whom he viewed like his mother. When the informant was at the second year in his junior high school, his father died. Approaching his age of teenager, the informant worked as a construction laborer in a refinery. He had worked in Malaysia as undocumented migrant worker and then was caught there and was deported to Aceh. Afterwards, he got interested in joining GAM. The informant said that he experienced in 9 horrible battles during the military

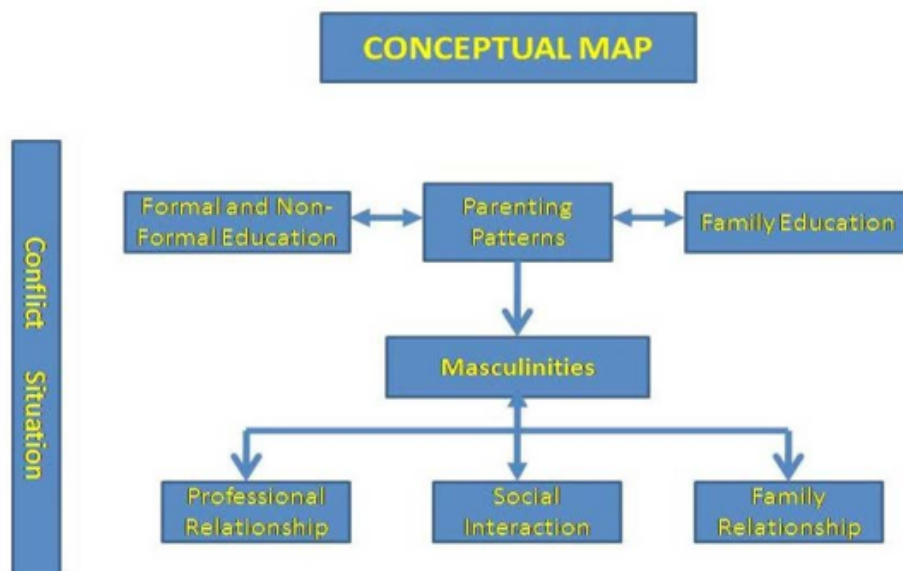
emergency and 7 times in the civil emergency. He referred to the religious base in maintaining his 'fighting' spirit with this religious motivation he could sincerely deal with any difficulties even when he did not get any compensation for his involvement in the struggle. Currently, the informant worked by running a small store. He got married and had two sons; one of them already died. He was impressed by the affection and love of his sister who raised him tenderly. He really disliked seeing parents beating their children. Sometimes he had a small quarrel with his wife because he did not agree that his wife pinched their children. The informant said that even before he got married and had a family, he could not stand in seeing a child beaten. He once got mad at and beat someone beating his child. The informant was not pro polygamy, even though he said that Islam did allow it because in his opinion those who took a second wife did not really follow the Prophet Muhammad's preferable way (*sunnah*); rather they just indulged themselves in a sexual desire. He questioned why they 'prioritized' the '*sunnah*' (of polygamy) rather than mandatory religious activities, such as five-time prayers a day. His sister always reminded him not to leave the prayers, even when he had his own family. In the conflict period, when his sister was not married, she promised herself



Description of Research Findings:

The Dynamic Masculinities in Aceh and Its Influences To Violence against Women

Masculinities are a product of a social construction and its contacts with cultures that influence social interactions, social values and social institutions where an individual lives. As mentioned, this research has interviewed 30 informants to elaborate their life experiences to get a deep insight about the existing masculinities within the society they lived. Below is the conceptual map of masculinities based on the research findings:



The conceptual map describes that parenting in a family and formal education as well as non-formal education has played an important role in constructing masculinities. Furthermore, the constructed masculinities would influence, and would be influenced by, an individual's interaction in his/her workplace, in his/her community and society, and in his/her family. The conflict situation where many forms of violence occurred has also contributed to the construction of masculinities. Therefore, the report of this research is written based on the above conceptual map by starting with a description on informants' childhood.

A. CHILDHOOD

1. Parenting

The dynamics of informants' childhood and adulthood were closely related to the parenting system in their families as well as their domestic tasks in daily basis. From the 30 informants in this research, most of them were raised by their mother and father in a nuclear family; some of them lived with their mother and father in an extended family, some lived with their grandmother and grandfather,¹ some lived with their uncle and some other lived with their older brother or sister.

In a patriarchal society, it is not common for boys to get involved in household labors that are traditionally embedded in the roles of girls. Nevertheless, the situation can change when a boy lives in a family with no girls or he is raised by a single parent or he lives separately with his family. Such situations have contributed to influence the male informants for being available in doing domestic tasks even though it was unusual for people within their environments at that time.

In this research report, childhood of informants is described by focusing on parenting related to the division of

¹ In the Aceh cultural context on the extended family it is often found, for instance, children live with their grandparents. The case usually happens when the first grandchild is born. The reason is that, sometimes, the first grandchild has a younger brother or younger sister within a short period, so the grandparents will raise and take care one of them. Besides, the affection and love of grandparents could be a key reason to help to alleviate their children's burdens in taking care of the children (the grandparents' grandchildren).



domestic labors in their families that includes cooking/serving food, washing dishes, washing dirty clothes, cleaning house and garden, and other similar tasks.

