

WOMAN PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS: Toward an Ideal Model in the Perspective of *Siyāsa al-Shar`iyya*

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Abstract: Women's opinions and welfare are not adequately represented and often disregarded. Even though female populations are increasing in every country, it did not automatically make it as a strong reason for them to represent themselves in politics or any governance structure. The equality to take part in public field and voice out their opinions is always underestimated by some parties with misunderstanding religious statement. By this problem, this article aims to see the statistics of women participation in politics, their roles and the barriers found then discuss an ideal model of women participation from *Siyāsa al-Shar`iyya*'s perspective. By using an inductive and analytical method to examine several sources from books, articles and journals, and after that draw the conclusion that the country has provided an equal right for all citizens. It is in harmony with Islam that perceive the equality of all servants without any ethnic and gender differences. Women's involvement in politics aims to ensure good representation of their aspirations. The available barriers did not come from religious factors but from patriarchal system which is well embedded in the society as a culture.

Keywords: Women Participation, Politics, Roles and Barriers, *Siyāsa al-Shar`iyya*

Abstrak: Kesejahteraan perempuan, bahkan suara mereka, tidak terwakili dengan baik dan seringnya diabaikan. Populasi perempuan yang bertambah tidak menjadi alasan yang cukup kuat untuk para perempuan mewakili diri mereka sendiri di ranah politik ataupun di dalam struktur pemerintahan. Persamaan hak untuk berperan dalam ranah publik dan menyuarakan opini selalunya dipandang rendah oleh beberapa golongan yang menyalahgunakan statement agama. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk

melihat statistik partisipasi perempuan pada ranah politik, peran mereka dan kendala yang mereka hadapi, kemudian mendiskusikan model ideal partisipasi seorang perempuan dalam ranah politik dari sudut pandang *Siyasah al-Syar'iyah*. Artikel ini menggunakan metode analisis dengan pendekatan induksi untuk mengkaji berbagai informasi yang bersumber dari buku, artikel dan jurnal, kemudian menemukan konklusi yang bahwa negara telah menyediakan hak yang setara bagi seluruh warganegara. Hal ini sejalan dengan Islam yang menganggap semua hamba itu memiliki hak yang sama tanpa ada perbedaan etnis dan gender. Partisipasi perempuan dalam politik bertujuan untuk memastikan semua aspirasi mereka telah terwakili dengan baik. Segala kendala yang menghalangi perempuan untuk berpartisipasi aktif dalam politik bukanlah berasal dari agama, namun berasal dari sistem patriarki yang telah membudaya dalam masyarakat.

Kata Kunci: Partisipasi Perempuan, Politik, Peran dan Kendala, *Siyasah al-Syar'iyah*

Introduction

Women should live with many assumptions about them. They considered to be included as vulnerable group who possessed insufficient power, abilities and knowledges. Their performances in public domain were not seen as good point. However, as a human, women have an equal right as men. Both have their significant roles in public sector.

It was well known facts that human rights often experienced violations since the twentieth century which caused the victims from vulnerable groups, said Nalom Kurniawan. Violations against this vulnerable group, according to him, occurred in a state of peace and in a state of war. Vulnerable group, from its literal definition, means as a weak group of people, in terms of economic, social structure, physical or minority groups, and women are still considered to be included in it. In a state of war, many human rights violations occurred against women without any action being taken against the perpetrators. Whereas, in a state of peace, human rights violations still happened as well but in slightly different form. One of the forms is patrilineal culture which puts women's social status below than men. In the work place, many situations also put women as a backup actor, even though they have an equivalent qualification to men. Likewise, in matters of politics and govern-

ment, women's position seems only be a complement sweetener to the ongoing political and governance system. According to Nalom, such actions have led to acts of discrimination, and if there is no change in the system and culture, it will cause dehumanization of the women's role in their midst of community and may harm women's constitutional rights as well.¹

