

REPRESENTATION OF POLITICAL ROLE OF *BUNDO KANDUANG* IN THE REGIONAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM IN STRENGTHENING LOCAL DEMOCRACY IN WEST SUMATERA

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Abstract

This paper intends to describe in depth the representation of the political role of political parties in strengthening local democracy in West Sumatra after returning to the regional government system that changed the political system of local government in Minangkabau. Through Regional Regulation No. 2 of 2007 concerning the Principles of Regional Government, the political system of local government in West Sumatra is based on the concept of "Basandi Syarak Customary, Syarak Basandi Kitabullah". With this concept, the implementation of regional government implemented in the context of local democracy comes from three elements, one of which is the custom of Bundo Kanduang (female figure) who represents women in the area. Representation and political role of women as part of the administration of regional government, their position is formally within the Regional Musyawwah Agency (BAMUSDA). Bundo kanduang is one of the traditional institutions which is a representation of women in the area. His main task is to preserve the culture and customs of Minangkabau based on Basandi Syarak, Syarak Basandi Kitabullah. Changes in the structure of the local government system in West Sumatra have shifted the representation and role of women who were previously only guardians of the continuity and preservation of customs.

Keywords: *Political Representation, Local Democracy, Bundo Kanduang*

Introduction

Since West Sumatra returned to the Regional Government in accordance with the issuance of Regional Regulation Number 9 of 2000 and reaffirmed through Regional Regulation Number 2 of 2007 concerning the Principles of Regional Government, there was a crucial change in governance in West Sumatra. The regulation marks local democracy in Minangkabau which was revived, after a long period of elimination due to the enactment of Law No. 5 of 1979 concerning Village Government, which has led to a sharp separation of elements of adat and elements of government administration (Pemerintah Sumatera Barat 2007). The return of the regional government system in the government structure in West Sumatra is reflected in the Regional Regulation Number 9 Year 2000 and Regional Regulation Number 2 Year 2007 concerning the Principles of Regional Government. This change in the system of government directly also helped restore the legitimacy of the adat leadership in regulating the political processes taking place in the region. The big opportunity to revive the traditional spirit based on the custom of basandi syarak, syarak basandi kitabullah does not only demand representation and participation of the local community, it also specifically demands the involvement of women in the process of governance.

The mandate to involve women explicitly stated in Article 12 of Regional Regulation No. 2 of 2007 which states that members of BAMUSDA (Regional Consultative Body) consist

of elements of Ninik Mamak (traditional leaders / tribal leaders), Alim Ulama (Religious Figures), Smart Cadiak (cendikiawan), Bundo Kanduang (female leaders) and other community components that grow and develop in the region (Pemerintah Sumatera Barat 2007). From this regulation it is known that women are one of the members of BAMUSDA whose existence is taken into account, and should be fulfilled by women. The underlying assumption is that all interests of the community can be represented especially in the policy formulation in the region.

Juridically, women in West Sumatra have guaranteed the same role in making decisions. This juridical foundation is a great opportunity for women in the region to be involved in political life. The involvement of women in the political sector is needed especially to fight for the aspirations of women who are considered still not delivered. Discrimination and injustice in the fields of work, household and other fields of life are often encountered by women but do not get the right solution in the eyes of the law, becoming a reason for women to be directly involved in politics. This reason was supported by article 12 of Regional Regulation No. 2 of 2007 and Law Number 6 of 2007 concerning Political Parties which gave a 30% quota of women's representation. In addition, there is also a greater number of women and permanent voters than men. This is as said by Suyito that:

If demographically calculated, women account for more than 55% of Indonesia's population. Meanwhile, in terms of the number of eligible voters in elections, women are also greater than men. That is, women are the basis of a great voice, and too dear if they are not a strategic target for gaining support. However, the current conditions are still ironic. However the basis of women in elections is so large, in fact the degree of formal representation of women in political parties is very small and limited. Based on information from the general election commission (central and regional), most political parties participating in the election did not comply with the obligation to fulfill women's quota (Suyito 2009, 54).

Furthermore, Suyito explained:

In addition, a multidimensional strategy is also needed in which increasing the number of women's representation in parliament must be accompanied by increasing and strengthening women's capacities and competencies. Indonesia as a country with the largest Muslim population in the world can show that not only Islam and Democracy but also Islam and gender equality can go hand in hand. As a Muslim woman once said when she met Paul Wolfowitz, the president of the previous world bank: "Development functions like a cart with two wheels. One male wheel and one female wheel. If one wheel does not move, the cart cannot move." (Suyito 2009, 54).

