



## Role of Society Sada Ahmo (PESADA) In Increasing Consciousness Politics Women

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### ABSTRACT

More than half the Indonesia's population is women with the level of participation in the elections which quite high, however very unfortunate participation of which done of women still are passive or without consciousness full. This case not apart rather than political consciousness of women who can said to be low let alone in level regions/village because of the limited opportunity and access who obtained by women. Political rights of women are also not fully understood as individual rights, but very patriarchal or based on power relations around women, for example, a wife who followed her husband's political choice. And this is also caused by the functioning of political parties in providing political education to the public, it needed an alternative to other agencies in conducting political education and one of these institutions is Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) or commonly referred to as non-governmental organizations (NGO). Therefore, in this study I will try to elaborate or describe the role of NGOs/NGO Sada Ahmo Society (Pesada) in its efforts to increase women's political consciousness. Theory is used to analyze the study was the theory of the role, NGOs/NGO, the theory of political participation through new social movements, political consciousness theory, gender theory and feminist theory to determine or as an approach to understanding women's movement. Pesada have a role in increasing women's political awareness with the political education program Education / Gender Awareness, Discussion Regarding the Issue of Women, Introduction to Law No.7/1984, Introduction to Government Systems and Political Law, Education Introduction to Gender Based Violence, Discussion on Regional Autonomy Law, as well as Field practices such as hearings, action and dialogue.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Based on customs, culture, even the state always puts women on the subordinate side and plays a role in the domestic sphere (kitchen, mattress, well). The lack of opportunities and access that women have is not uncommon to make women victims of development or democracy that should be enjoyed (Fatmawati, 2007) (Lestari, 2008). More than half of Indonesians are women with a high participation rate in elections. And this becomes the target of candidates for state and local officials in winning votes to win elections that are the "party" of democracy as one indicator of a democratic state (Hendri, 2010) (Wisnumurti, 2012) (Kariadi & Dhakidae, n.d.). But after winning, the policies issued have never paid attention and sided with the interests of women, and the participation can be said to be passive or without full awareness (Azmy, 2012) (Sagoro, 2012) (Lestari, 2008). Women are mobilized to be "legal" votes, this is inseparable from the political awareness of women that can be said to be low let alone at the regional/village level. Women's political rights are not yet fully understood as individual rights, but are deeply patriarchal or based on power relations around women, for example wives according to husband's political choices (Muhammad, 2004) (Asnawi, 2011) (Irianto, 2003) (Hubeis, 2011) (Irianto, 2006). But when there is a problem, women will always be affected the most like the increase in the price of staples, because women who touch directly the realm (Khotimah, 2007). Therefore, it should be the government or democratic support institutions to perform their role in providing political education so that the political awareness of society is awakened, not only aware in using its suffrage but as the most vulnerable group to marginalize, women must know and know what are their rights and obligations as women, human rights (human rights) and as citizens (Mochtar, 2011) (Aminuddin, n.d.).

But the function of political parties does not run in providing political education to the community, requiring alternative institutions in conducting political education as a process to realize civil society in a democratic country. At this time the institutions that are considered the most relevant in taking over the role of political parties that should be supporters of democracy are Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO). NGOs can be a very potential instrument in the future in preparing civil society and influencing public policy (Widodo, 2007) (Mun'im A, 2003).

The centralization of development during the new order government not only has an impact on the uneven development but also causes problems of social jealousy that not only occur in between regions/provinces but also between regions, namely cities and villages. And the village as the smallest unit of government felt the most severe impact. Lack of development and limited access make the villagers, especially women, tend to be neglected for their rights. Marginalization makes the villagers lag behind both in education and technology, economy, social, cultural, health, and politics so that poverty is inevitable (Choir et al., 2012). Departing from the condition of injustice, a group of people or a number of citizens who have concern for problems that arise both in the economy and social, and not infrequently also in the field of politics form an organization as a form of manifestation of the commitment of concern, called Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) (Pieris, 2004) (Suryono, 2010). NGO is an independent organization, meaning this organization does not rely on the government of a country, especially in terms of financial support and facilities/infrastructure, even if it gets funding support from international institutions (Mahardika & BUDAYA, n.d.). But it does not mean that NGOs are completely detached from the government, because it is not uncommon for the government to provide support facilities, for example by the existence of tax exemptions for activities and assets owned by NGOs, depending on the category and relationship with the government that will be discussed in chapter 2 later.