Even when women have taken part in the political world, there were several medias which only discuss trivial matters about the lives of women legislative candidates. Instead of discussing substantial matters to introduce the capacity of women legislative candidates such as their vision-mission, their views on socio-political and economic issues, and their programs as parliamentary candidates, the medias tend to be more interested to discuss about the fashion of their clothes or the accessories they worn or even their hair styles.²

Angraini and Radwan said in their paper that women blessed with a beauty created by God in order to keep a balance in life chain, it was created to attract the opposite gender in

¹ N. Kurniawan, 'Keterwakilan Perempuan Di Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Pasca Putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi Nomor 22-24/Puu-Vi/2008', *Jurnal Konstitusi*, 11.4 (2014), p. 714-736.

² Yenni Yuniati and Dedeh Fardiah, 'Citra Caleg Perempuan Dalam Framing Media Online', *Mediator: Jurnal Komunikasi*, 10.1 (2017), p. 75-86.

proper way. But, unfortunately, this sense of beauty is abused and women more be treated as an object. They are rated by their beauty and sadly they themselves who expose it proudly to public.³ Yenni and Dedeh said that based on their framing analysis, there were at least three images of women legislative candidates in one of the online medias in Indonesia, especially those who came forward and struggled to get seats in parliament. The first is physical image, that is when women rely on their beauty and appearance to attract voters. Second, the image of popularity, that is, when women rely on the side of their popularity as the artists or participate in the popularity of certain officials. And the last is the image of conflict where they are willing to conflict and justify all means such as money politics or create conspiracies to divide the votes to achieve their desires.⁴

Women participation in politics often attracted attentions and gained various responses which sometimes contributes to controversy condition, especially when it came to women leadership, or if it is viewed from religious point of view. These issues encouraged the author(s) of this paper to discuss this topic as a subject matter. The methods used in this paper are qualitative methods with analytical and descriptive approach. This paper discusses the women's participation in politic, the statistic of their participations, their roles and barriers and highlights a model of women participation in politics from the perspective of *siyāsa al-shar'iyya* which results that women's involvement in politic aims to ensure the presentation of their aspirations and voices. The barriers came from patriarchy culture as the religion explained clearly about their rights

and the country provides the effort to support them.

The Statistic of Women Participation on Politics

Based on current condition, the various efforts had been made by the international community to eliminate discrimination and place all people in equal positions, according to Nalom. For instance, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Right (ICCPR), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, Convention for the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). All of these are rules compiled as the efforts to protect the rights of women who have received recognition from the international community, in order to raise their dignity as whole human beings.⁵

The majority of literature states that the representation of women in politics such as voting rights and taking part in making decisions is an implementation form of gender equality rights. The current century which increasingly opens up women's opportunities to raise their education levels, also automatically boosts their position in the social subject.

Echoes of gender equality began to be heard globally, including the international world and the archipelago. The 21st century women are progressively free to play a role in various public sectors such as education, social, and also including politics. However, in several studies, it was found that, up to now, women's access to the public sectors is still smaller than men. As an example, mentioned by Yenni Yuniati and Dedeh Fardiah who examined the tendencies of the media which have not given an equal and balanced access to all professions

³ Angraini Binti Ramli and Radwan Jamal Elatrash, 'ISSUES ON WOMEN AND PROBLEMS IN WORKPLACE FROM ISLAMIC POINT OF VIEW', *JURNAL At-Tibyan: Jurnal Ilmu Alquran Dan Tafsir*, 3.1 (2018), p. 174.

⁴ Yuniati and Fardiah, 'Citra Caleg Perempuan Dalam Framing Media Online', p. 75-86.

⁵ Kurniawan, 'Keterwakilan Perempuan Di Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Pasca Putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi Nomor 22-24/Puu-Vi/2008', p. 714-36.