Below is the detail description.

a. Cooking/Serving Food and Washing Dishes

Social norms applied in most of the informants' families tended to construct that cooking was a woman's role as said by an informant from the category of gender equitable men.² Similar point of view was stated by the majority of informants from the category of violent men as well as most female informants. A female informant said that "when she was a child, after going back from school, boys did nothing at home while girls did cooking in the kitchen."³ A female informant living with and raised by her grandmother and grandfather asserted that her grandmother and grandfather did not treat their granddaughters and grandsons differently except in the division of domestic labors in which granddaughters were assigned to do cooking in the kitchen and grandsons went to rice field.⁴ Another female informant mentioned, "In my childhood, at home, I helped my mom washing dishes and cooking in the kitchen while my younger brother did nothing."⁵

² Interview with Informant BO-EM2, Informant AB-EM9 and Informant AB-EM6

³ Interview with Informant AB-W8

⁴ Interview with Informant BO-W3

⁵ Interview with Informant AB-W10

Even though it was found that the majority of informants said that cooking and washing dishes were introduced since their childhood as a girl's role, some informants from the equitable men told that they had different ways of parenting related to the division of domestic labors. An equitable-men informant shared an experience that in his family he was not trained like others; after coming back from school, he was assigned by his parents to serve food.⁶ Another equitable-men informant raised by his grandmother told that even though there were some women in the family he lived with, he got involved in washing dishes to help his grandmother. When he came back to his parents' home, he said, he did the same task as he did in his grandmother's house, though his mother spent most of her time at home, doing most of domestic chores in the family.⁷

Some informants from the category of gender equitable men stated that they used to wash dishes. One of them mentioned that the assignment of washing dishes in his childhood had contributed to his being more independent and voluntary in doing such domestic assignments.⁸

Meanwhile, based on the life story of the informants, cooking appeared to be a role rarely done by boys in a domestic sphere. An informant from the equitable men said that he did not have cooking skill because his mother never

6 Interview with Informant BO-EM10

7 Interview with Informant AB- EM7

8 Interview with Informant BO-EM1-WTW3



assigned him to cook; though, he told, he once had to cook scramble egg when his mother was sick.⁹ A different situation was mentioned by another gender-equitable-men informant who lived with his uncle's family. He said that there was no difference for boys and girls in doing domestic roles in the family; he could do anything such as cooking rice, frying, washing dishes, and feeding ducks, except for traditional meal's ingredients."¹⁰

a. Washing Dirty Clothes

Washing dirty clothes was seen differently with other household works. Most of the informants informed that in their family during their childhood men washed their own dirty clothes in a river or public bathroom. The majority of gender-equitable-men informants said that they washed their own clothes.¹¹ An informant BO-EM6 stated that since he was a child, his mother had advised him not to always ask his older sister to wash his dirty clothes; he had to wash his own, like dirty clothes he wore for grazing.¹² Another gender equitable informant mentioned that in his family during his childhood each member of family used to wash their own dirty clothes and shoes; this became a routine activity they all liked. He

⁹ Interview with Informant BO-EM1-WTW

¹⁰ Interview with Informant BO-EM3

¹¹ Since long time ago, men in Aceh have washed their own dirty clothes both daily clothes and work dresses. See an interview with Informant AB-W6, Informant BO-EM2 and Informant BO-EM4

¹² Interview with Informant BO-EM2

added that though sometimes in certain occasions his older sister washed his dirty clothes, he helped her wash the clothes if it was done in a river.¹³ Meanwhile, an informant from the same category said that her sister washed dirty clothes and he himself did ironing.¹⁴ A 53-year old male equitable informant told that since his childhood he and his friends used to wash dirty clothes.¹⁵

b. Cleaning Home and Garden

Unlike washing dirty clothes, cleaning house and garden was associated with femininity and stereotyped as women's job, so some male informants felt ashamed to do so. They did the job only in very specific situations. An informant from the category of gender equitable men who lived with his uncle's family asserted that even though he felt embarrassed he still did cleaning as his uncle instructed him to do it. He said, "I was thinking that sweeping and cleaning house were not a men's job; I felt embarrassed if someone found me to do these."¹⁶ Another gender equitable informant informed that when he was in elementary school and junior high school he used to clean house because there was no mature sister in the family. He was thinking that if he did not do the job, his mother would not be able to do it. At that time, he told, he did not have a thought that it was not appropriate for a man or boy

¹³ Interview with Informant AB-EM9

¹⁴ Interview with Informant BO-EM10

¹⁵ Interview with Informant BO-EM1

¹⁶ Interview with Informant BO-EM3s



to do house cleaning. Nevertheless, he found that men and boys in his community were not involved in this job; cleaning house and garden was performed by women or girls. During his childhood, he observed that in his community a house of family with no woman looked so messy, dusty and dirty since it was not usual for men to help their parents clean the house.¹⁷

c. *Reward and Punishment in Family*

The research found that the majority of informants from all categories viewed that physical punishment like being beaten in their family was acceptable.¹⁸ Almost all informants were beaten up by their parents for different 'mistakes' they had made such as skipping a religious class, being reluctant to go to school, skipping or missing mandatory prayers or being disobedient against their parents' orders. Based on the observation during the interviews, when telling the story, no anger was seen from the informants' expression. They even laughed loudly after memorizing their naughtiness and being punished by their parents.

¹⁷ Interview with Informant AB-EM8

¹⁸ A female informant was beaten up by her father because she did not take care of her younger brother who died after being beaten by bees. Her father stopped beating her when others broke him up. See interview with Informant AB-W6. An informant of violent men encountered a similar experience; when he skipped a mandatory prayers, he was beaten with rattan divided into eight slices by his father or when his father was praying and his younger sisters or brothers made a lot of noises, the informant would be beaten by his father after finishing his prayer as he viewed the informant did not take a good care of his younger sisters or brothers. See an interview with Informant AB-VM7.

