



GENDER EQUALITY IN THE PARTAI KEBANGKITAN BANGSA (PKB) AS A POLITICAL WING NAHDHATUL ULAMA (NU): PERSPECTIVE ON THE ISLAMIC POLITICAL LAW

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Abstrak

Sikap individu dan partai politik seringkali mencerminkan dominasi laki-laki dan nilai-nilai patriarki, sehingga meminggirkan akses perempuan terhadap sumber daya dan keterwakilan. Untuk mengatasi rendahnya kehadiran perempuan di parlemen, kebijakan tindakan afirmatif dalam pemilihan kandidat sangatlah penting. Meskipun faktor sosial dan agama membentuk kecenderungan partai terhadap kandidat perempuan, perempuan terkadang hanya dilihat sebagai alat politik untuk memperoleh suara. Pendekatan PKB terhadap kesetaraan gender melibatkan terbatasnya keterwakilan perempuan dalam kepemimpinan partai, sehingga menghambat kemajuan di bidang ini. NU yang menaungi PKB mendorong keterlibatan aktif perempuan namun juga memperlakukan mereka untuk kepentingan politik. Dalam Hukum politik Islam, Islam mengizinkan partisipasi perempuan dalam politik, tetapi penerapan praktisnya bervariasi di berbagai komunitas Muslim. Perempuan dalam politik pada prinsipnya didukung oleh ajaran Islam, namun faktor sosial, budaya, dan politik memengaruhi peran dan peluang mereka. Sementara itu, Partai massa PKB-NU mengutamakan perluasan keanggotaan tanpa mempertimbangkan kualifikasi anggota, sehingga menimbulkan tantangan komunikasi dengan masyarakat, termasuk dalam merekrut politisi perempuan. Mendobrak norma-norma patriarki dalam politik dan mendorong kesetaraan peran kepemimpinan bagi perempuan merupakan hal yang penting dalam menciptakan lanskap politik yang lebih inklusif dan representatif.

Kata Kunci: Kesetaraan Gender; NU; PKB.

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A. Introduction

Gender is a social and cultural construct that shapes the roles and responsibilities of men and women based on societal beliefs. It is not inherently tied to biology, but rather influenced by societal norms dictating how each gender should behave.¹ Gender equality is a significant aspect in Islamic history. Women expressed their concerns to the Prophet Muhammad, leading to Quranic verses emphasizing their importance in society. This highlights the need for women's involvement, gender role balance, and acknowledgment of women's rights by Allah.²

In line with this, in political democracy, humans govern themselves on the basis of freedom and equality, without distinguishing between individuals in terms of origin, gender, language, nation or religion.³ Various jobs, professions and skills that fulfill and support the continuity of life in the world are *fardhu kifayah* which are the land of jihad for Muslims. ⁴Likewise, community

¹ Mustanul Sania Huda, Bambang Santoso Haryono, Suwondo, "Implementation Of Law Number 8 Of 2012 (Study of Women's Representation in Politics in Magetan Regency) ," *Journal of Public Administration (JAP)*, (Brawijaya University, Malang,), Vol. 2, no. 2, p. 322.

² One time Umm Salamah, one of the wives of the Prophet Muhammad, was in her room accompanied by Khadimah who was combing her hair. Yes, *ayyuha an-naas* ! Suddenly the Messenger of Allah heard. called on the community to gather at the mosque. Umm Salamah got up, but her khadimah said that the Apostle's call was directed at men. Then Umm Salamah answered, *Inni min an-naas* (I am a member of this human race). See Asep Dudi S, "Basic Rights of Women in an Islamic Gender Perspective (A Perspective for the Paradigmatic Foundation of Education)", *Al-Misbah* , Vol. XIX, No. 3 July – September (2003), p. 286.

³ Hartono Ahmad Jaiz, *Heretical Religions and Beliefs in Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Pustaka Al-Kautsar, 2004), p. 307.

