

Stakeholder Salience Analysis in the Policy Formulation of Anti-Violence Against Women and Children

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Abstract

This article explores stakeholders influence in the policy formulation of anti-violence against women and children by using the stakeholder salience model as a conceptual framework. Stakeholder engagement in policy formulation is essential to achieving optimal policy practise and performance. However, the contestation of interests and imbalance of power between stakeholders in the policy formulation of anti-violence against women and children inhibit the development of policy alternatives based on problem solving, resulting in low policy performance. The research method used is qualitative research with a case study approach, and the stakeholder analysis method is applied to the data analysis. The research findings demonstrate that the policy formulation of anti-violence against women and children is dominated by dependent stakeholders with only power and legitimacy attributes, while the attributes of urgency are not available, reflected in their inattentiveness in providing a quick response to the rising cases of violence and their lack of knowledge on the issue of violence. This study concludes that stakeholders' influence in the policy process is limited. Stakeholders are only involved during public hearings, and the policy is only drafted and discussed by the policy elite, specifically Commission VI of the Aceh Legislative Council, an expert's team, and the Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit. It indicates that stakeholder engagement is only to gain legitimacy for policy decisions. This research contributes to providing knowledge about stakeholder dynamics in policy formulation contexts and theoretical knowledge about the creation of the most powerful and influential stakeholders for maximising policy formulation and policy performance.

Keywords: Anti-Violence; Policy Formulation; Stakeholder Salience Analysis

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Introduction

Anti-violence against women and children policies play an important role in providing a protective environment for women and children in Aceh. Comprehensive prevention, handling, and recovery of victimisation are driven by a solutive policy. Not only that, but studies by Burby (2003) and Fraser, Dougill, Mabee, Reed, & McAlpine (2006) have proven the massive contribution of multiple stakeholders is also a prerequisite for achieving optimal policy practise and performance. The anti-violence against women and children policy has demonstrated low policy performance. This reality can be observed from the fluctuations in reported cases of violence against women and children in the last six years (2017–2021). Even more surprising, the number of cases of violence against children has not decreased at all after the implementation of this policy in 2019.

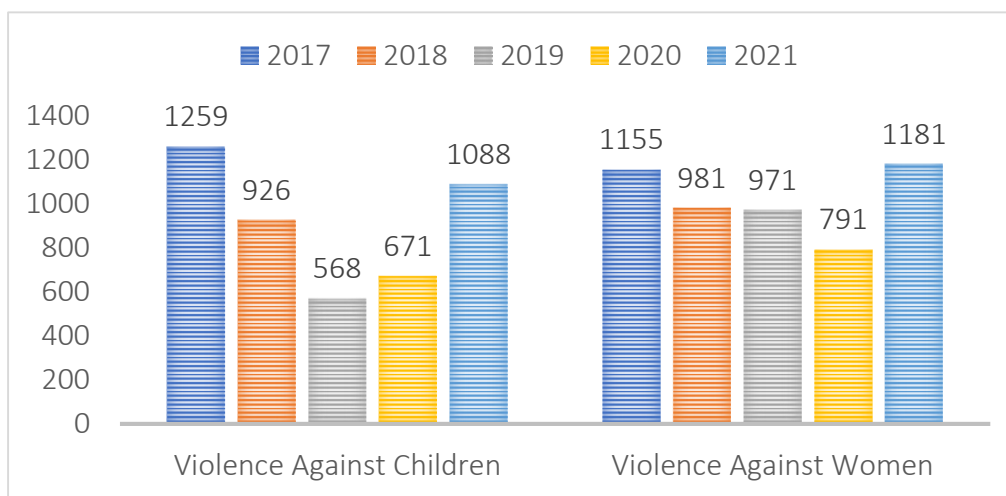


Figure 1. Cases of Violence Against Women and Children in Aceh, Indonesia

Source: Processed by Authors (2022)

Figure 1 provides evidence that the policy alternatives proposed by *Qanun Aceh No. 9, 2019* were ineffective in mitigating the incidence of violence against women and children in Aceh. Article 3 Point h of *Qanun Aceh No. 9, 2019*, clearly articulates that a key aim of this policy is to reduce the incidence of violence perpetrated against women and children. Furthermore, the policy's focus is primarily on addressing incidents of violence against women and children rather than implementing measures to proactively prevent such occurrences. The formulation of the policy aimed at combating violence against women and children reveals that the stakeholders primarily comprise the regional work unit, thereby suggesting that the initiatives to shape the policy formulation process are concentrated on the Aceh Government Units. Furthermore, the focus of each actor's interests is solely on the interests of the regional work unit.

The findings in previous studies showed the importance of stakeholder engagement in policy formulation. A study by Hutahaeen (2017) has proven that interactions between policy actors centred on one actor will have an impact on not fulfilling the expected qualifications and reduce policy quality and performance. A study by Aryeetey, Harding,

Hromi-Fiedler, & Pérez-Escamilla (2020) pointed out that stakeholder involvement without relevance to the issue of breastfeeding policy in Ghana affected the coordination process across all actors in achieving optimal policy outcomes, and another study by Zarnaq, Ravaghi, Mosaddegh-rad, Jalilian, & Bazayr (2021) shows more interesting results: stakeholders in Iran are fragmented and unintegrated; there is no integrated system to involve all stakeholders in the policy-making process, as a consequence, there is a lack of interest and participation of stakeholders, especially institutions with the highest power, such as the legislative, judicial, and domestic ministries. The impact of loosely interacting stakeholders in the policy formulation process in Iran is failure to formulate a more effective HIV/AIDS prevention policy in Iran. The last study conducted by Hutahaeen (2017) and Fischer & Larsen (2016) demonstrated that the imbalance of power and interests between stakeholders in influencing the policy formulation process indicates a policy monopoly that has eliminated the rule-making area to prioritise benefits for target groups.

Stakeholder engagement affects the quality and performance of a policy (Hutahaeen, 2017). Studies conducted by Reed et al. (2009) prove that stakeholder involvement can affect the results, objectives, and benefits of policies. In addition, studies conducted by Ancker & Rechel (2015), Freeman, Jalaludin, & Thompson (2011), and Prukkanone & Wang (2016) also prove that stakeholder engagement can support policy effectiveness and encourage evidence-based policy. Furthermore, a study conducted by Mulyaningrum, Kartodihardjo, Jaya, & Nugroho (2013) also proves that low stakeholder influence can have an impact on policy assumptions that cannot be implemented properly. Based on several studies, it can be concluded that the quality of policy products is strongly influenced by the level of stakeholder engagement in policy formulation.

The findings of previous studies, when correlated with the reality of anti-violence against women and children policy formulation in Aceh, encourage the suspicion that stakeholders involved in policy formulation are only limited to formality. According to arguments by Carroll & Näsi (2016) and Gibson (2000), stakeholders are a group of people with an interest in the formulated, and stakeholder analysis is used to understand stakeholder behaviours, interests, roles, and interrelationships to assess stakeholders' ability to influence decision-making processes and policy implementation (Ancker & Rechel, 2015; Brugha & Varvasovszky, 2000). Thus, stakeholders are both the subject and object of the problem. Therefore, it is ensured that the quality of information absorbed during the policy formulation process is largely determined by the capacity and priority level of stakeholders and policymakers' (Friedman & Miles, 2006). It is explained that the problem of stakeholders in policy formulation is very interesting and deserves to be studied.