An informant from the category of violent men said that he adopted and applied the same 'rule' to his children and he viewed that this 'rule' was successful to educate his children.¹⁹

2. Idol

From the interview with informants, the research found that there were some figures the informants viewed as their idols in their lives including mother, father, uncle, older sister, and religious teacher (*teungku*).²⁰ Some informants said that they did not have an idol in their lives. Most informants mentioned that in their childhood and adulthood, they were closer to their mothers than their fathers. A gender-equitable-men informant said that his father's available time to be with his children was really limited. He said, no specific time available to meet his father; he met his father coincidentally. When he was a child, he informed, a mother played more roles in educating children in a family in his community.²¹ Similar information was stated by another gender-equitable-men informant sharing experience that his father did not talk a lot with his children, so they stayed closely with their mother, though the communication with mother was also done only in

¹⁹ Interview with Informant AB-VM6

²⁰ Within the Aceh society, a father is the most respected figure; it oftentimes happens when a child wants to deliver his/her need to his/her father, he/she would ask his/her mother to be a mediator. Father plays central role in making a decision in a family.

²¹ Interview with Informant BO-EM2



a very important occasion.²² This informant made his religious teacher his life idol based on the view that the teacher had an excellent skill of public oration and motivation; the teacher had played an important role in motivating the informant to get active in an organization, to achieve a higher educational degree, including helping him find the most appropriate academic program. The teacher, the informant told, was among the closest figures in his life until now.²³

Another informant from the category of gender equitable men made his father a life idol because his father was a village leader (*keuchik*), an influential and respected figure in the community. The informant also made his third older sister another life idol because she was intelligent and had strong social sensitivity. He shared that she would always lend money to those who needed.²⁴

3. Peer Group and Childhood' Games

Childhood is a period for playing; games played to some extent are influenced by certain conditions where the games are created; children might easily adopt the existing 'cases' happening in their environments. In fact, games played in childhood would significantly contribute to develop certain personalities and characteristics in a person's adulthood.

²² Interview with Informant AB-EM8

²³ Ibid., p. 5. See interview with Informant BO-EM1-WTW for other informants idolizing their teachers

²⁴ Interview with Informant BO-EM10

Below is the exploration of games played by informants in their childhood and adolescent.

Games played by most of informants from all categories in their childhood were marbles, jump rope, rubber band, traditional baseball (*kasti* or children's games similar to baseball), chase and run, hide and seek, volley ball.²⁵ Special games played by female informants were cooking and housing²⁶ and a female informant did fishing with her uncle.²⁷ Games played by most of informants from the category of violent men were football, kite, jumping, and war. An informant of violent men category said, he liked playing bamboo canon when he celebrated Islamic festival. Another informant from the same category mentioned that he played war by using rubber guns to shoot his opponents.²⁸

Since childhood, parents have constructed sex-based games. A female informant shared a story that she was prohibited by her parents from playing football and kite as they were viewed as male's games.²⁹

Approaching to adolescence, parents within family in Aceh would treat their sons and daughters differently in terms of giving spare time for playing. A female informant told that

²⁵ Interview with Informant BO-EM10, Informant BO-W3-ICS and Informant AB-VM8-EXC

²⁶ Interview with Informant AB-W6

²⁷ Interview with Informant BO-W3-ICS; also Informant BO-W4-ICS-IB

²⁸ Interview with Informant AB-VM8-EXC; also interview with Informant AB-VM6-DV

²⁹ Interview with Informant AB-VM8-EXC

as a daughter she spent most of her time at home; she did not have enough freedom to play outside the home. In her words, girls only got out from home only in a rare and very necessary occasion.³⁰

Another female informant shared information that in 1970s social interaction between boys and girls was restricted. It was not allowed for girls to play with boys or *vice versa*. Communication among them was conducted by exchanging letters. The informant told that because of the difficulty in building interaction and communication, the letters were even put in a coconut eaten by a squirrel sent through a river; at that time girls never spoke with boys; if a girl was found to speak with a boy, her parents would 'catch' and warn her.³¹

Even though it was not as rigid as in 1970s, such a restriction in social interaction between girls and boys appear to be a dominant 'rule' within the recent families in Aceh, especially for teenagers. A female informant mentioned that she did not want to play with boys because her parents prohibited her to do so; if she was found to play with boys, she would be beaten up by her parents and she did not want to embarrass her parents.³²

³⁰ Interview with Informant **3** AB-VM8-EXC

³¹ Interview with Informant BO-W4-ICS-IB

³² Interview with Informant BO-W1-SV

ANALYSIS, COMMENTS, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATION

A. Analysis

Based on the research findings compiled from a life history approach, it could be concluded that there is a positive and significant relationship between the social-cultural construction of gender roles of men and women and violent behaviors. In other words, the different social roles between men and women within the society contribute to the development of dominant and hegemonic masculinity values. These values are well-developed within the overwhelming social stereotypes that lead to the construction of unequal relation between men and women in the society. As a result, one group, mostly men, sees themselves as having greater power than others and prefers to apply the so-called dominant and hegemonic masculinity.

On the other hand, there are some other men's groups freely decide to follow and apply a form of masculinities that show more "caring, collaborative, non-violent, sharing and



responsible characteristics. Based on the research findings, men's choice of following and applying such caring and sharing values of masculinity is significantly influenced by certain upbringing and parenting patterns. Living in and with families and parents applying caring, non-violent and sharing masculinity values contribute to integrate these values to the mindsets of masculinity of these non-hegemonic-masculinity men. Within these families, since their childhood, these men used to be engaged in performing household labors that are culturally constructed as traditionally women's roles.

