

Women's Leadership in the Indonesian Context: From Interpretative Discourse to Contemporary Fiqh Siyasah

Mutho'am¹

¹ Universitas Sains Al-Qur'an Wonosobo, Indonesia

Correspondence: muthoam@unsiq.ac.id

Heriyanto²

² UIN KH. Abdurrahman Wahid Pekalongan, Indonesia

Correspondence: heriyanto@uingusdur.ac.id

Article History

Submitted:

May 12, 2023

Reviewed:

June 22, 2024

Approved:

June 27, 2024

Abstract

This article aims to explore women's leadership within the Indonesian context, focusing on contemporary discourse on interpretation and fiqh siyasah. This study seeks to understand how the dynamics of thought and the interpretation of religious texts in Indonesia relate to the position of women in the political sphere. The research employs a qualitative approach using text analysis and discourse analysis. Data is collected from various sources, including relevant literature, policy documents, and the experiences of female leaders involved in leadership roles. This methodology is designed to uncover diverse perspectives on women's leadership and how interpretations of tafsir and fiqh siyasah can be applied in a modern context. The findings of the research indicate that although traditional interpretations of Islamic texts often limit women's roles in leadership, contemporary movements and reinterpretations of fiqh siyasah are challenging these norms. The study identifies significant barriers to women's leadership, including socio-cultural attitudes and institutional biases. It concludes that changes in mindset and policy are crucial for fostering an inclusive political environment that recognizes and promotes women's leadership. Thus, the progressive reinterpretation of religious texts and the development of a more inclusive contemporary fiqh siyasah regarding women's leadership is essential to ensure that women's contributions to politics are grounded in a strong legal religious standing.

Keywords: *Women's Leadership, Tafsir, Contemporary Fiqh Siyasah, Indonesian Context*

INTRODUCTION

The issue of women's leadership in Indonesia is increasingly gaining attention from various sectors, including academics, practitioners, and the general public. In the Indonesian context, women's leadership is not only viewed from a gender perspective but also through the complex lenses of culture, society, and politics. History records that Indonesian women

have played significant roles in various aspects of life, ranging from family and education to politics (Amalia et al., 2019). However, the challenges faced by women in attaining leadership positions remain substantial. The discourse surrounding women's leadership is often trapped in stereotypes and cultural norms that hinder their participation in public spaces (Hariyanti et al., 2018).

In Indonesia, the discourse on women's leadership often begins with interpretations of religious texts that are literal and rigid legal dictates. For instance, in the context of interpretation, there are various views regarding the role of women in leadership. Some interpretations assert that women have the same rights to lead, while others may emphasize certain strict limitations (Aminah, 2021). This creates an interesting dynamic in understanding women's positions within the leadership structure in Indonesia.

Women's leadership is not solely related to positions or titles; it also encompasses the influence, participation, and contributions of women in decision-making processes that affect society (Siahaan, 2009). In this context, interpretative discourse can be directed towards reinterpreting religious texts by considering the evolving social, cultural, and political realities, thereby opening up space for women to play active roles in leadership (Wahyudi, 2019; Hariyanti et al., 2018). From this perspective, contemporary political jurisprudence (*fiqh siyasah*) can find a strong theoretical foundation to develop concepts of women's leadership that are aligned with the Indonesian context.

The leadership of women in Indonesia is an increasingly prominent theme in academic studies, particularly in social, political, and cultural contexts. Various research efforts have been undertaken to explore the dynamics of women's leadership, including how women participate in decision-making processes and the challenges they face within a patriarchal social structure. In the context of interpretive discourse, studies on women's leadership often focus on the interpretation of religious texts related to women's roles and rights. According to Murtadha Muthahhari (2018), inclusive interpretation can provide space for women to participate in leadership, both at domestic and public levels. In this study, Muthahhari emphasizes the importance of understanding the social and cultural context when interpreting religious texts, in order to avoid interpretations that discriminate against women. Furthermore, research by Rahmawati (2020) indicates that a more progressive understanding of religious texts can encourage women to assume leadership positions.

Rahmawati highlights several examples of Muslim women who have successfully held strategic positions in government and social organizations, demonstrating that progressive interpretation can serve as a foundation for strengthening women's roles in leadership.

Meanwhile, in the context of Fiqh Siyasah, studies on women's leadership have been conducted by Al-Qaradawi (2016), who argues that the reconstruction of Fiqh Siyasah will provide space for women to engage in the political process, provided they meet certain criteria. Al-Qaradawi asserts that women's involvement in politics is not only permissible but also encouraged, especially in the pursuit of social justice. In the discourse of thought in Indonesia, research by Muhtadi (2021) shows that Fiqh Siyasah can serve as a basis for promoting women's participation in politics. Muhtadi emphasizes that by deeply understanding Fiqh Siyasah, women can gain confidence to participate in decision-making at both local and national levels. This research also underscores the importance of political education for women so that they can understand and utilize Fiqh Siyasah in the context of leadership. Nevertheless, according to Sari (2019), the strong patriarchal culture still prevalent in Indonesian society often hinders women from taking on leadership roles. Sari notes that negative gender stereotypes and a lack of support from their surroundings are significant barriers for women. However, on the other hand, Sari also points out that there are numerous opportunities for women to develop in leadership roles. For instance, women's organizations and local communities are increasingly active in providing training and support for women to enter the political arena. This aligns with research by Wulandari (2022), which states that women's involvement in social organizations can enhance their confidence and leadership skills.

This research aims to analyze the dynamics of the discourse on women's leadership within the Indonesian context, considering the perspectives of interpretation and contemporary political jurisprudence. Fiqh siyasah, in this context, needs to be developed towards a more inclusive understanding of women. This is important because conservative interpretations of fiqh often serve as barriers for women to take on more active roles in the public arena (Kasdi, 2019). Therefore, it is crucial to discuss how progressive interpretations and understandings of fiqh siyasah can encourage women's participation in leadership.

DISCUSSION

Women's Leadership in Islam: Arguments and Counter Arguments

The issue of women's leadership in Islam often becomes a topic of debate among academics, thinkers, and the general public. On one hand, there are arguments supporting the role of women in leadership, while on the other hand, there are counterarguments that question the abilities and positions of women in such roles. This discussion will explore both sides to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the issue.

Arguments supporting women's leadership in Islam are often based on principles of equality taught in the Qur'an and Hadith. Many Muslim figures argue that Allah created men and women with equal rights and responsibilities (Hasanah & Husnan, 2022). The Qur'an contains several verses that emphasize the importance of women's roles, such as in Surah Al-Ahzab (33:35), which states that both believing men and women will receive equal rewards. This indicates that women have the right to contribute in various aspects of life, including leadership.

One historical example frequently cited is the role of Khadijah binti Khuwailid, the wife of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), who was a successful businesswoman. Khadijah not only supported her husband morally but also played an active role in business and society (Riyadi et al., 2021). Another example is Aisha, the Prophet's wife, known as one of the leading scholars and sources of Hadith (Faris & Abbott, 1943). Both demonstrate that women have held significant roles in Islamic history, which should inspire recognition of women's leadership in the modern era.