This research also tries to find the state of the art from previous studies to indicate the gap analysis, which includes knowledge, empirical, and theoretical novelties. Previous studies used power interest grid (Nurfatriani, Darusman, Nurrochmat, & Yustika, 2015), situation analysis model (Nurmala, Sari, Dewi, & Devi, 2021), modified stakeholder analysis (Mulyaningrum et al., 2013), thematic approach and net-map technique (Godakandage et al., 2017), network theory (Ancker & Rechel, 2015; Edelenbos

& Klijn, 2006), Kingdon's stream model (Fischer & Larsen, 2016), stakeholder committee model (Malfait, Hecke, Hellings, Bodt, & Eeckloo, 2017), and public engagement (Cuppen, Brunsting, Pesch, & Feenstra, 2015) as their conceptual framework. The conceptual framework has not been able to observe the complex and colourful phenomenon of stakeholders, especially in the case of policy formulation in Aceh. Theoretically novel, this study uses the stakeholder salience model as the conceptual framework.

The novelty of knowledge can be seen from the lack of previous studies using the formulation of women's and children's policies as a case study in understanding stakeholder dynamics. Most stakeholder studies are conducted on HIV/AIDS policy making (Zarnaq et al., 2021), breastfeeding policy (Aryeetey et al., 2020; Buccini et al., 2020), infant and young child feeding (Godakandage et al., 2017; Uddin et al., 2017), hepatitis C virus (HCV) policy making (Behzadifar et al., 2019), pharmaceutical subsidy policy (Olyaaeemanesh et al., 2021), and timber legality policy on private forests (Mulyaningrum et al., 2013). Stakeholder analysis needs to be practised in the formulation of women's and children's policies to ensure problem-solving and victim-oriented decision-making regarding the high amount of violence against women and children in Aceh.

More interestingly, Aceh is one of the privileged provinces based on Islamic legislation in Indonesia. Aceh is also one of the regions with the longest history of conflict, occurring between 1976 and 2005 (Sujatmiko, 2012). During the conflict, women and children were victimised (Nurjannah, 2019), and as a result of the post-conflict trauma, many of them were traumatised by the violence they received (Dawson et al., 2018). The peace agreement that occurred in 2005 has provided privileges for Aceh to manage its own region according to its local wisdom through the presence of the Aceh Government Laws. Stakeholder studies on the formulation of children's and women's policies in Aceh will provide new knowledge that is more colourful about stakeholder behaviours, interests, and influences in policy processes in a special province with a history of conflict and high patriarchy.

International knowledge will show that massive stakeholder participation is not able to guarantee high stakeholder influence; it will depend strongly on the sensing ability of policymakers in choosing relevant stakeholders who are powerful and knowledgeable on the policy issues addressed. This research will provide knowledge about the behaviours, patterns, and interests carried by stakeholders, not limited to legal norms but also considering social and religious norms in eliminating rape myths among Aceh society, then knowledge of the behaviours of each stakeholder in promoting their interests and the behaviours of policy makers in responding to stakeholder pressure and the decision criteria of policy makers for accommodating the interests of several stakeholders.

The stakeholder salience model will be applied as a tool to analyse the interests of stakeholders involved in anti-violence against women and children policy formulation. This model offers three indicators of stakeholder salience analysis, such as urgency, legitimacy, and power, to identify which stakeholders are most dominantly involved in the formulation of anti-violence against women and children policies.

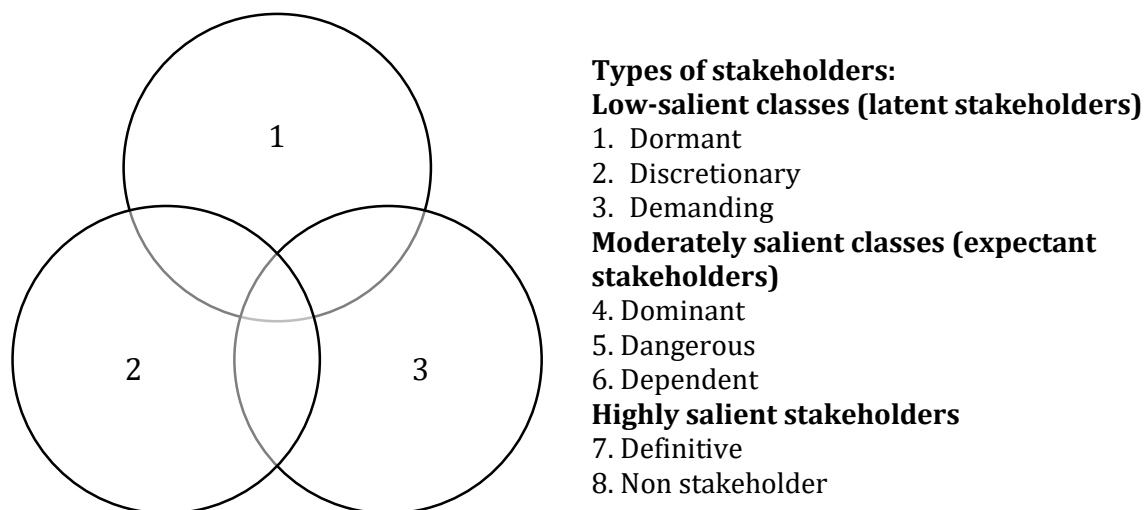


Figure 2. Model of Stakeholder Salience
Source: Mitchell & Wood (1997)

Figure 2 illustrates the mixture of attributes that can create different types of stakeholders with different behaviour patterns. After levelling the stakeholders according to their attributes, the author will identify the level of priority of the seven stakeholders into three categories: high priority stakeholder, moderate priority stakeholder, and low priority stakeholder. The level of stakeholder priority demonstrates the extent of the policymakers' consideration of stakeholder entity classes in the policy formulation process. The entity class of stakeholders, according to Mitchell & Wood (1997), is very important because it can show the level of priority an organisation attaches to the stakeholders involved in competing claims. Each entity class will show a different level of stakeholder priority.

Drawing upon expert perspectives and prior research, it appears that the formulation of policies aimed at combating violence against women and children may be subject to limited stakeholder influence. It is hypothesised that limited stakeholder involvement in the process of policy formulation may be a contributing factor to the suboptimal policy outcomes observed in Aceh with respect to the issue of violence. The researcher formulated a significant inquiry for this study, which is: "What is the impact of stakeholder interest contestation on the development of policies aimed at preventing violence against women and children in Aceh?" The stated research inquiry denotes that the aim of this investigation is to examine the impact of stakeholders on the development of policies aimed at curbing violence against women and children.