Some previous studies on Bundo Kanduang have been carried out. Among them was Aspirman's research, et al. Entitled, "Kanduang Bundo Organization in Padang City (1974-2015)". This study explained that in early 1974 a city-level Bundo Kanduang organization had been established, namely the City of Padang with the aim of improving the quality and capabilities of women and the younger generation of the city of Padang. Initially women were only used as the political power of the New Order in the Land of Minang, and now it has become an institution of femininity capable of introducing and maintaining traditional traditions and Minangkabau culture in modern society (Aspirman, Erawati, and Kharles 2016, 4).

Other relevant research, for example, conducted by Fitriani et al., Entitled: "Role of Bundo Kandung in Government Systems and Customary Systems in Nagari Koto Laweh District X Koto, Tanah Datar District, West Sumatra". This research shows the role of Kandung Bundo in the Koto Laweh village both in the nagari government also in its customs (Fitriani, Ibrahim, dan Bunari n.d., 2).

Based on the above issues, this paper discusses how the involvement of Bundo Kandung as one of the most important elements in the process of implementing regional government, especially concerning its position in the Regional Consultative Body (BAMUSDA). The purpose of this study was to determine the political role of Bundo Kandung in the Regional Government System in an effort to strengthen local democracy in West Sumatra. Directly the presence of women is not only seen as a response to the rearrangement of power relations that occur in the regions, but also to changes in representation and the role of women in an effort to re-arrange the appropriate local democratic context in the traditional values of *basandi syarak, syarak basandi* of the Kitabullah.

Women: Gender and Power Representation in Minangkabau

Since the 1970s studies on Minangkabau culture have attracted many foreign researchers from abroad, including from the Netherlands, Germany, Korea, Japan and the United States (Hader 2010). These foreign scientists research and submit papers that not only discuss the uniqueness of Minangkabau culture but also examine the political structure in Minangkabau. The use of scientific theories by scientists comes from different scientific disciplines, especially sociology, anthropology, history, literature, and politics. The use of scientific theories not only adds to the literature about "Minangkabau", but also indirectly introduces Minangkabau culture in the eyes of the world.

Scientific studies of regions in Indonesia, especially Minangkabau, are more than those of Java, Bali and Aceh, because of various socially and historically known facts, ranging from historical events to matrilineal kinship systems. Minangkabau ethnicity is among the most "popular" as the target of scientific research. This has started since the beginning of the 20th century. The popularity of the Minangkabau as a target of scientific research has been increasing since the 1970s despite almost stopping for twenty years (Hader 2010, 24). Kahn emphasized that the scientific study of ethnic Minangkabau had an appeal in anthropologists in seeing indigenous life based on the clan (kinship) system and matrilineal lineage (the custom that governed the offspring based on the mother's side).

Most scientific studies of Minangkabau culture generally discuss the system of life of Minangkabau people with a matrilineal character, in which West Sumatra is culturally unique in placing women in the constellation of social life. The symbol of matrilineal life in Minangkabau was formed in a system where the oldest mother or woman headed the family and descendants (clans) and relationships were determined through women's lineages as well as in customary government rules, the oldest woman (senior woman) called *bundo kandung* had a significant role in controlling customary decisions (Aswirna 2015, 15).

Women are always symbolized as *Limpapeh Nan Gadang* Houses, which have special status and play an important role in the life and social community in the area. Aside from being a bloodline puller, the important role of other women is the owner of inheritance (economic capital) and as a leader in the "Nan Gadang House". At *Kaba Cinduo Mata* (Elfira 2007, 30–36) or the popular story of the Minang people and is a story of Minangkabau classical literature, a female figure always interpreted as a figure of a female king who has full

legitimacy in controlling power within Pagaruyung's palace. Women are told as smart, intelligent, wise people. As a smart and smart person, he taught his son Dang Tuanku in everything, among others, about customs, courtesy in society, and ways of governing (Elfira 2007, 30–36).

De Jong argues that the system of Minangkabau political organization and the political and social life between matrilineal positions and patrilineal positions are interrelated and are clearly illustrated in the story of Kaba Cinduo Mato. According to De Jong, Kaba Cinduo Mato not only describes the lives of women as rulers in Minangkabau, but Kaba Cinduo Mato is also the answer to the question of whether it is possible for a woman to become a leader in indigenous peoples in the Minangkabau (Elfira 2007, 31).