Additionally, many organisations and social movements in the Muslim world advocate for increasing women's roles in leadership. They argue that involving women in decision-making will provide broader and more diverse perspectives (Hamid, 2022). In this context, women's leadership is seen as a step towards social justice and the advancement of society as a whole. However, on the other side, there are counterarguments stating that women's leadership contradicts Islamic teachings. Some opponents argue that there are specific limitations on women's roles as outlined in religious texts (Aminah, 2021). They refer to Hadith and interpretations that assert men have the primary responsibility in leadership

and family protection. This argument is often linked to traditional understandings of gender within Muslim societies, where men are seen as natural leaders (Mussaif, 2017).

Moreover, there are concerns that increasing women's roles in leadership could lead to changes in family and societal values. Some believe that if women assume leadership positions, it could disrupt established social structures and undermine the traditional role of women as homemakers (Ananda et al., 2021). In this context, opponents often worry that women in power may become entangled in harmful power dynamics, detrimental to both themselves and society.

In many cases, this debate is also influenced by the cultural and social context in which Muslim communities exist. In some countries, women have successfully accessed leadership positions in government, business, and social organisations, while in others, they still face various obstacles (Hariyanti et al., 2018). Cultural, educational, and economic factors play a significant role in determining the extent to which women can participate in leadership.

It is important to note that discussions regarding women's leadership in Islam cannot be separated from a broader context, including issues of gender, equality, and human rights. Many Muslim women activists strive to reinterpret religious texts with a more inclusive approach that supports women's active roles in society. They argue that Islam is fundamentally a religion that advocates for justice and equality, and that strict and conservative interpretations often do not reflect the core values of Islamic teachings (Larassati, 2020).

In conclusion, women's leadership in Islam is a complex and multi-dimensional issue. Arguments supporting women's roles in leadership are grounded in principles of equality and strong historical examples, while counterarguments focus on traditional interpretations and social concerns. To achieve a better understanding of this issue, it is essential for society to engage in open and constructive dialogue, considering diverse perspectives.

Women's Narratives in Indonesian Classical Thought

In the context of classical Indonesian thought, women's narratives are often marginalized or do not receive the attention they deserve in historical and cultural studies (Asmarani, 2017). This creates unique challenges for researchers and academics striving to uncover the roles and contributions of women in the development of Indonesian society.

This discourse is not only important for understanding women's history but also for highlighting how their thoughts and contributions shape Indonesian identity and culture.

Firstly, it is essential to examine how women's narratives in classical Indonesian thought are often framed within a patriarchal context (Idrus, 2014). In many classical texts and literary works, women's voices are frequently represented through a male lens, which distorts the representation of women's experiences and perspectives (Purnomo, 2018; Botifar & Friantary, 2021). For instance, in literary works such as "Sejarah Banten" or "Hikayat Aceh," women are often depicted in limited roles, such as mothers, wives, or objects of love, without providing space for them to express their voices and thoughts (Heriyanti et al., 2020). This indicates that existing narratives often do not reflect the complex realities of women's lives during that time.

The discourse of classical Indonesian thought must also consider the social and cultural contexts that underpin women's positions. In many traditional societies, women play vital roles in preserving and transmitting traditions across economic, social, and cultural domains (Amalia et al., 2019). However, this narrative is often overlooked in academic studies. For example, in the context of agrarian societies, women serve as managers of natural resources and determinants of family food security (Sitanggang, 2020). Despite being essential, this role is frequently unrecognized in dominant historical narratives. Therefore, it is crucial to re-highlight women's contributions in this context to provide a more comprehensive picture of existing social dynamics.

Additionally, in reading women's narratives within classical Indonesian thought, we must also pay attention to the shifts and transformations that occur with the passage of time. During the colonial period, for example, women began to gain better access to education, enabling them to participate in public discourse (Cikka, 2020). Figures such as R.A. Kartini became symbols of women's struggle for rights and freedom. However, despite advancements, challenges remain. The discourse surrounding women in modern contexts often remains trapped in stereotypes and social expectations that limit them.

By understanding women's narratives in classical Indonesian thought, we can gain a more comprehensive understanding of the social, cultural, and political dynamics that shape Indonesian identity. Through this effort, we can appreciate women's contributions and

elevate the voices that have long been marginalized, creating a more inclusive and representative narrative (Idrus, 2014).

The importance of examining women's narratives in classical Indonesian thought is also related to efforts to deconstruct dominant historical narratives. By providing space for women's voices, we can expand our understanding of Indonesia's history and culture. This aligns with an intersectional approach that acknowledges that women's experiences cannot be separated from other factors such as class, ethnicity, and religion (Idrus, 2014). This approach allows us to understand the complexities of women's experiences in a broader context and how these various factors interact.

In an academic context, it is crucial to develop methodologies that are sensitive to gender issues in historical and cultural research (Sile et al., 2020). This includes utilizing diverse sources, such as personal archives, literary works, and oral histories, which can provide deeper insights into women's experiences. Moreover, collaboration with female researchers and organizations focused on gender issues can help enrich perspectives and analyses in this field of study.

Furthermore, discussions about women's narratives in classical Indonesian thought are also relevant in contemporary contexts. Amidst the struggle for gender equality and women's empowerment, understanding the history and contributions of women in the past is vital for building a foundation for current movements (Suyanto, 2019). By educating society about women's roles in history, we can inspire a new generation to continue this struggle. Finally, it is essential to emphasize that recognizing women's narratives within the discourse of classical Indonesian thought is not merely an effort to fill gaps in history but also a step toward social justice. By listening to and elevating women's voices, we not only honor their contributions but also enrich our understanding of the diverse and complex identity and culture of Indonesia.

Patriarchal vs. Egalitarian Interpretation in Indonesian Context

In the context of Indonesian culture, the interpretation of Quranic verses related to leadership often becomes a topic of intense discussion and debate. This is inseparable from the diversity of understandings and the social, cultural, and political backgrounds of the

Indonesian people. Therefore, analyzing the issues surrounding the interpretation of leadership verses and their impact on leadership practices in Indonesia is essential.

First of all, it should be noted that the verses related to leadership in the Quran are often interpreted in various ways. For instance, verses that discuss justice, trust, and the responsibilities of leaders can be understood differently by various groups (Anwar, 2023). Some interpreters may emphasize moral and ethical aspects (Rahim & Ibrahim, 2018), while others focus more on legal and political aspects within the Quran (Nur, 2021). These differences in interpretation can lead to varying understandings of how a leader should act and behave.

One of the main problems in interpreting leadership verses is the tendency to use sacred texts as a legitimization for political power (Anwar, 2023). In some cases, certain leaders or groups may cite Quranic verses to justify their actions, even if those actions may not align with principles of justice and humanity (Winarto, 2017). This creates an ethical dilemma, where sacred texts are used to support political or personal interests rather than to promote the common good.

