



Pseudo Social Inclusion: The Presence of Women Regional Heads in Aceh

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Abstract — This study aims to see how the Acehnese people accept women as leaders. The presence of women regional heads is still taboo for the people of Aceh. Aceh's strong socio-political conditions with Islamic law and patriarchal culture make women second-class citizens in public affairs. This research is qualitative research in which data is collected through interviews and literature study. Sampling used the snowball sampling technique and was analyzed using interactive data analysis techniques. The findings from this study indicate that the people of Aceh inclusively accept women as leaders influenced by regulations and history. First, from a regulatory point of view, the Acehnese people take women leaders because the replacement of the deputy mayor to the position of mayor and the appointment of acting regents have been regulated in law. This condition requires the community to accept a replacement mayor and the acceptance of an acting regent appointed by the central government. Second, the acceptance of women leaders is a form of nostalgia for the glorious history of Acehnese women in the past.

Keywords — regional head, Woman, social inclusion, Aceh, regulation, history

I. INTRODUCTION

The emergence of women regional heads in modern life is still not openly accepted by society [1]. This can be seen in Indonesia, where women's regional leaders are still limited at the national and local levels, in the legislative and the executive [2]. Data from Cakra Wikara Indonesia noted that during the simultaneous regional elections from 2015 to 2020, the average women nomination was 8.6%, while her electability only reached 8.9% [3]. Data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) also notes that the percentage of women sitting as members of parliament at the central and regional levels is minimal. At the primary level, there were 20.87% of women as members of parliament and 30.88% at the regional level in the 2019 legislative elections [4]. These two data show that the position of women still needs to be stronger than that of men in the public sphere.

In Indonesia, as a constitutional democracy, several efforts have been made to increase women's involvement in the public sphere, specifically in the political field. It started when Indonesia passed Law Number 68 of 1958 to recognize women's political rights. This law supports the principle of non-discrimination, the right to vote and be elected the opportunity to become a public official, and guarantees to join socio-political organizations. To this day, women receive special attention to be able to fill the 30% quota in parliament by Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections [5]. This regulation applies throughout Indonesia, including Aceh, a particular autonomous region.

Post-conflict Aceh has a law that regulates the governance of Aceh, known as Law Number 11 of 2016 concerning the Government of Aceh. This law also contains special attention for women in the political sphere. This law mandates the representation of women at least 30% in the establishment and management of political parties. In addition, the Law on Governing Aceh also pays attention to the representation of women in the leadership of the Ulama Consultative Council. It guarantees the fulfillment of other women's rights. With the availability of regulations that ensure the presence of women in public spaces, women should be able to fill the available 30% quota freely. However, in reality, the company of women in the general area, especially as leaders, still needs a better position. The existence of a gender gap in society between men and women leaders makes it difficult for women to enter positions as leaders.

Women's difficulties are not only at the national level. At the local level in Aceh, women also experience the same thing. Even though it is difficult for women to become regional heads, Aceh has women regional leaders. Illiza Sa'aduddin Djamal and Fitriany Farhas AP are two women who are regional heads in Aceh at the regency/city level. Illiza Sa'aduddin Djamal leads in Banda Aceh City and Fitriany Farhas AP in Nagan Raya Regency. From the description of this background, this paper seeks to find out how the community accepts women regional leaders in Aceh, an area with a robust implementation of Islamic law. This paper borrows social construction theory from Peter L. Berger. Peter L. Berger's approach emphasizes three things, namely externalization, objectivity, and internalization.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Studies on women's leadership have been widely discussed, first, regarding the limitations of women as leaders caused by structural, cultural, social, religious, and internal factors of women. First, the factors that hinder women from becoming leaders are structural. Structural elements hinder women, such as positioning women not as leaders but as sweeteners. So that political parties do not have affirmative policies that have an impact on weakening the position of these women [6]. Next is the cultural factor that occurs because of the patriarchal culture. This culture believes that the degree of men is higher than women. So that women are seen as unfit to lead [7]. The patriarchal pattern in women's leadership is also an obstacle for women to express their leadership. Even though women have succeeded in becoming leaders and carrying out their leadership, some men still have substantial control over their