A view of being men includes a concept of masculinities that is socially and culturally constructed. As a social product, masculinities are not developed in a vacuum of social contexts; hence, masculinities need to be understood within certain social and cultural situation. Within this social setting, it can be said that the way people in a society develop a concept of ideal men by developing and applying various ¹ social and cultural roles and identities based on patriarchal values contributes to the way men there treat and position women, including with domination and violence. Here we understand that patriarchal ideology is the main root influencing men's perpetrating violence and discrimination against women. This research finds that violence against women can occur in a situation when men who perpetrate it think that they have greater power and higher position than women do.

¹ The overwhelming patriarchal values within the society

can be seen from the research findings¹ that display a fact that the members of society view men as a group of people must always be prioritized and served as they have higher status than that of women. The¹ society values women only within the limited-narrow rooms of three '-ur': "*dapur, sumur, and kasur*" or kitchen (to cook and serve food), well (to wash clothes and dishes), and bedroom (to serve a husband's sexual need). The society demands an adult man cooking himself to get married soon. Under such a view, it seems that after getting married, women's roles are only to cook and serve food for their husbands; these are even viewed as the obligations of a wife. In fact, in a family when men have not got married, their mothers or sisters play the domestic roles of cooking and serving food, and soon they got married, the roles are handed over to their wives. As a consequence, women or wives encounter the so-called multiple burdens; even though they have a career outside the home, they are still demanded to perform domestic labors as well. In a situation when women or wives skip doing domestic labors, especially if they got married with a man applying hegemonic masculinity, physical and psychological abuses will possibly occur.

The different social perceptions of and expectations to women and men that influence to the development of hegemonic masculinity values can be traced from the available cases of violence. From the interview in this research, most of the informants said that the main reason causing violence,



particularly domestic violence is economic factor. This triggers violence when men demand as the breadwinner but cannot meet the expectation while women positioned as having a right to their husband's income, insist to get it. The social concept and construction that women must stay at home and must not work outside the home worsens the situation and creates a dilemma. On the one hand, husbands cannot meet the social expectation of being the income maker, and on the other hand, they disagree their wives have a career outside the home. Living in such a gap between the expectation and the reality creates a frustration and it seems that within this circumstance domestic violence oftentimes happens.

According to Tedd Gurr (in Freedman, 2000), the most fundamental factor triggering violence is a feeling of disappointment as a result of reflection and perception of losing, called relative deprivation, which he defines as a gap between values expectation and values capabilities. Furthermore, Gurr describes three categories of deprivation:

- a. *Detrimental deprivation* is an individual's feeling of losing what people expect from and think about them that he/she has to entitle. An individual experiencing this deprivation often refers to the condition she/he faced in the past period.
- b. *Aspirational deprivation* occurs when there is a gap between two values (expectation and capability) as a result of the increasing demand to the values of expectation while the

values of capability remain. Within this circumstance, an individual does not feel losing, yet she/he feels angry as she/he does not have 'equipment' to achieve the newly demanded expectation.

- c. *Progressive deprivation* is deprivation begun with the increasing demand to both values at the same time. Yet, later, when the values of expectation keep emerging, on the contrary, the values of capability decrease; this situation leads to the development of gap between the two values.¹

In the concept of patriarchal masculinity, as expected by the society, being a successful man in many aspects of life is the ideal achievement of a man. Nevertheless, in fact, there are a lot of men in Aceh who cannot accomplish such achievements. This research finds that the ideal men expected by the society in Aceh are men religiously pious, having a capacity to fulfill family's material and non-material needs, having a permanent job, intelligent, and a leader in the family. Because of many reasons, some men cannot meet this social expectation; as a result, they possibly encounter a psychological depression and discomfort. Later on, this situation may create the so-called masculinity crisis; when the society stereotypes them as 'the failed men,' it will significantly challenge their

¹ Sears, David and Freedman, 2000, *Psikologi Sosial* (Social Psychology), 5th edition, Jakarta: Erlangga, p. 45



self-esteem; they will look down themselves. Many men encountering this situation commit violence as a way-out to escape from the depression. The situation will be more difficult for these men when they cannot find enough rooms in the society to just freely share and express their feelings and experiences.

Gender-biased religious understanding strongly influencing the people's way of thinking in building sex based division of labors contributes to strengthen the domestication of women. As shown in the informants' life experience, this religious understanding manifest into daily attitudes and behaviors. To some extent, this significantly creates a negative to weaken women's political participation and representation. This research proves that some male informants from both gender equitable and violent category show their less support to women's leadership. Some of them said that women totally could not be a leader; while some others said it was possible for women to be a leader but not in key powerful positions. In other words, women's leadership is acceptable as far as not in the top leadership position. They justify their opinion with a verse in the Qur'an saying "*Ar-rijal qawwamun 'ala an-nisa*" they understood and interpreted it as "men are leaders over women."

People in Aceh indeed assign Islamic teachings as one of the most influential elements to which they refer as the foundation of way of life. Therefore, Islamic teachings and traditions are also viewed to contribute to the development of masculinities in the area. In the conflict era, religion was used as the source of motivation and inspiration for being involved in a battle. The research concludes that an important source of inspiration ex-combatants derived from for their engagements in the conflict is the idea of *shahid* –war and death in the name of God to enforce Islam, justice and truth.