Research Methods

This study uses qualitative research by employing a single instrumental case study approach (Creswell, 2007). The anti-violence against women and children policy formulation is only used as a case instrument or preference to understand more deeply the influence of the stakeholders involved. Data was collected in three ways: first, semi-

structured interviews were used to ensure reproducibility, credibility, and transparency of the research data (Patton, 2002). The interview process took place from March 20 to June 13, 2022. Interviews were conducted with twenty-one interviewees. Second, observation was used to observe the informants' behaviour and reactions to the questions asked. This thesis uses non-participant observation (Fischer, Miller, & Sidney, 2007). Observation is used to expose stakeholder behaviours that stakeholders may not be aware of. The researcher also used the observation technique to obtain field notes related to actions, knowledge, and activities and identify stakeholders' abilities based on the informants' reactions during the interview process. The last data collection method is document analysis. The documents used in this research are obtained from various scientific publications, which are used to conduct theoretical reviews and select concepts relevant to the research topic. Then there are also documents obtained directly from sources, such as notary deeds, agency infographics, academic papers, the Decree of Commission VI of the Aceh Legislative Council, and so on, that are used as physical and primary data in analysing the stakeholder's influence in anti-violence against women and children policy formulation. The resulting findings are limited to the area of study. This research used the stakeholder analysis method adopted by Bryson (2004), Grimble (1998), and Reed et al., (2009).

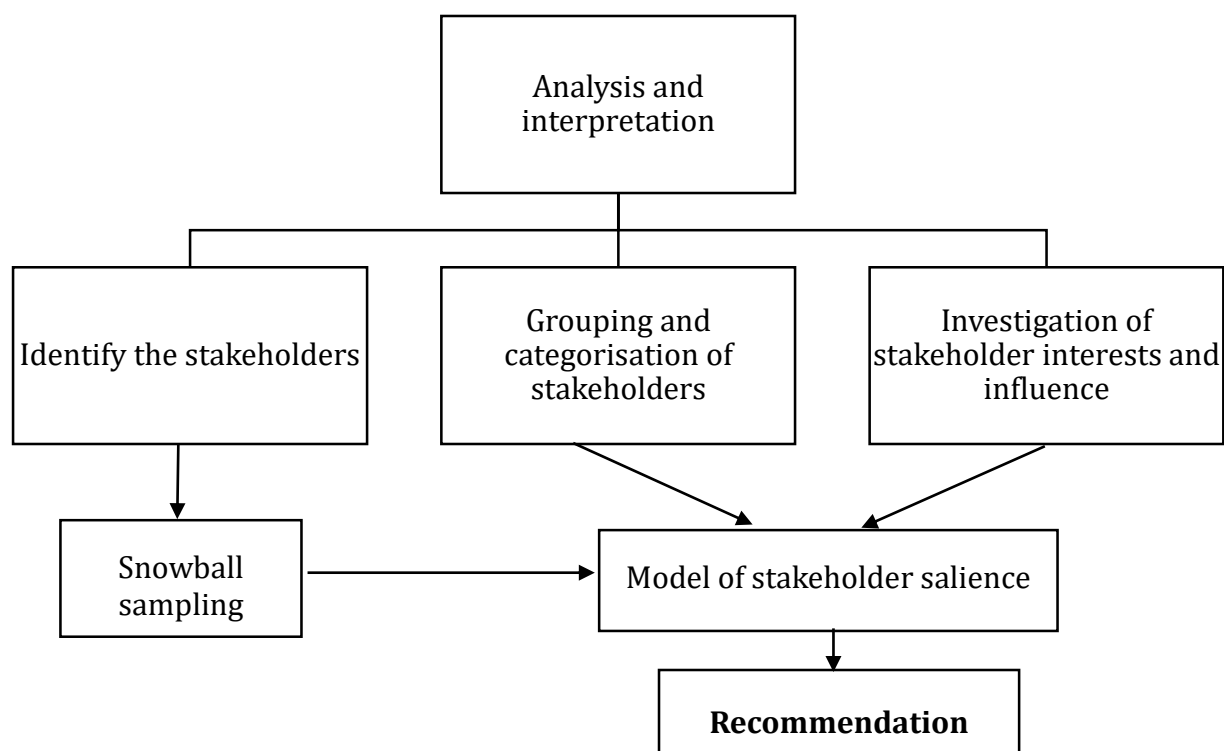


Figure 3. Stakeholder Analysis in the Policy Formulation of Anti-Violence Against Women and Children
Source: Reed et al., (2009)

Figure 3 shows that the authors used snowball sampling to confirm stakeholder participation and identify interview subjects (Palinkas et al., 2015). In the second and

third stages, the researcher used the stakeholder salience model to identify, classify, and categorise stakeholders based on their attributes. To ensure validation of the data obtained and to gain a more in-depth understanding of the problem during the research process, the author used triangulation techniques (Uwe, 2018). The transcripts of each stakeholder's interviews, observations, and documents were compared together to gain objectivity in data interpretation and produce an in-depth analysis of stakeholder influence.

Results and Discussion

Stakeholder Capacity in Influencing Policy Formulation

The Forum Group Discussion (FGD) has extended invitations to 36 stakeholders to participate in the development of academic papers and public hearings. Out of the total number of invitees, 21 stakeholders have confirmed their active participation, while the remaining 15 have been identified as inactive. The author also reveals why some stakeholders prefer to be passive and lack the awareness to participate in this policy. After confirming stakeholder participation, the stakeholders' capacity was analysed and identified based on three main indicators from the stakeholder salience model: power, urgency, and legitimacy (Mitchell & Wood, 1997).

Power is identified by coercive power (based on physical resources, violence, or coercion), utilitarian power (based on financial or material resources), and normative power (based on symbolic resources such as the ability to attract media attention). In this case, coercive power will be observed based on the actor's ability to anarchically coerce policymakers, either by mobilising the masses or using violence. Utilitarian power will be observed based on the material resources used by each stakeholder engaged in supporting this policy formulation process. Finally, normative power will be observed based on stakeholder strategies for using their authority or position to pressure policymakers.

Legitimacy is used to assess the actions of stakeholder entities that are appropriate and aligned with social norms, values, and beliefs (Suchman, 1995). Legitimacy can be seen in the acceptance and recognition of certain entities, both legally and culturally. The legitimacy of any organisation comes from the legal basis of its institutions and contracts, while socio-cultural legitimacy comes from the recognition of the entity's existence in society (Best, Moffett, & Adam, 2019). Legitimacy in this case will be observed based on the legal recognition of the stakeholder institution in the form of a deed or legal basis for the establishment of the institution.

Urgency indicates the quality and capability of the stakeholder. Stakeholder urgency is based on time sensitivity and criticality. The level of sensitivity is shown by their ability to respond to public problems quickly, while criticality is based on stakeholders' level of understanding and stakeholder knowledge on formulated policy issues (Friedman & Miles, 2006). In this case, urgency will be observed based on the ability of stakeholders to answer questions about policy formulation during the interview

process. The researcher will see how well stakeholders understand the issue of violence against women and children and the input provided during the forum group discussion and public hearing process to see their level of enthusiasm for participating in this issue.

