

Humanities & Social Sciences Reviews eISSN: 2395-6518, Vol 8, No 1, 2020, pp 103-112 https://doi.org/10.18510/hssr.2020.8116

# OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES OF WOMEN LEGISLATIVE CANDIDATES ON ELECTIONS IN BANDA ACEH

Masrizal<sup>1\*</sup>, Partini<sup>2</sup>, Muhamad Supraja<sup>3</sup>, Kusmawati Hatta<sup>4</sup>, Syarifuddin Hasyim<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Department of Sociology Universitas Syiah Kuala Banda Aceh and Doctoral Student Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, <sup>2,3</sup>Department of Sociology Universitas Gadjah Mada Yogyakarta, Indonesia, <sup>4</sup>Department of Islamic Counseling, the State Islamic University Ar-Raniry, Banda Aceh, Indonesia, <sup>5</sup>Department the ScienceofLaw, Universitas Syiah Kuala, Banda Aceh, Indonesia.

Email: 1\*masrizalfisip@unsyiah.ac.id, 2partini@ugm.ac.id, 3praja3@ugm.ac.id, 4kusmawati.hatta@ar-raniry.ac.id, 5syarifuddin hasyim@unsyiah.ac.id

Article History: Received on 11<sup>th</sup> November 2019, Revised on 19<sup>th</sup> December 2019, Published on 17<sup>th</sup> January 2020

#### Abstract

**Purpose**: This research is focused on the public space in the field of politics that explains how women candidates legislative from political parties and local political parties national participate in contestation with the men in the legislative election in 2019 the level of the city Banda Aceh.

**Methodology**: This paper uses qualitative research methods with an ethnographic approach contemporary feminist and collection of data through observation, documentation and semi-structured interviews were conducted with fifteen legislative women candidates of local political parties and national political parties from the electoral districts of Banda Aceh were scattered on 9 districts in Banda Aceh.

**Main Findings**: The findings of this study indicate that there are three forces of elected women candidate to continue to increase each election period: (1) The full support of the family, (2) Grassroots women's community (*Balee Inong*), (3) The presence of government support through Musrena and Musrenbang forum which became the strength of women's bargaining position in planning and budgeting. Although on the other hand patriarchy culture is still a separate constraint for women working in the public arena.

**Implications**/Applications: The results showed that the dominance of men who are members of local and national political parties in Aceh making space for women in the general election is getting narrower, plus a serial number of women in a legislative candidate sequence that is in the last number makes women, not the candidates featured in his political party. But the election of women in the legislature is much better than the previous period.

**Novelty**: The political arena became a force for women of Banda Aceh in scraping patriarchy culture that has been very inherent to Acehnese people wrapped in a religious culture or the habit of Acehnese people who put women into numbers two in development.

Keywords: Election, Women Legislative Candidates, Opportunities, Patriarchy Culture, Political Parties.

## INTRODUCTION

The high participation of women in legislative elections in April 2019, proving that women have gained more space from the political parties, both local and national parties. The province of Aceh, which is said her chained by patriarchal culture also influenced. As explained (Crompton, 1987; Marhaeni & Astuti, 2008; Nurjanah, 2003) the patriarchy culture of male domination, legitimized in different areas of life, including in the field of politics. The political leadership of women can be accepted not because society considers women able and entitled to dive into the world of politics, but because this action can uphold the family name (Ismiati, 2016; Iwan Zulfan Amir, 2003; Salviana & Soedarwo, 2014). Thus the question arises whether the attitude shown by the heroic ever Acehnese lady heroes of the past such as Tjut Nyak Dhien, Tjut Mutia, Laksamana Malahayati, and several other Acehnese heroines started back evidenced by Acehnese women today (Eka Srimulyani, 2012; Kamaliah, 2017; M. Masrizal, 2017) All it would prove in 2019 legislative elections later, or on the contrary the presence of women in the order of candidates on the local party and the national party was just a natural fulfillment of the quota of 30 percent which has been stipulated in the General Election Commission (PKPU) Number 07 Year 2013 and the Political Parties Act No. 12 of 2003 Article 65, paragraph 1 which called on political parties to nominate 30 percent, women.

Writing this review is not in spite from the many publications of the women candidates through social media (Facebook, Twitter, Whatsapp), print media, online media, billboards, and banners that circulated widely in public facilities (roads, markets, coffee shops and other) featuring the figure of women candidates appeared in 2019. Based on data Independent commission of the election (*Komisi Independen Pemilihan*) Aceh 2014-2019, Women elected to the legislature in the provincial level (provincial parliament) As many as 12 people or 14.8 percent of the total 81 seats, for district/city as a whole of 8.8 percent of women elected. While in the 2019-2024 legislature elected women at the provincial level (provincial parliament) decreased to 9 people, or 11 percent, to the district/city as a whole increased to 14 percent. The highest percentage of women in parliament in the election of Aceh Tamiang as much as 36 percent and the lowest Aceh Besar and Aceh Utara 2 percent respectively.





While at the level of district/cities, particularly in Banda Aceh women represented only 1 or 3 percent of the total 31 elected seats in the legislature, since the two previous periods (2009-2014), (2014-2019) of the number of members of the Council of 31 seats. But now in the period 2019-2024 increased from 1 to 4 person elected or previous percentage of 3 percent to 12 percent (Data compiled from the Commission on Elections (KIP) Banda Aceh, 2019). This is a tremendous advance for women in Banda Aceh politics.

So do not be surprised if politically analyzed why women Aceh today is still far behind men, despite a commission regulation No. 07 of 2013 that requires political parties both locally and nationally so that the representation of women in the order of candidates as much as 30 percent of women although almost all local and national parties have not been able to realize a good representation of the parliamentary election in the center (*DPR-RI*), provincial parliament (*DPRA*) and district/city (*DPRK*). So it becomes a chore political parties, activists non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that support women, and also the government.

Based on this background can be drawn formulation of the problem in this study are the problems faced by women today are: first, why have not all the local and national political party cadres to prepare women who prepared for the legislative elections? Second, how local and national parties to proceed in preparing cadres in legislative elections 2019? Moreover, Third, what are the constraints faced by women candidates in the 2019 election? Provincial parliament (*DPRA*) and district/city (*DPRK*).

The purpose of this manuscript is to identify and analyze and clarify whether women's participation in political space already practiced by the local and national political parties following the demands of the State contained in the Political Parties Act and the regulations PKPU. Then this script will also answer why it is essential to plunge into the world of women in voicing their political aspirations. This text will explain four essential points, such as: first, will look at and analyze opportunities and challenges of women candidates in the election 2019. Second, the power of women in Aceh in maintaining its presence in the construction of a post lost in Election 2019. Thirdly, women in realizing political-contestation based on budgeting and the last woman, the fourth, made recommendations for a follow-up to the presence of women as a force in development.

#### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### Women's Political Communication Concept in the Public Arena

This study is to explore and discover the knowledge of the role of the women's movement falls into the public arena, in this case, looking at the involvement women in legislative elections, the concept used is the conceptual framework of gender approach perspective Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA)(<u>Luigi Cavestro, 2003</u>; <u>Naila Kabeer, 2003</u>). Some of these patterns are used to respond to women's involvement in arena politics, specifically in Banda Aceh during this time there are two official fora used by women to express their aspirations, through *Musrena* and *Musrenbang* forum. Both the event became one of the strengths for them plunged into a political party as a candidate for the legislature, either on the local political parties and national political parties.

The concept of political communication is a communication aims to obtain public support for political discretion. Likewise the concept of political communication offered by <a href="Dan Nimmo, 1978">Dan Nimmo, 1978</a> in his political communication and public opinion in America (1978), he saw politics, such as communication as a process, and such communication is a political involving (<a href="Narayan, 2006">Narayan, 2006</a>; <a href="Petkeviciute & Streimikiene">Petkeviciute & Streimikiene</a>, <a href="2017">2017</a>; <a href="Zamroni, 2013</a>). Further, Nimmo emphasized that political communication is not just aIn the narrow sense of such words as spoken, but rather hearing in an inclusive sense, which encompasses all means of people symbols, written and pronounced words, pictures, gestures, attitudes, tempers, and clothing. This concept that we can capture, that political communication tries to place the meaning as a process communication that occurs in any political interaction (<a href="Petkeviciute & Streimikiene">Petkeviciute & Streimikiene</a>, <a href="2017">2017</a>) and of course, also, Nimmo seeks to describe the inclusion of the meaning of political-charged interactions, in the end, beginning and ending with the communication process.

Meanwhile, in developing and using communication concepts in the sphere of influence and power to analyze the same reference frame, it is necessary to consider is that we strive to distinguish the subject – whether it is an empirical subject or normative. The two subjects were difficult to distinguish in subsequent assessments, Whether it is for research or for theoretical development. Soto distinguishes the two subjects process of political communication (events) that should only be seen as political reality (empirical dimension). As a study of the science should be seated on the normative subject, so a series of political events of its dimensions certainly also involve interrelated or contextual communication processes.

Regarding research findings (Nana Adriana, 2012) that every apathy showed to a group instead of the community (women), then space will be taken over by men. In this situation, the leadership role at the level of the village to provincial more entrusted to men. Although known together apathy shown by women today as a result of the formation of the new order, which reached 32-year-old woman pressed to thrive, even only at the level of the village are allowed indulge freely is a movement coaching family welfare (*PKK*), Dharma Wanita for the wives of employees civil and *Dharma Pertiwi* for wives whose husbands of armed forces who now changed the name of the TNI/Polri (Bergmann, 2018; Fatimah, 2004; Utomo & Rahani, 2013).



Everybody is aware that the lack of women developing Aceh is a result of the conflict in Aceh in the new order, in which the women's movement in Aceh has a setback in the political world, which in the end they lost the opportunity to elevate their status and role. So, the impact on his participation in politics, even they are not so responsive to the empowerment program that articulated government or other institutions outside of them. Even (<u>Gayatri, 2008</u>), Plot the Acehnese women is a human figure which has dimensions of duty and social obligation plated. They always have a way to survive, even in situations when identity as women make them into objects adoption of discriminatory and inhuman in the name of ideology (<u>Gadis Arifia and Nur Iman Subono, 2017; Lockley et al., 2019; Noerdin, 2005; Salviana & Soedarwo, 2014</u>).

Interestingly after the tsunami in 2004 ago has re-opened eyes, Acehnese women to come from behind to support the wheels of development in Aceh, it is evident from the involvement of various sectors of development (Lee-Koo, 2012a; Scarpello, 2005). Although the growth of women in the region affected by the tsunami has not been everything to other areas in the districts/cities in Aceh, but gradually when women are given more space in the public arena other regions will undoubtedly follow the same pass. For this study focus will see the progress of women in politics, it is the challenge of the candidates and women activists also observers of women is the certainty of women answered the challenge quota granted by the state as much as 30 percent selected will be a Homework (*PR*), which is difficult to answer, even at the central level (DPR-RI) until now have not been able to bring 30 percent of women elected.

This phenomenon will be relatively natural to pass by a community of women when they want to get out of chain, such as in Banda Aceh as the capital of the province has been able to demonstrate success through a community of women's centers spread almost in 90 villages in 9 districts in Banda Aceh, where they have been able to collaborate with governments, nongovernmental organizations society (NGOs) and the business world in moving their potential (Kusmawati Hatta dkk, 2015; K. Masrizal, 2016), The women forms collaborations will bear a political space for a community of women who are members of the women's centers (*Balee Inong*) in conveying their aspirations to fight every woman needs — for example, known that only the only one in the province of Aceh city/county that has a particular container to express their aspirations in development planning known as Musrena (Council action plan women) who since 2009 has been in the regulation of mayor by the city government as stipulated No. 52. 2009 on Musrena (Masrizal, 2017; Ratnawati, 2016).

Specifically, the purpose of this study is to explain the involvement of women in the public arena, in this case, to be women's legislative candidates for local political parties and national political parties in the fight for women's aspirations public space. This study is to explain two important points about the women's movement in the public arena: first, analyze and explain the opportunities and challenges of women legislative candidates in the election 2019. Second, the involvement of women in realizing space-based women's budget politics. Until now, patriarchy culture is still thriving in the order of Acehnese people in particular and Indonesia in general. As a result, various social problems have been deprived of women's freedom and violating the rights that women should have. As well as their rights in the political sphere. The cause is still classic because the realm of women is still considered too domestic so that public spaces are full rights for men.

