

The Phenomena of Glass Ceiling in Institutions *Tuhapeut Gampong* (Study on the Experiences of Women Reaching Top Positions in the *Gampong* Government System in Langsa City)

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ABSTRACT

Tuhapeut is a gampong consultative organization that has undergone several changes in terms of regional regulations and the community's point of view. The inclusion of women in the organizational structure of tuhapeut is part of a change in the identity of tuhapeut, which was previously filled only by male gampong figures. So that in terms of work practices, women are still not fully covered in several institutional policies. Even the important position of women is weakened by the existence of modernized customary law and culture in the gampong area. This research attempts to reveal the cultural constructions in the gampong that affect women's ability to obtain positions in the institution by using the glass ceiling concept. Apart from that, this research looks at the strategies used by Tuhapeut women to achieve strategic positions in the gampong government system. This research is a field research type of qualitative research using feminist ethnography research methods. Data obtained from observations, in-depth interviews, and documentation. While the theory used is the glass ceiling theory, and the theory of agency and modality of Pierre Bourdieu. The findings from this study are that there are still many performance dysfunctions faced by Tuhapeut women. The patriarchal culture that is still strong and the shari'a law that is brought in often weakens the existence of women in institutions. Nevertheless, the modality of the village women indicates that the form of women's empowerment is getting better. Such as the existence of supporting aspects of economic modality, namely social capital and cultural capital owned by Tuhapeut women. Some of these capitals form various strategies in the field, such as the family field, the religious field, and the legal and customary field.

Keywords: *Tuhapeut, Glass Ceiling, Agency and Modality*

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INTRODUCTION

Tuhapeut is a traditional institution that is under the auspices of a *gampong* or village scale government system. The *tuhapeut* institution was present for the first time since the time of the kingdom of Aceh Darussalam to function as a controller and maintain the integrity of culture, shari'at law, and customs in a community group. Then the role of *tuhapeut* shifted when new regulations emerged through the Indonesian government by forming the Village Deliberative Council (LMD), where the *gampong* government system was changed and its position equated with the village government system in general according to the rules of the Minister of Home Affairs in Law Number 8 of 1980. As a result the existence of the institution *tuhapeut* in Aceh experienced setbacks and long disappeared among the people.

Until 2006, pursuant to Law No. 18 on the governance of Aceh, a legal product was born in the form of a Qanun by placing the traditional institutions, especially the *tuhapeut*, back into the *gampong* government system. There are several changes in the structure of *Tuhapeut*, such as the appointment of members based on regional general elections, as well as the separation of the roles of village heads and *tuhapeut* institutions. Including the rules in Qanun Kota Langsa No. 6 issued in 2014, regarding *Gampong* Government in article 37 which requires guarantees regarding women's representation in the realm of *gampong* government with a quota of 30%. Prior to the enactment of this decree, the membership structure of the *tuhapeut* was always filled with male *gampong* leaders without involving women in it.

Since the enactment of the rules regarding women's representation, it is a new challenge for the *gampong* community to involve and give trust to women in terms of leadership. The construction of gender in the *gampong* area is also formed by the culture and beliefs of the Acehnese people towards the built shari'a law. This aspect is inseparable from the historical factors that occur in it. At the beginning of the New Order era, after the Aceh Tsunami, until the Helsinki MoU peace agreement. These several periods were inseparable from gender development in Aceh Province, especially in the *Gampong* areas. Aceh's increasingly advanced conditions in terms of development and education have also brought changes to the construction of gender in Aceh. However, until now there are still many Acehnese women in the *gampong* area who cannot be separated from patriarchal culture.

METHODS OF RESEARCH

Research using ethnographic methods is a qualitative approach in which researchers explore real-life situations and the various systems within them within a variety of cases. This involves detailed and in-depth data collection involving various sources of information, such as observations, in-depth interviews, audiovisuals, documents, and reports. This includes reporting case descriptions. This research focuses more on feminist ethnography, which is a field research that uses multiple methods, in which in many studies, ethnographic interviews and participant observation are the two main data collection methods, namely by analyzing gender perspectives on a culture. Feminist ethnography, according to Reinharz (1992), aims at least three things, namely to document the lives and activities of women, to understand women's experiences from the perspective of women themselves, and to conceptualize women's behavior as their expression in a social context, all within the framework of gender relations.

