

LEGISLATIVE VIEWS OF MEN REGARDING WOMEN'S POLITICS IN MANDAILING NATAL DISTRICT

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ABSTRACT: *Mandailing Natal is one of the Regencies which includes the minimal choice of women in the legislature, but the thing that is very interesting for the authors to raise this research is that Assembly at regional (DPRD) leadership is a woman. The position of women as legislative leaders is still a rare thing in Indonesia. Based on the determination of seats and elected candidates, the seats of DPRD of Madina from five electoral districts (Dapem) were only obtained by 11 political parties, namely: Nasional Demokrasi Party (NASDEM), Kebangkitan Bangsa Party (PKB), Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan Party (PDIP), Golongan Karya (GOLKAR), Gerakan Indonesia Raya Party (GERINDRA), Demokrasi Rakyat Party (DEMOKRAT), Amanat Nasional Party (PAN), Persatuan Pembangunan Party (PPP), Hati Nurani Rakyat Party (HANURA), Bulan Bintang Party (PBB), Keadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia Party (PKPI). and only 3 people represent women or only 7.7%. Namely Leli Hartati (HANURA), Melati Nur (PKB), Riadoh Rangkuti (PKB). Compared with the choice of women in the 2009-2014 legislative elections, only 2 were represented by women sitting in the Madina DPRD building, namely Siti Aisyah Nafsa from the Golkar Party from Dapem I and Aminah Ismail Lubis from the Nusantara Republika Party from Dapem II, or around 5%. Women's representation does indeed increase even though it is very little.*

KEYWORDS: Legislative Views; Politics; Mandailing Natal District

INTRODUCTION

Mandailing Natal is one of the Regencies which includes the minimal choice of women in the legislature, but the thing that is very interesting for the authors to raise this research is that Assembly at regional (DPRD) leadership is a woman. The position of women as legislative leaders is still a rare thing in Indonesia. Nevertheless, there are still many people in Mandailing Natal who see that the political world is a world of men who do not need to be followed. In fact, there are still many people who don't really care about politics. According to Siagian (2012: 100), the traditional view that is very prevalent places women in the position of: second-class citizens: with a clear role, namely: staying at home, taking care of the household, serving husbands, and raising children. In the environment of modern society this view has changed a lot, among other things because around 50% of humanity consists of women, an emancipation movement pioneered by women themselves and because of the opening of access for women to enjoy formal education to even the highest strata.

According to the author, the modern view expressed by Siagian did indeed occur in several professions at the Mandailing Natal. Women who work outside the home are not something that is considered a taboo at Mandailing Natal, the acceptance in the community of women working is very open in several professions such as teachers, principals, office employees,

officials in several government agencies, business people, and so on. Another thing is the opportunity of women in politics which is still considered one-sided despite the awareness of some people starting to emerge, especially women to use their rights to be elected and elected. The complexity of women's issues related to the economic, social, political, and domestic affairs sectors should be more effective in placing involvement in policy making. For this reason, women are encouraged to enter the political world. The political activeness of women who have started to emerge should also be supported by the performance of political parties by cadre of candidates. Political parties should have a very significant role in increasing women's representation.

Based on the determination of seats and elected candidates, the seats of DPRD of Madina from five electoral districts (Dapem) were only obtained by 11 political parties, namely: Nasional Demokrasi Party (NASDEM), Kebangkitan Bangsa Party (PKB), Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan Party (PDIP), Golongan Karya (GOLKAR), Gerakan Indonesia Raya Party (GERINDRA), Demokrasi Rakyat Party (DEMOKKRAT), Amanat Nasional Party (PAN), Persatuan Pembangunan Party (PPP), Hati Nurani Rakyat Party (HANURA), Bulan Bintang Party (PBB), Keadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia Party (PKPI). and only 3 people represent women or only 7.7%. Namely Leli Hartati (HANURA), Melati Nur (PKB), Riadoh Rangkuti (PKB). Compared with the choice of women in the 2009-2014 legislative elections, only 2 were represented by women sitting in the Madina DPRD building, namely Siti Aisyah Nafsa from the Golkar Party from Dapem I and Aminah Ismail Lubis from the Nusantara Republika Party from Dapem II, or around 5%. Women's representation does indeed increase even though it is very little.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Gender Concept