## **METHODOLOGY**

My analysis of data collected through 15 In-depth interview with the candidate Legislature national political parties (PPP, Golkar, PKB, PKS, PAN, Nasdem, Demokrat, Gerindra, PKPI, Perindo, and PBB) and local political parties (PA, PNA, PDA, and SIRA) from the electoral district of Banda Aceh. This study is to explain two important points about the women's movement in the public arena: first, analyze and explain the opportunities and challenges of women legislative candidates in the election 2019. Second, the involvement of women in realizing space-based women's budget politics. The approach of research using a contemporary feminist ethnographic by Mary K Thomson, 1985 this study see how women have power and significant roles that are symbolically, structurally and functionally important for the regulation (Leavy, 2007; Ramazanoglu, 2002; Shulamit Reinharz, 1992). The contemporary ethnographic feminist approach methods saw how the process of women has the essential power and role that is symbolically, structurally and functionally important to regulation. This method saw how the initial process of the legislative candidates gained a special space from local and national political parties to make legislative candidates for their respective parties. Women who were proposed to be legislative candidates for almost all of the communities incorporated in Balee Inong. The community has a militant cadre in 90 villages in Banda Aceh. Even the birth of Mayor Regulation No. 52 the year 2009 about Musrena, they are involved in advocating the government. In 2015 the Balee Inong community advocated the gender-equitable budget of the ABPK and APBN funding sources, which allocated a budget of 20 million/village. So in the year 2015-now manages the budget of 1.8 billion/year.

A contemporary feminist ethnographic approach is still very rarely used in Indonesia. So this approach is important to serve as a model to see women's political participation in the public arena. The technique of collecting data through observation, interviews, and documentation (Creswell, 2010; Norman K. Denzin & Yvonna S. Lincoln, 1994; Shulamit Reinharz, 1992). Some of these patterns are used to respond to women's involvement in arena politics, specifically in Banda Aceh during this time there are two official fora used by women to express their aspirations, through *Musrena* and *Musrenbang* forum. Both the event became one of the strengths for them plunged into a political party as a candidate for the legislature, either on the local political parties and national political parties.



Contemporary feminist ethnography is one of the critical ethnography, which analyzes the social problems of research such as injustices, inequality, power, and researching common-sense assumptions such as gender. The paradigm of critical ethnographic research in the study of <u>Jurgen Habermas (1971)</u> looked at three points of view: *first*, natural science model of empirical analysis, which is a social world that can be measured, predicted and tested as a phenomenon of life In natural sciences that can be done in an objective measure by researchers. *Secondly*, the historical and interpretive model, which is a social phenomenon is depicted and defined in a balanced and philosophically explained by researchers. *Third*, the critical theory model, research in the analysis of social life and have a goal to criticize social inequality both in culture and politics. But for this research researchers focus on the third description of the critical theory which is the birthplace of critical ethnography. Therefore, critical ethnographic theorists were seen as "... The doing or the performance of critical theory. It is a critical theory in action. It means critical ethnography is the application of critical theories in a study (<u>Darwin, 2004</u>). For a critical study of the candidate movements of the women legislative candidate, he used his contemporary feminist method of Mary K Thomson, 1985.

Researchers as a sociologist using critical ethnographic methods have a moral obligation to give a thought to the process of enlightenment and change towards a condition of freedom and equality of degrees (including equations in knowledge). It is therefore critical ethnographic research in this feminist field to provide enlightenment and stem against the male domination of women and to have a mission what to do with the condition. Especially in this study, the focus is on looking to the individual women's legislative candidates who can shape the mobility of their clients without being affected by the dominant ideology of political parties in the city of Banda Aceh.

Critical ethnographic research can be understood in a visioning context on the empowerment of individuals. Even in other parts are often attributed to power, certain injustice or ideology (Creswell, 2010; Shulamit Reinharz, 1992; Wolf, 1997). So using contemporary feminist methods, this is clearly able to analyze the findings of the field data that has been obtained in strengthening the existence of Aceh women in transforming the political field in the rights public. As with the two large containers that have been acquired by the women of Banda Aceh, in particular, namely through the arena Musrena (deliberation plan for women's action) and Musrenbang (development plan deliberation) is always done annually and talk about of women's involvement in the realization of gender-equitable budget allocation.

This Arena certainly can be ensured as a political communication of women who choose to join the local political party and national political party when asked to become a candidate for the women's legislative city of Banda Aceh, which in the period 2019-2024 This increased female preference from the previous one who was elected only a single person and now has 4 people. Of course, this is progress on the movement of women in the city of Banda Aceh in championing its rights as citizens participating in the five-year elections.

## **DISCUSSION/ANALYSIS**

The logical and scientific analysis of the study presents evidence to support your analysis by citing the work of earlier researchers or existing theories. Based on data of voters (DPT), which released the Aceh KIP 2018 Soul as much as 3.45399 million consisting of 1,699,593 males. 1754397 women psyche and soul of 23 regencies/cities in Aceh (Serambi Indonesia, 01.09.2018). The data showed that women have a great chance in the answer of space provided by the State on a quota of 30 percent, the thinness of the population differences have become a force for women in gaining council seats, both at the level of district / municipal, provincial and central levels. It should be considered by women who are members of a candidate for the legislature is to be able to take heart male voters. An exciting experience that should be emulated by women candidates in Aceh is to replicate the previous step (heroine Aceh) in convincing the male voters, especially in the political field, as one of the main warlords and national fighters who have been able to lead his army against Dutch colonialism. Likewise, Laksamana Malahayati with perseverance brings together women Widows conflicts to unite against the invaders during his leadership (Sultanah), and several prominent other women who had been incised record his success past as Sultanah Safiatuddin Shah, Sultanah Nurul Alam Naqiatuddin Shah, Pocut Meurah Intan, Cut Mutia and other women characters

Rusdi Sufi (1994: 30-33) explains that the women's movement in Aceh past has a lot of unique things in mobilizing women's groups. Learning that has been disclosed by Cut Nyak Dien, how he was able to encourage her husband Teuku Umar to fight in patriotism and leave many luxury/pleasure have been held either from parents (hereditary nobility) or obtained from the Dutch colonial. Cut Nyak Dhien also demonstrates that he and her husband is not worth living extravagance when the nation is in trouble/suffering (Lisabona Rahman dkk, 2005; Supraja, 2013). Another thing also needed to emulate that despite the Cut Nyak Dhien struggling physically or by force (lift arms) but he kept doing things as a mother a housekeeper (Jean Gelman Taylor, 2018; Khausar, 2017; Sufi, 1994). The greatness of soul and morale in the fight against the invaders/injustice Cut Nyak Dhien shown through its actions, has put him level with the other national independence hero (Ozay, 2011; Yulia Sofiani Zaimar, 2011). It is why he was also awarded the National Hero by decree (decree) by the government of the Republic of Indonesia (Masrizal. et al, 2019; Sufi, 1994).