⁴ This obligation is in accordance with the obligation of every citizen to serve the country. Republic of Indonesia Law number 3 of 2002 concerning National Defense Article 9 Paragraph (2): Citizen participation in state defense efforts as stated in paragraph (1), is carried out through; a) Citizenship Education; b) Compulsory basic military training; c) Service as a Soldier in the Indonesian National Army voluntarily or compulsorily; d) Devotion in accordance with the profession. See Tim Bahtsul Masail

involvement in various public policies will synergistically encourage the birth of good governance and clean government which is characterized by management efficiency, accountability, availability of legal infrastructure, as well as the existence of an information system that guarantees access . the public to information containing government policies. All these characteristics are born from democratic principles.⁵ Four things related to women's issues in Islam are often highlighted are (1) the status of women, (2) the role of women, (3) women's participation and their rights, and (4) clothing and headscarves.⁶ The general rules of social and political life basically involve men and women.⁷

Two key places for women's political aspirations are political parties and community organizations, with parties playing a crucial role in promoting gender equality through internal policies for female members' development and recruitment fairness.⁸ To achieve political goals, a group must organize to set priorities, mobilize power, regulate member relationships, delegate tasks, direct potential, and develop programs for success.⁹ Historically in Indonesia, women's political roles were a result of repressive policies under the New Order regime, leading to an apolitical society. Adequate support is crucial as

HIMASAL, *National Fiqh 3 Jihad and Non-Muslim Citizenship in Nation States*, (Kediri: Lirboyo Press, 2020), p. 89.

⁵ Tamsil Linrung, *Politics for Humanity, New Mainstream Indonesian Political Movement*, (South Tangerang: PT. Tali Writing & Publishing House, 2014), p. 52.

⁶ Asep Dudi S, "Basic Rights of Women in an Islamic Gender Perspective (A Perspective for the Paradigmatic Foundation of Education)", *Al-Misbah* : Vol. XIX, No. 3 July – September (2003), p. 283-284.

⁷ QS. At-Taubah [9] :7, See QS. Al-Mumtahanah [60] :12. It is also reported that Abd. Rahman bin Auf once asked the opinions of several women before he recommended Uthman bin Affan as caliph. See Asep Dudi S, "Basic Rights of Women in an Islamic Gender Perspective (A Perspective for the Paradigmatic Foundation of Education)", *Al-Misbah* : Vol. XIX, No. 3 July – September (2003), p. 286.

⁸ Al Rafni, "Gender Equality in Politics", *Kafa'ah: Journal of Gender Studies*, V. 03, No. 02, 12 December, (2013), p. 145.

⁹ Muhammad Amahzun, *Manhaj Da'wah Rasulullah*, (Jakarta: Qisthi Press, 2004), p. 164.

responsibilities increase in the political sphere. Muslim women's political activities need planning, continuity, and direction to achieve set targets without losing their context.¹⁰ Various laws like the 1945 Constitution Article 27 and Laws no. 12/2003, no. 2/2008, and no. 10/2008 support women's political participation.

In the context of gender affirmation and women's representation in Islamic parties, there are quite complex challenges and opportunities. Although Islam in principle supports women's participation in politics, the reality is that religious norms are often combined with a strong patriarchal culture, so women's representation is still far from ideal. Many Islamic parties, including the NU-based PKB, tend to face a gap between religious norms, political culture and social reality. Religious norms that support justice and equality have not been fully implemented in practice, as the dominating patriarchal culture and social norms prevent women from gaining strategic positions in political leadership. This can be seen from the existence of women who play more roles as political tools in gathering votes than as the main actors in decision-making. Through various affirmative programmes and policies, such as the 30% quota for women in the legislature, Islamic political parties are trying to close the gap, but cultural challenges and social norms are still the main obstacles. Therefore, it is important for Islamic parties to be more active in instilling gender norms based on Islamic teachings that are fair and equal, while at the same time eroding the patriarchal culture that hinders women's representation. This effort must be supported by education and strengthening the capacity of women so that they are not only objects, but also the main actors in the political process, thus creating a more substantive and meaningful representation of women.