Additionally, there are challenges related to social and cultural contexts. Indonesia is a country rich in cultural diversity and traditions (Kistanto, 2008). Therefore, the interpretation of leadership verses must consider the varying local contexts. For example, what is considered good leadership in one region may not apply in another. This requires interpreters to be more sensitive to this diversity and not to impose a single model of leadership that is deemed ideal.

As we know, education and public understanding of leadership also play a crucial role in the interpretation of leadership verses (Rahman & Mas'ud, 2022). Many people may not have adequate access to quality religious education, leading to a limited understanding of these verses. In such conditions, misinformation or erroneous interpretations can easily spread, which in turn can influence political choices and public attitudes toward their leaders.

On the other hand, there are also efforts to improve the interpretation of leadership verses through interfaith dialogue and public discussions. Several institutions and civil society organizations have sought to promote more inclusive discussions regarding leadership based on religious and humanitarian values. This approach aims to create a more comprehensive

and contextual understanding of leadership, which is not only based on sacred texts but also considers existing social, political, and cultural aspects (Andriyani, 2018).

In the current political context of Indonesia, the interpretation of leadership verses is closely related to issues such as corruption, nepotism, and abuse of power. Many people feel disappointed with leadership practices that do not reflect the values taught in religion (Susiatiningsih et al., 2021). This triggers demands for transparency and accountability from leaders, as well as hopes that they can fulfill their trust properly.

So, it is important to recognize that the interpretation of leadership verses is not a static process. It continues to evolve along with changes in time, social challenges, and political dynamics. Therefore, ongoing openness and dialogue between leaders, scholars, and the community are necessary to create a better understanding of leadership that aligns with religious values and the needs of society. The issues surrounding the interpretation of leadership verses in Indonesia reflect the complexity of the interaction between sacred texts, social contexts, and political practices. This diverse interpretation can be a source of strength, but it can also lead to conflict if not managed properly. Therefore, it is essential for all parties to commit to constructive dialogue and strive to understand and implement the values of good leadership in accordance with religious teachings and societal needs.

The issue of interpreting verses on leadership in Indonesia is primarily caused by the existence of two approaches that often clash in the interpretation of religious texts, particularly concerning gender roles and positions in society. These two approaches are the Patriarchal interpretation model and the Egalitarian interpretation model (Robikah, 2019). The discourse surrounding women's leadership in politics in Indonesia reflects a tug-of-war between these competing views.

Historically, various interpretations of the Qur'an have emerged, written by Indonesian Muslim scholars and intellectuals with diverse socio-cultural backgrounds and thought tendencies. These differences have given rise to various perspectives in understanding Qur'anic texts related to women's leadership (Gusmian, 2015).

On one hand, Patriarchal interpreters view male leadership as a necessity based on textual arguments and a strong fiqh logic imbued with masculine nuances (Aminah, 2021). Regarding the arguments of the Patriarchal group, they generally base their views on several Qur'anic verses that suggest male superiority (Zahro, 2018; Aminah, 2021). The Patriarchal perspective in Qur'anic interpretations in Indonesia has actually undergone significant

development from the 19th to the 20th century (Nurmila, 2021). Classical tafsir books written by Indonesian scholars, such as *Tafsir al-Munir* and several other works, can be categorized as products of interpretation with a patriarchal perspective (Gusmian, 2015). In these interpretations, the status and role of women are viewed from a subordinative lens. They place women in a lower position compared to men, especially in the context of leadership. On the other hand, some Muslim thinkers and activists in Indonesia have also developed a more egalitarian and gender-sensitive interpretation model of the Qur'an. They strive to read and understand Qur'anic texts contextually and transformatively, so they can address contemporary challenges related to gender equality and justice. Figures such as Rifa'at Hasan, Nasaruddin Umar, Siti Musdah Mulia, and Faqihuddin Abdul Kodir are examples of Indonesian Muslim interpreters who develop egalitarian interpretation models. They seek to demonstrate that the Qur'anic verses about leadership do not negate the possibility of women becoming leaders (Robikah, 2019).

For the Egalitarian interpreters, female leadership is seen as entirely compatible with Islamic teachings and even aligned with the principles of gender justice taught in the Qur'an. This egalitarian interpretation model not only provides a new perspective on understanding women's leadership issues but also encourages the mainstream Islamic thought in Indonesia to be more open and inclusive towards gender and women's issues (Nurmila, 2021).

One argument developed by the egalitarian interpreters is that the Qur'an never explicitly mentions a prohibition against female leadership. The patriarchal interpretation, which marginalizes women's roles in leadership, is viewed by this group as a product of patriarchal culture that has been arranged in such a way as to not align with the spirit of women's emancipation advocated by the Qur'an. This egalitarian interpretation model undoubtedly plays a significant role in opening up space for women's leadership in Indonesia. They successfully show that the Qur'anic verses often used to legitimize limiting women's roles and positions can indeed be interpreted with a more gender-just approach. Thus, this egalitarian interpretation of leadership verses in the Qur'an provides a stronger foundation for women's empowerment, particularly in the political and governance realms in Indonesia (Nurmila, 2021).

This interpretative egalitarianism is often associated with the Feminist Muslim group in Indonesia. As shown in several studies, they believe that the Qur'an actually provides a

strong foundation for gender equality. They also argue that to achieve gender justice, the Qur'an must be reinterpreted from a more egalitarian perspective (Arfa & Firmansyah, 2020; Nurmila, 2021). In the view of this group, Islam is seen as a religion that makes no distinction between men and women. Islam rather offers equal opportunities for both to emerge as leaders, according to their competencies (Aminah, 2021).

This egalitarian view is also reflected in the thoughts of Islamic thinkers, such as Ahmad Syafii Maarif, who states that Islam does not recognize differences in leadership based on gender but rather based on the criteria of piety and the capabilities possessed by an individual. This aligns with the Qur'anic understanding that men and women hold equal standing before Allah and have equal rights and obligations (Aminah, 2021). Additionally, research conducted by Komarudin Hidayat on the role and participation of women in local Islamic spirituality traditions indicates that there are religious practices that place women in an egalitarian position and respect gender equality (Zahro, 2018).

Considering the above understandings, it can be concluded that the discourse on women's leadership in the Qur'anic interpretation in Indonesia is at least divided into two currents: patriarchal and egalitarian. The patriarchal approach views leadership in public spaces, including politics, as a male domain. This view is often deemed less aspirational for women's involvement in public decision-making processes. Meanwhile, the egalitarian approach emphasizes equality between men and women in various aspects of life, including in politics and leadership (Aminah, 2021; White et al., 2023; Hariyanti et al., 2018; Wahyudi, 2019). Efforts to find a common ground between these two interpretative approaches seem essential to reduce social tensions that often arise from differing views. On one side, the patriarchal perspective, based on certain interpretations of religious texts, seeks to limit the space and roles of women in the political and public leadership arena (Wahyudi, 2019; White et al., 2023), while on the other side, the pursuit of gender equality through a more egalitarian Qur'anic interpretation has become a primary demand from certain Muslim circles in Indonesia (Nursangadah et al., 2021). This egalitarian approach seeks to challenge views considered overly patriarchal and necessitates women's involvement in the political and leadership domains (White et al., 2023; Hariyanti et al., 2018; Aminah, 2021; Wahyudi, 2019).