One example of NGOs departing and standing from the conditions described above is PESADA (Perkumpulan Sada Ahmo). PESADA (Perkumpulan Sada Ahmo) formerly called Yayasan Sada Ahmo (YSA) is a local Non-Governmental Organization/NGOs in North Sumatra that was established in early October 1990. This organization was founded by 15 people who concerted against the socio-political conditions in Indonesia and in response or reaction to the existence of pakpak community as a native

tribe of Dairi Regency which was then marginalized. In line with its development, there are several findings of problems in the pakpak community, namely related to gender justice and economic issues, therefore YSA held a political education program to build women's political awareness (MKS, 2009). The theme of these programs/activities is to claim the role of the domestic sector and access to resources, as well as patriarchal cultures that are seen as restricting women's movement space. This political education training was held to introduce the concept of Women's Rights (Uu No.7/1984) (Irianto, 2006), women's political rights, as well as an understanding of the Electoral System that has implications on the representation of women and the interests of women in the future. In addition, the beginning of my interest was my involvement as one of the participants of the Feminist Training that Pesada had held in 2010.

## 2. RESEARCH METHOD

This research is a type of qualitative research that is descriptive-explanative (Strauss & Corbin, 2003), namely the description or in-depth depiction of the situation or process studied. Qualitative research (Strauss & Corbin, 2003) does not attempt to test hypotheses, and this study is natural setting, meaning researchers do not attempt to manipulate the site (setting) of research or intervene in the activities of the research subjects by providing certain treatments but researchers try to understand the phenomena that the subject feels as it is (Mulyadi, 2011). Therefore, qualitative researchers take "quite a long time" to be able to follow or see the changes and developments of the subjects studied. Qualitative research methods are more oriented towards exploration and discovery (discovery oriented). Therefore, researchers will try to understand the phenomena or symptoms they see as they are with inductive-analysis techniques that begin with making observations to find patterns or relationships rather than the title of the study<sup>31</sup>. Initially, researchers will conduct pre-observation and discuss directly with pesada administrators or coordinators in both branches and centers. The next step is to collect data and compile the data that will be adjusted back to the facts or phenomena in the field and follow pesada activities related to political education programs.

## 3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

### 3.1. Pesada as a Feminist NGOs and Institutions.

NGOs which stands for Non-Governmental Organization (translation of Non-Government Organization / NGO) is an independent organization, meaning that the organization was founded not by the government or on the basis of funding support from the government, but the attitude or principle of not affiliated with the government does not mean anti-government (the word "non"). In this case pesada basically stands with the purpose or intention to empower the people, especially women and children. As an institution or organization that calls itself an NGOs Pesada has several policies related to the status of the organization, this is intended to avoid various things that can interfere with pesada's position as an independent NGOs, avoid conflicts of interest, maintain political independence and co-optation that may later arise. Some of these policies are among others; (1) Pesada personnel are not civil servants and all full-time staff are not allowed to arrest or apply as civil servants. (2) All members of the association, administrators, and supervisors of Pesada shall not be political party administrators, except women who serve in the field of strengthening/empowering women. (3) Pesada personnel must resign if at any time they wish to become public/state officials. Specifically to support women's political participation, women who step down will gain support through pesada programs, CU Besar, and women activist networks. (4) Pesada does not request or use the budget funds of the State/Government of Indonesia. (5) Pesada will not be the executor of the Indonesian government project. The policy was taken with the view that Pesada and all his friends are Indonesian citizens who must perform their duties as Indonesian citizens. As a feminist institution, Pesada requires all of its personnel to be educated in order to understand and be critically aware of the issue of gender injustice, understand the traditions of feminist thought (feminism) and conduct struggles and services to end the injustices that occur. And each pesada individual is also strived to be gender

conscious, think, act, and behave based on the equality of women and men. This is not only applied in the office environment, but also the scope of personal, household, and relationships with others, especially with the help of Pesada. Basically anyone who is aware of the injustice or discrimination experienced by women because of their gender, and wants to do something to end the injustice/discrimination, can be referred to as a feminist. And the extent to which the understanding or analysis of the roots of discrimination towards women gave rise to various opinions or traditions of feminists themselves, which came to be known as feminism. So it is clear that feminism is not just an ideology, a doctrine let alone a dogma, feminism is a tool / knife analysis of a social phenomenon of discrimination / gender injustice.