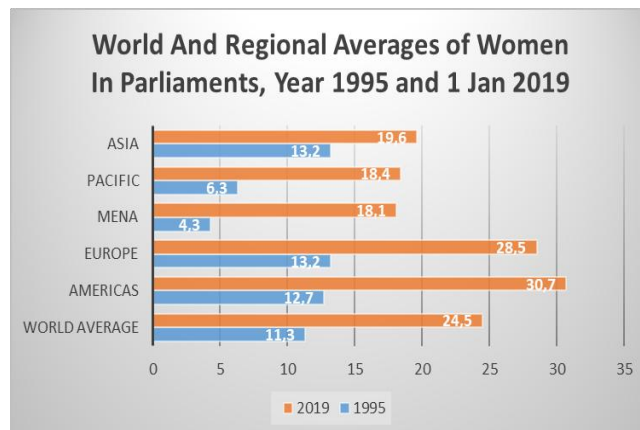
that exist, especially women who will be placed only as observers and not as a speaker or main sources.⁶

Ani emphasized that the constitution of the Indonesian state had guaranteed the equality between women and men in the law, social, economic and political fields. However, this is not in accordance with the existing reality. Because it turns out that juridical devices do not have a significant effect on everyday reality. Women remain in the subordinate position of men, especially in determining and making policies and decisions.⁷

The affirmation actions in the political field have a definition as a step to make progress in terms of equality of the opportunities, that are more substantive for certain groups, such as women or minorities, who are under-represented in important positions in the society. The real involvement of women in politics is one form of non-discriminatory democracy, which is also one of the characteristics of modern politics. There are three types of affirmation actions in theory, namely reserved seats, party quota and legislative quota. At the reserved seat, a special place has been provided in a certain number of parliament or representative institutions. In the Party Quota system, each political party must include a certain number of parties who are given special treatment, whereas in the legislative quota, it means each nomination of a political party must include a certain amount that they propose as a candidate to compete for seats in parliament.⁸

Based on the data from Inter-Parliamentary Union, the percentage of women participation in parliament in 2019 is increasing in average.

Table 1. World and Regional Averages of Women Comparison from Year 1995 to 1 January 2019



Source: Women in parliament in 2018; The year in review. www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm

The table shown above explained that participation of women in parliaments is increasing by year. For example, in Asia, it has increased until 6.4%, whether in Pacific 12.1%. In MENA, women participation increased by 13.8%, then in Europe has 15.3% in number, whereas in America has 18% and 11.3% for the world averages. For the details of all countries listed, which have the Women as Head of States, Women as Heads of Parliament and Women as Speakers of Parliament can be seen in the table below.

Table 2. Women in the highest positions of States in 2019

Women Heads of State (10/152 = 6.6%)

Croatia, Estonia, Ethiopia, Georgia, Lithuania, Malta, Marshall Island*, Nepal, Singapore, Trinidad and Tobago

Women Heads Of Parliament (10/193 = 5.2%)

Bangladesh, Barbados, Iceland, Marshall Island*, New Zealand, Norway, Romania, Serbia, United Kingdom.

Women Speakaers of Parliament (55/279 = 19.7%)

Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belize, Bolivia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Botswana, Bulgaria, Chile, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominica, Ecuador, Equatorial Guinea, Eswatini, Ethiopia (2 chambers), Finland, Gabon, Gambia (The), India, Italy, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Latvia, Lesotho, Liberia Mauritius, Mozambique,

⁶ Yuniati and Fardiah, 'Citra Caley Perempuan Dalam Framing Media Online', p. 75-86.

⁷ Ani Purwanti, 'Partisipasi Perempuan Pada Lembaga Legislatif', p. 199.

⁸ Purwanti, p. 199.