The discourse surrounding women's leadership in politics in Indonesia seems likely to continue, in line with the ongoing democratization process and the increasing demands for gender equality in society (Wahyudi, 2019). In the context of interpreting leadership

verses in Indonesia, the author sees that a more moderate and contextual approach to creating balanced gender relations is necessary so that women's leadership can be placed proportionally without gender-based discrimination. This discussion is highly relevant in the Indonesian context in the modern era, where gender and justice issues are increasingly receiving attention in many aspects of life, from family matters to political affairs.

Therefore, it is important to examine how these interpretations influence opportunities for women to take on leadership roles. Patriarchal interpretations can limit women's roles and reinforce hierarchical structures, while egalitarian interpretations open up new possibilities for collaboration and active participation from all genders. Thus, exploring the Qur'an and other religious texts from these two perspectives becomes crucial, especially for building a more just and balanced society. Efforts to revise traditional understandings and develop more egalitarian interpretations will be an important step in achieving the desired gender equality in religious and social spheres (Arfa & Firmansyah, 2020; Hasanah & Husnan, 2022).

The involvement of women in the development of interpretation (tafsir) in Indonesia is a crucial aspect that is often overlooked in Islamic studies. In this context, female figures do not merely serve as recipients of existing interpretations; they also actively contribute to the development and interpretation of the sacred texts of the Quran. Through various approaches and perspectives, women enrich the understanding of tafsir by adding nuances that are more inclusive and relevant to the social contexts faced by women.

One significant contribution from women in the development of tafsir in Indonesia can be seen in the role of the Majelis Ta'lim Asy-Syafa'at in Tanjung Aru Village. This study group, predominantly composed of women, not only focuses on the activities of reading and understanding the Quran but also strives to deepen its members' understanding of the science of tajwid and the correct techniques for reading the Quran. This effort demonstrates the desire of women to comprehend the sacred text more comprehensively and to practice it in their daily lives.

On the other hand, the development of feminist tafsir in Indonesia also serves as evidence of women's contributions to the realm of Quranic interpretation. The feminist approach to interpreting the Quran seeks to voice women's perspectives and advocate for gender equality in both textual and contextual understandings of Quranic verses. This

indicates that women are not merely objects of interpretation but also play an active role as subjects who interpret the Quran according to their experiences and needs.

Despite this, women's contributions to the development of Quranic tafsir in Indonesia still face several challenges, particularly regarding the strong patriarchal dominance within Islamic scholarly traditions. Efforts to continue promoting women's perspectives in Quranic interpretation are essential to produce a more comprehensive understanding that meets societal needs, especially those of women.

One influential female figure in the development of tafsir in Indonesia is Nyai Ahmad Dahlan, known for her progressive thinking and involvement in women's education. She sought to interpret the Quran in ways that support women's empowerment and advocate for their rights in society. In addition to Nyai Ahmad Dahlan, other notable names such as Siti Musdah Mulia, Siti Walidah, Rahmah El-Yunusiyah, and Fatima Mernissi have also enriched the tafsir tradition in Indonesia with feminist perspectives. They emphasize the importance of gender perspectives in Quranic interpretation, critiquing interpretations that tend to be patriarchal and discussing how fairer interpretations can be produced.

The presence of these female figures indicates that Quranic tafsir in Indonesia is no longer dominated solely by male perspectives but also voices the experiences and insights of women. This aligns with the view that the Quran conveys universal messages that can be interpreted from various viewpoints, including gender perspectives. Women's involvement in the discourse of Quranic tafsir is vital for opening up spaces for more inclusive and equitable understandings for all parties.

The role of female figures in developing gender-responsive tafsir is also evident through various forums and discussions involving women, where they can share their thoughts and experiences in understanding the Quran. With spaces for dialogue, women can express their views and challenge dominant interpretations. This not only enriches the corpus of tafsir but also provides opportunities for women to contribute to broader religious discourse.

The existence of women in the realm of tafsir in Indonesia, whether acknowledged or not, will serve as an antithesis to the predominantly patriarchal interpretations that have prevailed. The position of women in tafsir should serve as a counterbalance to existing studies. Thus, understanding the concepts of male-female relations in the Quran should not solely be viewed from the perspective of male interpreters. However, this will inevitably face

various challenges, as many women are still hindered by social and cultural norms that restrict their participation in tafsir studies. Therefore, it is crucial to support initiatives that encourage women's involvement in tafsir development, including education, research, and publication. In this way, it is hoped that the resulting interpretations will not only reflect male voices but also the often-marginalized voices of women.

Overall, the role of female figures in the development of tafsir in Indonesia is highly significant. They contribute to creating interpretations that are more comprehensive and relevant to women's life contexts. With the right support, it is hoped that more female figures will emerge to enrich the tafsir tradition in Indonesia.

Towards a Gender Responsive Interpretation: Weaving Justice and Equality

The discourse on gender within the realm of Quran interpretation in Indonesia has undergone significant development in recent decades. The debate surrounding the position of women in sacred texts and how to understand them in contemporary contexts remains an intriguing and relevant issue. One of the key issues in this discourse is women's leadership from the perspective of the Quran. Several studies reveal that the Quran fundamentally does not differentiate between the rights and status of men and women, including in terms of leadership (Arfa & Firmansyah, 2020). Overall, Islam guarantees the full rights of women, treating them gently and kindly, and providing avenues for emotional expression and the release of feelings, whether in their roles as mothers, wives, or daughters (Ratnasari, 2019). This aligns with the thoughts of Ahmad Syafii Maarif, who states that women, in the view of the Quran, hold an honorable position (Aminah, 2021).

However, in the historical practice of Islam, women's leadership has often been questioned and deemed contrary to Islamic teachings. Over time, efforts to understand women's status more fairly and equally have been undertaken by Muslim scholars, including through gender-responsive interpretations of the Quran (Ratnasari, 2019). Several Muslim scholars, both in Indonesia, such as Syafii Ma'arif, Nasaruddin Umar, Siti Musdah Mulia, and Faqihuddin Abdul Kodir, as well as internationally, like Amina Wadud, Syahrur, Asghar Ali Engineer, and Riffat Hassan, have made significant breakthroughs in Quranic studies from a feminist perspective. They strive to dismantle classical interpretations that are considered gender-biased and offer new approaches that uphold justice and equality between men and

women. These efforts align with the view that Quran interpretation must be able to respond to the challenges of the times and realize the universal values of Islam, including in gender relations (Hasanah & Husnan, 2022; Robikah, 2019; Arfa & Firmansyah, 2020).