### **3.2. Pesada's Role in Raising Women's Political Awareness.**

When we talk about women's political participation or the level of female political participation in elections it certainly shows a very satisfactory number. Ideally, the high level of political participation certainly indicates a high level of political awareness, whereas in this case, the high participation of women's politics in elections is just camouflage to be said to be a democratic country. Political participation by women in general is still at the level of consciousness that is anomalous i.e. awareness or obedience that has no clear reason or orientation, or commonly referred to as emotional voters. Whereas what we hope is a political participation whose society has achieved the name of autonomous consciousness, namely awareness or obedience is best because it is based on the concept of consciousness that exists in a person. So that by achieving this level of awareness, women can actively and independently participate in politics, women can make their own choices of course with critical consideration and understanding that choosing or participating in politics is everyone's individual right. With a high number of women population should be able to be a starting point for women to be able to fight for their rights and interests in government, but based on the pattern of choice both at the national level and kab./north Sumatra city itself can be said to be low which is only about 6.67% (DPR RI) and 9.13 (Kab / Kota).

Therefore, as an effort to raise political awareness, political education is held. Political education itself aims to build political knowledge, raise political awareness and to increase political participation. Political education is an effort to raise awareness (consciousness) critical of the community to its rights and obligations as a citizen and the application of civil and political rights in society. In its implementation, political education should be carried out by political parties as a state political institution, but in reality the political education conducted by political parties is more tactical which only informs how to choose and who is chosen instead of how to be an intelligent and critical voter. Whereas when the political consciousness of society is awakened, especially women, then progress can be achieved and poverty and abuse of authority can be minimized. In an interview with Dina Lumbantobing (Founder of Pesada), "The first step in conducting political education is to build critical awareness, and critical awareness will not be awakened if there is no organizing that can be realized in the form of CU and strengthening women's politics. In addition, with the advocacy of gender-responsive government policies, participation will arise if no violence occurs (free from violence and intervention). Because the essence of political education is political strengthening that aims to build political awareness so that women can make decisions independently". Pesada Program in An Effort to Raise Women's Political Awareness:

- a. Education or Gender Awareness.
- b. Discussion on the Women's Issue.
- c. Introduction of Human Rights, Women's Azasi Rights (Law No.7/1984).
- d. Introduction of Government System and Political Law (Political Party, Election System, Election Implementation).
- e. Gender-Based Violence Recognition Education.
- f. Establishment of Women's Groups and Organizations.
- g. Field Practice; Audiences, Dialogues and Actions.

### 3.3. The Role of Pesada in Strengthening Women's Politics.

Speaking the role is certainly inseparable from human beings as actors-actors of social roles and status, where the role is a pattern of behavior expected of a person who has status. According to Soekanto, the role is a dynamic aspect of the position (status). If a person performs his rights and obligations in accordance with his position (status) then he performs a role, where the role more refers to function, self-adjustment and of course the process. Whereas according to Levinson, role is a concept of what individuals do in society as an organization (Sugiri, 2012). Status, whether social status or economic status is one of the factors that can influence the emergence of political awareness of a person / individual. Political awareness itself is the result of an individual's political education. With the political education obtained by a person, it will foster a sense of political responsibility and political awareness in him so that he will feel obliged to fulfill the obligations he has as a citizen and demand his rights as a citizen as well. In other words, political awareness is the main thing in encouraging individuals to participate in politics. But to measure the high level of low political awareness quantitatively is very difficult, and one of the ways taken to be able to measure political awareness is to present and recognize indicators that can indicate the tendency of political awareness of citizens.