Table 1. Level of Stakeholders' Priority in Policy Formulation of Anti-Violence Against Women and Children

Source: Processed by Authors (2022)

Stakeholders	Legitimacy	Power	Urgency	Type of Stakeholders
Commission VI of Aceh Legislatives Council	✓	✓	✓	Definitive
Experts team of Aceh Legislatives Council	✓	✓	✓	Definitive
Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit	✓	✓	✓	Definitive
<i>Baitul Mal</i>	✓	✓	✗	Dominant
Ulema Consultative Assembly	✓	✓	✓	Definitive
Aceh Traditional Assembly	✓	✓	✓	Definitive
Aceh Health Service	✓	✗	✓	Dependent
Aceh Social Service	✓	✓	✓	Definitive
Islamic Sharia Office	✓	✗	✓	Dependent
<i>Dayah</i> Education Office	✓	✗	✓	Dependent
Aceh Regional Development Planning Agency	✓	✗	✗	Discretionary
Aceh Financial Management Agency	✓	✓	✗	Dominant
Academics of Ar-Raniry State Islamic University	✓	✓	✓	Definitive
Syiah Kuala University Academics	✓	✗	✓	Dependent
Aceh Regional Police	✓	✓	✗	Dominant
Indonesian Women's Association for Justice Legal Aid Institute	✓	✗	✓	Dependent
Flower Aceh	✓	✗	✓	Dependent
Aceh Gender Transformation Working Group	✓	✗	✓	Dependent
<i>Balai Syura Ureung Inoeng</i> Aceh	✓	✗	✓	Dependent
Regional Technical Implementation Unit for <i>Rumoh Sujahtera Jroh Naguna</i>	✓	✗	✓	Dependent
Regional Technical Implementation Unit for the Protection of Women and Children	✓	✗	✓	Dependent

Table 1 illustrates that each of the stakeholders involved in the policy formulation of anti-violence against women and children is quite varied, with one attribute as a discretionary stakeholder, two attributes as dependent and dominant stakeholders, and three attributes as definitive stakeholders. Each of the stakeholder attributes represents a different type of stakeholder. Discretionary stakeholders only have the legitimacy attribute, lacking the power to influence and pressure policymakers. The function of engaging these stakeholders usually falls into the philanthropy of the organisation (decision recipient) (Carroll, 1991).

Table 2. Stakeholders' Attributes and Types of Stakeholders in the Policy Formulation of Anti-Violence Against Women and Children

Source: Processed by Authors (2022)

Types of Stakeholders	Stakeholder Category	Level of Stakeholder Priority
<i>Definitive (legitimacy, urgency, power)</i>	1) Commission VI of Aceh Legislatives Council	Moderate priority stakeholder (Expectant stakeholder)
	2) Experts team of Aceh Legislatives Council	
	3) Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit	
	4) Ulema Consultative Assembly	
	5) Aceh Traditional Assembly	
	6) Academics of Ar-Raniry State Islamic University	
<i>Dependent (legitimacy, urgency)</i>	7) Aceh Social Service	
	1) Indonesian Women's Association for Justice Legal Aid Institute	
	2) Flower Aceh	
	3) Aceh Gender Transformation Working Group	
	4) <i>Balai Syura Ureung Inoeng</i> Aceh	
	5) Aceh Health Service	
	6) Syiah Kuala University Academics/Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit Expert Team.	
	7) Regional Technical Implementation Unit for the Protection of Women and Children	
	8) Regional Technical Implementation Unit for <i>Rumoh Seujahtra Jroh Naguna</i>	
	9) <i>Dayah</i> Education Office	
<i>Dominant (legitimacy, power)</i>	10) Islamic Sharia Office	
	1) <i>Baitul Mal</i>	
	2) Aceh Financial Management Agency	
<i>Discretionary (legitimacy)</i>	3) Aceh Police	
	1) Aceh Regional Development Planning Agency	

Dependent stakeholders did not have power attributes and depended on other stakeholders. To fulfil their interests, dependent stakeholders need to borrow from or depend on other stakeholders who have power attributes to ensure their demands or inputs are accommodated by policymakers. Therefore, Friedman & Miles (2006) stated that dominant stakeholders are needed by dependent stakeholders to provide guardianship power for them. Meanwhile, dominant stakeholders only have power and legitimacy. According to Friedman & Miles (2006), dominant stakeholders receive a lot of attention from policymakers, but they are not a stakeholder that should be prioritised by policymakers. Finally, definitive stakeholders hold all three attributes at once. These stakeholders can influence and be influenced by policy objectives, thus having great potential to gain attention from policymakers. Therefore, each of the stakeholders engaged is expected to become a definitive stakeholder by fulfilling the missing attributes.

The stakeholder mapping shows that policy formulation of anti-violence against women and children is dominated by dependent stakeholders who only have two attributes, which are legitimacy and urgency.

Table 2 illustrates that the level of stakeholder prioritisation in the policy formulation of the anti-violence against women and children policy is moderate because most of the participation is dominated by dependent stakeholders. In addition, the average dependent stakeholder also failed to fulfil all attribute criteria, such as socio-cultural legitimacy, which is only possessed by the Islamic sharia office. Moderate priority stakeholder indicated that the stakeholders involved are expectant stakeholders, but unfortunately, it is dominated by dependent stakeholder. Friedman and Mile pointed out that stakeholder-dependent dominance and unfulfilled attribute criteria indicate low stakeholder influence (Friedman & Miles, 2006).

Stakeholder Saliency Analysis

Stakeholders in the formulation of anti-violence against women and children policy included various Aceh Government Units such as Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, Islamic Sharia Office, Aceh Social Service, Aceh Health Service, *Dayah* Education Office, Ulema Consultative Assembly, Aceh Traditional Assembly, *Baitul Mal*, Aceh Financial Management Agency, and Aceh Regional Development Planning Agency. Aside from the Aceh Government Unit, civil society organisations were also involved, such as Flower Aceh, the Aceh Gender Transformation Working Group, Balai Syura Ureng Inoeng Aceh, and the Indonesian Women's Association for Justice Legal Aid Institute. Additionally, there were academics from Ar-Raniry State Islamic University's Family Law Department, Syiah Kuala University's Law Department, and Syiah Kuala University's Psychology Department. Service institutions such as the Regional Technical Implementation Unit for the Protection of Women and Children, the Regional Technical Implementation Unit for *Rumoh Seujahtra Jroh Naguna*, and Aceh Police.

Fifteen of the thirty-six invited stakeholders to be engaged in the policy formulation of anti-violence against women and children decided not to attend during the problem identification process and public hearing. This phenomenon shows that the level of

awareness to be massively engaged in the policy formulation is still low. Not only that, but the stakeholders also involved only fulfilled the invitation and listened, and there was no policy debate expected by policymakers. Some stakeholders admitted that the problem context discussed was not a concentration and was not the main task and function of the institution represented by the stakeholder, so their attendance is limited as a supporting team to provide legitimacy for policy decisions. Some of them also mentioned that the participation and input from stakeholders had not yet obtained assurance to be accommodated by policy makers because they were only engaged as input centres and were not fully involved in every policy process.