This research is descriptive-qualitative research, because this research is considered capable of analyzing social reality in detail. Qualitative methods can be used to study, reveal, describe or explain something as it is. Both in the form of words and language and aims to

¹⁰ Amatullah Syafiyah and Haryati Soeripno, *Political Action of Muslim Women; Concept and Implementation*, p. 4-5.

understand phenomena and findings found or occurring in the field based on existing evidence or social facts, for example perception, behavior, motivation and so on. As in the qualitative research methods book by Badgan and Taylor, qualitative research is defined as a research procedure that produces descriptive data in the form of written words from the actors being observed.

The reason researchers use this method is because there are many considerations, namely: 1. Qualitative methods are younger when dealing with multiple realities. 2. This method presents directly the nature of the relationship between researchers and respondents. 3. The method is more sensitive and can adapt to the many sharpening influences together and to the patterns encountered.

Apart from that, we also chose this qualitative method because the data found were not numerical in nature, this research was in the nature of statements which needed to be analyzed again in order to get the desired results.

The qualitative approach is very appropriate for studying social issues such as gender and politics because it is able to explore the meaning, perceptions, experiences, and dynamics that occur in the field in depth. Through this approach, researchers can understand how religious norms, culture, and social reality interact and influence women's representation in Islamic political parties such as PKB and NU. The qualitative approach allows researchers to highlight complex and diverse social contexts, as well as gain a more thorough insight into the factors that shape the behavioural patterns and perceptions of gender-related political actors.

For data collection, the methods used include in-depth interviews and detailed document analysis. Interviews were conducted with key informants such as party leaders, NU women activists, and community leaders related to gender and political issues. These interviews aimed to obtain first-hand perspectives on internal party policies, women's experiences in politics, and their views on religious and cultural norms that influence women's involvement. In addition, document analysis was conducted on various archives, such as the party's articles of association and bylaws, activity reports of NU and Fatayat NU women's

organisations, as well as policy documents and other official publications. This document analysis helps reveal formal policies, written norms, and historical contexts that influence the practice of gender politics within Islamic parties. With a combination of interviews and document analysis, the research was able to present a comprehensive picture of gender-related social and political dynamics within the prevailing cultural and religious framework.

B. Result and Discussion

1. Da'wah Conceptual Frame

a. Political culture and mass consensus in Islam

Western scientists recognize that politics is something inherent in Islam and Muslim life.¹¹ This is proven by the success of Muhammad in leading Islamic civilization in Medina.¹² Through the presence of the Medina Charter which consists of 47 articles which signifies the establishment of a pluralistic state and shows that the prophet did not establish a religious state.¹³ Democracy is a system that was originally born in the West. Although in practice the Prophet and his companions actually practiced democracy during their leadership, such as applying the concept of deliberation and acting fairly. For this reason, in the Qur'an there are many verses mentioned in the Qur'an which essentially explain democracy, including the following: ¹⁴1) QS Ali Imraan: 159 ¹⁵; 2) Q.S. Ash-Syuura:

¹¹ M. Dhiauddin Rais, *Islamic Political Theory* (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 2001), Cet. 1st, p. 5.

¹² Muhammad Amahzun, *Manhaj Da'wah Rasulullah*, (Jakarta: Qisthi Press, 2004), p. 331.

¹³ Hamzah Khaeriyah, "Da'wah in a Political Frame", *Tasamuh*, Vol. 10, no. 1, April (2018), p. 59.

¹⁴ <https://akurat.co/ayat-ayat-al-quran-tangan-democracy>, accessed 15 December 2021.

¹⁵ Tafsir Al-Wajiz / Wahbah az-Zuhaili, jurisprudence and tafsir expert of the Syrian state 159 O Messenger, indeed the ease and spaciousness in interacting with your people is nothing other than the grace of God implanted in your heart. So that you act gently towards them in spreading

38¹⁶; 3) QS An-Nahl: 125¹⁷. These are the verses which essentially provide lessons for democracy. Of course, the democracy that the Qur'an desires is a democracy that prioritizes deliberation and the principles of justice.