Therefore, studies on women's leadership from the perspective of the Quran in Indonesia need to be further developed. This is in line with the principles of gender justice that have long been advocated, as well as efforts to create interpretations that are responsive to social and cultural changes. The discourse on women's leadership through the lens of Quranic interpretation is essential to be framed within a gender-responsive interpretative approach. It is hoped that studies on this subject can contribute to enriching the understanding of Muslims, particularly in Indonesia, regarding the Quran's views on women and their leadership (Robikah, 2019; Ratnasari, 2019).

Nonetheless, the Quran, as the most authoritative source in the Islamic tradition, has indeed established a strong foundation to affirm the role and status of women as leaders equal to men. When the Quran stipulates the rights of women and men in a balanced manner, it indicates the principle of partnership between the two (Ratnasari, 2019). Furthermore, the concept of gender relations in the Quran can also be understood as an effort to create harmony and gender justice, rather than mere equality (Hasanah & Husnan, 2022).

This view is supported by several Muslim scholars, who assert that the gender discourse in the Quran does not merely reflect equality but is more about the effort to create harmony and gender justice in line with Islamic principles (Arfa & Firmansyah, 2020). Thus, the discourse on women's leadership in the interpretation of the Quran in Indonesia can be directed towards building a gender-responsive paradigm, aimed at creating harmonious, just, and balanced relations between men and women, in accordance with the spirit and values contained in the Quran (Ratnasari, 2019; Arfa & Firmansyah, 2020).

Challenges and Strategies of Women in Contemporary Political Leadership

In recent decades, the role of women in political leadership has undergone significant changes. Although progress has been made, women still face various challenges that hinder their participation in political arenas. These challenges include gender stereotypes, lack of access to resources, and the still-strong patriarchal culture in many countries (Kasim et al., 2022). Gender stereotypes often serve as a primary barrier for women to attain leadership

positions. Many societies still hold traditional views that regard leadership as a male domain. This leads to women frequently being questioned about their capabilities and not being given equal opportunities in the decision-making process. Such stereotypes often cause women to feel less confident about entering the political sphere (Nurbaena, 2016). Therefore, it is essential to change this paradigm through ongoing educational and socialization efforts (Lestari et al., 2023; Asrida et al., 2013). The public's understanding of gender must be directed towards seeing the positions of men and women without a dichotomous approach. The roles of men and women should be viewed through a more proportional lens. Society needs to be shown that both genders have equal potential in addressing various life issues.

In addition to the challenge of gender stereotypes, the lack of access to resources also poses an obstacle for women in the political field. The resources in question include access to funding, networks, and information necessary for engaging in politics (Lestari et al., 2023). This issue is related to the often subordinate position of women in society. Without access to these resources, women find it difficult to compete with more established male candidates (Nurbaena, 2016). Thus, despite the opportunities that may be available, women still face challenges in realizing their ambitions to engage in politics.

Regarding funding, several studies indicate that financial support for female candidates is very limited (Boro & Kale, 2020). Funding is indeed one of the crucial elements needed to participate in political competition (Wahyudi, 2019). As a result, many women decide not to run for office due to financial constraints. Similarly, in terms of networking, female legislative candidates often cannot utilize community organization groups to support them in competing against male candidates. Many women lack access to expand their political networks (Boro & Kale, 2020). This situation is undoubtedly tied to their limitations in socializing and allocating time for matters outside the domestic sphere. Consequently, women often find themselves at a disadvantage compared to men and struggle to secure political positions. Additionally, women also lack sufficient information regarding political matters. This information pertains to fundamental issues within the political realm. Once again, this is due to the fact that women still experience subordination within society.

Beyond these two challenges, the strong patriarchal culture prevalent in many countries, including Indonesia, also serves as a barrier for women to participate in politics. Patriarchal culture positions men as the highest authority figures within families and

communities (Yudhanti et al., 2018). In many cases, existing social norms place women in subordinate positions, thereby limiting their ability to participate actively in politics. Although there are some initiatives aimed at increasing women's representation, such as gender quotas, their implementation often encounters various obstacles (Kasim et al., 2022).

However, women should not view these challenges as barriers; instead, they should focus on developing effective strategies to overcome them. One effective strategy is to build strong support networks among women. Through collaboration and solidarity, women can support each other in achieving leadership positions. Furthermore, education and leadership training are also crucial for equipping women with the necessary skills in politics. By strengthening their self-capacity, women can become more confident in competing and taking active roles in decision-making.

In today's digital era, social media has also become a powerful tool for women to voice their opinions, build campaigns, and reach voters. The use of digital platforms allows women to overcome existing geographical and social limitations, as well as to broaden their influence in politics. Thus, while the challenges faced by women in contemporary political leadership remain significant, the strategies adopted by women demonstrate the potential to transform the political landscape. With the right support and sustained efforts, women can play a larger role in shaping policies and decisions that affect society.

Formulating Contemporary Fiqh Siyasah Based on Gender Responsiveness

In the context of increasingly complex and diverse societal developments, it is essential to formulate contemporary political jurisprudence (fiqh siyasah) that is gender-responsive. This approach is not only relevant in the political context but also encompasses social, economic, and cultural aspects that affect the overall life of society. Gender-responsive fiqh siyasah seeks to integrate gender perspectives into every policy and political practice, thereby creating justice and equality for all parties, particularly for women who are often marginalized in decision-making processes (Yudhanti et al., 2018). In the context of Indonesia, the concepts of justice and gender equality have been accommodated in various legal instruments, such as Law Number 7 of 1984 concerning the Ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women and Law Number 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights. However, the reality on the ground shows

that disparities and discrimination against women still exist, both in the political, economic, and socio-cultural realms (Miftahuddin, 2023). This is due to the presence of gender bias in the understanding and interpretation of laws that still carry patriarchal characteristics (Hadiz, 1993; Natalis, 2020).

Therefore, there is a need for legal reform with a gender perspective through a feminist jurisprudence approach. Feminist jurisprudence is a perspective that understands law as a product of patriarchal power relations, which often leads to the use of law to perpetuate the subordination of women (Natalis, 2020). In the context of Indonesia, legal reform through a feminist jurisprudence approach can be realized through efforts such as: (1) Reflecting and considering gender equality and gender stereotypes in the interpretation and application of laws; (2) Reinterpreting laws that have been deemed gender-biased, guided by the values of justice, equality, and non-discrimination; and (3) Developing legal concepts that are more responsive to women's issues, such as laws related to domestic violence, human trafficking, and reproductive rights (Sodik, 2012).

Thus, legal reform through a feminist jurisprudence approach is expected to realize justice and gender equality in all aspects of social, national, and state life in Indonesia. In this context of feminist jurisprudence, women must be placed as subjects with equal voices and participation in the policy-making and development processes. Women should no longer be seen merely as objects but as active agents of change in advocating for their rights. This aligns with the principles of restorative justice, which also emphasizes the active participation of society, including women, in the criminal justice system (Miftahuddin, 2023).

