

University of Nebraska - Lincoln

DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln

---

Library Philosophy and Practice (e-journal)

Libraries at University of Nebraska-Lincoln

---

Fall 12-19-2019

## POLITICAL COMMUNICATION OF WOMEN'S ACEH LEGISLATORS (Opportunities and Challenges of Women in Aceh in the Public Sphere)

Ainol Mardhiah

*universitas Padjadjaran*, [ainol16001@mail.unpad.ac.id](mailto:ainol16001@mail.unpad.ac.id)

Dadang Rahmat Hidayat

*Universitas Padjadjaran*, [dadang.rahmat@unpad.ac.id](mailto:dadang.rahmat@unpad.ac.id)

Agus Rahmat

*Universitas Padjadjaran*, [agus.rahmat@unpad.ac.id](mailto:agus.rahmat@unpad.ac.id)

Nuryah Asri Sjafirah

*Universitas Padjadjaran*, [nuryah.asri@unpad.ac.id](mailto:nuryah.asri@unpad.ac.id)

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/libphilprac>



Part of the [Critical and Cultural Studies Commons](#), [Gender, Race, Sexuality, and Ethnicity in Communication Commons](#), [Library and Information Science Commons](#), [Other Feminist, Gender, and Sexuality Studies Commons](#), [Other Political Science Commons](#), [Social Influence and Political Communication Commons](#), and the [Women's Studies Commons](#)

---

Mardhiah, Ainol; Hidayat, Dadang Rahmat; Rahmat, Agus; and Sjafirah, Nuryah Asri, "POLITICAL COMMUNICATION OF WOMEN'S ACEH LEGISLATORS (Opportunities and Challenges of Women in Aceh in the Public Sphere)" (2019). *Library Philosophy and Practice (e-journal)*. 3605.  
<https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/libphilprac/3605>

## **POLITICAL COMMUNICATION OF WOMEN'S ACEH LEGISLATORS (Opportunities and Challenges of Women in Aceh in the Public Sphere)**

Ainol Mardhiah

Faculty of Communication Science Universitas Padjadjaran, Bandung, Indonesia  
[ainol16001@mail.unpad.ac.id](mailto:ainol16001@mail.unpad.ac.id)

Department of Communication Science, Universitas Malikussaleh, Aceh, Indonesia  
[Ainol.mardhiah@unimal.ac.id](mailto:Ainol.mardhiah@unimal.ac.id)

Dadang Rahmat Hidayat

Faculty of Communication Science Universitas Padjadjaran, Bandung, Indonesia  
[dadang.rahmat@unpad.ac.id](mailto:dadang.rahmat@unpad.ac.id)

Agus Rahmat

Faculty of Communication Science Universitas Padjadjaran, Bandung, Indonesia  
[agus.rahmat@unpad.ac.id](mailto:agus.rahmat@unpad.ac.id)

Nuryah Asri Sjafirah

Faculty of Communication Science Universitas Padjadjaran, Bandung, Indonesia  
[nuryah.asri@unpad.ac.id](mailto:nuryah.asri@unpad.ac.id)

### ***Abstract***

The lack of representation of women in Aceh parliament, indicates that women were left behind in every decision-making related to the development of the Aceh region. Though women are the largest group in this area. This paper intends to examine the political communication of women legislative members in Aceh by focusing on: opportunities and challenges for Acehnese women in the public sphere. This study uses qualitative research methods with a case study approach. The results of the study show that with the legalization of the Law no. 12, 2003 on the Public Election and Law on the Aceh Government no. 11, 2006, women engagement in public sphere as the legislative members becomes possible. The challenges for Acehnese women to be present in the public sphere as members of the legislature are: stereotyping of women involved in politics, patriarchal culture that is still thick, women's political communication competence is low, thus raising doubts for voters, awareness of women to be present in public sphere that minimal, low voter trust in women legislative candidates, concerns about the ability of women legislative candidates to divide their time between private and public sphere, interpretations of religion that are understood to differ in the community and commitment and sincere intentions of political parties in providing assistance to women legislative candidates . It is hoped that women should increase the competence of themselves in political communication and give the understanding to the community about the importance of women's presence in the Aceh parliament.

*Keywords:* Political Communication, Women, local parliaments and Aceh.

## 1. Background

The Acehese women's political movement has a very long phase, starting from the Acehese women's movement in the Portuguese and Dutch colonial periods, the period of prosperity, the resistance of Acehese women during the nearly 30-year conflict period, the phase of post-peace women's struggle between the government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Aceh Movement Merdeka (GAM). Those movements have a different dynamic.