Focuses on research locations in several *gampongs* (villages) in Langsa City, Aceh. This study took 5 (five) main informants, namely village women who served as *tuhapeut* members, as well as 4 (four) supporting informants including 2 (two) male *tuhapeut* members, and 2 (two) female figures in the community. Sources of data used in this study consisted of primary data and secondary data. Primary data

in this study were obtained through observation and in-depth interviews with informants. While the secondary data obtained through the results of documentation in the form of journals, reports, and newspapers.

Data collection techniques in this study were in-depth interviews, document and literature studies, and ethnographic observations. The data analysis method in this study uses data coding, data reduction or the process of selecting and centering, then displaying data or presenting data conceptually. Furthermore, the researcher draws final conclusions based on the data that has been displayed in the two problem formulations so that the final conclusions can answer the research problem.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The studies that have discussed this topic in terms of women's obstacles in reaching the highest positions do not only come from substantive factors, but the cultural system that controls them (Carol K, 2009; Dzuhayatin, 2020; David Purcell, 2010). The glass ceiling phenomenon at the same time presents a form of business and negotiation for women in achieving the highest and recognized positions. When women are experienced in politics and leadership, they will use their skills positively, effectively, and to benefit themselves and others (Drude Dahlerup & Lisa A Mainiero, 1988; Hikmalisa, 2019). Likewise in power relations and the participation of Acehnese women in determining and adopting a policy in government institutions (European Union Aceh Peace Follow Up Project, 2005; Edriana 2013).

The presence of women in the structure of the *tuhapeut* institution has an influence on the welfare of the *gampong* community. Included in the process of sustaining additional programs, namely the start of the active role of village women in fulfilling the activities to be held. As well as the presence of women in the *Tuhapeut Gampong* institution, not only can they provide advice and consideration to the village head (*Geuchik*), but they can also supervise *gampong reusam*, *gampong* financial management, as well as mediators and negotiators for problems that occur in the *gampong* community.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

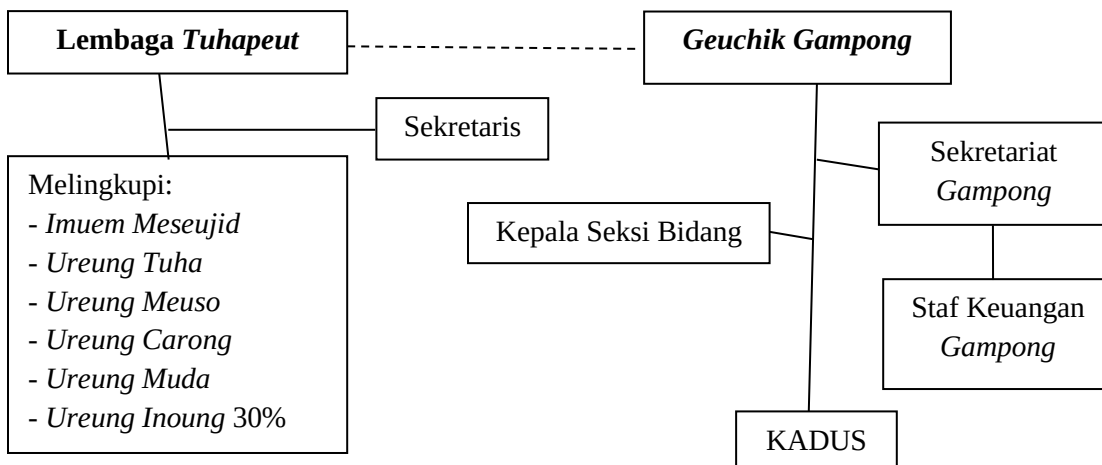
A. History and Institutional Structure of *Gampong Tuhapeut Langsa*

Historically, Aceh is a region that played an important role in the arrival of Islam in the Southeast Asian region. Until now, the people of Aceh still adhere to their Islamic culture. This can be seen from the social order and religious aspects where the majority of Aceh's population is Muslim. Various regional regulations still involve Ulama and community leaders in the Aceh government system to support community trust and participation in the applicable regulations. The presence of traditional institutions from the time of the Aceh sultanate is still actively contributing, including to customary institutions located in *gampong* areas which have their own customary laws according to a joint agreement between religious leaders and the *gampong* community.