Consequently, one important aspect in formulating contemporary *fiqh siyasah* is a deep understanding of the concept of social justice. Social justice cannot be achieved without considering the needs and aspirations of all groups in society, including women, who often experience discrimination and injustice (Natalis, 2020). In this context, gender-responsive *fiqh siyasah* must be able to serve as a tool to encourage women's participation in politics and decision-making. This can be accomplished through various means, such as developing policies that support women's involvement in politics, as well as providing adequate education and training to enhance their capacities.

Social justice within gender-responsive *fiqh siyasah* can also be realized through the recognition and respect for women's rights as an integral part of human rights (Hasanah,

2010). This is in line with the principles of democracy and constitutionalism, which guarantee equality and non-discrimination for every citizen, including women (Natalis, 2020). Thus, the aspect of social justice within contemporary fiqh siyasah cannot be separated from an understanding of the concepts of equality and gender justice. In this context, feminist jurisprudence studies become crucial for critiquing the laws that have been utilized within the fiqh siyasah framework that has developed in Indonesia. Its implementation requires a strong commitment from stakeholders, particularly policymakers, to make gender equality issues an integral part of legal and political development in Indonesia.

Furthermore, contemporary fiqh siyasah must also pay attention to global dynamics that influence gender issues (Pinilih, 2020). Globalization and the advancement of information technology have brought significant changes in how women interact and participate in political life (Fuady & Dewi, 2019). Therefore, it is important to formulate fiqh siyasah that is not only locally relevant but also capable of adapting to global changes that affect gender issues. This global mindset can enrich the legal perspective of fiqh siyasah in addressing the challenges of justice and gender equality at the international level.

Gender and globalization are indeed important issues in contemporary legal studies, including within fiqh siyasah. Gender activists must be able to translate the latest facts and regulations from the global level into local and national contexts. Thus, gender-responsive fiqh siyasah can become an effective tool for social transformation in realizing justice and equality for all citizens, regardless of gender (Siregar, 2018). Therefore, global insights related to gender issues serve as an entry point for developing contemporary fiqh siyasah. This discourse will strengthen fiqh siyasah as a foundation for advocating women's rights in politics.

However, the challenges faced in formulating gender-responsive fiqh siyasah cannot be overlooked. Societies still heavily influenced by patriarchal norms often resist changes that lead to gender equality (Nurdin, 2022). They perceive gender issues as matters brought from the West and incompatible with local values and Indonesian culture. Therefore, collaborative efforts between the government, civil society, and various stakeholders are needed to create an environment that supports and educates society about the importance of gender equality. Socialization programs and public campaigns can be effective strategies for changing societal views on women's roles in politics (Hasyim & Makruf, 2022).

Additionally, further research is necessary to explore various models of gender-responsive fiqh siyasah in different countries and contexts. By studying the successes and challenges faced in other countries, we can develop more effective and adaptive approaches for local contexts. This research can also provide new insights into how fiqh siyasah can contribute to advocating for women's rights and creating a more just and equitable society. In conclusion, formulating contemporary gender-responsive fiqh siyasah is imperative in addressing the challenges and dynamics of today's society. By integrating gender perspectives into every aspect of politics, we not only contribute to social justice but also create a more inclusive and sustainable society. This effort requires a collective commitment from all parties to realize the desired change and ensure that women's voices are heard and valued in every decision-making process.

CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that the interpretation of contemporary political jurisprudence (fiqh siyasah) plays a crucial role in shaping societal views on female leadership. Through an analysis of religious texts and the thoughts of scholars, the author identifies opportunities for interpretations that better accommodate the role of women in leadership. This implies that positioning women within the political sphere requires serious efforts to reinterpret the understanding of leadership concepts in Islam. By adopting a more inclusive interpretation and developing contemporary fiqh siyasah, the status of women can be elevated in the political realm, taking into account the social and cultural contexts as well as the pluralistic realities of Indonesian society. Therefore, the interpretation and construction of fiqh siyasah must be directed to accommodate women's involvement in various fields. To realize this, a solid understanding among the public regarding the concepts of social justice, gender equality, and the mastery of gender discourse and globalization is essential.

Social justice should be understood as an effort to achieve equality for all citizens without discrimination based on background, including gender. This involves striving to treat all citizens fairly and equally, regardless of differences such as gender, ethnicity, race, religion, and social status. Meanwhile, gender equality refers to equal conditions for both men and women to access opportunities and rights as human beings, enabling them to participate in political, legal, economic, socio-cultural, national defense, and security activities, as well as to

enjoy life equally in Indonesia. It is also important to understand the discourse on gender and globalization, which often serves as a foundation for the struggles of feminist groups both in Indonesia and internationally. The discourse on gender and globalization has introduced new understandings of leadership and women's political participation. In the tradition of Islamic politics, leadership is understood as the result of an *ijtihad* process based on Islamic values such as consultation, justice, and consideration of the public good, rather than merely the interpretation of religious texts. Islam also emphasizes that leadership is not measured by gender but by the aspects of piety and an individual's capabilities.

.

REFERENCE

- Al-Qaradawi, Y. (2016). *Fiqh Siyasa: Hukum Islam dalam Politik dan Pemerintahan*. Jakarta: Pustaka Al-Kautsar
- Amalia, S., Suyanto, S., & Hendro, E P. (2019, December 4). Tiga Perempuan Pengusaha Batik: Kajian Peran Sosial Ekonomi Perempuan Pengusaha Batik di Kampung Batik Bubakan, Kelurahan Rejomulyo Semarang. *Diponegoro University*, 3(1), 44-44. <https://doi.org/10.14710/endogami.3.1.44-52>
- Aminah, A. (2021, December 22). Islam dan Negosiasi Gender: Studi Pemikiran Ahmad Syafii Maarif Tentang Hak Perempuan. , 16(2), 294-305. <https://doi.org/10.47651/mrf.v16i2.150>
- Ananda, S A W., Zayyan, W A., & Arifin, I. (2021, November 16). PANDANGAN ISLAM TENTANG WANITA KARIR DAN IBU RUMAH TANGGA DALAM BINGKAI KELUARGA DAN MASYARAKAT. *Muhammadiyah University Press*, 22(2), 347-356. <https://doi.org/10.23917/profetika.v22i2.16700>
- Anwar, N F. (2023, June 1). Kriteria Pemimpin dalam Al-Qur'an (Analisis Tafsir as Sya'rawi dalam Surah as Saff ayat 2-3 dan Surah Al Baqarah ayat 124 dalam Kitab Tafsir as Sya'rawi). , 3(3), 554-563. <https://doi.org/10.58578/anwarul.v3i3.1181>
- Arfa, F A., & Firmansyah, H. (2020, July 30). Gender Relation Concept: Perspective of Al-Qur'an. *Institut Agama Islam Negeri Kendari*, 20(01), 11-30. <https://doi.org/10.32939/islamika.v20i01.503>
- Asmarani, R. (2017, July 19). PEREMPUAN DALAM PERSPEKTIF KEBUDAYAAN. , 12(1), 7-7. <https://doi.org/10.14710/sabda.v12i1.15249>
- Asrida, W., Wazni, W., & Dewi, C P. (2013, October 23). Gerakan Politik Perempuan Partai Golkar Kota Pekanbaru Periode 2004 – 2009 Dalam Memperjuangkan Kepentingan Perempuan. , 11(1), 28-28. <https://doi.org/10.35967/jipn.v11i1.1611>