In addition, upbringing and parenting models applied to children influence the values they hold in their future life. The research finds that hegemonic masculinities possessed by some informants are influenced by the parenting patterns in their family. Children, including girls, who lived in a family applying abusive and violent as well as patriarchal models of parenting would possibly follow and apply the same values and attitudes. Some women experiencing this kind of upbringing were bravely involved in the roles that are traditionally stereotyped as men's roles like being in the middle of the gun contacts during the conflict in Aceh. Maccoby (1980) points out that social development and personality (of an individual)



is related to the parenting methods.² Hurlock (1996) states that children living with authoritarian parents are very obedient to them, but very aggressive to their peers. They usually cannot mingle with their peer groups; they look to be egoist, emotionally instable, insensitive, 'one-man-show' and uncontrolled. Moreover, they tend to be aggressive against those whom they view powerless and tend to think others negatively.³ Meanwhile, Baumrind (in Stewart, 1983) mentions that children raised by authoritarian parents show personality of unfriendliness, unsatisfactory, suspicion, asocial, and self-isolation.⁴

The construction of hegemonic masculinity values in Aceh is also influenced by education system, both formal and non-formal. In addition to attending formal school, parents have to provide religious education to their children. There is a living tradition in the society called *intat beut*, that is, a family is obliged to send their children to a religious school when the

² Maccoby, E.E. 1980. *Social Development: Psychological Growth and Parent Child Relationship*, New York: Harcourt Brace Javano Vics Publish.

³ Hurlock, E.B. 1996. *Psikologi Perkembangan: Suatu Pendekatan Sepanjang Rentang Kehidupan* (Psychology of Development: An Approach through Life Span (translated by Istiwidayanti, et al.). Jakarta. Erlangga, p. 62.

⁴ Stewart, A.C. and Koch, J.B. 1983. *Children Development Through Adolescence*. John Wiley and Sons, Inc

children reach their 10 years of age. Parents send them to a *balee semeubeut*, a kind of religious learning center, so their children can learn and study religious knowledge to a religious master called *teungku*. Some parents send their children to an Islamic boarding school (*dayah* or *pesantren*). Hence, it can be said that besides formal education, religious education in a *balee semeubeut* or a *dayah* is an important medium for the internalization of social, cultural and religious values within the society.

Based on the informants' experiences, education system and academic tradition in *balee semeubeut* or *dayah* significantly contribute to the construction of patriarchal masculinity and submissive femininity. The research finds 'successful' male students there who gain rewards of being invited to some community events that provide a lot of free food and 'pocket money.' Female students are rewarded by being invited to cooking in the kitchen of their religious master. This reward tradition indicates that religious education displays greater opportunity for male students to get engaged in public domains and lives while female students are more in domestic spaces. Moreover, there is a point of view that physical violence like being beaten with a rattan by a *teungku* in a religious



school is an acceptable action. It is justified by logic that it is not the students being beaten but the evil intoxicating them. From the experiences, the research also observes that learning resources and references taught and studied in these religious learning centers become an integral factor in the development of gender biases, such as “men are powerful and nobler than women.”

The tradition of applying different forms of punishment for male and female students in religious schools strengthens an individual's applying plural masculinity values. From this research, it is observed that the application of different punishments for boys and girls in their childhood constructs different concepts of value and attitude when they grow mature. The research proves that the application of punishment to children either in family or school is an early medium of the internalization of values and views that men are physically and mentally stronger than women and this possibly influences their masculinity perspective in their future life.

Living in the conflict situation is also a significant factor in the development and internalization of masculinity values within Aceh society. The research discovers that living through the conflict situation

influence the development of men's abusive and violent attitudes against women. How the conflict contributes to enhance hegemonic masculinity values can also be seen from the games boys play with. From the research, it is suggested that among the most popular games played by boys in Aceh, especially during the event of Islamic festival is war game where the boys really appear with aggressive character. From the interviews, it is found that before the conflict these kinds of game were not recognizable.

Alfred Bandura points out that aggressive character is a product of learning process that evokes as other attitudes. Modeling or imitating and reinforcement are two essential variables for children's learning aggressive attitudes. They imitate an abusive behavior everywhere, at home, in school, from television, or within their community. The tendency to show an aggressive attitude will be stronger if these children are 'reinforced' to do so by, for instance, always getting their will. This 'theory' can also be applied to those involved in the conflict as guerillas. The teenagers' involvement in the conflict was reinforced by their community or peer groups. Children's modeling and learning aggressive attitudes can be started from homes as a witness of domestic

violence or even as a victim of physical violence of abusive punishments of their parents.

The ¹ theory of social learning emphasizes environmental condition where an individual learns and maintains aggressive responses. The basic assumption of theory is that most of individual behaviors are developed through an observation of other individual's behaviors as a model. Based on this theory it is believed that observational and social modeling is the most influential method and mechanism in the development of aggressive attitudes. Children frequently meeting aggressive adults might have greater possibility to apply similar aggressive attitude than children regularly mingling with non-aggressive adults. ¹ Patriarchal hegemonic masculinity in the society is produced and maintained within these learning processes. Individual tends to have motivation to observe, imitate, and apply an attitude he/she learns from his/her model's attitude; ¹ the motivation may be reinforced when the model shows his/her attractiveness and the process of imitation gains either material or social rewards.

Effective agents and media ³ for the construction of masculinities in Aceh include family, peer groups, life idols, religious learning centers, formal schools, and coffee shops.

From the informants' experiences, in general, the construction of masculinities within the Aceh society displays more patriarchal hegemonic masculinity. Even though the research found some men showing non-hegemonic masculinity, they still hide them from public eyes. To maintain their prestige and privilege within the society, they like to perform different roles at home and within the community to exhibit that as if they are 'real men' as expected by society who do not care about domestic labors and issues.