In democracy, power is shared among branches, like in Islam. Legislative power is crucial, held collectively by the people, separate from religious or state leaders.¹⁸ Selecting a leader is crucial in achieving consensus for Islamic da'wah goals. Upholding communication ethics aligned with religious values is essential. In Indonesia, consensus is key for change, incorporating societal forces

the religion. If you are hard-hearted and rude or bad-tempered, hard-hearted, they will certainly stay away from you. Therefore, forgive them, ask for forgiveness for them, and consult with them in matters of religion and the world about everything that does not contradict the Sharia or that has not been revealed in revelation. Then when you have made up your mind after deliberation, then trust by leaving all matters to God. Indeed, Allah loves those who trust and entrust their affairs to Him. Tawakkal is leaving all affairs to God. Reference: <https://tafsirweb.com/1291-surat-ali-imran-ayat-159.html>, accessed on December 15, 2021.

¹⁶ Interpretation of the Indonesian Ministry of Religion. This verse explains that those who welcome God's call to His religion such as purifying and purifying His Essence from worshipping other than Him, perform obligatory prayers at their perfect time to cleanse their hearts from false beliefs and stay away from evil deeds, both visible and invisible, always consult to determine the attitude in facing strange and important things, all of them will get eternal pleasure in the afterlife. See <https://risalahmuslim.id/quran/asy-shyuura/42-38/>, accessed on December 15, 2021.

¹⁷ Tafsir Al-Muyassar / Ministry of Religion Saudi Arabia. Call (O Messenger) by you and those who follow you to the religion of your god and His straight path in the wise way that God has revealed to you in the Qur'an and the Sunnah. And speak to people in a way that suits them and advise them well that will encourage them to love the good and keep them away from the bad. And debate them in the best way of debate, delicately and meekly. because there is no obligation on you other than to convey, and indeed you have conveyed, as for guidance for them is up to God alone. He knows best who is lost from His path and He knows best those who will get guidance. Reference: <https://tafsirweb.com/4473-surat-an-nahl-ayat-125.html>, accessed on December 15, 2021.

¹⁸ M. Dhiauddin Rais, *Islamic Political Theory*, p. 307-308.

and public opinion in development plans ensures sustainable progress.¹⁹

In political communication ethics within Islam, tabligh (preaching) differs from propaganda and agitation in communication.²⁰ Da'wah is an important task sent by Allah, with thousands of prophets preaching, reciting verses, awakening souls, guiding from darkness to light as Al-Jumuah's letter [62]: 2 states.²¹ In the management of da'wah three elements are needed, namely, 1) Islamic da'wah has a specific goal, namely spreading monotheism, worship of Allah and purifying humans from polytheism; 2) have people who carry out those goals; 3) the existence of a leader in that goal.²²

b. Organized and Unorganized Public Opinion in Islam

In the study of communication science, it is known who the source of information (*source, sender*), message (*message*), channel (*channel*), recipient (*receiver*), and effect (*effect*). If we try to apply these concepts in Islamic studies, we will see something that is relevant,

¹⁹ Andi Faisal Bakti, *Communication and Family Planning in Islam in Indonesia: South Sulawesi Muslim Perceptions of a Global Development Program*, (Jakarta: INIS, 2004), p. 18.

²⁰ Herman Khaeron, *Political Ethics of a Clean, Smart, Polite Political Paradigm Based on Islamic Values*, (Bandung: Nuansa Scholar, 2013), p. 294.

²¹ He is the one who sent to the illiterate people) namely the Arabs; The pronunciation of ummiy means a person who cannot write and read the book (a messenger among them), namely the Prophet Muhammad peace be upon him. (Who recites to them His verses) namely the Qur'an (purifies them) cleanses them from polytheism (and teaches them the Book) of the Qur'an (and wisdom) namely the laws contained in it, or hadith. (And verily) the pronunciation of in here is the takhfif form of inna, while the name is not mentioned in full; and verily (they were before) before the coming of Prophet Muhammad peace be upon him. (Really in real error) means that he is clearly astray. Tafsir Jalalayn, <https://tafsirq.com/62-al-jumuah/ayat-2#tafsir-jalalayn> accessed on November 19, 2021.