Langsa City as one of the areas in Aceh Province where every *gampong* in it has a strong role in the influence of law and custom. The City Government is committed to continuing to involve *gampong* religious leaders in every policy, both in terms of regional development to the smallest side, namely family problems or conflicts, all of which have been regulated and involved on the basis of law and custom so that they are more focused.

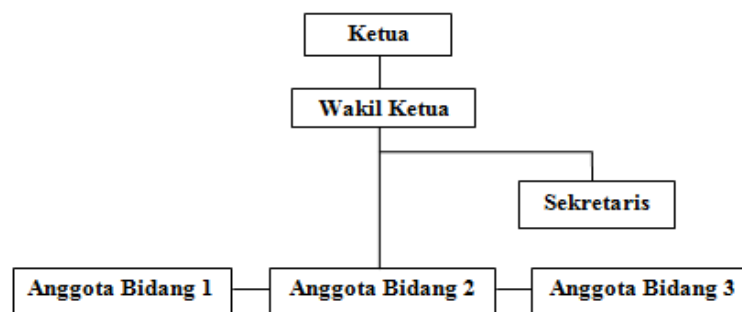
Tuhapeut as an institution that plays a role in building a balance in community life, maintaining the preservation of customary and Shari'a law, and protecting the community in any problems and disputes that occur between communities. As a *Gampong* Deliberative Body, the position of *tuhapeut* is equal to that of the *Geuchik* or village head. Both of them contribute to each other in terms of the development and welfare of the *gampong* area. The *geuchik* is in charge of administrative and development processes, while the *tuhapeut* oversees the performance of the *geuchik* and focuses on customs and laws in the *gampong*.

Figure 1. Village Government Structure of Langsa City



The position in the *Tuhapeut* internal structure consists of a chairman, deputy chairman, secretary, and several field members. Especially for the name of any field, it depends on the needs of the *tuhapeut* institution in each village. So that the differences in the needs of this field also provide differences in the existing customary rules of each sub-district or *gampong*.

Figure 2. Structure of the Village *Tuhapeut* Institution



The duties and functions within the *tuhapeut* structure depend on the membership position. The chairperson serves as the leader of the institution as well as being the promoter and is always involved in every village meeting. Usually, those appointed as Chairperson are those who are elders or people who are considered knowledgeable in religion or customs (charismatic figures). Then, similarly, the position of

Deputy Chairperson assists the performance of the chairperson in carrying out his duties, as well as accompanying every activity. The next position that is also important is the Secretary, this position is mandatory in the institution because he or she is a liaison between the *tuhapeut* and other institutions or governments outside the *tuhapeut*, but his or her role is outside the work of the *tuhapeut*. Finally, the position of Member, which is a position where there is a grouping based on fields, such as the duties of female members of the *tuhapeut* who are in the field of Village Women's Empowerment.

B. Gender Construction and Challenges to Women's Leadership in the *Tuhapeut* Institution

1. Relevance and Contribution of Women in the *Tuhapeut* Institution

PERMENDAGRI in law number 84 of 2014 concerning the organizational structure and working procedures of village government, explains that the appointment and dismissal of village officials is decided directly by the Regent or Mayor. Then it was continued in the Aceh Qanun rules regarding the qualifications for the election of *tuhapeut* through deliberations from *gampong* officials such as the sub-district head, *Imum Gampong* and the incumbent *Tuhapeut*. So that the membership structure of the *tuhapeut* is also approved or not based on *Ulee Balang*, but based on a stipulation from the Mayor of Langsa through the *gampong* apparatus.

After the PERWAL rules regarding the qualifications for the *tuhapeut* election in 2011, then in 2014 the Langsa City Qanun renewed the rules regarding the involvement of women in the institutional structure of *tuhapeut* as much as 30% with the same electoral qualification system. With the addition of women's representation in the *tuhapeut* structure, opportunities are opened for women to contribute to the *gampong* public sphere. Because before the change in regulations from PERMENDAGRI, the *gampong* administration as a whole was controlled and controlled by men. Nationally, the issue of gender equality in the public domain is the main focus for the central government. So that this issue is included in the realm of the smallest *gampong*-scale government.