In the context of women's rights movements that demand equal perspectives as the basic variable of being an ideal man, some men involved in women's rights issues openly disclose their mindset and attitude of caring, and sharing masculinity. Nevertheless, in their private life their involvement in women's rights movements cannot guarantee their applying equal relationship with other family members. Therefore, the research concludes that it is not easy to find men in the society who are consistently committed to challenge patriarchal hegemonic masculinity. Rather, public domains within the society provide spacious rooms for men to exhibit and apply hegemonic masculinity as expected by the society for being labeled ideal men.



Erving Goffman⁵ comes up with the theory of dramaturgy to call a situation when an individual's 'front stage' personalities contrast to his/her 'back stage' ones. At the front stage, he/she tends to exhibit personalities, attitudes, identities and roles expected by the society, while at the back stage, he/she likes to follow his/her genuine will and desire.

B. Comments

1. During the conflict, various forms of violence of physical, psychological and sexual were perpetuated. Among the psychological violence was losing job, being suspected, anger, threat, and target of false arrests. This kind of violence was also experienced by women who were not directly involved as the actor of the conflict; they only became the target of violence by the parties engaged in the conflict. An informant of the gender equitable men said that during the conflict he found many women felt worried about the safety of their children because when the soldiers did a sweeping around their areas, if the children could not answer information the soldiers asked they would be beaten and sent to jail though only for a few days.
2. The conflict did not only make physical injuries; rather, it

⁵Ritzer, George and Douglas J Goddman. 2005. *Teori Sosiologi Modern* (Modern Theory of Sociology), translated by Alimandan, Jakarta: Prenada Media, pp. 321-325

also caused psychological illness of people witnessing or experiencing violence. Women living through the conflict were in a serious psychological trauma. The research found that such trauma still exists even when the conflict has already ended.

3. This research observed that during the conflict women played more economic role than men. Women had more opportunities for earning income as much men, even who were not directly involved in the conflict and had to escape from the unsecured situation in their own areas. At that period, many military sweepings gave a lot of risks to the men's security and safety if they remained in their areas; hence, they decided to migrate to other safer regions.
4. The conflict gave an impact to shifting some errands in which before the conflict only men were involved in but later during the conflict women could also perform them. This situation even remains until the most recent period of post-conflict.
5. Women's playing a central role in the conflict did not guarantee their achieving better condition of equality in many fields in the peace period. Even though they provided a significant contribution for peace building, some female informants said that their needs had not been paid with a serious attention in the recent peace era.

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6. The conflict played an influential role in building characters and attitudes of members of the society where the conflict occurred.
 7. The research also found that various forms of gender inequality remained a serious issue within the society in Aceh.
 8. A social construction about women that lives within the society is that being a housewife is a women's destiny; they have to be able to perform household chores such as cooking, washing, and taking care of children.
 9. In a tradition within the Aceh society, men are involved in washing dirty clothes, but it is a taboo if they are found to dry the clothes under the sun. Washing and drying clothes are traditionally constructed as the roles of women stereotyped as housewives.
 10. Some men showing gender equality as seen from their willingness to perform household tasks still experience discomforts if they are found to do some roles traditionally constructed and passed down from generations to generations as women's roles.
 11. This research discovered that as a result of the social construction stereotyping women as housewives, even though some women had a career outside the home and was significant for their family's incomes they were still

demanding to perform household assignments of serving food for their husband and children. Unlike women, men can take a rest after going home from their work.

12. Based on the research findings, men are positioned as superior and dominant groups within the society as leaders and heads of household as they understood.
13. In the contexts of profession, there was a social view that women and men were unequal. Such a view is justified by a religious interpretation that it is not allowed for women to have a career outside the home and it is forbidden for women to work outside the home under a reason that their involvement in a career outside the home would hamper them from fulfilling their 'obligation' of taking care of children.
14. This research found out that the social labeling of men as the heads of household and women as the housewives justifies a view that women had to always get permission from their husband while on the contrary, women's permission is not really necessary as it is understood that men hold all powers and authority to make the decisions in domestic contexts.
15. In Aceh, various dimensions of gender based violence, particularly against women are still perpetuated which physical, psychological and sexual violence in domestic



sphere are perpetuated the most. Among the psychological violence women encountered in domestic relation was when their voices are unheard and undervalued.

16. Some informants' experiences indicate that in a situation when men traditionally constructed as the main income earners or breadwinners of a family cannot meet the social expectation of fulfilling their family's economic needs while women positioned as housewives are forbidden to make money outside the home, a family conflict that leads to domestic violence oftentimes occurs.
17. A point of view that women are subordinate or the second class group in the society was developed since an individual's childhood when she/he was an elementary school. An overwhelming stereotype that women are physically and mentally weak gives an impact to weaken women's participation and representation in political stages. In elementary schools, students were already introduced with a 'rule' that only male students could be the heads of class as they have louder voices while female students could only be the deputy as the top leadership position because they had soft voices.
18. From the interviews the research found out some men showing gender equality in their daily lives, as seen for instance from their willingness to integrate gender issues in courses they teach, yet they still inconsistently exhibit

gender biased mindsets and perspectives. For example, in the beginning of an interview, a male informant said that an equal relationship between women and men had to be based on a mutual understanding; yet, later on, in comparing women and men, he said that it was not allowed for women to be in a higher position than men by making an analogy that as if a car that “its front wheels cannot be harder than its rear wheels” so that a family, its head (refers to husband or man,) must always be in a leading and driving position.