The word gender is often interpreted as a group of men or groups of women that are formed not because of human biological differences but because of social construction. To understand the word gender, it must be differentiated from the word sex or gender. In biological structure or gender, humans consist of men and women who each have biological tools and functions that are permanently attached and cannot be exchanged. Men cannot perform, men cannot get pregnant, because they do not have peranakan organs. Whereas women don't have heavy voices, no mustaches, no mushrooms, because both of them do have different hormones. The concept of gender itself is the inherent nature of male and female groups formed by social and cultural factors, so that there are some assumptions about the social role and cultural role between men and women. For example, if you are more identical as a person who is gentle, graceful, emotional, or motherly; while men are considered strong, rational, male, and mighty.

The nature of the above can be exchanged and changes from time to time. Therefore, it can be said that gender can be interpreted as a social concept that distinguishes (in the sense of choosing or separating) roles between men and women. The difference in function between men and women is not determined because between the two there are biological or natural differences, but are distinguished or chosen according to their respective positions, functions, and roles in various fields of life and development. Gender is also often interpreted as differences in the nature, role, function, task, status, and responsibility of male and female

behavior that are formed, created, and constructed by the community whose body is agreed upon and can change according to the development of the era. The role of gender is dynamic, influenced by age (the view of generations of old, young, or children), race, ethnicity, religion, environment, geography, education, socio-economic, and political. Therefore changes in gender roles often occur as a response to changes in socio-economic, cultural, political and strategic resources, including changes caused by development efforts or adjustments to structural adjustment programs and the influence of strengths at the level national and global.

Issues of Women in Politics

The division of sexual work that places women only in the domestic sector, while men in the public sector are within the scope of understanding gender. Different gender roles like this cause injustice especially for women. Referring to Fakhri (in Agustino: 229), several manifestations of injustice caused by the existence of gender assumptions can be formulated which include aspects of marginalization, subordination, stereotypes, violence and unbalanced workloads. According to Webster new world dictionary in 1984, gender is interpreted as the apparent difference between men and women in terms of temporary values and behavior according to the 1990 women's encyclopedia study, gender is a cultural concept that tries to make a difference in roles, behavior, mentality and characteristics between men and women who develop in society (Kusumaadmadja 2007: 93).

Women's issues in the Indonesian political arena are not easy jobs. Putting the issue of women in the political frame still has to face a culture that underestimates women's issues and is not considered a major issue in people's lives. In addition to the minimal number of women sitting in parliament, the gender awareness of parliamentarians is still not visible. As a result, demands for accommodating women's issues in politics must be carried out in a long and tiring process. According to Kusumaadmadja (2007: 4-5) the constraints factors both culturally and the system will continue to afflict women who want to achieve equality in politics. But who does the process outside the system, or who wants to enter the system. The issue of women in politics according to some observers of women's issues has not produced good results through the achievement of statistical indicators, namely the increase in the number of women in decision-making positions, also based on indicators of public awareness and policy making on the importance of ending various forms of discrimination in politics and understanding of citizens' political rights including women's rights.

Value of Patriarchy in the Community

According to Soetjipto (2014: 25-26) The idea that politics is not territory for women is an idea that has always been echoed for centuries, and it is indeed very effective to restrict women from limiting this region. Public and private terminology that is closely related to the concept of gender, gender roles, and stereotypes, have created inequality and injustice between women and men. The most obvious consequence of such a political situation is the marginalization and exclusion of women from formal political life. This means that the presence of women in formal political life in many places shows an unpleasant picture. The root of all these problems is a patriarchal culture that blocks all the space for women in all fields, including in politics. In terms of conventional politics, politics is only seen as an activity of how to exercise the power that limits the scope of political activity solely to activities such as voting (lobbying), campaign and others of the same kind.