The cause of low stakeholder awareness to be actively engaged in policy formulation of anti-violence against women and children is an inadequate gender perspective and basic understanding of the public policy process. The expert team of the Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit said that the issue of violence against women and children in Aceh is still considered a taboo issue, and the gender understanding of Commission VI of the Aceh Legislative Council is also limited and biased. During the policy formulation process, Commission VI of the Aceh Legislative Council is only concerned that the existence of the policy is not opposed and debated by Ulema, so it has the potential to trigger pros and cons among Aceh society, which still considers the issue of violence against women and children a taboo issue and a private domain that should not be interfered with by local government. With all the consequences that will be received in the process of formulating this policy, many of the stakeholders prefer not to be engaged, even though it is related to solving the problem of violence in Aceh.

The stakeholder's basic knowledge of public policy formulation was quite limited, and this was also the reason for their low awareness of being engaged in policy formulation. The average answer of stakeholders when interviewed showed their ignorance of the essence of their involvement in policy formulation. Most stakeholders expressed that their engagement was only to fulfil the *Qanun* mandate on cross-sector cooperation, so they preferred to be involved as active stakeholders rather than passive stakeholders. As a result of this limited basic knowledge of public policy, stakeholders do not know that the scope of public policy has expanded and targeted various problems that must be resolved together.

The influence of stakeholders in the policy formulation of anti-violence against women and children is relatively low. This condition is proven by the results of stakeholder grouping, which show the dominance of dependent stakeholders. Dependent stakeholders, when referring to the perspective of Friedman and Miles (2006), are characterised by stakeholders who do not have the power to influence policy makers but are able to pressure policymakers with urgency attributes. Therefore, the inputs from dependent stakeholders and the interests that were promoted in the policy formulation of anti-violence against women and children are rarely recognised by policymakers. In addition, not all stakeholders involved can fulfil all the criteria for each stakeholder attribute.

Low stakeholder influence affects the access and quality of information available during the decision-making process. This is aligned with the perspective of Dunn (2018), which states that the effectiveness of a policy is highly contingent on access to available information. Stakeholders involved in policy formulation can facilitate information for policymakers. Therefore, dependent stakeholders need strategies to persuade dominant stakeholders to gain representative power in influencing the policy process. However, the reality shows that the Indonesian Women's Association for Justice Legal Aid Institute, Flower Aceh, and Balai Syura Ureng Inoeng Aceh are depending their power on the Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit, which is considered to have similar goals and interests in advocating for women's and children's rights.

The three stakeholders mentioned that several Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit staff are members and praesidiums of one civil society organisations. Furthermore, some Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit staff are involved in two civil society organisations at the same time, such as the head of child rights, who was also a praesidium member of *Balai Syura Ureung Inoeng Aceh* and a member of Flower Aceh. Therefore, the civil society organisations were confident that the Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit would also assist them in campaigning for their interests to be actively involved in activities on preventing and handling violence against women and children. In addition, the Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit is a definitive stakeholder that prioritises its own entity's interests over collaborating with other stakeholders because it has a set of three attributes that can be fulfilled as a stakeholder. The three civil society organisations could have utilised dominant stakeholders such as *Baitul Mal*, the Aceh Financial Management Agency, and the Aceh Police to gain guardianship power for influencing policymakers. The three civil society organisations also believe that the Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit would be able to advocate for the same interests because they have the same goals in campaigning for the protection of women and children in Aceh. Not only that, the lobbying process for policy formulation also involves Flower Aceh and *Balai Syura Ureung Inoeng Aceh*.

A further analysis was conducted on the logical reasons and Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit's claims about the importance of anti-violence against women and children policy in the academic paper (Habibi, Hanafi, Nursiti, Nisa, & Muthaleb, 2018), showing an emphasis on costs or budgets and insufficient facilities in handling cases of violence. This condition shows the dominance of the Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit's interests in defining policy issues. This means that the Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit utilises its attributes only to achieve the interests of its entity. This condition is very different from what civil society organisations believe. The strategy error shows the inability of dependent stakeholders to influence other stakeholders, especially policymakers. Furthermore, dependent stakeholders also came from Aceh government units such as Aceh Health Service, *Dayah* Education Office, and Islamic Sharia Office, which also prefer not to use any strategy because the policy issues discussed are not included in the tasks and functions of their institutions. This condition shows the lack of contestation of

stakeholder interests in the formulation of the anti-violence against women and children policy.

Table 3. Stakeholders' Interest in the Policy Formulation of Anti-Violence Against Women and Children

Source: Processed by Authors (2022)

Stakeholders	Stakeholder Participations		Stakeholder Interests
	FGD (Agenda Setting)	Public Hearing (Policy Formulation)	
Commission VI of Aceh Legislatives Council	×	✓	Ensuring the <i>Qanun</i> product does not contradict the culture and religious norms of Aceh society.
Experts team of Aceh Legislatives Council	×	×	Experts' staff from BSUIA: Ensuring the existence of BSUIA and an operational budget for women's victim assistance in Aceh. Experts' staff from Syiah Kuala Academics: There is no interest; only the legal language of policy is involved.
Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit	✓	✓	Increasing the operational budget of Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit, diverting <i>jinayat</i> crimes from flogging punishment to imprisonment, and diverting juvenile crimes from the syar'iyah court to the juvenile criminal court.
<i>Baitul Mal</i>	✓	✓	Assurance on data validation for underprivileged victims of violence.
Ulema Consultative Assembly Aceh	✓	✓	Ensuring the role of Ulema in policy without overriding religious norms in addressing the problem of violence.
Traditional Assembly	✓	×	Maintaining and prioritising traditional law for perpetrators and victims of violence.
Aceh Health Service	✓	×	There is no interest.

Aceh Social Service	✓	✗	Ensuring the victim's rehabilitation process and advocating a special shelter for child victims of sexual violence who are pregnant and women victims of domestic violence.
Islamic Sharia Office	✗	✓	Maintaining the existence of the Syar'iyah Court as a sharia court institution in Aceh by sanctioning perpetrators of violence.
Dayah Education Office	✗	✓	There is no interest.
Aceh Regional Development Planning Agency	✓	✗	There is no interest.
Aceh Financial Management Agency	✓	✗	There is no interest.
Academics of Ar-Raniry State Islamic University as Experts team of Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit	✓	✓	Advocate for the interests of domestic violence victims to be protected by the state and eliminate the patriarchal culture in Aceh.
Syiah Kuala University Academics as Experts team of Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit	✓	✓	Bringing the interests of Flower Aceh into ensuring the fulfilment of women's rights, ensuring the role and involvement of Flower Aceh, and increasing operational costs for Flower Aceh in assisting victims.
Aceh Regional Police	✓	✗	-
Indonesian Women's Association for Justice Legal Aid Institute	✓	✗	Ensuring the enhancement of financial support for social workers through their community networks.

Flower Aceh	✓	✓	Ensuring the enhancement of financial support for social workers through their community networks.
Aceh Gender Transformation Working Group	✓	×	Ensuring the enhancement of financial support for social workers through their community networks.
<i>Balai Syura Ureung Inoeng</i> Aceh	✓	✓	Ensuring the enhancement of financial support for social workers through their community networks.
Regional Technical Implementation Unit for <i>Rumoh Sujahtera Jroh Naguna</i>	✓	×	There is no interest.
Regional Technical Implementation Unit for the Protection of Women and Children	✓	×	There is no interest.