Historically women of the past have become one of the central encouragement for the candidates who will compete in 2019. Women should be aware that their every need not necessarily be understood by men as a whole, so the legislative election is an excellent opportunity for women to voice their aspirations. For example, we still find some areas in Aceh, especially if her not to move and perform arena public then it is ascertained in the area the potential of the women will



Humanities & Social Sciences Reviews eISSN: 2395-6518, Vol 8, No 1, 2020, pp 103-112 https://doi.org/10.18510/hssr.2020.8116

not be fully accommodated by the men, if not the region public leadership right from the village level/village, sub-district and district/city handed over to men.

Regarding research findings (Nana Adriana, 2012) that every apathy showed to a group instead of the community (women), then space will be taken over by men. In this situation, the leadership role at the level of the village to provincial more entrusted to men. Although known together apathy shown by women today as a result of the formation of the new order, which reached 32-year-old woman pressed to thrive, even only at the level of the village are allowed indulge freely is a movement coaching family welfare (PKK), Dharma Wanita for the wives of employees civil and Dharma Pertiwi for wives whose husbands of armed forces who now changed the name of the TNI/Polri (Bergmann, 2018; Fatimah, 2004; Utomo & Rahani, 2013).

Everybody is aware that the lack of women developing Aceh is a result of the conflict in Aceh in the new order, in which the women's movement in Aceh has a setback in the political world, which in the end they lost the opportunity to elevate their status and role. So the impact on his participation in politics, even they are not so responsive to the empowerment program that articulated government or other institutions outside of them. Even (<u>Gayatri, 2008</u>), Plot the Acehnese women is a human figure which has dimensions of duty and social obligation plated. They always have a way to survive, even in situations when identity as women make them into objects adoption of discriminatory and inhuman in the name of ideology (<u>Gadis Arifia and Nur Iman Subono, 2017; Noerdin, 2005; Salviana & Soedarwo, 2014</u>).

Interestingly after the tsunami in 2004 ago has re-opened eyes, Acehnese women to come from behind to support the wheels of development in Aceh, it is evident from the involvement of various sectors of development (<u>Lee-Koo, 2012b; Scarpello, 2005</u>). Although the growth of women in the region affected by the tsunami has not been everything to other areas in the districts/cities in Aceh, but gradually when women are given more space in the public arena other regions will undoubtedly follow the same pass. For this study focus will see the progress of women in politics, it is the challenge of the candidates and women activists also observers of women is the certainty of women answered the challenge quota granted by the state as much as 30 percent selected will be a Homework (*PR*), which is difficult to answer, even at the central level (DPR-RI) until now have not been able to bring 30 percent of women elected.

This phenomenon will be relatively natural to pass by a community of women when they want to get out of chain, such as in Banda Aceh as the capital of the province has been able to demonstrate success through a community of women's centers spread almost in 90 villages in 9 districts in Banda Aceh, where they have been able to collaborate with governments, nongovernmental organizations society (NGOs) and the business world in moving their potential (Kusmawati Hatta dkk, 2015; K. Masrizal, 2016), The women forms collaborations will bear a political space for a community of women who are members of the women's centers (*Balee Inong*) in conveying their aspirations to fight every woman needs — for example, known that only the only one in the province of Aceh city/county that has a particular container to express their aspirations in development planning known as Musrena (Council action plan women) who since 2009 has been in the regulation of mayor by the city government as stipulated No. 52 2009 on Musrena (Masrizal, 2017; Ratnawati, 2016).

The results obtained by this *Balee Inong* (woman grassroots) community are cornerstones of the success of women in Banda Aceh, among others: first, politically in the 2009-2014 period, they were able to deliver one woman elected to the city council representatives in Banda Aceh. Secondly, every village in Banda Aceh village women manages 10 percent of the budget of the village (ADG, BKPG). Third, almost all the women nominated as candidates for the legislature since the period of 2014-2019 and 2019-2024 is almost 80 percent of those involved in community *Balee Inong*.

Fourth, Readiness Acehnese women involved in the local and national political party after the MoU still needs to be improved. Why would this be a preliminary analysis of this study because they found the women who opted into candidates legislative today such as taking the ball into sacks or figure of speech of Aceh (*boh timun peu punoh raga*), just because you want to meet a quota of 30 percent, then the local party and national party come from home to home to ask the willingness of women to be nominated as candidates regardless of the capacity of women? This phenomenon should not be practiced by local and national political parties, because it is only for the sake of their moment to smooth his party to pass the verification.

The same thing happens when the reality of the local elections (elections) Aceh Period I of 20 districts/cities in Aceh in February 2017, particularly in the recruitment of candidates for regional head and deputy, where women's participation is still minimal, namely Banda Aceh (as candidate for mayor) and Simeulue (vice mayor), while other districts/cities in Aceh still do not dare to participate in the five-year celebration of democracy. This phenomenon proves the reality of the women's movement in Aceh if associated with past very different women (Lawrence J. Vale, Shomon Shamsuddin, 2014; Marjaana Jauhola, 2015; Masrizal. et al., 2019). While districts/cities in Aceh still do not dare to participate in the five-year celebration of democracy. The phenomenon proves the reality of the women's movement in Aceh if associated with past very different women. While districts/cities in Aceh still do not dare to participate in the five-year celebration of democracy. The reality of the women's movement in Aceh if associated with past very different women (Guarnacci, 2016; Kamaruzzaman, 2008; McAdam Doug, 2004; Siti Hariti Sastriyani (editor), 2008).

Post-conflict (RI-GAM) marked with the all-powerful event of earthquake and tsunami in Aceh in the past, it turned out that 2004 has opened the eyes of women to engage in development, however, still less take part in politics, but more to



the field of economics, because at that moment the tsunami-ravaged Aceh's economic life order (Kamaruzzaman, 2000; Sari, 2013). The wisdom of tsunami that is very beneficial for women is it was conceived peace between Indonesia and GAM on August 15, 2005, which was given the name with a memorandum of understanding (MoU) Helsinki, which makes women psychologically Aceh back happy, and reunited with family. Because of the conflict, the Acehnese women took more time in taking care of children and earn money. Since most of the husbands involved the war and leave the wife at home. The difference when ancient spaces of participation women got full support from the men as articulated in the book Rusdi Sufi above, now these spaces began to wane, so the authors wondered whether strengthening the capacity of the women who accompanied by NGO/CSO local as well as foreign in the political sphere of post-tsunami, certainly not so significant in encouraging women join the work directly to Earth politics. For example, the results of the initial observation the author when the implementation of the elections of the Mayor of Banda Aceh and Simeulue in March 2017, where the movement of groups of women who are members of the Organization (NGOs) both are district/cities to village/haven't been able to deliver more value in producing women candidates elected and was directly involved in voicing the aspirations of women in politics.