Aceh is one of the provinces in Indonesia which is actively undertaking development in various sectors. Both the development of infrastructure, which was destroyed by the earthquake and Tsunami in 2004, and the development of human resources are priority. Unfortunately the development of the political aspects that involve women as subjects of political development is still very low. This is clearly seen from the involvement of Acehese women in terms of political participation that is still far from expectations, especially in strategic positions in the public sphere, such in the legislative, judicial and executive branches.

Women's political participation is needed so that the interests and perspectives of Acehese women can be articulated. In this case, women who are involved in decision making in various institutions not only act as couriers who deliver messages, but they themselves are the messages. This also avoids systematic efforts that marginalize the role of women. Peace in Aceh is unlikely to last long when Acehese women are left behind in making decisions, so women's participation in politics is absolutely necessary in the context of the political transition to democracy as it is currently taking place.

After the legalization of Law No 12, 2003 on the Public Elections, the struggle of women to obtain special rights in politics with the affirmative action system has been achieved. This policy is very beneficial for women in Indonesia, as well as women in Aceh, because with the presence of this Law policy, Acehese women can increase their political participation that has been legalized by the government, which is at least 30 percent for each political party in nominating prospective members women's legislature. This is reflected implicitly in Article 65 paragraph (1) which reads: "Every political party participating in the public election may nominate DPR / Provincial and Regency / City DPR members for each electoral district by taking into account women at least 30 percent".

Zamroni (2014: 4) said that the success in implementing the 30 percent quota of women in parliament in Indonesia cannot be separated from the long history of the struggle of women politicians, activists, community groups, and academics who are determined to increase the power and impact of women's political participation, those efforts became a starting point for the struggle to realize gender equality and equality on the political stage. The history of the representation of Indonesian women in parliament is a long process, of the struggle of women in the public sphere. In the first general election in 1955, there were 6.5% of legislators who were women. Then, the representation of Indonesian women in parliament experienced ups and downs and reached the highest rate of 13.0 percent in 1987. In the 1999 election, the number of women's

parliamentary reached 9.2 percent and currently reaches 11.0 percent of women from all elected representatives.

Many problems become obstacles for women to be existed in public sphere both internally and externally but the opportunities for women to participate in politics becomes possible. Widjaja et al (2008: 48) says that the factors inhibiting women's participation in politics among others include religious interpretations, patriarchal culture, education, customary law, sensitivity and the capacity of the women themselves, and the politicization of Islam, the formalization of Islamic Syari'ah and domestication women are contradictory. The supporting factors include; gender main streaming policies, regional autonomy policies, women's organizations that empower their people, and opportunities provided by political policies for women's participation in the political or public sphere, especially formal politics.

Then Rasyidin (2016: 5) said that various obstacles occurred from the perspective of religion, culture, social and even education. Those obstacles became the reason for not fulfilling the quota for women to be active and voice their rights whether in the local, national and international.

Furthermore Rahmatunnisa (2014: 8) also said that the obstacles of women's political participation were divided into two things; internal obstacles and external one. The internal obstacles among others are the lack of political awareness, lack of political education, fear of political risk, the dual role of women, limited funding sources, as well as the lack of networking. Meanwhile, external obstacles include political parties that are less gender sensitive and political party leadership is dominated by men. Other external barriers that are no less important are cultural and social barriers which see the political sphere as not a place for women.

Similar to the representation of women in Aceh's local parliament at the district / city and provincial level, women's representation in parliament does not reach 30 percent. An appropriate political communication strategy is needed to overcome obstacles to women's representation in parliament, so that the goal of increasing women's representation in parliament can be realized. This situation is not easy to change, it requires a lot of time and ongoing support, a strong desire is also needed. In the Aceh parliament for the provincial level in 2009 Aceh's legislative elections were only 4 out of 69 legislative members, only around 5.8 percent and only 1 out of 13 people elected to parliamentarians in Jakarta (Renuka and Srimulyani, 2015: 198)

There is an assumption in Acehnese society that the political world is identical with the world of men. This assumption arises as a result of a growing perception in society about political life; namely that politics is dirty, hard, full of intrigue, and the like, which is identified with male characteristics. Those perceptions caused the result of small number of women involved in politics. Wahyuningroem (2011: 154) said that in addition to external factors, such as political parties and the electoral system, internal factors were also important factors that could increase women's representation, for example individual motivation, family support, financial capacity.