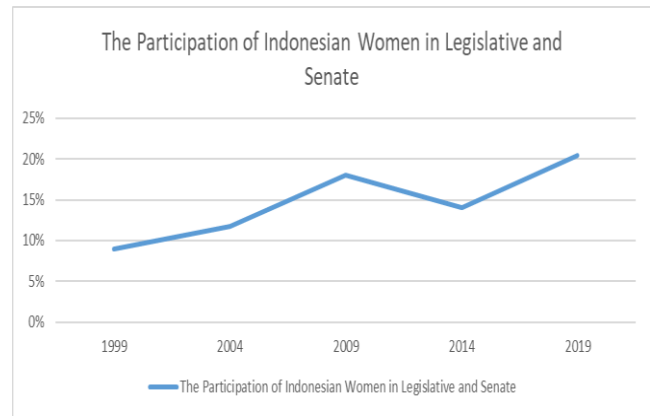
Namibia, Netherlands (2 chambers), Norway, Panama, Philippines, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Serbia, South Africa (2 chambers), Spain, Suriname, Switzerland, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago (2 chambers), Turkmenistan, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United States of America, Uruguay, Vietnam and Zimbabwe

*The Head of State is also The Head of Government

Table 3. World and Regional Averages of Women in Parliament in 2019

	Single House or Lower House	Upper House or Senate	Both House Combined
World Average	24.3%	24.1%	24.3%
<i>Regional Averages (Regions are classified by descending order of the percentage of women in unicameral parliaments or he lower house of parliament)</i>			
Nordic Countries	42.5%	-	-
Americas	30.6%	31.3%	30.7%
Europe (Nordic Countries Included)	28.6%	28.0%	28.5%
Europe (Nordic Countries not Included)	27.2%	28.0%	27.4%
Sub-Saharan Africa	23.9%	22.2%	23.7%
Asia	19.9%	17.4%	19.6%
Middle East and North Africa	19.0%	12.5%	18.1%
Pacific	16.3%	36.0%	18.4%

The similar problem occurs in Indonesia, even though the number of women presentations in politics is increasing, but it is still not fulfilling the 30% of quota. Although, the law stated that 30% of the senate must be represented by women, but in 1999 women participation only reached 9%. It increased in 2004 by reaching 11.80% and 18% in 2009. Surprisingly, it went down in 2014, from 18% to 14%.⁹ Then, the latest, the election in 2019 recorded the highest.¹⁰



The Roles and Barriers of Women’s Participation in Politics

The state has given women opportunities in politics by increasing women's quota by 30% in each party. There are at least four strategic reasons put forward by Yenni et al about the purpose of women who involved in politics. The first is economic reasons that want to lift women from poverty. Second, political reasons for taking part and fight for women matters. Third, the pragmatic reasons that were made to get votes and support the party's program. There is an aesthetic reason to advance the world of art. And the last is the reason to reach the target vote.¹¹

Ani summarizes several reasons for the importance of women's presence in the political scope, because women have worked in many fields but do not have political channels, it is necessary to involve women in the decision-making process. Thenceforth, state policies have different impacts on women and men citizens, but policies relating to women are often not fulfilled and do not get enough due to the lack of representation of women there.¹²

⁹ Rizki Priandi and Kholis Roisah, 'Upaya Meningkatkan Partisipasi Politik Perempuan Dalam Pemilihan Umum Di Indonesia', *Jurnal Pembangunan Hukum Indonesia*, 1.1 (2019), p. 106.

¹⁰ Puskapol UI, 'Analisis Perolehan Kursi DPR RI Pemilu 2019', 2019.

¹¹ Yuniati and Fardiah, 'Citra Caley Perempuan Dalam Framing Media Online', p. 75-86; Women Research Institute, 'Partisipasi Politik Perempuan Sebuah Keharusan', 78, 2014, p. 1-2 https://www.wri.or.id/-files/Factsheet_Partisipasi_Politik_Perempuan-Jan_-2014_Indonesia.pdf.

¹² Purwanti, 'Partisipasi Perempuan Pada Lembaga Legislatif', p. 199.