When women in Banda Aceh chose to go into politics, this is an achievement for women, because for decades the previous election of women does not want to get involved and represent their aspirations to men. so women's needs are ignored public space even the value of gender equality, both in the fields of social infrastructure as well as other fields is not responsive to women. Women who have become female legislatures of local political parties and national parties are women who have been trained in the Balee Inong community in the field of social Softskills (Leadership and organizational management, mediation and negotiation, and publiks speaking). This ability is a basic capital that must be owned by any candidate of legislative members so that when he is a member of the legislature he will understand his duties and responsibilities as a representative of the people who give trust to him as His deputy in the legislature. This opportunity led to why almost all women nominated by local and national political parties were from members of the Balee Inong community, so the results in the 2019-2024 period were elected 4 female representatives in the Banda Aceh city legislature. Earlier since the city of Banda Aceh began the electoral process there is no level of female preference to achieve as it is now. Usually, female representatives in the legislature are just one person every election. Of course, this is an achievement for women of Banda Aceh to withdraw analysis of critical theories in sociology, as described in the above research methods expressed by Jurgen Habermas, with Approach to the contemporary feminist methodology of Mary K Thomson

## Opportunities and Challenges of the Women Parliamentary Candidates

Post Legalization Regulation Commission (PKPU) No. 07 of 2013 and Law of Political Parties No. 12 of 2003 Article 65, paragraph 1 which called on political parties to nominate 30 percent of women this is a great opportunity that should be taken by women and be discussed jointly by the women's groups and women's NGOs in order to prepare the best cadres into legislative candidates. Likewise, the local or national political party which has had a nimble women cadre to be given space to participate in the election run immediately. Things should be considered to address this is their chance to form a forum that is not permanent or (ad-hock) as a strengthening of the capacity of national women formed from the center to the regions.

The women legislative should continue to regenerate the candidacy of women candidates. Essentially State only delivers them to answer PKPU rule number 07 of 2013 and the Political Parties Act No. 12 of 2003 Article 60 paragraph 1 which requires political parties weeks to give a quota of 30 percent of the women candidates. At the earliest possible stage of the organizer's state conducting initial experiments with dividing zones or regions in the excavation of the potential of women in each region.

For then every area that successfully developed this pattern is such an area shall carry it on to fund itself with funds recess they have in preparing cadres in the future, and the country as organizers switched the stricken others to develop similar things so that the role of the State in responding to problems faced by women in participating as a board member of the center (DPR-RI) will be fulfilled, and women's groups will feel the existence of the State. The challenges faced by women who are candidates for the next legislature not only internally but also externally. Internally, the influence of local cultures did not allow women becoming candidates for the legislature, which is not her husband's attitude working public space (Abdullah, 2006; Haines, 1933; Meiss, 1993; Partini, 2013).

While the external is a political party locally and nationally only make women as candidates to meet the 30 percent quota as a condition of administrative for verification purposes, the serial number is a political party that always put women at the serial number distended or number, so it seems the presence of women just for the sake of pan male voice who is on a unique serial number. Besides, it is also the organizer of the elections (KPU and Bawaslu) who is not involved in determining the serial number and was never given a reason why women are always in the last number. It can be seen that had twice done the legislative elections of women do not meet the quota has been given, so it is always sacrificed is the women themselves, saying they lack confidence women against candidates women, but these words just like a words escape that always be beneficial for men to block women obtain their rights as agreed in the legislation.

Seeing the difficult situation as above then it should be done by a community of women was approached by the organizers of the State (KPU and Bawaslu) in order to ensure that each political party that requires their achievements so



that each area of representation of women in parliament (DPRK, DPRD, DPR-RI, and DPD-RI) is meet the quota of 30 percent if there is the political party was given a written warning and if necessary in the complicated administrative verification requirements.

## Maintaining Strength in Existence is Acehnese Women in Development Post-Election

The legislator is the chance to become a big dream to be expected by women who are eager to strengthen the presence of women in development, but they are also far-away days have prepared themselves when not selected already very well established in carrying out its activities. Learning from the experiences of women who are members of the community *Balee Inong*Banda Aceh where they are well-prepared when he was nominated to be the legislators either from any party who would ask for her hand into one of the main party cadres or sympathizers of the party is prepared to become a candidate for the legislature. As where the findings of the Women Development Center (WDC) in cooperation with Ford Foundation Banda Aceh in 2015 which explained that Banda Aceh women have been very ready to change and move the women involved in the construction, where her quick response saw the situation of women who continue to be far behind the men then take another strategic step in building a shared commitment to mutually integrated.

Built integration between the communities of women with municipalities to encourage continued strengthening Musrena forum (Council Action Plan for Women), which has the force of law in Perwal No. 52 of 2009, concerning Musrena to accommodate the needs of women. Then integration with NGOs, they get their strengthening soft skill social of women's through strengthening the capacity of women candidates, with world enterprises (owners of capital), they were able to collaborate by moving the creative economy through various potential they have, for example, cooperation with PT Telkomsel they get internet training and free computer, with State Electricity Enterprise (*PLN*), they became one of the PPOB for public services to payment of utility bills. But it will be different with women who become candidates without going through the assistance of the NGO or the government-owned districtKabupeten / town it will feel when not selected will be directly desperate or the like. Due to the amount found women candidates whose role is only to gain votes for the elected men and women participating be the candidates to be fully funded by the incumbent who feels its existence will be disturbed when there are women candidates participated in the constituency (electoral district).

The emergence of women candidates in Legislative elections this period also a severe concern among male scholars who have agreed to work in women's public space. This is due to the amount found Women candidates whose role is only to gain votes for the elected men and women participating normally be the candidates to be fully funded by the incumbent who feels its existence will be disturbed when there are women candidates participated in the constituency (electoral district). The emergence of women candidates in Legislative elections this period also a severe concern among male scholars who have agreed to work women's public space. Due to the amount found women candidates whose role is only to gain votes for the elected men and women participating regularly be the candidates to be fully funded by the incumbent who feels its existence will be disturbed when there are women candidates participated in the constituency (electoral district). The emergence of women candidates in Legislative elections this period also a severe concern among male scholars who have agreed to work women's public space.