The phenomenon that occurs in Aceh today is related to the role of women in the public sphere that the existence of women in the public sphere is still very low, there are so many problems which become obstacles and one of

the obstacles for women is to actively participate in political development in Aceh. Although opportunities have been widely opened, it does not make it easy for women to take part in politics.

Discuss about the existing women in parliament, it means that we study of political communication. Mc. Nair (2003: 3) said that political communication is a form of communication carried out by political actors to achieve specific goals. Political communication is seen as one of the important aspects to see the effectiveness and efficiency of the legislature in carrying out its role and function as a representation of the people's representatives. Political communication behavior carried out by women legislators will certainly have implications for their performance as people's representatives. The phenomenon of women's political communication in the Aceh Legislative Institution is interesting to study, this study will examine how opportunities and challenges of Acehnese women in the public sphere, especially to be a legislator.

## **2. Method**

This study uses qualitative research methods with a case study approach. Stake in Denzin and Lincoln (2009: 299) explains that case studies are a common way to conduct qualitative investigations. Case study research is neither new nor essentially essential. Case studies are not a methodological choice, but rather a choice of what is being studied.

In this case study, the researcher views that cases and phenomena about the political communication of women legislators in Aceh's local parliament as a reality that requires a deep understanding, mainly related to four things: 1). Focus on situations, phenomena or real life problems, 2). The results of this study are detailed descriptions of the topics studied, 3). The results of this study will help the public understand a case in a new light, and, 4) the research process uses inductive thinking and can provide a new overview.

Data collected in this study through interviews, observation and documentation studies. Research locations in the Aceh House of Representatives for the 2014-2019 period.

## **3. Results and Discussion**

Aceh is a province that has a distinctive culture, customs and religion. These features can be seen from people's daily, where the customs that govern all activities and behavior of citizens are based on Islamic Sharia law. Islamic law as a way of life of the Acehnese. This feature is strengthened by Law No. 44, 1999 regarding the Implementation of the privilege of Aceh (Undang-undang Penyelenggaraan Keistimewaan Aceh) and Law no. 11, 2006 on Governing Aceh (Undang-Undang Pemerintahan Aceh).

The special features of Aceh with other regions can be found in customs and culture of the people of Aceh, customs which are cultural values, norms, habits, institutions and customary law, where if this custom is not implemented by the community it will lead the unwritten sanctions by the local community. The culture (habits) practiced by the people of Aceh must not be contrary to the teachings of Islam, Islamic culture is reflected in all the behavior and life of the

people of Aceh, likened to culture in Acehnese society such as substance and nature, that is, it cannot be separated between the teachings of Islam and the culture that exists in society, all of which are legally strengthened in the qanun-qanun of the Aceh Government.

After signing a memorandum of understanding between the Indonesian government and the people of Aceh in Helsinki, August 15, 2005 and with the legalization of the Law on the Government of Aceh (UUPA) No. 11, 2006, the Aceh Government was given the discretion to carry out UUPA and one of the mandates was that the government Aceh was given the freedom to establish a Local Political Party (Parlok). The freedom to establish local political parties is one of the privileges applied to Aceh, while other provinces are not justified in forming and establishing these local political parties.

The presence of this local party has provided space for the people of Aceh to participate in the political arena in Aceh in particular and nationwide and its existence is recognized, as well as this provides an opportunity for all Acehnese people to take part in their political rights, for example becoming members of the legislature. There have been three legislative election periods; in 2009 and 2014 and 2019. The presence of a local party provides an opportunity and opportunity for the people of Aceh to participate to become a legislator, including ex-combatants / sympathizers of GAM participating in this contestation, they compete in winning the hearts of their voters. Competition starts at the level of legislative candidates in the internal party, also outside the party and it cannot be denied that competition also occurs between local parties and national parties. This makes the legislative elections in the Aceh area different from the legislative elections in other regions in Indonesia because not only the National Party legislative candidates participated and enlivened this election but also from local political parties, both from male and female candidates. In Simple, the competition is not only between the National Party and the Local Party, but also competition between national party cadres and former GAM combatants / sympathizers as well as the competition for former male combatant legislative candidates and former female combatant legislator candidates which does not occur in other place throughout Indonesia, because only the province of Aceh has the right to establish local parties.