Women who have developed skills in politics with a proven commitment and integrity in public service are presumably possessed greater ability to create a difference in decision making position when the opportunity given, Miranda stated. Their political authority which usually supported by parties attached with their capabilities would affect their ability to make a difference. She asserted that women which comprising half of society nowadays are expected to exercise their right and responsibility to equally participate in governance. And the impacts of their participation can only guarantee by their transformative agenda and developed system of public accountability, she said.¹³

Furthermore, Rahmatunnisa quoted Balington's view in her paper presented in Seminar Pendidikan Politik bagi Remaja Perempuan held by Social Institution of Democratic Empowerment (SIDE), male and female participation in decision-making is sine qua non from democratic system. By then, democratic system intended to fight for the equality and equity of female and male participation in decision making process.¹⁴

Yenni et al said that patriarchal culture in Indonesia, in particular, considered as the main reason that inhibits women's participation when entering politics. Many parties are unable to fill women's quota in their parties. This is not because there are no candidates, but because there is no good cadre of female management. Socio-cultural and patriarchal culture are strong obstacle to women's involvement in politics. Indirectly, women are directed and led to domestic affairs and positioned behind men. The participation of wom-

en in politics is interpreted as nothing more than the use of voting rights or elections rights only.¹⁵ This patriarchal culture encompasses all sides such as political parties, voter societies, as well as women themselves.¹⁶

Not only in Indonesia or Asia, women's involvement in politics is considered as major issue in various parts of the world. In the long history, it has been constructed how the politics or public world is dominated by men and not many have noted the success of women in the task of political leadership. Socio-culturally, the position of women is depicted only in the domestic environment, even if there are desires in a woman to get involved in the public sector, it is seen as behavior that violates her nature as a woman. It is seen as a paradox, the female population in Asia, in particular, almost half of the country's population, that contributes the most votes in election, only obtain a small role, occupy a marginal position and not strategic position in the governance structure. Women's education and their experience of any professional positions proved to be insufficient to guarantee that they would have a solid position when involved in politics. In Indonesia, there are no laws that prohibit women from participating in the public sector. In fact, in several points of the law on the human rights, gender expression has never been used, the expression used is a 'citizen' which include men and women. For example, in the constitution article 6 paragraph 1 regarding the requirements to become a president, it is stated that "the president is an Indonesian citizen" which means that women could also participate to be a president or being a political leader. It also meant that women and men are equal in Indonesian law.¹⁷

¹³ Rosa Linda T. Miranda, 'Impact of Women's Participation and Leadership on Outcomes', *United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Division for the Advancement of Women, Economic Commission for Africa, Inter-Parliamentary Union*, December, 2005, 1-11.

¹⁴ Mudiwati Rahmatunnisa, 'Pentingnya Partisipasi Politik Perempuan Dan Prakteknya Di Indonesia 1', 2007.

¹⁵ Yuniati and Fardiah, 'Citra Caley Perempuan Dalam Framing Media Online', p. 75-86.

¹⁶ Purwanti, 'Partisipasi Perempuan Pada Lembaga Legislatif', p. 199.

¹⁷ Yusuf Fadli, 'Islam, Perempuan Dan Politik: Argumentasi Keterlibatan Perempuan Dalam Politik Di Indonesia Pasca Reformasi', *Journal of Government and Civil Society*, 1.1 (2018), p. 41..

As mentioned above, it is the strong patriarchy culture in society that contributes as the most significant obstacle to women's involvement in the public sector, especially politics. Coupled with those who cited religious arguments about the position of women, who are naturally below men, the level of reasoning and women religion which considered lower than men, also the understanding of the destruction of a people and society led by women, those all mentioned triggers people to think that way, even become a frightening spectre for women to express themselves.

Yusuf Fadli mentioned The Mystique Feminine theory from Friedan which states that after the second world war, many women possess mental disorders because they are required to be a housewife. They are brainwashed by a culture that believes that noble women are those who manage to take care of the house, husband and children. The feminine mystique is a modern form of domestic slavery that continues until today. Households and domestic areas become religions in which every woman must live in and those who come out of the domestic sphere will be seen as an opponent to their nature as women. In this statement, Yusuf Fadli said that Friedan was trying to prove that The Mystique Feminine had limited women's opportunities to develop their own identities.¹⁸

The mentioned facts can be used as additional references to reinforce the statement that discrimination against women was not born from certain religious provisions, but from the post-World War II brainwash process. And the historical facts also reinforce how women are involved in expressing opinions, decision makers, and even leaders.