The old view that is still developing in society is women and politics are two different worlds and cannot be united. Erroneous views that are deliberately maintained so that women remain in their golden cage in order to promote male domination complete with its patriarchal tradition. It is too often heard that women precisely in the world of women, namely at home alone, take care of the household, do not need to determine the affairs outside the kitchen or home, even though women work outside the home must also take care of all household matters so there is no time and no need to take care of matters others, especially for politics. Be politics described as a world outside the home, a world of men, a dirty scene. Filled with games of power and money. In short the political world is not the place for women but where men make decisions. So if there are women who are brave and have the courage to take part in politics, these women must have the courage to behave like men. Women who can determine what they want naturally, act and can be treated with their rights like men. Women's politics is the attitude of women to participate in making decisions while determining those decisions. what kind of political decision, of course any decision. Only by using a woman's point of view in making choices and acting is certainly an analysis of the injustice towards women that has been caused by the practice of patriarchal ideology that can be overcome. Injustice is characterized by discrimination, violence, stereotypes, domination, and the exclusion of women and the double burden of women.

Mujiran (2003: 225) says that patriarchal culture characterizes male leadership, is not gender sensitive, and is less flexible in giving roles to women. In a patriarchal society such as Indonesia, the opportunity for women to reach that position requires its own sacrifice (if it does not depend on fate). Our politicians, who are mostly small men, may accommodate women's interests.

Politics of Masculinity

Jobs perceived as masculine or feminine, and perceived success depend on masculine attributes (bold, competitive, mathematical) in masculine work and feminine attributes (beautiful, collaborative, intuitive) in feminine work (Cejka & Eagly in Baron and Byrne 2003: 197). For female leaders who adopt a leadership style that is seen as masculine stereotypes (autocratic, directing), in the field where most leaders are male, and when the person evaluating the leader is male. This finding suggests that women continue to face disguised pressure even when they reach positions of leadership and authority. (Kent & Moss, in Baron and Byrne 2003: 251). In Astuti's article in Partini (Jurnal Perempuan Vol.81 2014: 41) analyzes that there are several reasons for the low level of women in parliamentary institutions. First, the masculine political model, meaning political life in the organization according to male norms and values, and in some ways with the lifestyle (dipestilea) of men. A masculine political model is a structural obstacle for women. Traditionally women were excluded from high positions in the public arena. Politics as male realism. Women are generally encouraged to believe that politics is so complicated for them to be understood and politics is best for men. Socially, the community considers that the private domain is a shelter for women and the public domain / politics as housing for men. The separation between public and private certainly has gender consequences. Both institutional barriers for women in politics, and thirdly the criminalization in politics has increased rapidly from elections to elections, mapia, money manipulation, and power violence played a dominant role in politics in Indonesia. Partini in Women's Journal Vol.81 (2014: 41-42) explains that so far political and political behavior have been seen as masculine activities. According to Siti Musdah Mulia and Ana Farida (2005) it was stated that political behavior can include the

independence of freedom of opinion, power and aggressive actions. These characteristics have never been considered ideal in women. Until now, the community has always seen independent women who dare to express opinions and be aggressive as people who cannot be accepted by the community, or are not wanted by many people, especially the male group. The stereotypes of women are feminine constructed, do not recognize the toughness of courage or firmness which is the main element of power that is more synonymous with masculine attitudes. In addition, power as an important element of politics has never possessed the characteristics and characteristics of a leader. In general, women do not define power as men think about it. This has the consequence, that many women become masculine when they want to be in power (male celone). Political activity according to thrifty Partini is masculine but does not require the possibility of bandaging feminine behavior so that politics does not have to be hard but firm, does not need intrigue but needs negotiation and does not have to be cruel but needs sharing. Thus the presence of women in the political arena can be accepted wholeheartedly and not half-heartedly. This is a female-friendly political system. Women's participation in politics is a means to an end and not an end in itself. The process of achieving goals is not single and independent but has a shared value. Injustice is not only felt by individuals in a certain domain, but has penetrated into a system and has entered into the structure of society so that it is felt by many people. Injustice in formulation and policy making is not only felt by certain groups of women (women), but has become an agenda of global struggle in accordance with the opinion of Hikkey and Mohan (2004) that the realization of citizenship participation is no longer a unilateral struggle, but has become a struggle in in a network involving various parties, especially in the climate of information and communication openness as it is today. In the area of openness now it should be able to provide space for women to be legislated. It's just that worries become more dominant and precisely the people and women themselves are overwhelmed by doubts to choose their own people.