The research findings recently that the author did that almost all candidates women who participated interviewed explained that their desire to run is not despite the lack of attention of the council (legislative) of men against women, especially in the management of the budget has not been responsive women, and most of the plot of the budget to infrastructure are not necessarily able to provide outputs or output to development for men and women. Especially for Banda Aceh political contestation against the budget reached through the realm Musrena (Council Action Plan for Women), which has since 2007 driven by women from leadership Mawardi Illiza Nurdin- Saaduddin Djamal until now, then when finished the discussion will be handed over to the city of Banda Aceh Musrenbang, (Masrizal, 2018; M. Masrizal, 2017), Hopefully, in the future other regions in Aceh also Musrena well or other similar forums that can accommodate the aspirations of women in development. So it will be many candidates in districts/cities felt called to become candidates to answer the missing space against women has long been until now has not materialized, which resulted in women always behind and have not been able to rise from the bondage of patriarchy.

#### Contestation Women in Politics Brought Woman Based Budgeting

Legislative elections are important contestation which should be used by women to express their aspirations and the right space to discuss budget politics. Moreover, the duties and responsibilities of the board are overseeing the budget. Surely that is where the critical role of women to voice their rights so that based budgeting planning to the needs of women. The question of budget politics in order to be balanced between men and women has been set forth in the Regulation of the Minister of Women No. 6 of 2009 which explained that gender mainstreaming is a strategy that is built to integrate gender into an integral dimension of planning, budgeting, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies, programs, and development activities. (Djoharwinarlien, 2012; Kathleen Lahey, 2017; Masrizal, 2017)

Opportunities for women when seen with formal legal in the form of laws or regulation ministerial, gubernatorial, regulation of mayor, declaring that the State regulates it is enough to make women directly involved in the politics of budget, or set your own needs of women, even when Musrenbang any women do not longer have to argue with the group of men in expressing their aspirations are accommodated in the village to the budget allocation be blessed (Ma'rif et al., 2010; M. Masrizal, 2017; Tim UNFGI dan PPKK UGM, 2013; Tresiana & Duadji, 2016). Hopefully, the future



districts/cities in Aceh to learn to Banda Aceh to the management of the budget through village needs of women, which in Banda Aceh since 2015 has been practicing 10 percent budget village sourced from ADG / ADD and BKPG prioritized for women's capacity-building efforts (Masrizal et al, 2019; Masrizal, 2018; Syahputri, Veni Nella, 2017), Kesbangpolinmas as a facilitator of the government at the time of fieldwork visits to the regions may need also exists in the form of FGD (focus group discussion), neither in the form of research make social mapping early in order to map out which areas are not given political rights to women to voice their aspirations, so where Kesbangpolinmas become a new force for women at the local level in Aceh in addressing the challenges faced by women today.

The 15 informant interviews are women who are members of the Balee Inong community nominated by local political parties and national political parties. Interestingly 4 women elected in the period 2019-2024 is the fourth is the best Balee Inong cadres ever interviewed in this study. Hopefully, 4 people give a new color in the political world of Banda Aceh, especially in the discussion of the budget that is responsive to gender-equitable programs. Their achievements in the public in the Balee Inong community should continue to be improved when joining political parties to continue to be fought and insoluble by championing party ideology alone, but also championing the interests of the crowd, especially for women and children. Space as a legislative member is the right arena for them to continue to fight for the rights of women and children.

#### **CONCLUSION**

The democracy in Indonesia in general and in Aceh, in particular, has undergone a rapid change. The results of this study show that the opportunities and challenges of women's legislative candidates in the 2019 elections are varied. The first research question shows in the context of opportunities, women have had legal legitimacy with the issuance of the Law on placing women on the same footing as the men in the political sphere contained in article 2 paragraph 2 of the political party number 2 the year 2008. Then the regulation of the General Election Commission No. 7 the Year 2013. Even in the specificity of Aceh after the MoU of Helsinki confirmed in Qanun No. 3 of 2008 article 21 paragraph 1 and 2 of the local party which states that KIP (Independent Election Commission) must verify the completeness and accuracy of the document administrative requirements or candidates of provincial MPs against the DPRK to verify the fulfillment of at least 30 percent of women's representatives. While in the context of the challenge: first, women's legislative candidates have not fully gained the trust of men to be representatives of the people in the legislature. The Women legislative candidates were number two after the men who gained room in politics.

Secondly, there is still a covert campaign of political opponents that men mention that women are not fit to be representatives of the people because the place of women is domestically arena is not in the public, whether it is a man who is in the same political party or a different political party than the female legislative candidate. Thirdly, the sequential number of legislative member candidacy neither the local party nor the National Party has not put women on the main sequence number but there are still a string number or last sequence number.

The second question of this study shows that women's involvement in realizing the gender-based budget politics on the discussion of the budget allocation in Musrenbang discussed by the city government's workforce (SKPK) and legislative members are still not maximally available in filing various programs at the city level, even far from expectations, due to only one female representative in the previous period of 2014-2019, while The Banda Aceh Government working unit is also lacking. The presence of 4 women representatives from Balee Inong will color the political budget is legalized in the present period 2019-2024, because they are the elected women of their respective elections that are skilled in their field coupled with their social Softskill capital.

# LIMITATION AND STUDY FORWARD

The limitation of this research is the research area only in the city of Banda Aceh, although Banda Aceh provincial capital is the heterogeneous population of its inhabitants. It should be done in the 23 regencies/cities in Aceh province so that it can be deduced any region in Aceh that has fulfilled the quota of 30 percent women preference in the legislature, as in Aceh only one district namely, Aceh Tamiang has been 36 percent women preference in the legislative, although the average women preference in the city district in Aceh occurred an increase from the previous period of 8.8 percent increased to 13 percent in the period of 2019-2024. Fore expected related agencies or agencies such as the institution of Kesbangpol Aceh that oversees political parties should provide support to the political party that is still the preference of women in his political party in each district of the city in Aceh, then gave awareness to voters that the importance of the involvement of women in political parties in the fight for their aspirations.

# ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The mention of my special thanks to Universitas Syiah Kualaand Universitas Gadjah Mada and last to Educational Fund Management Institution, Ministry of Finance RI (*Lembaga Pengelola Dana Pendidikan Kementerian Keuangan Republik Indonesia*) as the giver scholarship in the study.