activities [8]. Then the need for more interest in women as leaders is influenced by social factors. This social factor is due to the gender gap in society between men and women. In social life, men are seen as more robust, rational, and suitable to work outside the home. After that, the religious factor also made it more difficult for women to become leaders. Religion makes men as parties who are more worthy of being leaders than women. Women in Islam are prohibited from becoming leaders on a large scale, such as regional heads, but on a small scale, they are allowed. Even though there is no specific argument for prohibiting women from becoming leaders, most scholars agree that women should not take care of public matters [9]. Not only in Islam, but Christian teachings also give less room for women to be leaders in making decisions. Women have more roles in carrying out the decisions produced [10]. In the end, women's internal factors also contribute to women's weak position as leaders. This internal factor is caused by the low quality of women's knowledge, lack of self-control, and weakness in self-actualization [11]. Then the following study related to women's efforts to become leaders through political communication skills. Communication is usually directed to the group and indirectly through social media [12]. Next, women's studies are also dominated by writings related to leadership styles. The women leadership style has the same pattern as the more professional male. Women also tend not to place gender equality in their leadership. Even if women are placed in strategic positions, they only fulfill practical, not strategic, needs [13]–[16]. After that, women's studies also explain women's victory in elections [17]. Women's success is influenced by social capital in the form of parents' background as scholars [18]. From the literature review above, this paper provides an update on the acceptance of women regional heads in particular autonomous regions with the solid application of Islamic law.

III. RESEARCH METHODS

This paper is qualitative research that can explain the acceptance of women regional heads in a particular autonomous region. Data was collected through direct interviews with residents of Banda Aceh City and Nagan Raya Regency, where these two areas were research locations. This location was chosen because the two regions are special autonomous regions with a solid implementation of Islamic law but led by women. The data was also collected through literature study through journals, trusted online news, and proceedings. Data collection using a snowball sampling technique. Then the data that has been collected is analyzed using an interactive model from Miles & Huberman [19].

IV. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Women as Regional Heads in Aceh

If you look at the condition of Aceh, the weak position of women as leaders in the public sphere is caused by customary and religious factors. In Aceh terms, it is known as "Adat bak poteumeureuhom, hukum bak syiah kuala, qanun nibak putroe phang, reusam bak laksamana" which means that the people of Aceh follow the rules that have become customary and cultural habits. Acehnese adat refers to laws regulated in Islam known as "Hukum ngen adat lage

zat ngen sifeut, tawiet han meugulung, tatarek han meujeu'eut." Law and custom in Aceh cannot be separated, which traditionally refers to the Islamic religion.

Religious factors with the application of Islamic law in Aceh also support these traditional teachings. The application of Islamic law is a privilege obtained by Aceh and is embodied in Law Number 11 of 2006 concerning the Government of Aceh. In the law, it is explained that the fighting power of the people of Aceh comes from the view of Islamic sharia. This condition then gave birth to the strengthening of Islamic culture and values in the life of the Acehnese people.

With the existence of the two entities above, the presence of women regional heads must be limited. This is based on the assumption that the first is guided by the Al-Quran and Hadith, which explains women's rejection as leaders because they are weak creatures. Then the assumption is that it will not go well if women take care of public affairs. Furthermore, women's nature should take care of the household by doing various domestic jobs [20].

Despite the solid Islamic law and patriarchal culture, Aceh still has women regional heads. In Banda Aceh, Illiza Sa'aduddin Djamal managed to become mayor in 2014. However, Illiza became mayor as a replacement for Mayor Mawardy Nurdin, who died in 2014. Previously, Illiza was deputy mayor of Banda Aceh from 2007 to 2012 in the first period and 2012 to 2014 for the second period. In 2014, Illiza became mayor until 2017. With her application, Illiza became mayor of Banda Aceh, making her the first women regional head in Aceh.

The next woman to become a regional head in Aceh is in the Nagan Raya Regency. The regency designated as Suka Makmue has a regional leader named Fitriany Farhas AP. Fitriany was not elected as a regent through elections but was elected as acting regent. Fitriany is the acting regent because of the exhaustion of the regent's position, which will be held by simultaneous elections in 2024. The appointment of the acting regent is a mandate from Law Number 6 of 2020 concerning the Election of Governors, Regents, and Mayors [21].