DISCUSSION

In this section, the author focuses on 6 male informants, namely 3 male legislative members and 3 political party administrators. The role of male legislators is very important in supporting gender equality. The entry of women in the political world is an unavoidable part because the one who establishes the position of the legislature is victory in a free battle in the field. Male legislative members and party administrators generally support women's participation in politics at Mandailing Natal. The following is an answer matrix from them when asked about their opinions about women entering politics and occupying legislative seats:

No	Informant	Answer
1	Mr. ML (DPRD Member)	<i>At present the party is very difficult to find female cadres in the Party, which is one of the reasons for this is mandailing culture that promotes habits. Even women after becoming members are difficult to unite Political climate with outside climate. Madina in this period was the leader of women. I was very impressed with this mother. He actually in terms of organization is very minimal. However, he can appear as a leader even though he is a woman. but sometimes we question the conflict of interest at home, of course, he must think of children. Moreover, her husband who is a member of the DPRD is also here.</i>
2	Mr. S (DPRD Member)	<i>Very good. Even the State has required 30% representation of women. Women themselves must participate</i>
3	Mr. MR (DPRD Member)	<i>Very good. And indeed the regulation is 30% female. And indeed there must be equity.</i>
4	Mr. F (Political Party Management)	<i>Nice. Strongly agree. Because there are regulations from the KPU which require women to be represented at least 30% to support women's emancipation. Also as support for the government.</i>
5	Mr. WA (Chairperson of Political Party)	<i>Personally, just as long as there is capability. Don't be as if a woman is forced. Yes, 30%, but if you can't, 30% is canceled. Women's politics are forced.</i>
6	Ms. R (Political Party Management)	<i>Good because it can bring people's aspirations, especially women.</i>

The statement shows that men are welcome with women who want go into politics and occupy the legislative seat. Born as a woman is not a limitation for not being able to lead, it can be seen from male legislators who admire the leadership of the DPRD Chairperson that women also have the capability in leading. The problem of women in politics is still inseparable from the culture which led to the lack of involvement of women in the political world at Mandailing Natal. Here's the argument of Mr. ML

*"The party is very difficult to find female cadres in the Party where one of the causes is the mandailing culture that promotes habits. Even after becoming a member, women find it difficult to unite the political climate with the outside climate."
(Interview, 09/07/2018)*

Besides that the 30% quota of women's representation in the legislative and political party elections in political parties has also not fully gained the support of political party leaders in Mandailing Natal due to the fact that the party has to recruit women, where women should have their own awareness when they want to join with the party. In accordance with the arguments of the chairman of the PKS DPC, Mr. WA said the following:

*"Personally, it's ok (good women enter politics) as long as there is capability. Don't be as if a woman is forced. Yes, 30%, but if you can't, 30% is canceled. Women's politics are forced."
(Interview, 07/30/2018)*

Political education is a relevant choice to give to women so they are not politically blind. Strengthening women's capacity is not only limited to the output of women's awareness to become members of parliament but also must be balanced by the support of other voting women to process critically, dialogically, and never give up in electoral processes in a democratic citizenship system that does not only produce discourse, representation, and a transformative process between political parties and women. (Jurnal Perempuan Vol.81: 2014: 42-43)

Furthermore, when it was questioned about the opinions of male legislators and party administrators about the stigma that women did not have the capacity to compete with men in the political arena, the following was an answer matrix from informants.