The following is a summary of the transformation of the role of the *tuhapeut* institution, from an institution formed as a representative of *Ulee Balang*, to the process of women entering the *tuhapeut* institution, namely:

Tabel 1. Transformation of the *Tuhapeut* Institution

Kingdom Period	New Order	reform era	Pasca MoU Helsinki	Qanun Langsa
1607-an: <i>Tuhapeut</i> as <i>Ulee Balang's</i> advisor <i>Tuhapeut</i> is always present in every problem in society <i>Tuhapeut</i> as trusted and	1966-1988: The traditional village institution was abolished since the emergence of state policies regarding village regulations which were standardized and eliminated the traditional and cultural aspects of Aceh in the village.	1999: The declaration of March 17, 1999 as 'Day of the Awakening of Indigenous Peoples of the Archipelago', since then the <i>tuhapeut</i> institution has existed again in the <i>gampong</i> area.	2005-2010: The issue of gender inequality emerged since women were not included in the Helsinki MoU agreement. This incident continued with the lack of female representation in the Aceh government, including the	2014-2018: The Regional Government began to implement regulations on women's representation in Qanun Number 6 of 2014 for Langsa City, and was updated again in 2018

respected people <i>Tuhapeut</i> is often referred to as <i>Ulee Balang Cut</i> (Hulubalang Kecil/ wakil)		The position of the <i>Tuhapeut</i> is no longer below the <i>Ulee Balang</i>, but is equal to the position of the <i>Geuchik</i> (Village Head).	village level with its patriarchal culture. 2006 After Aceh received Special Autonomy, the Government implemented legal products (qanun) and made <i>tuhapeut</i> stronger in the village structure. 2010 The Qanun on women's representation in all spheres of government in Aceh. The <i>Tuhapeut</i>, which was originally filled only with male figures, now includes female figures.	2018 The regional government emphasized that every village head must involve women with a minimum quota of 30%.
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Source: Data Sekunder 2020

Tuhapeut formed the *Gampong Women's Empowerment (PPG)* division, to accommodate any women's problems in the *gampong*. The presence of the PPG sector is part of the government's awareness of women's problems which the *tuhapeut* fellow women should also control. But on the other hand, there is an assumption that the emergence of PPG only limits the space for women to be in a strategic position in *tuhapeut*. At the beginning of the period when women entered the *tuhapeut* institution for the first time, many of the selection teams experienced difficulties. Where there are no female candidates who register. This becomes a problem where there is a lack of aspects of socialization regarding the rules of women's participation in the public sphere.

There is a difference in the selection qualification process between the first and second periods for AR. In the first period, AR was directly elected by the *tuhapeut* chairman without going through an election process, because there were no women participating in the nomination. In the second period, women in the *gampong* began to nominate a lot, although only 1 (one) or a maximum of 2 (two) female members were elected in each *tuhapeut* institution. In the first period, this was the initial bridge for *Tuhapeut* women to raise awareness for women about the importance of participating in the *gampong* public sphere.

Tuhapeut women present are also only considered as part of the quantity, not based on the capital they have. So that in each membership structure, there are no *tuhapeut* women in Langsa City who serve as chairmen or secretaries in the *tuhapeut* institution.

2. Challenges of Women in the *Tuhapeut* Institution

Aceh Province is formed by *gampongs* with strategic areas from a strong Islamic perspective. So that the role of *gampong* is very important in building the character of the people of Aceh, this can be seen from the formation of customary institutions in each *gampong* including the birth of religious figures in it. *Gampong* is a strategic area in maintaining culture and customs, so that the role of traditional institutions in the village still exists and has its own significance for the community. However, the domestication of women also continues.

There is a social construction originating from patriarchal power resulting in an unfair and unequal social structure between the majority and minorities. The problem of these two is not entirely on the basis of population that there are more women than men, but the position in social construction becomes powerless as a result of the values that underlie social roles (Ashadi, 2004).