Basically the figure and figure of women in the story of Kaba Cinduo Mato, not only provides a description of the representation of gender and power of women in Minangkabau, but also as a clue and reality, that in reality women in Minangkabau take a significant role in political affairs and society. In detail the representation of gender and power of women in social and political life in Minangkabau can be observed in the following periods:

Pre-colonial

At the level of the Matrilineal system in Minangkabau, normatively, the existence of women (*Bundo Kanduang*) cannot be separated from social, economic, cultural and political aspects. These three aspects have provided a position and space for Minang women to play a role in every dimension of community life in the Land of Minang and its role in every social and political change in the Minangkabau (Amaliatulwalidain 2012, 43).

Blackwood stated that the woman *sosok* reflected in Kaba Cinduo Mato became a figure who was considered as a strong, nurture and wise woman, and possessed the power of her own political language in Minangkabau, especially influencing the socio-political structure and political culture of the community. Women are regarded as the figure who first laid down the matrilineal system based on the custom of *basandi syarak* and *yarak Basandi* of the *Kitabullah* (Blackwood 2001, 126). *Bundo Kandoang* as a great and wise woman, contributes to the pride of the Minang community towards its matrilineal system, the image of women whose roles and positions are the same as women in the story of Kaba Cinduo Mato.

The figure and nature of women who from the beginning were understood to play an important role in the matrilineal structure, then contributed to several functions and general roles of women in Minangkabau customs. The functions and roles of women based on their nature are as follows:

a. Manaruik Alua Nan Lurui

Manaruik Alua Nan Lurui intended that all the conditions agreed upon and outlined by ancestors from social, economic and legal issues must be obeyed and obeyed, including the provisions regarding *alua pusako* that houses for women, field rice fields with all the provisions are the property women, these provisions are real and cannot be replaced. The form of obedience to women is not only in terms of all the *pusako*, but also in the provisions of *adat* or all *adat* that have been agreed upon by the leaders and stakeholders of *adat*, in contrast to *alua pusako*, traditional customs can be replaced with other provisions that are adapted to conditions and situation (Hakimy 1980, 25).

b. Manampua Jalan nan Pasa

Roads according to custom contain figurative meanings, that every thing that is traversed both on the path of the world and the path of the Hereafter must be to a good goal. On the

world road there are four principles that must be held by women (Hakimy 1980, 95–96) that is:

- 1) Baadat, meaning that in the life of associating according to traditional Minangkabau adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi of the Book of Allah where each of which is arranged into a rule that is always based on noble character and must be practiced in every behavior and action.
- 2) Balimbago, meaning a human association that is bound by a sense of unity, kinship that has good relations with one another.
- 3) Bacupak, is a Minangkabau custom that must not be overstated and reduced which becomes a rule in the community.
- 4) Bagantang, meaning that every Minangkabau needs to be faithful and knows all the mandatory and impossible qualities of God Almighty, and the obligatory and impossible nature of Allah's Apostle
- 5) Whereas on the path of the hereafter there are four agreed principles:
 - a) Believing, believing in Allah Almighty, is one who has no child and is not begotten and he has power over everything.
 - b) Islam, is Muslim by working on each of the pillars of Islam, and works on all orders and abandons all prohibitions, and associates with fellow human beings, hornat to mothers, teachers who teach it.
 - c) Bertauhid, there is no God but one God, he has the nature of the womb and rahman. He eternally controls the heavens and the earth and makes him united in his one form.

c. Mamaliharo Harato and Pusako

Harato and pusako according to Minangkabau customs are rice fields, fields, artificial banda, jurami sasok, pakuburan pandam, lanuah tapian, kampuang karoang, and other ulayat as households and people must be kept so that these treasures are not used up or move to another country. The inheritance can be used for public purposes through consensus, because in Harto Pusako contained ulayat land which is an area of life and livelihood of members of men and women, especially for agriculture (Hakimy 1980, 99).

d. Mamaliharo Anak and Kemenakan

Caring for children and nephew is the most important obligation in the life of bundo kanduang (women). Minangkabau which is compiled in a customary provision in broad outline: many people are good, forbidding a small number of people. Caring for children and nieces has a broad scope which includes the following fields:

- 1) Bundo Kanduang as a householder who is in the dark.
- 2) Bundo Kanduang as a sling for the key handle.
- 3) Bundo Kanduang as pusek jalo collection of ropes.
- 4) Bundo Kanduang as a sumarak in the region
- 5) Bundo Kanduang as a base for the stone bases, according to the Medina, you will pay for the sarugo banner.