To analyze pesada's role in strengthening women's politics, we can use an analysis of gender analysis (Wahyudi, 2007). Gender analysis is the process of systematically analyzing data and information about men and women to identify and disclose the positions, functions, roles and responsibilities of men and women, as well as influencing factors. Analysis or method / approach used pesada in strengthening women including political education that is based on the theory developed by Caroline Moser. Moser model analysis technique or also called Moser framework is based on Gender and Developmentl GAD approach. The main concepts of this analysis are Triple Roles Models, namely Three gender roles (reproduction, production and society), practical and strategic needs, and categories of policy approaches that are WID and GAD (matrix policy). Moser's analysis aims to improve women's emancipation from their subordinate positions, and to achieve equality, and gender equality, and women's empowerment.

In line with Caroline Moser's theoretical approach, Sara H Longwe developed a "framework" or framework and analytical tools to be able to assess whether a project or programme undertaken for women's development is worthy of being referred to as a project that strengthens women or not. This tool is known as the "Women's Equality and Empowerment Framework (WEEF)" or women's equality and empowerment analysis tool. This analysis was developed through the concept of access and control of resources, as well as gender awareness as a key ladder towards achieving women and men's equality and increasing strengthening of women. "Women's Empowerment Framework" sara H. Longwe's framework or method is based on the importance of development for women, how to handle gender issue as an obstacle to women's empowerment in an effort to meet the specific needs of women and efforts to achieve gender equality. Women empowerment includes three things: (1) capacity building means building women's abilities; (2) cultural change, namely cultural change that favors women; (3) Structural adjustment is a structural adjustment that favors women. Empowerment efforts are directed at achieving community welfare through gender equality.

In terms of empowerment, according to Sara H. Longwe (1988) there are five levels of equality in terms of women's empowerment, the criteria of the analysis framework used in this method consist of 5 (five) criteria, namely: (1) welfare; (2) access; (3) awareness; (4) participation; and (5) control<sup>46</sup>. This framework is used to analyze and implement all strengthening programs. Regarding the term strengthening and not empowerment commonly used, in an interview with Dina Lumbantobing revealed "I can not accept the term empowerment, as if women or villagers are helpless or powerless people. The right term is reinforcement, because actually they're already strong, but we're reinforcing them again."<sup>47</sup> As mentioned earlier, Sara H. Longwe's analysis method is used by Pesada in carrying out its programs and activities. Such as: Welfare, Access, Awareness, Active participation, Control.

### 3.4. Obstacles – Obstacles in Strengthening Politics.

In conducting political education, there are several obstacles that we will encounter, namely obstacles that we can call ideological barriers and material barriers. Ideological barriers can be in the form of paradigms / frames of thinking that tend to minimize patriarchy and values that still educate girls and boys differently according to the identity or label feminine in women and masculine in men (gender ideology). Material barriers include low levels of women's education, women's skills and experience which is also related to restricted women's opportunities and access and organizing issues.

In addition, according to Dina Lumbantobing, "patriarchal or fundamentalist groups that still have a bad/negative view of NGOs/ NGOs, indigenous and religious groups that still consider feminists are domestic and moral destroyers of women and perpetrators of violence (violence against women or domestic violence) or businessmen involved in acts of violence against women (trafficking) are the main obstacles and most often occur in the process of strengthening women".