19. The concept of successful men and women in the informants' mindsets is:

Successful Men	Successful Woman
Having an ability to control and educate their wife and children	Obedying their husband's command and request and being able to manage household
Responsible to family (wife and children) pay more attention to family than others	Understanding their position as a woman, knowing their role as woman, understanding their husband's feeling, controlling themselves not to be “over” or “higher” than their husband, always being in subordinate position of their husband

Understanding, patient, religiously devout, and knowledgeable	Permanent income (government officers is more expected)
Having a permanent job (being a government officers is expected the most)	Social sensitivity, commitment, and low profile
Low profile, sociable and having a lot of life skills	Independent in career
Having a lot of money	

C. Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be said that:

1. There is an influential relationship between violent ways of upbringing and parenting with the construction of the concept of being (ideal) men that includes violence as an indicator.
2. There is an influential connection between the discriminative ways of parenting that prioritizes boys and the development of self-concept of being men that incorporates hegemonic masculinity values.
3. There is a strong relationship between the concept of being men with hegemonic masculinity and men's tendency to dominate domestic relationships in which they have to be

absolutely obeyed and perpetuate violence.

4. There is an influential connection between Islamic interpretation of different status between men and women and the internalization of hegemonic masculinity values.
5. There is close relationship between learning tradition in non-formal religious school and the development of unequal gender perspective that enforces hegemonic masculinity.
6. There is an influential link between the enforcement of hegemonic masculinity and gender biased Islamic interpretation introduced through certain religious events within the society.
7. There is a strong connection between public glorification and appreciation to 'heroic' masculinity alive during the conflict and the enforcement of self-concept of being 'heroic' men and women in the post-conflict period.
8. There is an influential relationship between being involved in experiences displaying heroic masculinity in the conflict and the tendency to use violence in solving a conflict or dispute in the post-conflict as violence is seen as a more efficient problem solving.

9. There is a close connection between the concept of ideal men within the society and the enhancement of hegemonic masculinity.

10. It in general can be concluded that the construction of masculinity values and norms within the Aceh society as seen from life history of the informants is mostly dominated by patriarchal hegemonic masculinity perspectives.

D. Recommendation

Certain government institutions and civil society organizations, particularly in Aceh are expected and encouraged to integrate some recommendations below that is developed based on the research findings. Key government institutions meant here are Women's Empowerment and Children Protection Body, Education Agency, Islamic Boarding School Body, Office of Religious Affairs, Islamic Sharia Body, and Social Affairs Agency among others. Meanwhile, specific civil society organizations meant here are non-government organizations (NGO) working on the issue of women and children, higher education –especially that have study program on training teachers and religious preachers--, and study and research institutes focusing on Islamic issues. The recommendations are listed below:

1. Acknowledging parenting and upbringing patterns as one of the most central aspects in the construction of hegemonic masculinity leading to abusive attitudes. It is very important and necessary to develop a program of improving capacity and skill of parenting for both wives and husbands that integrates non-discriminative and non-violent values and perspectives of parenting.
2. Understanding learning processes and academic traditions both in formal schools and non-formal religious educations, particularly with their practicing violent punishments, it is important to formulate programs to build and improve knowledge on an awareness about non-violent and equal gender learning values and education systems of teachers and religious teachers, especially those in rural areas. Religious teachers, particularly in non-formal learning centers with their limited access to various capacity building programs are the most targeted groups for such a program.
3. Considering insufficient knowledge and understanding of parents and teachers about violence and its impacts in the practice of punishment appearing in education institutions and in families, it is necessary to develop a program to build their knowledge and understanding about this issue through publication of media information such as fact sheets, handbooks, and talk shows accessible to them.