²² Muhammad Amahzun, *Manhaj Da'wah Rasulullah*, (Jakarta: Qisthi Press, 2004), p. 171.

commensurate and in line with Islamic concepts.²³ Communicating politics without concrete political action has actually been done by anyone: students, lecturers, motorbike taxi drivers, shopkeepers, and so on. It is not surprising that some people call Political Communication a neologism, namely a science that is actually nothing more than a mere term. Likewise, political da'wah communication is not too different from the political communication process in general.²⁴ In the case of making a statement to the public, the steps that should be taken first are: (1) weighing it against sharia standards; (2) consider the impact on the public whether it causes negative impacts (mafsadah) or not; (3) ask your heart whether it is accepted by reason or not; (4) if it is acceptable then it is conveyed and if not then it may only be conveyed to certain groups.²⁵

Political behavior and activities influence public opinion formation. Public opinion arises through political communication, where opinions can transition into a collective public view. The media plays a crucial role, shaping political statements and facilitating communication between politicians and the public.²⁶

²³ Andi Faisal Bakti, *Globalization: Smart Da'wah in the Era of Globalization between Challenges and Hope*, Material for a One Day National Seminar on: Globalization: Between Challenges and Hope for Future Da'wah, at the Faculty of Da'wah, IAIN Raden Fatah, Palembang, March 8 2005.

²⁴ Suharto, "Urgence of Political Communication of Dakwah", *Tabligh: Journal of Dakwah*, (Palu: STAIN Datukarama Palu), Vol. 14, no. 1, June (2013), p. 25-34.

²⁵ Bahtsul Masail HIMASAL Team, *National Fiqh 1 Knitting Togetherness amidst Diversity*, p. 88.

²⁶ The impact of political communication on people's involvement and behavior in politics is related to facts about opinion leaders. This is seen from the perspective of how political communication carried out by opinion leaders can have an impact on community involvement and behavior in the context of forming public opinion. See Raden Mas Jerry Indrawan, "The Impact of Political Communication and Public Opinion on Community Behavior", Faculty of Social & Political Sciences - UPN Veteran Jakarta, Print

Political methods that ignore morals can lead to negative outcomes like lust or contradictions. Parties sticking to morality and political ethics educate people and promote healthy democratic life. Hasan Al-Banna believes Islam opposes parties because they lead to criticism, division, and conflict, contradicting Islamic teachings.²⁷ This was opposed by Yusuf Qaradawi, according to him the *ijtihad* from Imam Hasan Al-Banna proved his mistake, and what is true is that there must be multi-party government. Postulates the diversity and differences that Allah created in the world, in Surah Al-Hujurat verse 13, Ar-Rum verse 22, Yunus verse 99 and Hud verse 119.²⁸

Meanwhile, according to Islamic law, the aim of politics is to carry out *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* in the political field. ²⁹It can be found in Ali Imron's letter verse 110, and At-taubah verse 112. Political movements must be in harmony and based on the four principles of government stipulated in the Al-Qur'an, namely, 1) Principle of Trust; 2) Principle of Justice; 3) Principles of Discipline; 4) Principle of Deliberation.³⁰

The existence of a political party in a government is tasked with controlling the policies issued by the

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²⁷ Al Banna's statement that strengthens this is that the sharp differences, divisions and hostility that spread among Egyptian parties at that time were not differences in ideology, but differences caused by wealth and individuals. See Yusuf Alqaradawi, *Political Tarbiyah Hasan Al Banna Reference to Da'wah Movements in the Political Arena*, Translator: Muhammad Lilik Nur Aulia, (Tangerang: Ihsan Media, 2018, 1st Cet.), p. 118-120.