## 4. CONCLUSION

Since the first Congress of the Women's Movement held in 1928 the issue of positional and conditional inequality between women and men has been a problem and concern for women themselves. More specifically, in the political field of the participants of Congress at that time were aware of the need to increase the role and position of women in decision-making institutions. They even participated in the fight for Indonesia's amendment and demanded that there be representation of women in it. But since the enactment of women's domestication policy during the new order, the condition and position of women have not changed much or progressed. When analyzed as to why women are subordinate or second-class citizens, marginalized or commonly referred to as discrimination there are a variety of views on this subject. Some say because of capitalism, because of gender differences, because of western colonization, or even because of religious interpretation or socialization/education. Whatever tradition a person follows in analyzing or outlining why women experience discrimination can be understood using gender analysis, or how to describe this distinction by looking at the differentiation made by society based on the roles and functions of women and men. All these distinctions are not natural distinctions or often called natural, but they are because of people's understanding of what should, appropriately, be done by men or women. This is learned from a person born, and indeed the beginning is from a natural distinction such as the female uterus, which widens and is extended to be corroborated to babysit, wash, and so on that are caring, nurturing and others. Freely, 'gender' can be interpreted as a row or a number of differences between women and men socially and psychologically i.e. differences built and developed by society itself (therefore very historical and cultural). According to Anne Oakley, gender is not gender, because these male and female differences are learned through the process of socialization (family, educational institutions, countries, etc.) and culture. Gender is also dynamic according to the change of time (Tobing, Gender Issu Paper In Indonesian Elections). This confusion of understanding of nature has a great effect on the understanding of political issues, where the role of women who are considered natural such as thoroughness, caring, loving, is considered unsuitable for the world of politics that is considered masculine. Therefore, the function of women in politics is generally limited to tasks close to the role of women, namely the treasurer & administrative department (because of meticulously arranging uan in the household), campaigners, or just as ordinary members in the party. Of course all of this affects or implies the participation of women in politics.

Simply put, if you look at women's political participation in elections, it can be said that women's political participation is quite high, but the question is whether the participation is done with full awareness or not. Basically the participation of women is still passive, women follow the election just out of fear or automatically have to participate. This is because women's political rights are not yet understood as individual rights, but are deeply patriarchal or based on the power relationships that exist around women such as fathers or husbands. All of this shows a low formal political awareness, not only that we can also know from the disproportionate number of representation of women at all

levels of influence and decision making, whereas the percentage of the female population is greater than that of men.

One of the early ways or activities to increase women's political participation and representation was to conduct political education. According to the definition of a political party according to Law No.2 of 2011, a political party is a political organization formed by a group of citizens of the Republic of Indonesia voluntarily on the basis of equality of will and ideals to fight for the interests of members, society, nation and country through elections. Thus, it can be said that political parties have a very important role in the democratic system and have the main function is political education to their constituents. Political parties not only do education choose to win their party or his party, more broadly than that is to give an understanding of the ideological consciousness of his constituents to become good citizens and not pragmatic. Moreover, political parties annually get a government aid budget (both APBD and APBD) which one of the priorities is for political education activities to the community.

Political education is an effort to build public awareness of its rights and obligations as citizens, so that the public is better able to understand various aspects related to democracy and the implementation of elections in an ideological state, so as to be able to determine the choice appropriately and consciously (rational voters). In general, political education programs are directed at three level of changes to be achieved, namely changes in knowledge (cognitive), attitude changes and behavior changes. Political education itself aims to build political knowledge, raise political awareness and to increase political participation. In an interview with Dina Lumbantobing (Founder of Pesada) "The first step in conducting political education is to build critical awareness, and critical awareness will not be awakened if there is no organizing that can be realized in the form of CU and strengthening women's politics. In addition, with the advocacy of government policies that are gender responsive, participation will arise if no violence occurs (free from violence and intervention). Because the essence of political education is the strengthening of politics that aims to build political awareness so that women can make decisions independently".

But the non-function of political parties in providing political education, alternative institutions are needed, which in this case are NGOs/NGOs. And one of the NGOs/NGOs that concerted against women's political education is PESADA (Perkumpulan Sada Ahmo). PESADA (Perkumpulan Sada Ahmo) formerly called Yayasan Sada Ahmo (YSA) is a local Non-Governmental Organization/NGOs in North Sumatra that was established in early October 1990. With the vision of creating a condition of society imbued by spirit, sincerity, discipline, simplicity, solidarity, devotion, equality, and gender justice. As well as the mission to awareness of the rights of women, children, and marginalized groups, strengthening the economic, social, cultural, and political of women, children, and marginalized groups, advocacy and defense of women, children, and marginalized groups, as well as the study and development of capacity, especially women. This organization was founded by 15 people who concerted against the socio-political conditions in Indonesia and in response or reaction to the existence of Pakpak community as a native tribe of Dairi Regency which was then marginalized.