Table 2. Number of *Tuhapeut* Members of Langsa City

No	subdistrict	Gender		Number Of Member
		Male	Female	
1	Langsa Kota	64	15	79
2	Langsa Barat	65	19	84
3	Langsa Timur	65	17	82
4	Langsa Baro	75	21	96
5	Langsa Lama	81	14	95
TOTAL		350	86	436

Source: PPMG Kota Langsa 2020

Tuhapeut female informants admitted that they had difficulties in making choices. The dual role that women have to play as members of the *tuhapeut* as well as mother and daughter in a family is part of what they have to do on a daily basis. Beyond the limitations of performance and position in the institutional structure based on self-quality, it turns out that *Tuhapeut* women also have limitations in controlling policies and protecting fellow women in the *gampong* area. This is due to the male domination that still exists in society, including in the form of performance in the *tuhapeut* institution. Several factors have made many *tuhapeut* women surrender to their position which is still restricted, namely, First, the lack of openness in society towards the position of women to be in the public sphere. Second, there is a fear of deviating from religious teachings which are perceived by women as objects. And three, *tuhapeut* women are a minority in *gampong* public institutions, resulting in a lack of voice or support whenever they make a decision or policy plan.

C. Women's Strategy Towards *Tuhapeut* Leadership

1. *Tuhapeut* Women and Modalities

For Bourdieu, economic modality is not always the dominant indicator of individual social status. There are other forms of modality that are considered to be more strategic for class reproduction, namely social and cultural modalities (Bourdieu, 1986). This is also the case with the experiences of the women

involved in this study. They admit that socioeconomic status is not enough to enable them to compete for privileged positions in the *tuhapeut* institution. However, there needs to be an accumulation of other achievements such as knowledge, the ability to utilize social channels, and awareness to use the symbols of power that are inherent in oneself.

Women who are directly involved and involved in *gampong* deliberations and policies are those who usually actively contribute to every *gampong* activity. As well as women who have a higher educational background can also influence people's trust in their quality in conveying or playing a role in a *gampong* decision. Overall, the female *tuhapeut* members in Langsa City had the lowest level of education, namely high school and bachelor's degree, while the male *tuhapeut* members had the last education level from junior high school to bachelor's degree.

The second aspect of the cultural capital possessed by *Tuhapeut* women apart from pursuing higher education is their knowledge of the laws and customs that apply in the *gampong*. This knowledge is one of the main values in the qualification for the *tuhapeut* election. Laws and customs in the *gampong* are in line with the understanding of shari'a that has been passed down from generation to generation from the local community, so that control is usually in the hands of people who have occupied the *gampong* area for a long time. In addition, the main factor for the presence of women in the *gampong* government is inseparable from their social status. This social status can be in the form of education level, family status that is respected for generations, or forms of interpersonal ties between him and the *gampong* community or community members.

2. Women's Strategy in the Domain

The ownership of capital from the *tuhapeut* women forms a number of strategies that they use in their leadership process. The strategy is based on the capital owned and the realm of applying that capital. First, the strategy of *tuhapeut* women in the family realm. Where there is a form of negotiation in organizing and involving oneself in household decision making.

Second, the strategy of women *tuhapeut* in the realm of religion is the formation of *muhibbah* activities by presenting *tengku* or female religious leaders from the village *tuhapeut* circle. This *muhibbah* activity is considered as a place for women to more freely convey everything to *tengku*. As well as at the same time as a strategy for *Tuhapeut* women as fillers in the study by providing an understanding of gender equality in accordance with Islamic Shari'a law.

Third, the strategy in the realm of law and custom, namely the form of negotiations carried out by the *tuhapeut* women by getting involved and learning about *gampong* law and customs. By having social and cultural capital, *Tuhapeut* women gain access to understand customary law.

CONCLUSION

The entry of *gampong* women figures has changed the institutional structure of *tuhapeut*. Such as the addition of the *Gampong Women Empowerment (PPG)* field. Where the PPG field accommodates all the problems that occur in women in the village, such as divorce, domestic violence, harassment, and other problems. Of all these problems, PPG's job is to protect and provide policies that should apply both according to custom and state law. However, until now there are many *tuhapeut* policies that are still decided by male *tuhapeut* leaders, including regarding problems that occur with women for which PPG should be responsible.

Bourdieu represents the concept of agency and modality not only based on economic capital, but actors have supporting capital such as social capital and also cultural capital. Of the five informants, the women of *tuhapeut* have sufficient capital, in the sense that those who serve as *tuhapeut* are seen in terms of knowledge, the economy, and also in terms of their social relations in society. Several forms of strategies or negotiations carried out by the *Tuhapeut* women show that efforts to shape women's empowerment are maintained in a better direction. This effort also shows that the performance of women in the *tuhapeut* institution is not based on the salary they get as members, but rather the moral form and direct involvement in every women's problem in the *gampong* is the main focus in it.

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