Examining history, the involvement of women in politics and government, is not something that needs to be questioned anymore, Aceh has a long history of women's involvement in politics, which is shown by the central role of a number of women leaders in formal politics in the region, for example; Ratu Nahrisyah Rawangsa Khadiyu who led the Islamic Kingdom of Pasee, Sulthanah Sri Ratu Tajul Alam Safiatuddin Johan berdaulat, Sulthanah Sri Ratu Zakiatuddin, Sulthanah Sri Ratu Nurul Alam Naqiatuddin, Admiral Malahayati, and Rear Admiral Cut Meurah Inseuen, Cut Nyak Dhien, Cut Meutia, Pocut Baren, etc. (Mardhiah Aly, 1980; Hasjmy, 1976).

The presence of these great women must be understood in the context of their respective times, including the political systems and processes prevailing at the time so as to enable women to be active in the political process. Therefore, the involvement of women today in the political space in Aceh is important, women as the dominant group in Aceh and should not be abandoned in peace building and the transition period that is underway now. At present, women's participation in

politics is made possible by opening up public spaces, political opportunities and structural and cultural changes in society. As stated by Kusujiarti, et al (2015: 187) that *“for Acehese women, structure actually provides the framework through which women can negotiate their agency by reclaiming those social functions already in place”*

In the 2009 Legislative Elections there were 4 (5.8%) Aceh women legislators elected, in the 2014 elections 12 women (14.8%) were elected and in the new legislative elections held yesterday for the 2019-2024 period 9 (11.1%) women legislators elected as legislative members for the provincial level.

The representation of this woman legislator provides the color and dynamics of political communication in Aceh's local parliament. As a legislator, the presence and involvement of women in this institution is still considered important and strategic. The presence of women legislators will be a lot of coloring and give a positive feel to political developments in Aceh especially with respect to voice the aspirations and interests of the women themselves, plus there will be a change in perspective in viewing and solving various political problems of humanist and feminist, although women elected as legislators are from different parties, i.e the Local Party and National Party.

The data found that it was indeed not easy for Acehese women to attend and become a legislator, it took courage, perseverance, this was due to the patriarchal culture of Acehese people who saw that politics as a place for men and women did not fit in it, this was because politics was considered as a hard domain and dirty public, along with the stereotyping of women, where Acehese women do not have the ability and expertise in politics, and these opinions strongly discriminate against women, and finally Acehese women legislators who become politicians do not get a good appreciation from society even tend to get negative prejudice from the public.

Based on interviews with women activists and human rights activists in Aceh, there are several reasons why Acehese women are unable to play an active role in politics, women's capacity issues, political money, the role of unsupported systems and problems with political parties. This means that internal factors in women themselves also become a problem, because they do not have the capacity and ability in political communication, political money turns out to be a challenge for women to actively participate in politics, not to mention the problem of systems, social systems, culture also colors gait women's politics in Aceh, patriarchal culture and interpretations of religion that are understood differently in society against women legislators. Systems in political parties are not in favor of women, lack of affirmative action from parties to support women in the campaign process either, no political parties who seriously encourage women candidates to win the competition or there is no commitment from the party to place women as to be the winner.

From what was presented by the informants above shows that the problems and obstacles for women to be actively involved in politics, could be due to internal factors themselves, the lack of capacity and ability of political communication from women, their knowledge of politics was not adequate enough. Researchers see this happen because the woman's awareness to engage in politics does not exist, so there is no motivation in her to actively participate and the desire to know something related to politics. In addition to internal factors,

this is also due to factors outside of hers. Based on the interviews with the informants, they said that such as political money, people tend to be pragmatic, namely choosing based on the amount of bribe references, those who have large funds have more opportunities to win this contestation and become members of the legislature. Social systems, cultural systems, and political systems in Indonesia still do not favor women, also it is due to the lack of sincere intention and commitment from political parties to put forward women's candidates, as if the nomination of women legislative members is only to meet the conditions set by the State alone which is as many as 30 % of female legislative candidates are nominated by political parties.

Opportunities for women to enter the political field and become members of the legislature are wide open with the passing of the Law on Affirmative Action, but due to various factors, very few women are involved in politics. Astuti (2014: 1) said that the main factor was the stereotypical view that the political world was a hard world, a world full of debates, and a world that needed intelligent thoughts, all of which were assumed to belong to men not to women. Women do not deserve politics because women are "occupants" of the kitchen / domestic, can not think rationally and, lack the courage to take risks, all of which have become stereotypes of women. As a result, both women and men and society in general, have drawn different poles that the public world belongs to men and the domestic world belongs to women. This also relates to the socialization of gender roles.