In line with its development, there are several findings of problems in the Pakpak community, namely related to gender justice and economic issues, therefore YSA held a political education program to build women's political awareness. The theme of these programs/activities is to claim the role of the domestic sector and access to resources, as well as patriarchal cultures that are seen as restricting women's movement space. Through the education strategy and organizing and implementation of the empowerment framework offered by Sarah Longwe, women empowerment efforts can be made covering five levels of equality, namely: (1) equality of welfare level, (2) equalization of access level, (3) equalization of awareness level, (4) equalization of participation level, and (5) equalization of control/power level. As a step or stage in educating or strengthening women and children's politics, YSA established several TBAA (Taman Bina Asuh Anak) to assist mothers in caring for their children, established CU (Credit Union) as a forum for women to gather in gaining access to capital and information, conducting political education, and holding a Sinceritas Safe House for victims of

violence and trafficking. Although since its inception until 1997, Pesada, which was still named YSA, has not been formally politically motivated, it is due to a very repressive political situation. But in the momentum of the 1998 reforms, it was a breath of fresh air for women to open access and have their rights as women and citizens.

In 1998, YSA held a women's political strengthening program where the main objectives were Pakpak women and women at other grassroots with the theme 'Building Women's Awareness about Women's Politics and Political Rights'. Political education conducted by Pesada is divided into two parts, namely Voter Education, which is a course and workshop for Credit Union assisted by Pesada and workshops for cadres / female figures. Materials in this voter education include: Introduction to Gender Awareness, introduction to women's political rights, women's issues in politics, introduction of the main content of 3 Political Law, Electoral System, and introduction of political parties of election participants. And secondly, Civic Education as a continuation of Voters Education, and focuses more on the issue of Women's Rights or the introduction of Law No.7/1984, Violence Against Women & Domestic Violence, Introduction of OTDA Law in particular substance and autonomy issues, Publication of monthly Bulletin "Voice of Women", establishment of women's organizations, and 'field practice' through delegation, hearing for dialogue with dprd & pemda.

Simply put, it is hoped that rural women and women at other grassroots can understand the content of the Women's Rights (Uu No.7/1984) especially women's political rights, understanding the Electoral system and party platform so that in the end women dare/can decide independently their choice. This program is carried out with various activities such as for example; Workshops for rural female leaders, radio talk shows, regular publication of the 'Women's Voice' bulletin, monthly CU group discussions, and final workshops for evaluation. The main focus of the program is Gender Awareness, Human Rights, Women's Rights and Women's Issues in Politics.

The implementation methods of the program series are training, workshops, and regular discussions. Especially for information that is publicized through talk shows on the radio and the dissemination of bulletins. Talkshow activities are specifically designed to socialize and provoke debates on the Political Law Package and hot issues around Elections and Politics. Meanwhile, the Women's Voice Bulletin disseminated supporting writings for political education and specifically served as a topic for the CU group in the credit union group's monthly meeting. And to strengthen the aspect of action as a praxis of the implementation of the program, periodically, the representatives of the group conduct delegations to the DPRD and Pemkab. Such efforts are important in addition to training sensitivity and courage as well as forging the experience of dialogue in the fight for common aspirations and interests.

From the data that has been presented before, I can conclude that Pesada has a very important role in conducting political education so that the political awareness of society, especially women, has increased. This can be proven by some of pesada's opinion on politics, elections, and women's political rights that most have understood and understood. And to further strengthen this research, I will present the opinion of one of the mothers who sell small cakes everyday named Mrs. Saroja. According to Ibu Saroja, Pesada has been doing assistance to women especially for underprivileged communities. Ms. Saroja became acquainted with Pesada in 2004, who was originally a victim of domestic violence, now saroja's mother is a female activist who accompanies women victims of violence, of course after she was given training-training and advocacy materials in mentoring victims. Although it has successfully conducted political education to women there are some problems or obstacles in doing so, namely regarding the assumptions or negative views of society in this case patriarchal groups, customs or even religions.

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