Acceptance of Women as Regional Heads

a) Regulation: From 2007 to 2014, in Banda Aceh, it was led by Mawardy Nurdin, the "Father of Development of the City of Banda Aceh." This title was given by Zaini Abdullah, the Governor of Aceh at that time, because he considered that Mawardy had contributed to the development of Banda Aceh. Mawardy led in two terms, the first period from 2007 to 2012 and the second from 2012 to 2017. In the second period, Mawardi could only complete his tenure due to kidney failure once he died in 2014. Law Number 23 of 2014 concerning the Regional Government regulates the replacement of regional heads by deputy regional heads. One of the reasons the deputy regional head can replace the position and role of the regional leader is if the regional head dies. With this rule, the position of mayor of Banda Aceh in 2014 was replaced by his deputy. Through regulation of Law Number 23 of 2014, Illiza, who then held the position of deputy mayor of Banda Aceh in her second term, became mayor of Banda Aceh to replace Mawardy.

If you see the robust implementation of Islamic law and patriarchy in Banda Aceh, Illiza's position is not strong. Illiza faced opposition when a woman led an area with a powerful application of Islamic law. In addition, a patriarchal culture that positions women as weak is not appropriate to lead the region in dealing with public issues. Even so, in the end, the people of Banda Aceh accepted Illiza as mayor because of the laws that had to be obeyed.

During her time as Mayor of Banda Aceh, Illiza performed her role as regional head well. The achievements made at the national level, infrastructure development, and the increasingly strong application of Islamic law are things that its citizens deeply feel. Illiza's mayor presence also gave Banda Aceh a new feel because women became regional heads. Illiza was able to position herself equal to men in leading the area. This good role made Illiza win the hearts of the people of Banda Aceh. Under these conditions in 2017, Illiza ran for mayor in elections in Banda Aceh. Illiza's candidacy in the election positioned a man as her representative, Farid Nyak Umar. Illiza and Farid have the support of several local and national political parties. The local parties that support this pair are the Aceh Party (PA) and the Aceh Regional Party (PDA). In contrast, the national parties consist of the Democratic Party, the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), the United Development Party (PPP), the People's Conscience Party (Hanura), and the Indonesian Justice and Unity Party (PKPI).

In 2017, Illiza stepped forward to become mayor carrying a vision and mission thick with the will of the people of Banda Aceh. During the campaign, Illiza focused on strengthening Islamic law's application and religious values in early childhood. Even with the excellent image and acceptance of the people of Banda Aceh and the vision and mission in line with the people's will, Illiza failed in the election of the mayor of Banda Aceh.

In the 2017 mayoral election, Illiza won 30,207 votes or 33.23%, while her rival was far superior with 66.67% or 60,689 votes [22]. Illiza's failure is colored by gender issues which are very sensitive for the people of Banda Aceh. Even though when Illiza's offer was accepted by the community, during the re-election, the community tended to vote for a male character. Society considers that women can become leaders, but if there are men, then men are better than women [22], [23]. Some people chose Illiza not to see her figure as a woman who succeeded in building Aceh but instead, as Illiza's parents, who were scholars in Aceh.

In contrast to Illiza, Fitriyani Farhas AP, the head of the Nagan Raya area, was elected as the acting regent through Law Number 6 of 2020 concerning the Election of Governors, Regents, and Mayors. This condition occurs to carry out the mandate of Law Number 10 of 2016 Article 201 paragraph 8 that the simultaneous national voting in the election of the Regent and Deputy Regent will be held in November 2024. The existence of the 2024 assembly ballot impacts regional heads whose term of office expires before 2024 will be appointed as acting regional leaders. The appointment of the position of the regent is based on Law Number 10 of 2016 Article 201 paragraph 11, which

explains that the filling of positions appointed comes from high leadership positions Pratama.

Fitriani was sworn in as acting regent in 2022. Illiza's experience in Banda Aceh is the same as the community's acceptance of Fitriani in Nagan Raya. The people of Nagan Raya initially refused when women had to become leaders who cared for community problems. However, with these rules, the community accepts and implements these provisions. If you read it further, if one day there are women candidates who run for regent in Nagan Raya, the community will choose the men first.