²⁸ Yusuf Alqaradawi, *Political Tarbiyah Hasan Al Banna References to Da'wah Movements in the Political Arena*, p. 121-122.

²⁹ The purpose of *nahi munkar* is to try to eliminate evil in accordance with sharia procedures, which in the Indonesian context of course must go through constitutional channels so as not to open the door to greater slander. See Bahtsul Masail Himasal Team, *National Fiqh 1 Knitting Togetherness amidst Diversity*, (Kediri : Lirboyo Press, 2020), p. 44.

³⁰ Hartono Ahmad Jaiz, *Heretical Religions and Beliefs in Indonesia*, h. 305-306.

government or authorities, either as a group or individually, so the existence of this political party can be punished as fardhu kifayah. The argument regarding the obligation to have a political party is the word of Allah in Surah Ali Imran verse 104.³¹ Political parties are a way to elect a state leader. In practical life, there is a phenomenon of separation between religion on the one hand and political life on the other. The scientific and religious capacity of the leaders is not sufficient, so they feel that they do not need to get advice from the ulama and fuqaha.³² Meanwhile, one of his main duties as leader of a government is to go directly into dealing with various problems, examining the situation, so that he himself can lead the government objectively and protect religion.³³

The scholars are of the opinion that choosing a leader based on his position and the reasons for his appointment, at first glance, is not correct. Because if leadership is not approved by the House of Representatives, then he is not a leader and does not have to be obeyed. The condition is to get recognition from the House of Representatives, and not because of his leadership.³⁴ The characteristics required from a leader are as follows; (1) should refer to the laws

³¹ The ummah ordered in the verse above is different from the ummah referred to by Allah SWT in the letter Ali Imran verse 110. In verse 110, it states that the Muslims are the best ummah, which was born to uphold the commandments of good and evil. Naum in verse 104 has a different context from verse 110. Therefore, verse 104 is interpreted by commentators as a congregation of mutakattilah or organized groups, which has two characteristics, namely; 1) have a leader who is obeyed; 2) has ties that bind its members and these ties are ideological ties (thoughts), not emotional or anything else. See Hafidz Abdurrahman, *Spiritual Political Islamic Discourse*, (Bogor: Al-Azhar Press, 1st Cet., 2004), p. 242-243.

³² Sayyid Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi, *The Suffering of the World Due to the Backsliding of Muslims*, (Jakarta: Fadlindo, 2006), p. 130.

³³ Hartono Ahmad Jaiz, *Trends and Misconceptions in Indonesia*, p. 305.

³⁴ Abdul Wahhab Khallaf, *Politics of Islamic Law*, Translated by Zainuddin Adnan, (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2005), p. 63

and statutory guidelines while still following the guidelines of Islamic law, especially regarding upholding justice, in accordance with Surah An-Nisa [4]: 135 and Al-Maidah [5]: 8; ³⁵(2) equip yourself with moral education and purification of the soul so that you can carry out leadership with trust, ³⁶in accordance with Surah Al-An'am [6]: 165; ³⁷(3) position orientation is not for the welfare of a particular ethnic group or limited sovereign territory, because the main mission is to free humans from self-servitude to creatures, there are no privileges ³⁸for any one group because it is based on the letter Al-Hujurat [49]: 13,³⁹

³⁵ Humans are required to uphold justice towards their family, parents and themselves (An-Nisa [4]: 135), even against enemies (Al-Maidah [5]: 8). The first justice that is demanded is from oneself and towards oneself by placing one's desires and anger as prisoners who must follow the commands of reason and religion, not making them masters who direct one's reason and religion, because if that is the case, then one is not being fair, namely not put something in its proper place. See Muchlis. M. Hanafi, *Islamic Moderation (Thematic Tafsir of the Qur'an)*, (Jakarta: Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf Al-Qur'an Balitbang and Training Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia, 2021), p. 27.

³⁶ Hartono Ahmad Jaiz, *Heretical Religions and Beliefs in Indonesia*, p. 299.