Table 3 shows that only the Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit, Commission VI of the Aceh Legislative Council, experts staff of the Aceh Legislative Council, experts staff of the Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit, the Indonesian Women's Association for Justice Legal Aid Institute, Flower Aceh, *Balai Syura Ureung Inoeng* Aceh, the Aceh Gender Transformation Working Group, the Islamic Sharia Office, Aceh Social Service, the Ulema Consultative Assembly, the Aceh Traditional Assembly, and *Baitul Mal* had an interest in the formulation of the anti-violence against women and children policy. Meanwhile, other stakeholders such as the Aceh Health Service, Regional Technical Implementation Unit for the Protection of Women and Children, Regional Technical Implementation Unit for *Rumoh Seujahtra Jroh Naguna*, *Dayah* Education Office, Aceh Financial Management Agency, Aceh Police, and Aceh Regional Development Planning Agency did not show any answers or reactions towards their interests in the formulation of the anti-violence against women and children policy during the interviews.

One of the expert teams of the Aceh Legislative Council has an interest in ensuring the existence of *Balai Syura Ureung Inoeng* Aceh and the operational budget for assisting victims, as well as fulfilling women's rights in Aceh. On the other hand, the experts' team of the Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit also includes two academics from two different universities. Experts from the Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit from Ar-Raniry State Islamic University are

seeking to advocate for the interests of domestic violence victims to be protected by the state and eliminate the patriarchal culture in Aceh, while experts from the Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit from Syiah Kuala University are pursuing the interests of Flower Aceh in ensuring the fulfilment of women's rights, ensuring the role and participation of Flower Aceh, and funding victim assistance. Aside from advocating for victims' rights, the civil society organisations also promote their interests to ensure financial support for social workers operating under their community networks so that they can maximise their performance in handling and assisting victims and perpetrators underage.

The interest promoted by Aceh Social Service was to ensure the rehabilitation process of the violence victims. Not only that, the Aceh Social Service is also striving to advocate for a special shelter for child victims of sexual violence who are pregnant and for women victims of domestic violence to heal their trauma. Furthermore, *Baitul Mal* has an interest in campaigning for guarantees on data validation for underprivileged victims of violence. The data validation is advocated to support the provision of Riqab funds, which are right on target, and to support the funding of victim assistance.

In addition, conflicts of interest occurred between Commission VI of the Aceh Legislative Council, the Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit, the Ulema Consultative Assembly, the Aceh Traditional Assembly, and the Islamic Sharia Office. Commission VI of the Aceh Legislative Council advocated that the drafted *Qanun* should not clash with the cultural and religious norms inherent in Aceh. However, referring to the problems identified in the academic paper by Habibi et al. (2018), they suggest that to solve the problem of violence against women and children in Aceh, it is necessary to eradicate the patriarchal culture and improve religious interpretations that have discredited women and children. Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit has an interest in increasing the operational budget for handling violence against women and children, eliminating patriarchal culture, and creating a child-friendly environment to prevent violence against children.

The enhancement of the Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit's operational budget is accommodated in the anti-violence against women and children policy, while the interest in fixing the patriarchal culture is not accommodated. The recommendations presented in the academic paper written by Habibi et al. (2018) for eliminating the patriarchal culture that has subordinated the position of women in Aceh are considered the primary problems of violence against women and children. This suggestion contradicted the Ulema Consultative Assembly's interest in maintaining the culture. As a result, the silent epidemic persisted in Aceh. The silent epidemic is created by the high prevalence and low reporting rate of cases of violence. This epidemic was born as a result of a culture of excusing and justifying men's violence against women, especially rape and sexual assault (Johnson & Johnson, 2017). The eradication of violence against women and children is obstructed by the deep beliefs of Acehnese society, which often views their abuse as a personal problem or their own fault for violating sharia law. Dating outside of marriage is contrary to Islamic law, and the obligation to obey and submit to a husband is seen as a religious and social norm that must be upheld in Aceh.

Consequently, implicit, and even explicit acts of violence are sometimes forgiven by women and their families. The Ulema Consultative Assembly and the Aceh Traditional Assembly always tried to ensure that social and religious norms were maintained as a cultural heritage that must be preserved and defended, which reflects Acehnese society based on Islamic law.

The Ulema Consultative Assembly and the Aceh Traditional Assembly are two highly respected institutions that have the capability to mobilise the masses. Accordingly, to anticipate the postponement of the ratification of the *Qanun*, Commission VI of Aceh's Legislative Council preferred to reject Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit recommendation and prioritise the interests of the Ulema Consultative Assembly on its existence in handling cases of violence without disregarding the religious and social norms of Aceh society, and also to avoid mass upheaval and prevent the pros and cons in the centre of society based on the rejection or negative statement from the Ulema on the policies formulated.

The Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit is also trying to divert *jinayat* cases from flogging to imprisonment and juvenile criminal cases from the Sharia court to the juvenile criminal court, which is considered more effective in providing a deterrent effect for perpetrators. The interests of the Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit are quite contrary to the interests of the Islamic Sharia Office, which is trying to maintain the Sharia Court as an Islamic court institution in sanctioning perpetrators of violence against women and children in Aceh, with the existence of the Islamic Sharia Office being a mandate from the Aceh Government Laws that should be upheld and respected. The interests of the Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit also contradict the interests of the Aceh Traditional Assembly, which prioritises customary law for perpetrators and victims and is considered more capable of protecting victims and providing a deterrent effect for perpetrators. The Aceh Traditional Assembly disagrees with the Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit on diverting the punishment for perpetrators from the *Jinayat* Law to the Criminal Code.

However, the interests of the Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit were prioritised by Commission VI of the Aceh Legislative Council in the anti-violence against women and children policy, as demonstrated in Article 80 of *Qanun* Aceh No. 9, 2019 that states sexual violence cases against women are resolved using criminal justice based on the criminal code, while sexual violence cases against children are resolved by juvenile criminal justice with the maximum punishment. Researchers assessed that the interests of the Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit were accommodated by the Aceh Legislative Council based on the consideration of the surge of violence cases and the high number of complaints about the flogging sanctions given to perpetrators, which were considered impartial to victims and unable to provide a deterrent effect for perpetrators.

The interests of Commission VI of the Aceh Legislative Council also clashed with those of the Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit. The advocacy for the elimination of patriarchal culture and religious norms that perpetuate violence against women and children is not accommodated by Commission VI of the Aceh

Legislative Council due to the assumption of mass upheaval and rebellion from traditional figures and also the Aceh Traditional Assembly. Its impact on alternative policies developed is not aligned with the context of the problems of violence against women and children as identified in the academic paper.

The endeavour to eliminate patriarchal norms in Aceh is not incorporated within the framework of the policy aimed at preventing violence against women and children. Consequently, the resultant policy approach places greater emphasis on addressing the needs of victims. The Commission VI of the Aceh Legislative Council affords stakeholders the opportunity to advocate for their interests. However, in cases where stakeholder interests are in conflict, the Commission VI of the Aceh Legislative Council is empowered to prioritise its own interests, given its authority and decision-making power as a policy-making body.