#### REFERENCES

- 1. Abdullah, I. (2006). Sangkan Paran Gender (Cet. 3). Pustaka Pelajar.
- 2. Bergmann, B. B. R. (2018). American Economic Association The Economic Risks of Being a Housewife Author





- (s): Barbara R. Bergmann Source: The American Economic Review, Vol. 71, No. 2, Papers and Proceedings of the Ninety-Third Annual Meeting of the American Economic Associa. 71(2).
- 3. Creswell, J. W. (2010). Research Design Pendekatan Kualitatif, Kuantitatif dan Mixed. Pustaka Pelajar.
- 4. Crompton, R. (1987). Patriarchy at Work Patriarchal and Capitalist Relations in Employment Walby, S. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 11(4), 607–608.
- 5. Djoharwinarlien, S. (2012). Implementasi Pengarustamaan Gender dalam Pro Gender Budgeting.
- 6. Eka Srimulyani. (2012). Nyais of Jombang Pesantrens: Public Roles and Agency.
- 7. Fatimah, S. (2004). Negara dan Perempuan: Fujinkai (1943-1945) dan Dharma Wanita (1974-1999). UI.
- 8. Gadis Arifia and Nur Iman Subono. (2017). A Hundred Years of Feminism in Indonesia An Analysis of Actors, Debates and Strategies. <a href="https://www.fes-asia.org">www.fes-asia.org</a>
- 9. Gayatri, I. (2008). Jejak Negosiasi Perempuan Aceh. Srinthil: Media Perempuan Multikultural, 15(October 2008).
- 10. Guarnacci, U. (2016). Joining the dots: Social networks and community resilience in post-conflict, post-disaster Indonesia. *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction*, 16, 180–191. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdrr.2016.03.001">https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdrr.2016.03.001</a>
- 11. Habermas, Jurgen, 1971. Knowledge and Human Interests. J. J. Shapiro (trans.) Boston: Beacon
- 12. Haines, J. (1933). Gender, Patriarchy And Fascism in the Third Reich: The Response of Women Writer.
- 13. Ismiati. (2016). Eksistensi aktivis perempuan dalam mewujudkan Perdamaian di Aceh. *Jurnal Al-Bayan*, 22(33), 1–16.
- 14. Iwan Zulfan Amir. (2003). *Inong Aceh an analysis on the changing position of Women in Aceh*. The Australian National University.
- 15. Jean Gelman Taylor. (2018). Review Reviewed Work (s): Aceh. History, Politics, and Culture by Arndt Graf, Susanne Schröter and Edwin Wieringa Review by: Jean Gelman Taylor Published by: Anthropos Institut Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/23510181.2012, 259–260.
- 16. Kamaliah, M. &. (2017). Partisipasi Perempuan Sebagai Anggota Tuha Peut Gampong. In *Maret* (Vol. 3, Issue 1).
- 17. Kamaruzzaman, S. (2000). Women and the war in Aceh.
- 18. Kamaruzzaman, S. (2008). Peran perempuan dalam proses perdamaian Aceh. In A. dan J. Large (Ed.), *Rekonfigurasi Politik: proses perdamaian Aceh* (pp. 76–79). Conciliation Resources.
- 19. Kathleen Lahey. (2017). Australian tax-transfer policies and taxing for gender equality: Comparative perspectives and reform options. *Tax*, *Social Policy and Gender*, 35–68. <a href="https://doi.org/10.22459/TSPG.11.2017.02">https://doi.org/10.22459/TSPG.11.2017.02</a>
- 20. Khausar, K. (2017). Upaya dan Peran Institusi Lokal (Balee Inong) dalam Menanamkan Nilai-nilai Pendidikan Islam Bagi Ibu-ibu dan Remaja Kota Banda Aceh. VIII(2), 41–53.
- 21. Kusmawati Hatta dkk. (2015). *Modul Pemberdayaan Perempuan* ( sebuah analisa Balee Inong dan Relasi Sosial). WDC Banda Aceh kerjasama Ford Foundation.
- 22. Lawrence J. Vale, Shomon Shamsuddin, A. G. and K. B. (2014). What Affordable Housing Should Afford: Housing for Resilient Cities. *A Journal of Policy Development and Research. US Department of Housing and Urban Development*, 16, No. 2, 21–49.
- 23. Leavy, S. N. H.-B. P. L. (2007). Feminist Research Practice. SAGE Publication.
- 24. Lee-Koo, K. (2012b). Gender at the crossroad of conflict: tsunami and peace in post-2005 Aceh. *Feminist Review*, 101(1), 59–77. https://doi.org/10.1057/fr.2011.54
- 25. Lisabona Rahman dkk. (2005). Representasi Perempuan dalam Kebijakan Publik di Era Otonomi Daerah. Women Research Institute.
- 26. Lockley, A., Marcoes, L., Nugroho, K., & Boang-Manalu, A. G. (2019). Women's Collective Action for Empowerment in Indonesia. *Jurnal Perempuan*, 24(1), 13. https://doi.org/10.34309/jp.v24i1.309
- 27. Luigi Cavestro. (2003). Participatory Rural Appraisal Concepts Methodologies and Techniques. The University of Padova.
- 28. Ma'rif, S., Nugroho, P., & Wijayanti, L. (2010). Evaluasi Efektivitas Pelaksanaan Musyawarah Perencanaan Pembangunan (MUSRENBANG) Kota Semarang. *Riptek*, 4(11), 53–62. http://bappeda.semarangkota.go.id/uploaded/publikasi/Evaluasi\_Efektivitas\_Pelaksanaan\_Musyawarah\_Perenc anaan\_Pembangunan\_(Musrenbang)\_Kota\_Semarang\_-\_SAMSUL.\_M\_dkk.pdf
- 29. Marhaeni, T., & Astuti, P. (2008). Citra Perempuan Dalam Politik. *Jurnal Studi Gender Dan Anak STAIN Purwokerto*, 3(1). https://doi.org/10.24090/yinyang.v3i1.183
- 30. Marjaana Jauhola. (2015). Scraps of Home: Banda Acehnese Life Narratives Contesting the Reconstruction Discourse of a Post-Tsunami City that is "Built Back Better." *Asian Journal of Social Science*, *Vol. 43*, *N*(Disasters, Vulnerability and Local Governance in Southeast Asia), 738–759. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1163/15685314-04306005">https://doi.org/10.1163/15685314-04306005</a>
- 31. Masrizal. et all. (2019). The Bargaining Position of Women in Village Fund Management in Balee Inong. *Opcion*, 35. No.89, 514–532.
- 32. Masrizal. (2017). Musrena and E-Musrenbang Dictionary-Based Development Planning Against Gender Perspective Policy. *Procedia Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research (ASSEHR)*,