³⁷ This verse emphasizes that it is Allah who makes humans rulers on earth to regulate the lives of his people, and it is He who elevates the status of some of them above others. All of this is according to the sunatullah to test each of them on how they respond to the gifts of Allah that God has given them. They will receive rewards from this test, both in this world and in the afterlife. Rulers are tested for justice and honesty, the rich are tested on how they spend their wealth, the poor and sufferers are tested for their patience. Therefore, humans should not be jealous and envious of God's gifts to someone, because all of them are from God and all His gifts are a test for everyone. See Tafsir QS. Al-An 'aam (6): 165. By the Indonesian Ministry of Religion, <https://rilahmuslim.id/quran/al-an-aam/6-165/> accessed 12 November 2021.

³⁸ Manhaj Tarbiyah Study Board, *Manhaj Tarbiyah 1433*, (Jakarta: LKMT, 1433 H), p. 17.

³⁹ (O mankind, indeed We created you from a male and a female) that is from Adam and Eve (and We made you into nations) the pronunciation of Syu'uuban is the plural form of the pronunciation of Sya'bun, which means the level of descent The highest (and tribal) position of the tribe is below the nation, after the tribe or tribe is called Imarah, then Bathn, after Bathn is

that all creatures are equal before Allah, only piety is the difference; ⁴⁰ (4) has a mature personality, and there are elements of mature body and spirit within him, so that he can maximize the potential for goodness within himself and become a pioneering role model for those he leads.⁴¹ When leaders and people change, what is obligatory for everyone is to fulfill their obligations according to their ability, abandoning what is haram and not making haram what Allah has made lawful for them. ⁴²There are two types of Ulil amri, rulers and ulama,⁴³ if they are good then the people or people, they lead are also good. So, each of them must be careful in their words and actions.⁴⁴

Fakhdz and the lowest is Fashilah. For example, Khuzaimah is the name of a nation, Kinanah is the name of a tribe or tribe, Quraish is the name of an Imarah, Qushay is the name of a Bathn, Hasyim is the name of a Fakhdz, and Al-Abbas is the name of a Fashilah (so that you know each other). The pronunciation of Ta'aarafuu was originally Tata'aarafuu, then one of the two letters Ta was removed so it became Ta'aarafuu; the meaning is for some of you to get to know each other and others not to brag about the height of your lineage or lineage, because that pride is only judged in terms of piety. (Indeed, the most honorable among you in the sight of Allah is the most pious. Indeed, Allah is All-Knowing) about you (and All-Knowing) what is stored in your hearts. See Tafsir Jalalain, <https://tafsir.learn-quran.co/id/surat-49-al-hujurat/ayat-13> accessed on November 12, 2021.

⁴⁰ Taqwa is the unity of all good things, Sheikh Muhammad Rashid Ridha concluded that the meaning of piety is to avoid God's punishment and torment. See: Jam'ah Amin 'Abdul 'Aziz, *Qur'anic Testament of Activist Harakah Hasan Al-Banna*, (Yogyakarta: Uswah, 2007), p. 386.

⁴¹ Sayyid Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi, *The Suffering of the World Due to the Backsliding of Muslims*, p. 103-110.

⁴² Muhammad bin Salih al-'Utsaimin, *Islamic Politics Explanation of Ibnu Taimiyah's Syar'iiyyah Political Book*, (Jakarta: Griya Ilmu, 2009), p. 126

⁴³ Scholars and Rulers. Scholars are the authority holders in explaining the Sharia and judging with it among people. The ruler is the holder of authority in running the country. Based on this, scholars become guides for the rulers. See Muhammad bin Salih al-'Utsaimin, *Islamic Politics Explained Kitab Siyasa Syar'iiyyah Ibnu Taimiyah*, p. 361-362.

