

## BAB V

### KESIMPULAN

Etnis Kurdi merupakan etnis minoritas terbesar tanpa mempunyai negara, di mana dua hingga tiga juta di antaranya tinggal di Rojava, Syria. Namun, etnis Kurdi mengalami penindasan represi politik di Syria. Selama beberapa dekade, Kurdi Syria menderita diskriminasi nasionalis dan etnis, seperti penindasan identitas oleh rezim pemerintahan Assad. Di sisi lain, perempuan Kurdi mempunyai situasi yang lebih buruk. Perempuan Kurdi juga mengalami penindasan *gender*, baik secara internal dari masyarakat Kurdi sendiri maupun eksternal. Sehingga, dapat dilihat bahwa perempuan Kurdi telah mengalami penindasan tidak hanya berdasarkan etnis mereka, tetapi juga *gender* mereka.

Bentuk-bentuk masalah ketidaksetaraan *gender* yang dialami oleh perempuan Kurdi sebagaimana merupakan marginalisasi, subordinasi, kekerasan terhadap *gender*, dan stereotip *gender*. Pada tahun 2013, etnis Kurdi di Syria berhadapan dengan Pemberontakan Rojava, di tahun tersebut pula unit militer perempuan Kurdi di Syria terbentuk. Unit militer tersebut merupakan *Yekineyen Parastina Jin*, atau yang disebut dengan YPJ. Selain ikut bertempur dalam Pemberontakan Rojava dan perlawanan terhadap ISIS yang muncul setelahnya, YPJ mempunyai tujuan untuk mewujudkan kesetaraan *gender* bagi perempuan Kurdi melalui militer. Untuk menjawab “*Bagaimana upaya YPJ untuk mewujudkan kesetaraan gender bagi perempuan Kurdi?*”, YPJ melakukan upaya tersebut

dengan konsep *social movement*. Upaya yang dilakukan YPJ adalah upaya sosial secara reformatif dan revolusioner.

Upaya reformatif yang dilakukan YPJ yakni bergabung dengan partai politik Kurdi untuk dapat berpartisipasi dalam gerakan ideologi PKK yang membawa prinsip-prinsip *gender* serta melakukan perlawanan terhadap stigma patriarki. Ideologi tersebut merupakan dasar pemikiran Abdullah Ocalan, ketua dari partai politik Kurdi PKK yang menganut dasar ideologi konfederalisme demokratis. Dilihat dari kacamata *gender*, patriarki dapat dipahami sebagai relasi kekuasaan struktural dari hegemoni maskulin yang mengontrol perempuan dan feminitas. Memahami patriarki dan *gender* sebagai relasi kekuasaan struktural menunjukkan bagaimana maskulinitas dikonstruksi secara sosial sebagai nilai yang lebih tinggi daripada yang terkait dengan feminitas.

Struktur patriarki yang dirujuk dalam masyarakat Kurdi mencerminkan dominasi maskulin di dalam masyarakat di mana laki-laki menjalankan kekuasaan dan otoritas. Akibat dari struktur kekuasaan patriarki dan hierarki *gender* tersebut, perempuan Kurdi di Rojava absen dari kehidupan publik, mengalami kerugian fisik dan mental, dan menjadi sasaran kontrol dan dominasi laki-laki atas hidup mereka. Upaya tersebut mengubah struktur dan tatanan masyarakat Kurdi, di mana dengan adanya penggeseran ideologi politik menjadi konfederalisme demokratis, juga mendorong perubahan bagi kepemimpinan lembaga pemerintahan Kurdi di Syria. Kini masyarakat Kurdi mengimplementasikan struktur kekuasaan yang non-hierarkis serta pengambilan keputusan dilakukan secara konsensus. Bagi perempuan Kurdi sendiri, lembaga-lembaga pemerintahan Kurdi menerapkan

kepemimpinan ganda dan tiap distrik mempunyai pemimpin perempuan untuk memajukan kesejahteraan perempuan Kurdi. Di sini, kepemimpinan dan partisipasi perempuan akhirnya dijunjung oleh masyarakat Kurdi.

Sedangkan, upaya revolusioner yang dilakukan YPJ adalah dengan mengganti nilai-nilai maskulinitas tradisional terhadap partisipasi militer tradisional dan melakukan resistensi untuk menghilangkan peran *gender* di dalam militer Kurdi. Adanya peran *gender* didasari oleh konstruksi sosial yang dibentuk oleh masyarakat sedemikian rupa, di mana salah satunya adalah militer dianggap sebagai sesuatu yang sangat maskulin. YPJ dan feminisme liberal merupakan kekuatan perlawanan terhadap dominasi maskulinitas dan peran *gender* melalui konfederalisme demokratis dan perlawanan militer. Feminisme liberal percaya bahwa perempuan harus memiliki kesempatan yang sama dengan laki-laki, seperti kesempatan dalam berpartisipasi di militer. Keterlibatan perempuan dalam partisipasi militer telah menggeser nilai-nilai untuk menjadi non-hierarkis, non-diskriminatif, feminis dan kesetaraan *gender* bagi masyarakat Kurdi yang menentang penindasan terhadap perempuan Kurdi.

Upaya YPJ untuk melindungi, mempromosikan, dan menjadi representasi visual perempuan di dalam militer dengan prinsip-prinsip feminisme liberal sangat penting untuk perlawanan terhadap pendobrokan stigma peran *gender*. Hal ini khususnya terbukti melalui keterlibatan mereka dalam militerisme. Keterlibatan YPJ dalam militerisme dalam tidak hanya secara fisik menentang dominasi maskulin, namun juga memastikan akhir dari penindasan terhadap perempuan Kurdi pada umumnya di Rojava. Maka, melalui partisipasi dan perlindungan YPJ

di dalam militer menunjukkan bahwa perempuan memiliki kemampuan dan kapabilitas dengan berpartisipasi di dalam militer sebagai aktor dalam perang dalam memperjuangkan perdamaian. Ide dan gagasan baru telah dibentuk dan dibentuk kembali hingga penataan ulang peran *gender* oleh perempuan telah menggeser peran *gender* hegemonik militer yakni maskulinitas.

Upaya-upaya yang dilakukan YPJ dalam mewujudkan kesetaraan *gender* pun memiliki pengaruh bagi perempuan Kurdi. Dari dalam masyarakat Kurdi sendiri, kini perempuan Kurdi dapat memiliki kesempatan yang sama untuk berpartisipasi di dalam politik dan pengambilan keputusan serta adanya perubahan hukum dan sistem peradilan, di mana aspek-aspek yang menentang kesetaraan terhadap *gender* dihapuskan. Selanjutnya, YPJ sebagai representasi visual perempuan Kurdi di dalam militer dapat membuktikan bahwa perempuan dapat berpartisipasi di suatu aspek yang bersifat maskulin, dan perempuan Kurdi mempunyai kemampuan dan kapabilitas untuk terjun ke dalam perang, seperti saat YPJ ikut ke dalam Pemberontakan Rojava dan melakukan perlawanan terhadap ISIS. Dengan begitu, YPJ telah menggeser stigma peran *gender*, yakni militer yang dianggap sebagai sesuatu yang maskulin dan perempuan yang selalu dikaitkan dengan feminitas.

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