In the period before the colonial invaders came to Indonesia, regional life in Minangkabau was very thick with traditional patterns. At that time, known as traditional adat government, with the Basandi Syarak Customary concept, Syarak Basandi Kitabullau, elements of the government leadership carried out adat as a law that regulated the order of life of the people

in a customary manner, which applies only to customary laws. the life of the Minang people at that time (Zainuddin 2010, 3). Products of customary law, according to the climate of the traditional regional government system at that time (Amaliatulwalidain 2012, 50).

All policies in the regions, especially those related to the process of policy formulation, must first be consulted with female leaders from each of the existing tribes, through a customary consultation to determine whether or not policies are implemented in the regions. This is due to consideration of life in the area concerning the lives of each tribe and people. All policies relating to each people, their roots are in the policies of female leaders who represent the tribe (Amaliatulwalidain 2012, 51).

The function and role of women at that time was ideally explained in terms of their representation in every political process activity in the region. The role of women cannot be separated from other traditional elements because all are connected to each other, so that it is known as *urang four jinih* (four types of people) which consists of (Ninik Mamak, Alim Ulama, Cerdik Pandai and Bundo kanduang)(Amaliatulwalidain 2012, 52).

It can be said that the role of the *Kanduang Bundo* in the public sphere and politics in the region at that time was enormous, as expressed by Tenner and Navis (Navis 1984, 21) who said that, Minangkabau women in the middle of a matrilineal extended family played a very important role and acted in the decision-making process. Women's voices are the same as men's voices and every problem must be discussed and discussed together. From this, it has been explained, that the position between women and men in Minangkabau is related to the political process (Besarnya pengaruh Bundo Kanduang dalam Proses politik di Nagari sangat terkait langsung pada posisi Bundo Kanduang yang memiliki peran sentral dalam pembuatan keputusan rumah tangga dan produksi ekonomi yang umumnya menyangkut seluruh hajat klan n.d.) in the Region are in an equal position.

Colonial period

The arrival of the Dutch colonizers to Indonesia also affected the position and representation of female figures in the Minangkabau. Through the plan of Dutch control politics in the East Indies during the 1800s, the local customary authority in Minangkabau had provided a new feature to local power in the Minangkabau. Commodification of customary law and Dutch law in fact puts women outside the context of local power. The representation of *Bundo Kanduang* is intentionally set up as "only inheritance owners" and domestic affairs, while a single authority is held by men (Blackwood 2001, 131).

The Dutch effort to codify Minangkabau customs resulted in a set of static rules, especially in their colonies, to facilitate control of their colonies. The Dutch deliberately created male authority by creating a system of communal ownership in which one man became a formal representative of his tribe. The chosen men were people who could be invited to work with the Dutch in handling Dutch political control in Minangkabau (Young 1994, 92).

The Dutch policy on customary law and the social system in Minangkabau made men the social liaison for political control which created the Dutch especially in their communal groups and communities, not only the political authority given by the Dutch to men (Mamak), the political authority gave significant influence with the presence of new powers in the form of "full authority Mamak in lineage"(Ototitas laki-laki tertua (Mamak) di dalam rumah gadang sangat kontradiksi dengan posisi mereka yang secara struktural marjinal dari rumah gadang yang dikontrol penuh oleh kaum wanita. Seorang pria Minangkabau "tidak benar-benar memiliki rumah atau tempat n.d.), in his new position, Mamak is specifically responsible for everything that happens at Rumah Gadang, from managing his behavior, ensuring his welfare

to maintaining his harmony and the most crucial thing that also determines the highest decision at the Gadang House (Kato 1982, 45).

The fact that Bundo Kanduang had many rights and responsibilities in the matrilineal system received little attention and description from the colonial government. Bundo Kanduang is only described as the successor descendant and determinant of heirs (Beckmann 1990, 87), while the management of inheritance fell to Mamak as the oldest brother of the mother.