The description before shows the conflict of interest between several stakeholders in the formulation of the anti-violence against women and children policy. In addition, the reality of anti-violence against women and children policy formulation also shows that the stakeholders involved in the forum group discussion were dominated by the AGU. Therefore, when referring to the perspective of Hutahaeen (2017), it clearly shows that the policy monopoly in the formulation of anti-violence against women and children policy has eliminated the rule-making area that ignores the benefits for victims and perpetrators. The dominance of the Aceh government unit impacts the expected policy qualifications, which are not able to reduce cases of violence against women and children in Aceh. Other evidence can also be seen from the content of *Qanun Aceh No. 9, 2019*, which concentrates on post-incident handling.

Prevention of violence against women and children is not emphasised in the policy, while Article 3 Point h of *Qanun Aceh No. 9, 2019*, mentions that the purpose of this policy is to reduce the amount of violence against women and children. The inconsistency between the objectives and the policy alternatives offered proves that the rule-making area for ensuring benefits for groups has been lost. The alternative policy selection should be aligned with the problems that have been identified in the academic paper review. According to the expert staff of the Aceh Legislative Council, the selection of alternatives to the anti-violence against women and children policy is based on the draught law on the elimination of sexual violence. The problems identified in the academic paper were not used as a reference to find the best alternative to address the problem of violence against women and children in Aceh.

The expert team of the Aceh Legislative Council explained that the academic paper is only a basic narrative used to demonstrate the importance of anti-violence against women and children policy making in Aceh. The selection of policy alternatives is not based on the academic paper but on the ideas developed among the expert team of the Aceh Legislative Council and the expert team of the Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit. Researchers considered that the reasons for the failure of the anti-violence against women and children policy in addressing the roots of violence against women and children were triggered by policy alternatives that were not based on problem solving and were not evidence-based. Then, the observation results also indicate

that the Aceh Legislative Council prioritises the involvement of legal experts rather than policy experts in policy making. Therefore, the orientation of policymaking is more focused on the ratification of policies or regulations. An expert team of the Aceh Legislative Council mentioned that the effectiveness of the anti-violence against women and children policy in addressing the problem of violence in Aceh is a secondary issue. The main priority of making this policy is not to reduce the problem of violence in Aceh but only to produce a *Qanun*.

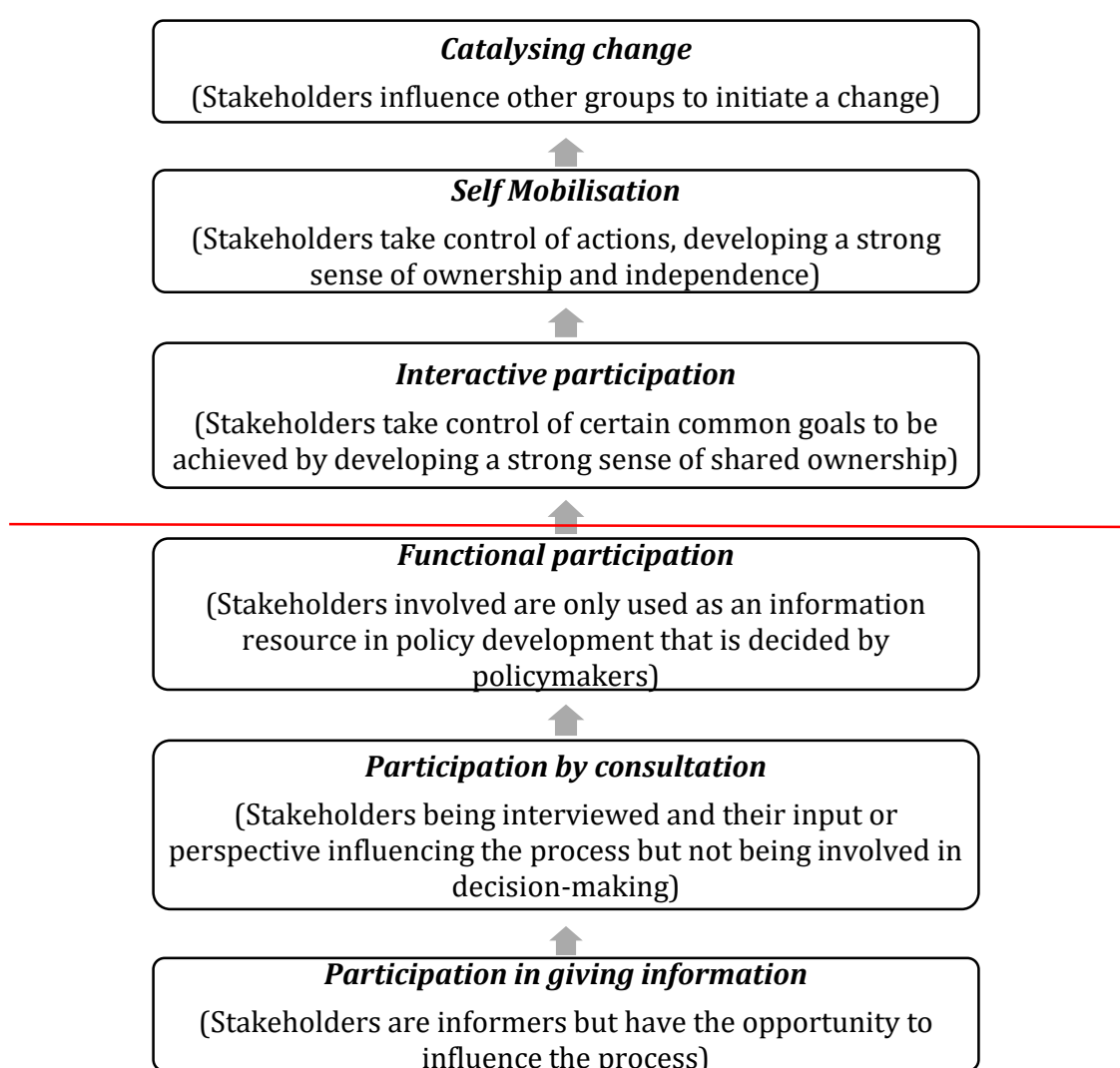
Experts from the Aceh Legislative Council, Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit, Flower Aceh, *Balai Syura Ureung Inoeng* Aceh, and *Baitul Mal* also noted that the policy formulation process occurred quickly and without any stakeholder debate. In addition, the encouragement to ratify the anti-violence against women and children policy was triggered by the deadline for reshuffling the organs of the Aceh Legislative Council in 2019. The plenary meeting for drafting the anti-violence against women and children policy was held on September 26, 2019 at the Plenary Hall of the Aceh Legislative Council, while the inauguration of the new eighty-one members of the Aceh Legislative Council was held on September 30, 2019. There was a gap of four days between the inauguration day and the plenary meeting of this policy. Researchers also consider that the anti-violence against women and children policy is a policy that is running on deadline because of the agenda for reshuffling the Aceh Legislative Council, which is concerned that if the policy is not ratified immediately, the new council members will not be continuing the process of making it.