Culture, social system, political system, until the problem of poverty are still a strong barrier in women's participation. Therefore, more strategic efforts are needed in order to change these conditions. Entering a strategic area means entering an alternative policy making area that is friendly to women. One way to choose is for women to enter the level of power and legislation, or by strengthening the control and access of women in the region. Because power and legislation are very prominent aspects in determining the ideology of society and the regulation of development resources. If we want fairness of resources for men and women, the only way is to be directly involved in each stage of the arrangement Rostanty, et al (2004: 84).

Although some of the clauses in the Election Law confirm the affirmative action for women to include 30% representation of women, in which each political party is required at least 30% for women to include both in national level management and legislative nominations, however in the reality the women's representation in the legislature is still far from what was expected, as happened in the parliament in Aceh Province, this can be seen from the percentage of women elected in the legislature for the 2014-2019 period at the provincial level. At the provincial level there are 81 members of the legislature, 12 women legislators or around 14.8% of women legislators occupy seats in the DPRA.

Looking at the results of the 2014 legislative elections at the Provincial level with the election of 12 women legislators, this illustrates that the rules on affirmative action have not gone well in Aceh, there were only 12 (14.8%) women legislative members who get seats in the DPRA, this figure shows that the lack of representation of women in the Aceh House of Representatives and the number of female legislative candidates who failed in this contestation , so it raises concerns that women's voices and women's aspirations have not been

accommodated properly, because those who understand about women, are women themselves, although there is no guarantee of the quality, but in politics it will be different, the majority of votes will have an influence to the policies / decisions that will be taken later.

The findings in the field show that there are several reasons that cause women's representation is still low or does not meet the existing requirements even though, there are many female voters; women's voter cannot easily trust female legislative candidates, doubts from female voters on the ability of female candidates, religious interpretation of women who become leaders, female voters assume that it is better to choose male candidates than female candidates, women's voter doubts about the ability of female candidates in dividing time between looking after the family and do their job as members of the legislature, they are worried that this women candidate will neglect the family due to being busy as a member of the legislature, not to mention, there is a negative understanding and view of women involved in politics (stereotypes and gender biases) who assume that politics is the space for men.

Moreover, the patriarchal culture in Aceh is still very strong, which prioritizes the role of men in managing life, and women are at the subordinate level, which is one of the basic factors that marginalizes the role of women, including in terms of getting education, especially political education. It is also as stated by Subiakto and Rahmah (2014: 185) that women's voting behavior also does not provide any support for women, the strength of patriarchal values with the belief "men are priests" is so strong".

Lack of awareness for women about the importance of women sitting in the legislature as representatives of the people, so there is no motivation for them to be actively involved in political development in Aceh and the strong reason is the interpretation of religion that is understood differently in Acehese society. As part of the community, religious leaders (ulama) in Aceh forbidden women to become leaders, however other Ulama consider that legislative members is not a leader, but they are the people's representatives, the people's arms, who will carry out the people's mandate. This different opinion then becomes one of the obstacles for women to be actively involved in politics in Aceh, how many Acehese women have failed in the election of legislative and the election of governors because of differences in interpreting this verse "*Ar-Rijalu Qauwamuuna ngalan Nisa'*"

Whereas the involvement and participation of Acehese women in development as a form of representation of women in the legislature is absolutely necessary. The participation of women in the political and public sphere, it means that more than half of the population of Aceh will be accommodated in their aspirations in development. So then the involvement of Acehese women in the political world is seen as important and strategic that they do not only demand gender equality, but also fight for women's rights through the legislative body as citizens. In particular they took political rights as Indonesian citizens, elected and voted.

Communication competency is something that must be possessed by every Aceh woman legislative member because this is very closely related to the duties, functions and responsibilities as a legislative member. Because they are as members of the legislature and as representatives of the people who will promote the aspirations and rights of their constituents in parliament, so that skills,

knowledge and attitudes become very important things that must be possessed by every woman legislative member.

We hope that women who will nominate themselves as members of the legislature, they improve their self-competence, they must prove that they are someone who have the capacity, knowledge, skills and good attitude to the community, so they deserve to be elected, that provide understanding to the community about the importance of the presence of women in the Aceh parliament.

#### **4. Conclusions**

The work of Acehnese women in politics is not a new thing, long before the Republic of Indonesia became independent, during the colonial period, the participation of Acehnese women in the public sphere was evident, displayed by their participation as war leaders and supreme leaders (the superiors) in the Aceh kingdom, but their gait Acehnese women faded in the 30-year Aceh conflict.