The conditions experienced by Illiza in Banda Aceh and Fitriani in Nagan Raya, when referring to regulations, show that the reception received by the people in the two regions is quite good. However, society will prefer men as leaders if faced with a choice involving men. The dominance of religion and patriarchal culture in the area still shows that women are second-class in society as leaders.

b) Nostalgia for Past History: Long before Indonesia's independence and when Aceh was still in the period of the sultanate, Acehese women had obtained an equal position with men. This similar position is because women in Aceh can become leaders and govern well. In the era of the Aceh Darussalam Sultanate, there were at least four queens who led the kingdom. First, from 1641 to 1675, the Sultanate of Aceh Darussalam was led by Sultanah Sri Ratu Tajul Alam Safiatuddin Jihan Sovereign. Then from 1675 to 1678, the women's leadership in the Aceh Darussalam Sultanate was led by Sultanah Sri Ratu Nurul Alam Naqiatuddin.

Furthermore, after the leadership of Sultanah Sri Ratu Nurul Alam Naqiatuddin ended, the highest authority of the empire was led by Sultanah Sri Ratu Zakiatuddin Inayat Syah in 1678-1688. After that, Sultanah Sri Ratu Kamalat Syah continued to lead women in the Sultanate of Aceh Darussalam from 1688 to 1699 [2], [24]. In women's leadership in the Sultanate of Aceh, history records that women can carry out leadership well, maintain the empire, and play a role like men. Women (queens) are also politically able to carry out this position, which is proven by creating peace and prosperity in society [25]. In addition to having leaders in the Aceh Darussalam Sultanate, Acehese women have also played the role of warlords. Several Acehese women commanders became warlords, including Admiral Malahayati, Cut Nyak Dhien, Teungku Fakinah, Pocut Meurah Intan, Pocut Baren, Cut Meutia, and Teungku Fatimah [26].

Based on this history, women regional head (queen) is not something new for the people of Aceh. Since the presence and existence of women as leaders and warlords in Aceh, women have a particular position like men. As leaders and warlords, Acehese women have successfully demonstrated their abilities as public officials. This historical condition continues to be a memory for the community that women can also be leaders. In addition to these abilities, history also records that Acehese women being leaders is not prohibited.

With the history of Acehese women becoming leaders and warlords, the people can still feel the legacy of this knowledge. Communities in Banda Aceh and Nagan Raya

can accept women as their leaders. The people interviewed argued that there was no problem when women became leaders because women have successfully led Aceh's history. Memories of how strong and tough women in the past were made opportunities for women to lead.

Even though society accepts women as leaders, this condition could be better. Society still thinks women are better off not being in the political sphere. After Illiza became mayor of Banda Aceh and was then nominated as mayor, it can be seen that people were reluctant to make women mayors. The inherited knowledge that Aceh was once led by women and proved to bring success, but this condition did not apply when there were still men nominated as leaders. If you look at Fitriani in Nagan Raya as the acting regent, the people accept that the 2024 elections will be held. When elections are held, the community will choose men over women, even though Acehnese women have proven capable of playing the role of leader.

V. CONCLUSION

Women in Aceh are still on the second line when faced with issues as leaders. Acehnese women are limited in their space for movement in public positions due to the influence of religion and patriarchal culture. Even so, post-independence Aceh's history records that there were women regional heads in Banda Aceh City and Nagan Raya Regency. Illiza became the regional head (mayor) as mandated by Law Number 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government to replace the position of the previous mayor, who passed away, while Fitriani became acting regent due to the mandate of Law Number 10 of 2016 in filling vacancies. Initially, the presence of these two public figures became pro and con in the community, but due to undeniable conditions, the community finally accepted these two women regional heads. Society agrees with these two figures due to two factors, namely regulations, and history. From a regulatory perspective, Illiza and Fitriani became regional heads based on rules through Law Number 23 of 2014 and Law Number 10 of 2016. The community accepts the regulations' policies and positively evaluates women's performance as regional heads. From a historical point of view, the figure of women leaders in the Sultanate of Aceh Darussalam and warlords has increased the acceptance of regional authorities. Society's belief in the power of women as leaders can also be equated with men. Even though the community accepts the presence of Illiza and Fitriani as regional heads, the fact is that Illiza failed when running for mayor of Banda Aceh. Society considers that even though women can be leaders, men are better than women if there are candidates from men. Likewise, with the people of Nagan Raya, Fitriani's presence will only fill the void until 2024. During elections, the community prefers male candidates over women candidates.

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