Dutch policy increases men's authority, legitimizing men as the only lineage. In fact during the colonial period, women became "shadows" in their own homes, especially in colonial history and Dutch colonists who only saw women as occupants of "houses" (Stoler 1989, 34–60). As is the case in Minangkabau, the marginal and deliberate position of women is not presented in an important political process. As a result of this Dutch policy, in the future it became the standard of representation of women in the Minangkabau, both in political life in the region or even in traditional writings in the future.

The New Order

Politics Indonesia underwent "radical" changes after 1965, although there were also radical changes that were also sustained. Many concepts and institutional structures of the New Order were basically the same as the "Old Order" and even their powers were very similar to those of the Dutch colonial rulers. The representation and role of women in the New Order era, the conditions were not much different from the conditions in the Old Order or colonial times. Similar to the colonial government system, the New Order government also deliberately blocked and manipulated the power of women, both in terms of social, political and economic (Suryakusuma 2011, 10).

Through the policy of Law Number 5 of 1979 concerning the Village Government, which was made by the New Order government, then there were major changes to the lowest governance structure in Indonesia, customary locality-based governance such as Regions, Huta, Gampong, Marga and so on. enforced uniformity of government models into "villages" (Eko 2005, 26).

The disappearance of regional government and being replaced by the village administration also caused the adat authority to weaken. Many leaders have lost their power in the area. In order to stabilize these conditions and to avoid significant conflict fluctuations, the New Order government then initiated the establishment of an institution called the Minangkabau Natural Density Institute (LKAAM) in 1983. The Minangkabau Nature Density Institute itself was formed as an institution that accommodates all institutions adat in one unit includes women leaders, and in its hierarchical level is at the provincial to sub-district level, which is organized under the supervision of the New Order government. LKAAM umbrella (Beckmann 1990, 67–75) used as a means that aims to incorporate traditional principles into harmony with the ideology of the Pancasila (Biezeveld 2005, 224).

Along with the centralization of the new order region, political forces were then created through ideological and political structures for the people in Indonesia, it was the regions that led the process of capitalist accumulation and defined a gender ideology for their own interests. Through the apparatus and institutions, the regions spread the ideology of regional ibuism, namely gender ideology that creates rigid stereotypes and is very restrictive because its purpose is to control and create a hierarchical order. This gender ideology, which contains elements of "household entertainment" and "ibuisme" leads to the process of "domestication", a context that is appropriate for the Indonesian context.

On the next trip it was precisely the regional ideology that was very dominant in the role of government in Minangkabau, whereas the New Order government accommodated and directed the adat apparatus as the basis of the New Order's political power in the Minang Territory. The existence of Bundo Kanduang institutions after being institutionalized, also became a political shot of the New Order as a means of mobilizing Minang women to support government programs, because institutionalized women became an institution in one flag that was the same as other adat instruments, in the LKAAM aegis certainly inevitable that the aim is to smooth the interests of the government (Amaliatulwalidain 2012, 62).

The Bundo Kanduang institution was then revitalized into the development program and practice of the New Order political policy. This segregation is also reflected in special programs by the government. Women's institutions are focused and play the same role with other women's organizations that are the same and are focused on the five Dharma Wanita. So from this prevalence, it finally influences the birth of four main roles and functions of women's institutions during the New Order. The role of women's institutions (Bundo 2005, 52) that is:

1. Gathering the potential of the Minangkabau mother and generation in maintaining and preserving traditional values in the Minangkabau.
2. Improving the quality and ability of women and the young generation of Minangkabau through increasing knowledge and skills.
3. Develop productive economic skills and efforts.
4. Develop cooperation and as a partner for other women's social organisocial businesses, both inside and outside West Sumatra.

In the end, the New Order region not only penetrated all sectors of people's lives, but also provided a structure that allowed the development of certain gender ideologies that provided an official definition of how Indonesian women should be. Women are not only at home, but can contribute in the political field to strengthen their regional government.

Local Democracy in West Sumatra: Return to Regional Government

The past empirical experience of the Indonesian people, has noted that when people do not know "Regions", people live in small communities that are autonomous and self sustained. Each of these communities has its own variety of government with political legitimacy which adheres to the principle of "genuine autonomy" as a combination of the environment and the values of local traditional culture that are recognized in the lives of its people. The principles of "genuine autonomy" are not only reflected through cultural rituals, but also from traditional political governance models run by each community in the past (Amaliatulwalidain 2012, 1).