According to several scholars, such as Ackermann & Eden (2011), Friedman & Miles (2006), Jones (1995), and Scott & Lane (2000), stakeholder engagement has a direct influence on performance and the achievement of strategic goals. However, stakeholder engagement in anti-violence against women and children policy formulation was not capable of making a positive contribution to effective policy practises for breaking the chain of violence against women and children in Aceh. This condition is quite different from the results of a study by Freeman et al. (2011), which proves that stakeholder engagement affects the effectiveness of healthy built environment policies.

The victims' representation in the formulation of the anti-violence against women and children policy was represented by women's organisations, while community figures were involved, including the Ulema Consultative Assembly and Aceh Traditional Assembly. The benefits of policies oriented towards children's needs are not well channelled as a result of the dominance of women's organisations. This is evident in Article 29 paragraph 5 of *Qanun* Aceh No. 9, 2019, which mentions the economic rehabilitation of children, including entrepreneurship training and skills training. Child victims of violence are not only adolescents over 17 years old but can also be toddlers whose ages range from 1–5 years old and children whose ages range from 5–16 years old. Therefore, the solutions offered in the anti-violence against women and children policy should be evaluated and confirmed for their feasibility based on the needs of the child victims of violence. Not only that, but researchers also assess that the formulation of the anti-violence against women and children policy is one of the more ambiguous public policy formulations. Discussions between Commission VI of the Aceh Legislative Council,

the expert's team of the Aceh Legislative Council, and the expert's team of the Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit are often practised in non-formal places, such as restaurants, cafes, and hotels.

The lack of participation from the stakeholders invited indicates that the level of awareness needed to be massively engaged in policy formulation against violence against women and children is also limited. Previous studies have proven that stakeholder engagement can facilitate policymakers' formulation of explicit policy objectives and benefits (Reed et al., 2009), and have proven to influence the development of top-down and bottom-up policy alternatives and policy benefits in Western Canada, Botswana, and Guernsey (Fraser et al., 2006). The study shows that stakeholder awareness is needed to be actively involved in policy formulation. Ironically, however, stakeholder awareness in the policy formulation of anti-violence against women and children is relatively low.



Limitation of stakeholder participation in policy formulation of anti-violence against women and children

Figure 4. Ladder of Participation
Source: Siddall, Grey, & Dyer (2013)

The delegation of authority from Commission VI of the Aceh Legislative Council fully belongs to two expert members, which shows the powerlessness of Commission VI of the Aceh Legislative Council in developing and discussing anti-violence against women and children policy alternatives. Empirically, it proves that the influence of stakeholders is relatively low in the formulation of anti-violence against women and children policies. In addition, there were also conflicts of interest among several stakeholders. This conflict of interest is accommodated and not accommodated by Commission VI of the Aceh Legislative Council. The findings of the study by Mulyaningrum et al. (2013), if linked to this research, both show that low stakeholder influence in policy formulation has a proven impact on policy assumptions with poor implementation.

Then, figure 4 shows the ladder of stakeholder participation adopted from Arnstein (1969), which clearly demonstrates that the scope of stakeholder participation in anti-violence against women and children policy formulation is on the "functional participation" ladder, which means stakeholder involvement is only carried out up to the policy design development stage, while decision-making on policy design is the absolute authority of the Aceh Legislative Council as policy makers. The researcher considers that the involvement of stakeholders in the formulation of anti-violence against women and children policies is only used as a tool to gain legitimacy for decisions made by the Aceh Legislative Council, and the involvement of stakeholders in forum group discussions and public hearings is only done for formality. Studies by Burby (2003) have noted that the major orientation of stakeholder participation is to inform policy development aligned with community needs.

Stakeholder involvement is not utilised as a medium to inform and build knowledge about finding the best alternatives to break the chain of violence against women and children in Aceh. However, according to Reed et al., (2009), stakeholder salience analysis does not only focus on understanding power dynamics and increasing stakeholder knowledge but also creates transparency in decision-making. Functional stakeholder participation proves that stakeholder's opportunities to influence policy formulation of anti-violence against women and children are limited, but efforts to increase transparency in decision-making are realised. Stakeholder participation, which is not oriented towards collaboration, impacted the decision outcome, which is not cohesive. Therefore, a strong sense of shared ownership and control over the anti-violence against women and children policy could not be realised.

The issue of stakeholder analysis in policy formulation and organisational goal achievement has been the subject of debate among experts. The attention given to stakeholders by policymakers is said to depend on factors such as legitimacy, urgency, power, interest, organisational culture, motivation, the mindset of the stakeholder, stakeholder capacity, and organisational leadership. These factors have been discussed in previous studies (Aaltonen & Kujala, 2010; Ackermann & Eden, 2011; Jones, Felps, & Bigley, 2007; Squires et al., 2022; Windsor, 2010; Wosahlo, 2014; Ying, Shan, & Tikuye, 2022). However, this study argues that the anti-violence against women and children policy process is affected by factors such as legitimacy, urgency, power, interest, social norms, awareness, and stakeholder capacity. The study also highlights that the

benchmark for stakeholder involvement is limited to the duties and functions of each government agency and communities concerned with women's and children's issues. Policymakers lack criteria for prioritising stakeholders.

Conclusion

Stakeholder influence on anti-violence against women and children policy formulation is relatively low, as evidenced by the dominance of dependent stakeholders. Thus, the assumption in this research is confirmed: the low performance of the anti-violence against women and children policy is partly due to the low stakeholder influence on its formulation. The reality of anti-violence against women and children policy formulation also proves that the existence of unhealthy contestation between stakeholders and the imbalance of influence between stakeholders have obstructed the process of developing alternative anti-violence against women and children policies and impacted on the expected policy qualifications. Stakeholders are only used as a source of information for policymakers. The policy was only developed and discussed by the policy elite, i.e., Commission VI of the Aceh Legislative Council, an expert team from the Aceh Legislative Council, the Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit, and an expert team from the Aceh Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Unit. This condition shows stakeholder involvement in policy formulation is only a formality and an instrument to gain legitimacy in the formulation of policies by the Aceh Legislative Council.

There are several recommendations offered in this research. The first empirical recommendation is dedicated to the Aceh Legislative Council to evaluate the stakeholder engagement model, especially public hearings, in encouraging stakeholders' awareness to be actively involved in policy formulation in Aceh. The Aceh Legislative Council needs to choose forms of public discussion that increase opportunities for stakeholder engagement, focusing discussions on collaboration to produce cohesive decision-making. The second set of recommendations is presented to the training and development centre and state administration law study of Aceh to organise regular trainings on strengthening stakeholder participation to improve the Aceh Government Unit's knowledge and understanding of the public policy formulation process. Theoretical recommendations are also provided to improve the ability of dependent stakeholders to be definitive stakeholders. Tactically, dependent stakeholders could use the formal position as a bridge to attract media attention. In addition, dependent stakeholders may also hire or utilise influencers to attract public attention and pressure policymakers to pay more attention to dependent stakeholders and consider their interests.

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