- Boro, V I A., & Kale, A E T. (2020, April 29). Keterwakilan Perempuan di Ranah Lokal: Studi Kasus di Kecamatan Boawae, Nusa Tenggara Timur dalam Pemilu Legislatif 2014. , 11(1), 115-130. <https://doi.org/10.14710/politika.11.1.2020.115-130>
- Botifar, M., & Friantary, H. (2021, January 31). Refleksi Ketidakadilan Gender dalam Novel Perempuan Berkalung Sorban: Perspektif Gender dan Feminisme. , 3(1), 45-45. <https://doi.org/10.29300/disastra.v3i1.3559>
- Cikka, H. (2020, January 14). KESETARAAN HAK DALAM PENDIDIKAN (STUDI PADA SEJARAH PERJUANGAN RAHMAH ELYUNUSIYAH DALAM MEMPERJUANGKAN HAK-HAK WANITA DALAM PENDIDIKAN). , 11(2), 222-252. <https://doi.org/10.24239/msw.v11i2.474>
- Faris, N A., & Abbott, N. (1943, July 1). Aishah: The Beloved of Mohammed. Oxford University Press, 48(4), 761-761. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1840498>
- Fuady, A., & Dewi, K H. (2019, January 1). How Did Women Workers Get Benefit From Revolution 4.0?. <https://doi.org/10.2991/icdesa-19.2019.24>
- Gusmian, I. (2015, December 29). TAFSIR AL-QUR'AN DI INDONESIA: SEJARAH DAN DINAMIKA. , 1(1). <https://doi.org/10.32495/nun.v1i1.8>
- Hadiz, L. (1993, March 1). IDEOLOGI GENDER DI BALIK DEFINISI LEGAL-FORMAL: Analisis Sosioiologis Terhadap Definisi Perkosaan di Dalam Hukum. Badan Penerbit FHUI, 23(1), 43-43. <https://doi.org/10.21143/jhp.vol23.no1.643>
- Hamid, R A. (2022, January 14). Pemaknaan Kembali Konsep Wanita di Era Modern (Studi Atas Gagasan Kaum Feminisme dan Fundamentalisme). Universitas Pahlawan Tuanku Tambusai, 4(1), 1157-1169. <https://doi.org/10.31004/edukatif.v4i1.2072>
- Hariyanti, H., Darmawan, C., & Masyitoh, I S. (2018, May 31). Peran partai politik dalam meningkatkan partisipasi politik kader perempuan melalui pendidikan politik. State University of Yogyakarta, 15(1), 74-85. <https://doi.org/10.21831/jc.v15i1.17659>
- Hasanah, S A., & Husnan, L H. (2022, December 19). KESETARAAN DAN KESERASIAN GENDER DALAM AL-QURAN. , 23(2), 195-223. <https://doi.org/10.19109/jia.v23i2.15074>
- Hasanah, U. (2010, December 3). PEREMPUAN DAN HAK ASASI MANUSIA DALAM PERSPEKTIF HUKUM ISLAM. Badan Penerbit FHUI, 40(4), 440-440. <https://doi.org/10.21143/jhp.vol40.no4.235>
- Hasyim, F., & Makruf, S A. (2022, January 31). PEMBERDAYAAN PEREMPUAN MELALUI GERAKAN LITERASI DI ERA DIGITAL. , 2(1), 46-52. <https://doi.org/10.51771/jukeshum.v2i1.175>
- Heriyanti, L., Nailis, S., & Andreyanto, N. (2020, December 28). Membaca Perempuan Di Titik Nol: Perspektif Feminisme Eksistensialisme. , 1(2), 31-39. <https://doi.org/10.22146/jwk.1027>
- Idrus, N I. (2014, August 6). Antropologi Feminis: Etnografi, Relasi Gender dan Relativisme Budaya di Indonesia. , 30(3). <https://doi.org/10.7454/ai.v30i3.3568>

- Kasdi, A. (2019, December 26). Reconstruction of Fiqh Nusantara: Developing the Ijtihad Methodology in Formulating Fiqh from Indonesian Perspective. *P3M STAIN Kudus*, 7(2), 239-239. <https://doi.org/10.21043/qjjs.v7i2.4797>
- Kasim, S S., Moita, S., Bahtiar, B., Wang, L., & Masrul, M. (2022, April 22). POTRET KETERWAKILAN POLITIK PEREMPUAN DIPARLEMEN DAN FAKTOR-FAKTOR PENGHAMBATNYA. , 7(2), 78-78. <https://doi.org/10.52423/jns.v7i2.24539>
- Kistanto, N H. (2008, October 1). SISTEM SOSIAL-BUDAYA DI INDONESIA. , 3(2). <https://doi.org/10.14710/sabda.v3i2.13221>
- Larassati, M A. (2020, July 10). PENDEKATAN INKLUSIF DALAM PENDIDIKAN AGAMA ISLAM. , 2(1), 64-67. <https://doi.org/10.36761/kagangakomunika.v2i1.628>
- Lestari, L., Fathani, A T., & Damin, Z A. (2023, June 18). Preparation for Indonesian Election 2024: Women's Participation in Political Contest. , 8(2). <https://doi.org/10.31506/jog.v8i2.19045>
- Miftahuddin, M. (2023, February 12). PERAN MASYARAKAT DALAM PENEGAKAN KEADILAN RESTORATIF DI INDONESIA: PERSPEKTIF SOSIOLOGI HUKUM (The Role of Society in Upholding Restorative Justice in Indonesia: Perspectives of Legal Sociology). , 8(1). <https://doi.org/10.56783/jwu.v8i1.7>
- Muhtadi, A. (2021). Kepemimpinan Perempuan dalam Perspektif Fiqh Siyasah. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Humaniora*, 12(2), 85-100.
- Mussaif, M M. (2017, May 30). Kesetaraan Gender dalam Sastra Pesantren (Kajian terhadap Kitab Syi'ir Laki Rabi). , 12(2), 80-80. <https://doi.org/10.14710/nusa.12.2.80-89>
- Muthahhari, M. (2018). Tafsir Inklusif: Perempuan dalam Perspektif Islam. Yogyakarta: LKiS.
- Natalis, A. (2020, May 26). REFORMASI HUKUM DALAM RANGKA MEWUJUDKAN KEADILAN BAGI PEREMPUAN: TELAHAH FEMINIST JURISPRUDENCE. , 2(1), 11-23. <https://doi.org/10.14710/crepido.2.1.11-23>
- Nur, M. (2021, October 15). Justice in Islamic Criminal Law: Study of the Concept and Meaning of Justice in The Law of Qiṣāṣ. , 55(2), 335-335. <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajish.v55i2.1011>
- Nurbaena, W O W. (2016, March 1). Partisipasi Politik Perempuan Kota Baubau Dalam Pemilu Legislatif 2014 (Studi Di Kecamatan Murhum Kota Baubau). , 1(1), 26-34. <https://doi.org/10.35326/kybernan.v1i1.162>
- Nurdin, N. (2022, March 30). Implementing Gender Mainstreaming in Indonesian Local Government: The Case of Tangerang Regency. *Brawijaya University*, 8(1), 31-56. <https://doi.org/10.21776/ub.transformative.2022.008.01.2>
- Nurmila, N. (2021, June 11). The Spread of Muslim Feminist Ideas in Indonesia: Before and After the Digital Era. *Sunan Kalijaga Islamic University*, 59(1), 97-126. <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2021.591.97-126>