One of the traditional political governance systems is "Region", which is a traditional government government based on indigenous communities. Regions have self-government autonomously and are community-based (self governing community). The area consists of jorong-jorong (village) which cannot be separated from matrilineal customary entities represented through the leadership of adat elements and is committed to upholding the teachings of Islam or better known as the Indigenous Basandi Syarak and Syarak Basandi Kitabullah which are used as guidelines and goals of life in the community in the area (Amaliatulwalidain 2012, 1).

When running a political system in traditional regional government, the highest authority is in the hands of the community (regional part), where the essence of power should

be derived from the choices and aspirations of the people. Although formally the regional government is run by the customary collective institution (Custom Limbago) which consists of other matrilineal traditional leadership, it does not necessarily eliminate the role of the community (regional) in solving problems in the region, all issues are always negotiated in deliberations to reach consensus. It can be concluded that the characteristic of a regional government system is democracy.

However, when the New Order came to power, local democratic life based on the region then suffered a setback, through regulation Number 5 of 1979 concerning Village Government, as soon as regional government disappeared, regional community authority and customary leadership over the life in the regions became authority and responsibility government. Through the role of the region which was so dominant and centralistic, it significantly affected political change and the continuity of local democracy and original autonomy in the Minangkabau.

The fall of the New Order regime, in 1998, brought major changes in the system of governance in Indonesia, from centralized to decentralized. The government then issued Law No. 22 of 1999, concerning regional autonomy which provided an opportunity for the revival of the lowest form of the original government if the local people wanted it. Decentralization implemented by giving autonomy to the regions allows for the process of community empowerment because of the availability of space to participate and determine the development model based on local needs. (Amaliatulwalidain 2012, 5).

The implementation of decentralization certainly demands a reorganization of the local government structure. Particularly in the Minangkabau area the response to Law No. 22 of 1999 was realized by re-implementing the regional government system with the spirit of the Babaliak Ka Daerah (returning to the Region) as the lowest government unit regulated by the Regional Regulation (Perda) of West Sumatra Province Number 9 of 2000 concerning the Basic Provisions of Regional Government, which was later renewed through Regional Regulation No. 2 of 2007 concerning the Principal Provisions of Regional Government.

In the process of regional government violations which are intended in Perda Number 9 of 2000 and Perda Number 2 of 2007. Local governments are organized by the Regional Trustees and Regional Government Agencies (regional communities) which are directly elected by the community as representatives of the local community

Representation and Role of the Kandung Bundo in Regional Government

The background to returning to the region began with the momentum of regional autonomy with the issuance of Law Number 22 of 1999. This law is considered a strategic opportunity to re-establish this desire, then realized through Provincial Regulation No. 9 of 2000 and Provincial Regulation No. 2 of the Year 2007 which regulates Regional Government as a legal basis in renewing the system of local political governance in West Sumatra. This regulation relies on the ideology of the Basandi Syarak Customary formula, Syarak Basandi Kitabullah (Amaliatulwalidain 2012, 68).

Through autonomy various opportunities were created and raised, especially to re-strengthen the position of people's participation which had been marginalized by the New Order politics, including the process of strengthening women's participation in the political sphere. In this regard, if the autonomy space is interpreted in terms of gender, then it can be said that 'opportunities for autonomy' are a form of political building where the position of participation between men and women in decision making at the local level becomes equal. It

also includes opportunities for women to take part in the process (Amaliatulwalidain 2012, 68).

Over time and the occurrence of social and political changes that were inevitable in the Land of Minang, especially in the political leadership phase of the New Order, gradually made the authority of Bundo Kanduang in the region narrowed, due to the loss of regional government and change to a neutral government pattern bureaucratic. In general, these changes had an impact on the condition of Minang women at that time who had to lose positions in the regions, then the women were coordinated in the Bundo Kanduang institution as a traditional Minang women's institution along with other customary instruments and under the auspices of the LKAAM, the actual Bundo Kanduang the political order of the New Order government was not spared, even though the institution was allegedly a forum of government concern and concern in preserving Minang customs, but the fact that the existence of the Bundo Kanduang institution was only used as a symbol, making the real role of Bundo Kanduang increasingly marginal, in fact this took place during the new order in power.

When the new order, the role of Bundo Kanduang increasingly eroded, political culture in Minangkabau mixed with political interests in that period, it was difficult to accommodate women's interests. Kanduang Bundo can no longer be free to practice in adat, both in its tribe and outside of its people, as revealed by Herlina that, during the new order of Minang women's representation, which was embodied in the form of Bundo Kanduang Institution, it completely eliminated their political function which previously existed. The change in structure in the power hegemony has caused the acceptance of most of the Minang people to Bundo Kanduang institutions gradually as a symbol only, at this time, the representation of Bundo Kanduang is only at the descriptive level (Herlina 2003).