Maula translates the reality that occurs in society, women are still considered not enough to be a leader and take part in policy and decision making. Women are still considered

to prioritize their emotional over rational.¹⁹ Hendrarto suggested 3 ways to prepare a strong female candidate in politics. First, female candidate should have a strong base in society, she should be active in communities which have great impact to the people around her, either educationally or socially. Second, he suggested to start expending female contribution in community since early time by participating in various organizations, starting from student's association until mass organizations. Third, he saw it was important to facilitate their needs to practice, such as conducting numerous trainings, tuitions or lessons on introductions to Politics, ideology politics, strategy, advocacy, budget analysis, communications politics, fundraising, etc.²⁰ Priandi et al added more suggestions to prepare these young females, by creating an awareness and provide an encouragement about their important parts in politics.²¹

Women themselves, Hendrarto said, do not have much interest for power when the definition of power perpetuated in society, it is the idea of a male version of power which are full of characteristics of strength and masculinity. Therefore, it is the time to promote the power defined by women, namely, the power that prioritizes the ability to empower, maintain and create a more harmonious and dignified society. Thus, the new definition of power is a combination of masculine and feminine qualities that can be achieved by men and women.²²

¹⁹ Atiqotul Maula, 'Perempuan Dan Politik Dalam Kontestasi Pilkada Di Jombang', *IN RIGHT: Jurnal Agama Dan Hak Azazi Manusia*, 6.1 (2017), p. 241-272.

²⁰ Hendrarto Hendrarto, 'Peran Perempuan Dalam Politik Di Era Demokrasi; Sepercik Wacana Pendidikan Masyarakat Di Kabupaten Magelang', *Jurnal Komunikasi Dan Kajian Media*, 3.39 (2019), p. 56-59.

²¹ Priandi and Roisah, 'Upaya Meningkatkan Partisipasi Politik Perempuan Dalam Pemilihan Umum Di Indonesia', p. 106.

²² Hendrarto, 'Peran Perempuan Dalam Politik Di Era Demokrasi; Sepercik Wacana Pendidikan Masyarakat Di Kabupaten Magelang', p. 56-59.

¹⁸ Fadli, 'Islam, Perempuan Dan Politik: Argumentasi Keterlibatan Perempuan Dalam Politik Di Indonesia Pasca Reformasi', p. 41.

An Ideal Model of Women Participation in Politics

Neni compiled Islamic scholars views on women participation in politics. In her paper, she mentioned both supporters and opponents with their argumentations. From the opponents, several names of scholars like al-Syaf'I, Abu Ya'la and Abu Hamid al-Ghazali are listed. They used a *qawwām* mentioned in an-Nisa: 34 is an absolute nature for men which lead to an understanding that men are leaders. Politics have leadership part where all those who involve in it will take a part in any decision-making process.²³ Meanwhile, al-Qaradhawi has another view responding to this matter. As quoted by Zainuddin in his paper, men are a *qawwām* because Allah has made some of them to excel and because they spent out their property to women, and it means men's leadership over women is exclusively in marriage relationship, not governance. To a greater extend, al-Quran promoted to involve women in any decision-making cases in family life which represented obviously in its verse about requirement of mutual consent and counsel in breastfeeding in Al-Baqarah: 233.²⁴

Another reason mentioned is the hadeeth came from Abu Bakrah that the Prophet said that such nation which has a woman as their ruler will never succeed. Radwan mentioned that *Ahl Sunnah* put special requirements for being a leader, one of them, the leader must be a man. As they figured out that all the government matters are not suitable for the nature of women. Women often crafted their mind on problems than finding solutions. Later on, to be found that this hadeeth is only applicable

for the daughter of Khosrau whom elected as ruler in the very young age, not generally for all women. Hence, Radwan highlighted Imam Mawardi's view toward this matter that being a man not a compulsory requirement, yet, power, capability, strength, loyalty and integrity are the main provision for becoming a ruler.²⁵ And, to not forget the story mentioned in the Quran about one prosperous and secure nation lead by women, even Allah praised her by saying "she has a great throne" in an-Naml: 23.