- 81(Icosop 2016), 152–159. https://doi.org/10.2991/icosop-16.2017.22
- 33. Masrizal. (2018). Gerakan Sosial Balee Inong Berbasis Komunitas Melalui Ranah Musrena dan Musrenbang. In Brahma Putra Pratama (Ed.), *Comicos 2018 : INOVASI, KOMUNIKASI, KOLABORASI "Strategi dan Kajian Membangun Masyarakat Kreatif di Era Digital"* (pp. 903–930). Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Atma Jaya Yogyakara. https://comicos.uajy.ac.id/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/eproceeding-COMICOS-2018.pdf
- 34. Masrizal, K. (2016). Sistem Kelompok Balee Inong Dalam Meningkatkan Kebutuhan Pangan Rumah Tangga Melalui Konsep Tanggung Renteng. *Jurnal Ekonomika*, *VII*. <a href="http://jurnal.umuslim.ac.id/index.php/eko/article/view/511">http://jurnal.umuslim.ac.id/index.php/eko/article/view/511</a>
- 35. Masrizal, M. (2017). Musrena and E-Musrenbang dictionary based Development Planning Againt gender perspective policy. *Atlantis Press*, 81(Gender and Developmen), 152–159. <a href="http://www.atlantis-press.com/php/pub.php?publication=icosop-16">http://www.atlantis-press.com/php/pub.php?publication=icosop-16</a>
- 36. McAdam Doug, M. J. D. & M. N. Z. (2004). Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structure, and Cultural Framings. Cambridge University Press.
- 37. Meiss, M. (1993). Women and Patriarchy. *Women's Studies Ht. Forum*, 16(I), 57–63. https://doi.org/10.1016/0277-5395(93)90080-S
- 38. Naila Kabeer. (2003). *Mainstreaming Gender in Poverty Eradication and the Millenium Development Goals*. IDRC Publication. <a href="https://doi.org/10.14217/9781848598133-en">https://doi.org/10.14217/9781848598133-en</a>
- 39. Nana Adriana. (2012). Perempuan, Partai Politik, dan Parlemen: Studi Kinerja Anggota Legislatif Perempuan di Tingkat Lokal. LIPI- PT Gading Inti Prima.
- 40. Narayan, B. (2006). Memories, Saffronising Statues and Constructing Communal Politics. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 41(45), 4695–4701. https://doi.org/10.2307/4418896
- 41. Nimmo, Dan. 1978. Political Communication and Public Opinion in America, California: Goodyear Publishing Company
- 42. Noerdin, E. (2005). Politik Identitas Perempuan Aceh (Issue 24). Women Research Institute.
- 43. Norman K. Denzin & Yvonna S. Lincoln. (1994). Handbook of Qualitative Research. SAGE Publication.
- 44. Nurjanah. (2003). Perempuan dalam Pasungan: Bias Laki-laki dalam Penafsiran. LKiS.
- 45. Ozay, M. (2011). Women as Rulers Phenomenon in Southeast Asian Islamic Society: The Queens of Aceh. *World Journal of Islamic History and Civilization*, 1(3), 142–151.
- 46. Partini. (2013). Bias Gender dalam Birokrasi. Tiara Wacana.
- 47. Petkeviciute, N., & Streimikiene, D. (2017). Gender and Sustainable Negotiation,. *Economics & Sociology*, 10(2), 279–295. https://doi.org/10.14254/2071-789X.2017/10-2/21
- 48. Ramazanoglu, C. (2002). Feminist Metodology, Challenges and Choices. SAGE Publication Ltd. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781849209144
- 49. Ratnawati, O. S. dan. (2016). Model Musyawarah Rencana Aksi Perempuan (MUSRENA) Responsif Gender di Kota Banda Aceh. *Palastren*, *09 No. 1*, 161–187. <a href="https://doi.org/10.21043/palastren.v9i1.1718">https://doi.org/10.21043/palastren.v9i1.1718</a>
- 50. Salviana, V., & Soedarwo, D. (2014). *Political Ideology Meaning and Patriarchal Ideology of Female Politicians in Indonesia : A Case in Malang*. 20, 486–495. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.proenv.2014.03.061
- 51. Sari, R. (2013). Women's Participation in Local Politic in Aceh (A Case Study). Flinders University Australia.
- 52. Serambi Indonesia, Daftar Pemilih Tetap Aceh <a href="https://aceh.tribunnews.com/2018/09/01/pemilih-aceh-2019-3453990-jiwa">https://aceh.tribunnews.com/2018/09/01/pemilih-aceh-2019-3453990-jiwa</a>
- 53. Scarpello, F. (2005). Tsunami: Acehnese Women Recover Their Old Power. Global Information Network.
- 54. Shulamit Reinharz. (1992). Metode-metode Feminis dalam Penelitian Sosial. Women Research Institute.
- 55. Siti Hariti Sastriyani (editor). (2008). Women in Public Sector (Perempuan di Sektor Publik). PSW-UGM kerjasama Penerbit Tiara Wacana.
- 56. Sufi, R. (1994). Sejarah Kotamadya Banda Aceh. Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan.
- 57. Supraja, M. (2013). Potret Feminisme Muslim (Studi Pemikiran Lima Feminis Muslim Indonesia). Sadra Press.
- 58. Syahputri, Veni Nella, C. I. L. (2017). Partisipasi Masyarakat Gampong Dalam Pembangunan Pasca Lahirnya Undang-undang Desa NO. 6 Tahun 2014 di Kabupaten Aceh Barat. *Jurnal Sosiologi USK*, *1*(2).
- 59. Tim UNFGI dan PPKK UGM. (2013). Policy Brief, Partisipasi Perempuan dalam Pembangunan: Mengurai Musrena Banda Aceh.
- 60. Thomson. K. Mary, 1985. Feminist Phase Theory. Journal of Higher Education, 56-363-384. Springer
- 61. Tresiana, N., & Duadji, N. (2016). Kegagalan pemaknaan "Lembaga Musyawarah Perencanaan dan Pembangunan Desa" dalam mewujudkan Deepening Democracy Failure of understanding "Village Development and Planning Consensus Instituition" in realizing deepening democracy. 29(4), 191–203. <a href="https://doi.org/10.20473/mkp.V29I42016.191-203">https://doi.org/10.20473/mkp.V29I42016.191-203</a>
- 62. Utomo, A. P., & Rahani, R. (2013). Kesejahteraan Rumah Tangga dalam Pengaruh Wanita Kepala Rumah Tangga. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik*, 17(2).
- 63. Wolf, N. (1997). Gegar Gender: Kekuasaan Perempuan Menjelang Abad 21. Semesta Press.
- 64. Yulia Sofiani Zaimar. (2011). Konstruksi Identitas Perempuan Aceh Dalam Majalah Inong Aceh. UI.
- 65. Zamroni, M. (2013). Perempuan dalam Kajian Komunikasi Politik dan Gender. Journal Dakwah, XIV(01), 110–132.