Opportunities and challenges for Acehnese women to participate actively in politics still color the presence of women in Aceh's local parliament. One side of the democratic tap is wide open for women to involve themselves in politics with the enactment of Law No. 12 of 2003, but on the other hand there are many challenges that contribute to restricting the political movement of Acehnese women. Internal and external factors also become obstacles for the presence of women in public spaces even though the opportunities provided by the state are wide open.

#### **Acknowledgment**

This research is supported or partially supported by Indonesian Endowment Fund for Education (Lembaga Pengelola Dana Penelitian-LPDP RI) as one of funding agencies and credible scholarship in Indonesia

#### **References**

- Astuti, Tri Marhaeni., 2014, *Citra Politik Perempuan dalam Politik*, “ *Wanita Pemimpin Politik di Asia*”, dalam harian Suara merdeka, Edisi 2 Februari 1994.
- Denzin, Norman K & Lincoln, Yvonna S.,2009., *Handbook of Qualitative Research (terjemahan)*, Pustaka pelajar.,Jakarta.
- Kusujarti, Siti; Miano, Elizabeth W; Pryor, Annie L; Ryan, Breanna R. *Unveiling the Mysteries of Aceh, Indonesia: Local and Global Intersections of Women's Agency.*,Journal of International Women's Studies; Bridgewater Vol. 16, Iss. 3, (Jul 2015): 186-202.
- Mardhiah Aly, Teuku H. Ainal. 1980. "*Pergerakan Wanita Aceh Masa Lampau sampai Masa Kini*", dalam Ismail Suny (ed.), Bunga Rampai tentang Aceh. Jakarta: Bhratara Karya Aksara.

- Mc.Nair, Brian. 2003. *An Introduction to political Communication*, third edition, london, Routledge.
- Rahmatunnisa, Mudiwati, 2014., *Pentingnya Partisipasi Politik Perempuan dan Prakteknya di Indonesia.*, disajikan pada Seminar Pendidikan Politik bagi Remaja Perempuan, yang diselenggarakan oleh Social Institution of Democratic Empowerment (SIDE), Sabtu, 25 Januari 2014, di Saung Djati Hall, Cibitung Bekasi.
- Rasyidin dan Fidhia Aruni.,2016, *Gender dan Politik; Keterwakilan Wanita dalam Politik.*, Unimal Press Lhokseumawe, Aceh.
- Renuka, Ruwani; Srimulyani, Eka. *Women After the Tsunami Impact, Empowerment, and Changes in Post Disaster Situations of Sri Langka and Aceh, Indonesia.*, Asian Journal of Women's Studies; Seoul Vol. 21, Iss. 2, (2015): 192-210.
- Rostanty, maya dan Susana Dewi (Jurnal Perempuan) Edisi ke-34. 2004. "*Politik dan Keterwakilan Perempuan*". Jakarta: Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan.
- Subiakto Henry, Rachmah Ida.,2014., *Komunikasi Politik, Media dan Demokrasi*, Kencana Prenadamedia Group., Jakarta.
- Wahyuningroem, Sri lestari, 2011., *Perempuan diantara reformasi politik dan reformasi ekonomi; peluang peningkatan Keterwakilan Politik Perempuan melalui Partisipasi Kerja* dalam Jurnal Studi Politik, Vol 1, No.2, 2011.
- Widjaya, Yenny, dkk., "*Inisiatif Pemberdayaan dan Partisipasi Politik Perempuan; Studi Kasus Padang Pariaman, Solok, dan Bulu Kumba*", dalam Tim WEMC, Inisiatif Pemberdayaan Perempuan di Tengah Pertarungan Politisasi Islam, Sistem Patriarkhi dan Demokratisasi, (Yogyakarta: Semarak Cerlang Nusa, 2008).
- Zamroni, Mohammad, 2014, *Perempuan dalam Politik di Indonesia; Telaah Kritis Kajian Komunikasi Politik dan Gender.*, Gosyen Publishing, Yogyakarta.
- Undang-Undang (UUPA) Nomor.11 tahun 2006 Tentang Pemerintahan Aceh.
- Undang Undang Nomor 44 tahun 1999 mengenai Penyelenggaraan Keistimewaan Aceh.
- Undang-Undang No. 12 Tahun 2003 Tentang Pemilu