Later, Neni stated that al-Mawardi is among the scholars who supported this issue with various reasons too.²⁶ Such as, the equality and equity between both genders since the moment of creation, power, ability, rights and duties. It was emphasized that achievement and the measure of glory before God is the personal quality of the servant without ethnic and gender differences, it is shown in al-Hujurat: 13. Al-Ṣabūnī said, that God created all mankind from the same root which made all the mankind are equal to each other²⁷ and the same saying came from Al-Maraghi when he elaborated that the words *Dzakar* and *Unthā* which made all mankind are equal.²⁸ Then, Ibn 'Āshūr mentioned that, this verse was revealed in order to educate and train all mankind to obey rules or a code of behavior of not

²³ Neni Nuraeni, 'Partisipasi Politik Wanita Indonesia Di Parlemen Dan Relevansinya Dengan Pandangan Ulama Tentang Peran Wanita Dalam Politik', *AD-LIYA: Jurnal Hukum Dan Kemanusiaan*, 11.1 (2019), p. 119-136.

²⁴ M Zainuddin and Dan Ismail Maisaroh, 'POSISI WANITA DALAM SISTEM POLITIK ISLAM (Telaah Terhadap Pemikiran Politik Yusuf Al-Qardhawi)', *XXI.2* (2005), p. 178-195.

²⁵ Radwan Jamal Yousef Hosain. *Al-Taṣawwur Al-Qurānī Li 'Alaqaḥ Al-Ummah Bi Al-Ṣulṭah Dirāsah Maydāniyyah Li Al-Urdun*, PhD Thesis, Bangi: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1995, p. 76-78.

²⁶ Nuraeni, 'Partisipasi Politik Wanita Indonesia Di Parlemen Dan Relevansinya Dengan Pandangan Ulama Tentang Peran Wanita Dalam Politik', p. 119-136.

²⁷ Muḥammad 'Ali Al-Ṣabūnī. *Ṣafwat Al-Tafāsīr*, 1st ed. Cairo: Dār Al-Ṣabūnī Li Al-Ṭibā'ah Wa Al-Tawzī', 1997, p. 219.

²⁸ Aḥmad Muṣṭafā Al-Maraghī. *Tafsīr Al-Maraghī*. Egypt: Shirkah Maktabah Wa Maṭba'ah Muṣṭafā Al-Bābī Al-Ḥalabī Wa Awlādūh, 1st ed, 1946. Volume 26, p. 141.

being proud and felt better of themselves and insulting each other's.²⁹

Based on what stated in both the *Quran* and *Hadeeth*, Indonesian scholars Organizations named Nahdlatul Ulama confirmed the desire of women who want to be involved in politics in the National Deliberation of Alim Ulama Nahdlatul Ulama in 1997 by mentioning that Islam gives equal rights to every woman and man as has been confirmed in the *Quran* and *Hadith*. It means that the role of women in the public field should be considered with taking into account their quality, capacity and capability without forgetting the natural function of women.³⁰

Then, the *Qur'an* also portrays Muslimah figures who has political independence in *surah al-Mumtahanan:12*. When Moslem women came to the Prophet and ask him to pledge, God asked the Prophet to accept them and treat them as equal as a *Moslem* man. This verse was explained by *hadith* and it described how that woman had a serious discussion with our prophet and the Prophet entertained them logically and scientifically³¹. Another evidence found in the history when the Prophet asked the pledge from Medina community. The pledge asked from both gender, men and women. It shows that both genders have the same right in expressing their views.³²

Thamsyi wrote in his thesis, in order to become a leader, there are certain criteria required, *al-Mawardi* said, as quoted by

²⁹ Muḥammad Al-Ṭāhir Bin Muḥammad Bin Muḥammad Bin 'Āshūr Al-Tūnisī. *Al-Taḥrīr Wa Al-Tanwīr*, N. Ed. Tunisia: Al-Dār Al-Tūnisīyyah Li Al-Nashr, 1984. Volume 26, p. 258.