No	Informant	Answer
1	Mr. ML (DPRD Member)	<i>It is impossible (competing) because thinking capacity is limited in terms of judging. The woman put forward her feelings. To match cannot because physical nature is different. Not to be equal, but made to cover the immortality of men in the field of women.</i>
2	Mr. S (DPRD Member)	<i>Very good. Only sometimes do women have to be capable. Must compete but not dare.</i>
3	Mr. MR (DPRD Member)	<i>Certainly. At Mandailing Natal Mandailing Christmas DPRD Chairperson is a woman.</i>
4	Mr. F (Political Party Management)	<i>Not true. Because not all women are like that. Women can compete with men.</i>
5	Mr. WA (Chairperson of Political Party)	<i>Facts speak of many women who can exceed men's abilities. But it does not also justify that women are superior to men.</i>
6	Ms. R (Political Party Management)	<i>Wrong. Because women and men are not of the same religious level. But if for equality women and men are the same.</i>

From all of these statements, the views of male legislators are very open to competition with women by praising women's capabilities, but when women are needed in parliament to cover men's mortality, according to the authors' analysis this indicates that there is no sincerity in men to open up free competition in politics because from the beginning women were only involved not to achieve equality in terms of open competition in the political arena at Mandailing Natal.

Male legislators do not want strong women in Parliament as described. Here are their opinions about women who work as legislators who are described by the community as "women who are harder than women from other professions.

No	Informant	Answer
1	Mr. ML (DPRD Member)	<i>Return to each character.</i>
2	Mr. S (DPRD Member)	<i>Wrong. Because women themselves are hard in stance, gentle in attitude.</i>
3	Mr. MR (DPRD Member)	<i>Not really.</i>

Following is the answer matrix regarding the abilities women have in the Council according to male legislative informants.

No	Informant	Answer
1	Mr. ML (DPRD Member)	<i>If you basically want to build a vision to build a pastisiap DPRD. But the reality here is that there are no cadres from the start, including the chairman of the board. The 2 PKB female cadres were also those who had become big people here. The vision has been formed increasingly.</i>
2	Mr. S (DPRD Member)	<i>Madina DPRD is very good. Women are able to master in leading the session. But in terms of natural knowledge because he is not from the sospol educational background. Also he is not from an activist.</i>
3	Mr. MR (DPRD Member)	<i>Not bad, but not all. But the current chairman is quite capable. He is a religious scholar. That is, the signs are still on him.</i>

Following is the answer matrix regarding the weaknesses of women in the Mandailing Natal DPRD.

No	Informant	Answer
1	Mr. ML (DPRD Member)	<i>First, it tends to regard politics as another world. Second, it is difficult to make decisions. The principle of the fraction is very strong. Third, this mother's model is flexible. Do not respond.</i>
2	Mr. S (DPRD Member)	<i>His devotion, the gentleness of his soul. The background must be from activists, experience. Basic education / academic science. That's the limitation.</i>
3	Mr. MR (DPRD Member)	<i>The disadvantages are internal household problems, visits outside the region. However, the three people in the DPRD today are not a problem.</i>

CONCLUSION

Mandailing Natal is a district with a majority of Muslims dominated by Mandailing ethnicity and strongly promotes cultural norms and values. The political world at Mandailing Natal is inseparable from the influence of culture and religion. This view influences women who want to join politics and women are still overshadowed by religious values in which women cannot become leaders for men. The choice of women as leaders of the DPRD is not based on the agreement of elected party members, but rather the power hierarchy where the party chairman has a veto right to choose who has the right to be the DPRD chairman from his party. Politics of masculinity still plays a role in the party system at Mandailing Natal. The patriarchal

values that lead to religious views are in fact strongly influenced by the social and cultural conditions of the Electoral District (Dapil). Women who have been nominated in multi-ethnic electoral districts and have a variety of religions do not feel the influence of patriarchal values in their nominations in the legislature. The public's view of women's politics does not lead to the ability of the female legislative candidate, but is more inclined to the views of the community itself regarding the attitudes of women legislators who are described as incompatible with cultural values, not so severe stigma about women unable to compete with men politics because of this stigma is still defeated by religious views. Male legislators and party administrators accept and support women's participation in politics, but have not yet sincerely opened up free competition with women. Women are only involved, not to achieve equality in terms of open competency in the political arena at Mandailing Natal. The 30% quota of women's representation in the legislative candidates election also has not fully gained support from Islamic political party leaders. Legislative women feel that politics in parliament is female friendly, even though men have not fully considered their position the same as women. Women in parliament are considered to cover the lives of men in the field of womanhood.

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