Related to the representation of the role of Bundo Kanduang in the new order, basically, according to Syamsiah in Supini, the position and role of women in society are very determined and inseparable from political ideology and cultural ideology (Supini 2001, 12). These values also determine how the structures provide a place for women to take part in the renewal processes. They of course can express their desires and interests by being directly involved in every development process that is normatively guaranteed by law and regulation.

The renewal and change of political structures in Minangkabau after the Reformation is one form of process towards the direction of the formation of political ideological characters and cultural ideologies. The aim is to provide a way for the involvement and participation of Kando Bundo in regional government. But it can also function as an effort to reassert Minang women's bargaining position. This was stated through formal regulations from Provincial Regulation No. 9 of 2000 and Regional Regulation No. 2 of 2007, regarding the role of Bundo Kanduang as a partner of regional government in controlling the formation of effective regional government in accordance with the Basandi Syarak Customary formula, Syarak Basandi Kitabullah.

In accordance with what was instructed in Perda Number 2 of 2007 concerning the representation of the role of Bundo Kanduang, clearly stated in article 12 paragraph 1 which states that:

Members of the Regional Consultative Body (BAMUSDA) consist of elements of Ninik Mamak / adat leaders / tribal leaders, Alim Ulama / Religious Leaders, Smart Cadiak / Cendikiawan, Bundo Kanduang / Female Figures and other community components that grow and develop in the area concerned with Jorong representation determined by deliberation and consensus " (Pemerintah Sumatera Barat 2007).

Formally through its representation which is domiciled in BAMUS (as a Regional Government organizer) and according to Regional Regulation Number 2 of 2007, the role of Bundo Kanduang is as follows:

- 1) Processing the appointment and dismissal of the Mayor
- 2) Propose inauguration, appointment and dismissal of the Mayor
- 3) Together with the Mayor, establish or form a Regional Regulation;
- 4) Together with the mayor stipulates the regional expenditure budget;
- 5) Together with the Regional Customary Density Institutions protect the customs that apply in the Region;
- 6) Carry out Supervision of:
 - a) Implementation of Regional Regulations (PERNA) and other laws and regulations.
 - b) Implementation of Decree of the Mayor.
 - c) Implementation of Regional Expenditure Budget
 - d) Regional Government Policy Melaksanakan Kerja sama yang dilakukan oleh Daerah
- 7) Give opinions and considerations to the Regional Government on the planned agreement that will be implemented when it concerns the interests in the Region
- 8) Together with the Regional Customary Density Institution, determine the function and utilization of Regional assets to the greatest possible extent for the welfare of the Regional Children.
- 9) Receive the answers to the Mayor's answer.

Other duties and authorities are governed by the Regent's decision. In situations and conditions that are urgent, Kanduang Bundo can appoint and designate a temporary official of the Region with a term of 6 months. Through the mandate of the Regional Regulation, it is clear that Bundo Kanduang as a representation of women in the Regional Government System, regained status and role as part of indigenous peoples to place their representatives in BAMUSDA. The representation of Bundo Kanduang on BAMUSDA, is one concrete example to convey the idea that in fact regional government has a big role in creating equality politics and increasing women's political participation as an alternative to empowering the political role of the Kanduang Bundo

Conclusion

The presence of Bundo Kanduang into one of the implementation of governance in the regions through representation in BAMUSDA, is part of efforts to achieve a more democratic life in the region. If observed, the comparison of the role of Bundo Kanduang both in the period before independence, the New Order period and even the reformation had indeed drastically undergone many striking changes. The role of Bundo Kanduang in every decade is experiencing differences along with their representation in political life in the Minangkabau. The political changes that took place in Minangkabau on a large scale had an influence on the face of the Bundo Kanduang institution, until the reforms began. The existence and role of Kanduang Bundo is still often discussed in decorating the constellation back to traditional politics in the form of a new form of regional government so that after returning to the regional government system, the role of Bundo Kanduang is increasingly emphasized by their political

functions in the region. These roles and functions are expected to be able to substantially restore the role of women in efforts to strengthen local democracy in Minangkabau.

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Penerbit Ombak.