- Nursangadah, A., Kozain, M Y N., & Afrizal, D. (2021, December 16). kepemimpinan pendidikan islam dalam perspektif gender. , 8(2), 6-13.
<https://doi.org/10.36987/jes.v8i2.2234>
- Pinilih, S A G. (2020, May 10). Gender Specificity in Democratic Elections: International Implementability as an Exemplary for Indonesian Political Landscape. Richtmann Publishing, 9(3), 194-194. <https://doi.org/10.36941/ajis-2020-0055>
- Purnomo, M H. (2018, December 1). Persepsi Seks Dua Wanita Beda Budaya: Perbandingan dalam “Pengkakuan Pariyem” dan “Malam Yang Keramat”. Diponegoro University, 2(1), 102-102.
<https://doi.org/10.14710/endogami.2.1.102-110>
- Rahim, N A B., & Ibrahim, J. (2018, July 1). Maqasid al-Shari'ah as Ethical Theory for Consultants. <https://doi.org/10.1109/ict4m.2018.00025>
- Rahman, H S., & Mas'ud, F. (2022, March 29). PENGARUH KEPEMIMPINAN ISLAM, BUDAYA ORGANISASI ISLAM TERHADAP KINERJA PERAWAT DENGAN MOTIVASI KERJA ISLAM SEBAGAI VARIABEL INTERVENING (STUDI PADA RUMAH SAKIT ISLAM MUHAMMADIYAH KABUPATEN KENDAL). , 8(1), 976-976.
<https://doi.org/10.29040/jiei.v8i1.4723>
- Rahmawati, L. (2020). Pendidikan dan Pemahaman Tafsir untuk Pemberdayaan Perempuan. *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, 8(2), 95-110.
- Rahmawati, R. (2020). Perempuan dan Tafsir Progresif: Mendorong Partisipasi dalam Kepemimpinan. *Jurnal Studi Gender*, 10(1), 22-35.
- Ratnasari, D. (2019, January 16). GENDER DALAM PERSPEKTIF ALQUR'AN. Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta, 18(1), 1-15.
<https://doi.org/10.21831/hum.v18i1.23125>
- Riyadi, A., Saerozi, S., & Savitri, F M. (2021, June 24). Women and the Da'wah Movement: Historical Analysis of the Khadijah RA's Role in the Time of Rasulullah Saw. *Sunan Gunung Djati State Islamic University Bandung*, 15(1), 43-62.
<https://doi.org/10.15575/idajhs.v15i1.9346>
- Robikah, S. (2019, June 30). Pergeseran Paradigma Tafsir Al-Quran: Analisis Terhadap Tafsir Feminis di Indonesia. *Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Intan Lampung*, 19(1), 105-
- Siahaan, F M M. (2009, July 1). Intrapersonal, Interpersonal, and Cultural Factors Supporting Leadership Effectiveness of Women Entrepreneurs fr. *University of Indonesia*, 13(1), 19-19. <https://doi.org/10.7454/mssh.v13i1.200>
- Sile, A C M., Suwena, I W., & Arjani, N L. (2020, May 28). Relasi Gender dalam Sistem Kekerabatan Matrilineal. *Udayana University*, 24(2), 177-177.
<https://doi.org/10.24843/jh.2020.v24.i02.p09>

- Siregar, A S. (2018, December 31). Para-fiqh: Bridging Thematic Fiqh to Ushūl and Ushūl's Response to Specialization of Fiqh. *STAIN Sultan Sulaiman*, 89-118.
<https://doi.org/10.21093/mj.v17i2.1192>
- Sitanggang, M N. (2020, August 30). Peran Perempuan dalam Keluarga Petani Pegunungan Tenggara. , 3(1), 1-1. <https://doi.org/10.24198/umbara.v3i1.25576>
- Sodik, M. (2012, July 29). KESETARAAN GENDER SEBAGAI PEMENUHAN KONSTITUSI. *Pusat Layanan Difabel*, 11(2), 167-167.
<https://doi.org/10.14421/musawa.2012.112.167-180>
- Susiatiningsih, H., Setiyono, B., Puspapertiwi, S., Saputra, J., & Afrizal, T. (2021, April 15). A Study of Good Governance Innovation of Javanese Leadership in Indonesia. , 17, 342-350. <https://doi.org/10.37394/232015.2021.17.34>
- Suyanto, S. (2019, August 5). Sosok Perempuan dalam Pandangan Bung Karno pada Memoar Sarinah: Sebuah Analisis Wacana Kritis Feminis. , 14(3), 283-283.
<https://doi.org/10.14710/nusa.14.3.283-292>
- Wahyudi, V. (2019, April 10). Peran Politik Perempuan dalam Perspektif Gender. , 1(1), 63-83. <https://doi.org/10.20414/politea.v1i1.813>
- White, S., Warburton, E., Pramashavira., Hendrawan, A., & Aspinall, E. (2023, December 22). *Voting against Women: Political Patriarchy, Islam, and Representation in Indonesia*. Cambridge University Press, 1-31.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/s1743923x23000648>
- Winarto, W. (2017, May 1). Term-Term Keadilan dalam Perspektif Al-Qur'an. , 3(01), 1-14.
<https://doi.org/10.32699/syariati.v3i01.1138>
- Wulandari, L. (2022). Organisasi Perempuan dan Pemberdayaan dalam Kepemimpinan. *Jurnal Pemberdayaan Masyarakat*, 5(2), 75-89.
- Yudhanti, R., Sulistiyono, A., & Isharyanto. (2018, January 1). Legal Politic of Gender Responsive Election System (A Concept). *EDP Sciences*, 54, 02010-02010.
<https://doi.org/10.1051/shsconf/20185402010>
- Zahro, F. (2018, August 1). PEREMPUAN DALAM TRADISI SPIRITUALITAS ISLAM LOKAL. , 6(01). <https://doi.org/10.21274/kontem.2018.6.01.21-36>