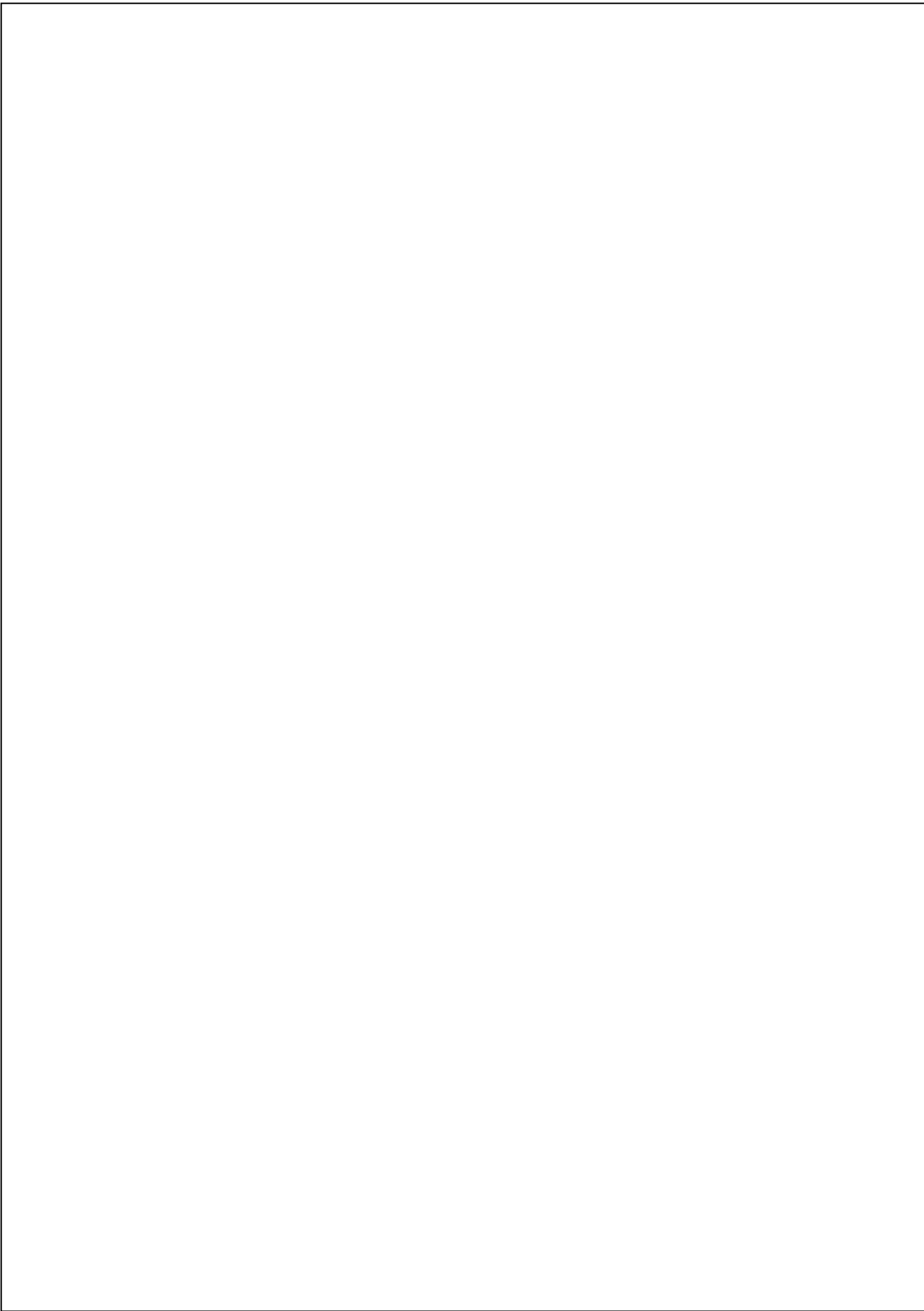
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4. Being aware about inaccurate interpretations and approaches of certain Islamic concepts about the relationship between women and men that appear to strengthen hegemonic masculinity, it is a priority to make collaborative, synergic and serious efforts to build and improve a more contextual understanding and interpretation of such an Islamic teaching.
 5. Building equal gender interpretation of Islamic teachings can be done through the integrated three actions: (1) intensifying research and study projects on Islamic resources on women and men relationship, (2) enhancing gender responsive learning systems in religious schools, and (3) improving capacity and skill of Islamic preachers with knowledge and understanding on gender equality.
 6. Some key subjects for being researched and studied are certain Islamic concepts on:
 - a. A *nusyuz* wife (accused of disobeying her husband's request and order) is understood as an encouragement or order for a husband to beat the wife as a way to show his obligation to educate the *nusyuz* wife.
 - b. Educating and training children to perform mandatory prayers with beating

- c. A wife rejecting her husband's request for a sexual intercourse
 - d. Female leaderships
 - e. Doing household labors is a women's destiny or nature
 - f. *Jihad* or war or death in the name of God or religion.
7. Building gender responsive learning systems in religious schools can be done through several activities including:
- a. Training or education programs to enhance capacity of religious masters in gender responsive learning systems.
 - b. Publication and dissemination of media information such as handbooks or leaflets written in Arabic or Malay Arabic about equal relationships of women and men.
 - c. Formulation of modules, syllabus or other learning media in Arabic or Malay Arabic that integrate gender equality perspectives.
 - d. Formulation of simple religious books written in Arabic and Malay Arabic providing explanations about religious thoughts described in major religious books on the relationship between women and men studied and referred the most in religious schools

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8. Several training and education programs need to improve capacity and skill of religious preachers in gender responsive Islamic preaching as well as to strengthening their awareness about the impacts of gender biased religious preaching on developing violent perspectives and attitudes.
 9. Understanding that the conflict has given an impact to the internalization of abusive behaviors, it is crucial to provide sustainable trauma healing programs to reduce the tendency of violent attitudes in the post-conflict period.
 10. ¹ Being aware about the fact that working as activists of women's rights movements cannot guarantee their equal gender perspectives, and any programs to enhance their awareness about and sensitivity in gender and women's issues are really needed, especially for male activists who might be influenced by the dominant construction of hegemonic masculinity.
 11. Recognizing that the social concept of being ideal men within the society contributes to the development of hegemonic masculinity and the isolation of caring, sharing, responsible and collaborative masculinity norms, it is essential to create a public campaign to build public awareness about heterogeneity of masculinities as well as

the impacts of hegemonic masculinity to violent attitudes and abusive behaviors.

12. Understanding that hegemonic masculinity becomes one of the main contributions to the existing abusive attitudes against women, policy advocacies that integrate this issue into a regulations or laws are a necessary effort in preventing these violent behaviors derived from hegemonic masculinity construction.



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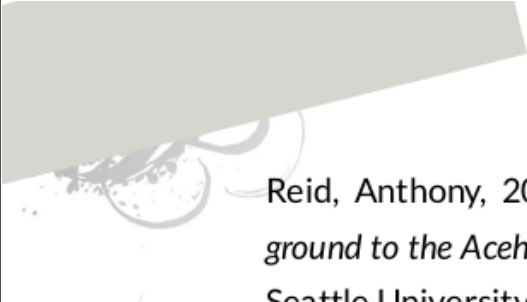
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