³⁰ Fadli, 'Islam, Perempuan Dan Politik: Argumentasi Keterlibatan Perempuan Dalam Politik Di Indonesia Pasca Reformasi', p. 41.

³¹ Abu Al-Ḥasan 'Alī Bin Aḥmad Bin Muḥammad Bin 'Alī Al-Wāḥidī Al-Naysabūrī Al-Shāfi'ī, *Al-Wasīṭ Fī Tafsīr Al-Qurān Al-Majīd*, (Lebanon: Dār al-Kutub Al-Ilmiyyah, 1st Ed, 1994), Volume 4, p. 287.

³² Radwan Jamal Yousef Hosain. *Al-Taṣawwūr Al-Qurānī Li 'Alaqah Al-Ummah Bi Al-Ṣulṭah Dirāsah Maydāniyyah Li Al-Urdun*, PhD Thesis, Bangi: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1995, p. 73.

Ahmad in his thesis, there are at least seven principles that must be met. The first is fair; the candidate possess the knowledge about how to do *ijtihad*, because the leader is expected to become a problem solver for -at least- his community. Then, having a healthy five senses and body as it is needed when dealing with responsibilities. Also, another important aspect is a leader owned a qualified managerial skill in controlling people's affairs. It is at its best, when a leader is a brave person, so that he/ she is able to defend and provide protection to his/ her people and his/ her community. Lastly, based on the *hadith* of the Prophet, *Imam al-Mawardi* requires that the leader be a descendant of *Quraysh*.³³ Thus, as *al-Qaradhawi* said, that as *mukallaf*, women have their full rights as men including *amr ma'rūf nahy munkar*. Then, he put women as equal as men with their right to vote and to be voted. According to him, *Qaradhawi* asserted that almost all commands and exclamations stated in *al-Quran* came in general for men and women by word "O, mankind", or "O, Believers".³⁴ *Al-Qaradhawi* also asserted that women also have right to hold various positions in governments, such as members of parliament, ministers, even presidents and members of the *fatwa* council, as captured by *Arista* in her thesis. It was because, women are social entities that are also complete as men.³⁵ As for men, to occupy this position, there are capability requirements that must be met by women as well.

Conclusion

Women participation in politics issues attracted various responses which sometimes contributes to controversy. The issues, discussed in certain religion, said that women are a subordinated which required them being a second-

³³ Ahmad Thamsyi, 'Konsep Pemimpin Dalam Islam', 2018, p. 67.

³⁴ Zainuddin and Ismail Maisaroh.

³⁵ *Arista* Aprilia, 'Hak Politik Bagi Perempuan Dalam Pemikiran Dr. Yusuf Al-Qardhawi', 2016. Pg. 53.

class entity in the community. Later on, religion is found expressed its support to the equality and equity for both genders and the states are also working in harmony by encouraging women to involve themselves more on decision making position in public sphere.

Women welfare often forgotten, it is because lack of women representative, by participating in public sphere, particularly in politics, it was expected to give different impacts such as increasing their welfare by representing, regulating, and involving in agenda and policy making. Socio-cultural and patriarchal culture considered as strongest obstacle to women's involvement in public sector, particularly in politics. Women's role was strict in domestic environment and even they have desires to step out and participate outside, it can be seen as violating their natures. This form called as the mystique feminine which limits women to develop their own identities.

The equality between genders promoted clearly in the Quran. Both women and men have same rights and duties. None of them are created lower than others. Thus, women participation in any of public sphere, including politics, should be considered as a matter. Also, as a *mukallaf*, women have their full rights on practicing *amr ma'ruf nahy munkar*, by having such rights, they considered qualified to be included in policy and decision making. In which, certain qualities, capacities, dan capabilities are required. Hence, having an awareness about their participations in politics since an early age is essential.

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