⁴⁴ Ulil amri, or a businessperson/decision maker, is connected to leadership. Obedience to ulil amri is essential after obeying Allah and the Messenger, but it is not absolute and depends on whether commands are good or bad. Sheikh Wahbah az-Zuhaili sees it as obeying rulers in politics, military, and

c. Collection of People's Opinions in Islam

Abu A'la Al-Maududi stated that the rights of the people are; 1) protection of his life, property and honor; 2) protection of personal freedom; 3) freedom to express opinions and beliefs; 4) guaranteed basic living needs, without distinction between class and creed.⁴⁵ The measure of people's benefit is determined by; 1) conformity with moral and legal guidelines; 2) rational; 3) general; 4) can be implemented.⁴⁶ Preaching through politics is a necessity, because peace in a country is the highest hope of all people, peace covers everything, including religious matters.⁴⁷

Islam does not prohibit a woman from working or entrepreneurship, nor from doing politics, in fact, on the contrary, Allah commands His servants, both Muslim men and Muslim women, to do good deeds and work. In accordance with the words of Allah in Surah At-Taubah [9]: 105.⁴⁸ There is evidence of the Islamic *Shahabiyat* at the beginning of the emergence of Islam, considered as a political act. Because it proves their opposition to the belief system and culture that was built previously.⁴⁹ Also, Asma

state matters. Fakhru-Razi defines *ulil amri* as legislative bodies like the MPR and DPR in Indonesia. See Muchlis. M. Hanafi, *Islamic Moderation (Thematic Tafsir of the Qur'an)*, pp. 160-161.

⁴⁵ A. Djazuli, MA, *Fiqh Siyasah Implementation of the Ummah's Benefit in Syari'ah Signs*, (Jakarta: Prenada Media, 2003), p. 98-99.

⁴⁶ A. Djazuli, *Fiqh Siyasah Implementation of the Ummah's Benefit in Syari'ah Signs*, p. 419.

⁴⁷ Abdul Wahhab Khallaf, *Islamic Legal Politics*, p. 90-91.

⁴⁸ Ahmad Hatta, et al., *Islamic Guidance for Muslim Life. Practical Instructions for Becoming a Complete Muslim Woman from Birth to Death Based on the Al-Qur'an and Sunnah*, (Jakarta: Maghfirah Pustaka, 2015), p. 200.

⁴⁹ The *Shahabiyat*, including Khadijah and Sumayyah, played crucial roles in early Islam. Khadijah, a wealthy merchant, was the first to convert, supporting the Prophet and spreading Islam. Sumayyah embraced Islam after her son, Ammar, and bravely became the first martyr defending his faith against Abu Jahl's brutal torture.. See Amatullah Syafiyyah and Haryati

bint Abu Bakar was the only person who knew about the hiding place of her father and the Prophet Muhammad in the Tsur cave when they tried to save themselves from the pursuit of the Quraysh infidels.⁵⁰ Likewise, political migration activities are an effort to save the struggle. So that the small number of Muslims at that time would not be suppressed by the forces of the Quraish Mushrikin.⁵¹ During the Baiat Aqabah incident, several Ansar members pledged loyalty to Prophet Muhammad SAW before he moved to Medina. The political consequences included community empowerment through education, health programs, and craft centers led by shahabiyat like Asy-Syaffa and Zainab bint Jahsy.⁵²

Al-Banna views that Islam raises the value of women and makes them equal to men in rights and obligations, Islam recognizes personal rights, civil rights and political rights.⁵³ Men are competent both mentally and physically. However, its absence could be an opportunity for women to do the same thing, in Surah An-Nisa verse 34. ⁵⁴The role

Soeripno, *Political Action of Muslim Women; Concept and Implementation*, (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 2003), p. 28-30

⁵⁰ Maulana Wahiduddin Khan, *Woman between Islam and Westren Society*, (New Delhi: Goodword Books, 2011), h. 157-158.

⁵¹ According to Islamic Sharia law, women are allowed to hold political positions as long as they follow the teachings of the Quran. The verse from QS At-Taubah [9]:71 states that both men and women can work together to do good, pray, and obey Allah. Auliya means believers should support and advise each other for their faith to be strong. Women must be included in political matters, as neglecting their interests goes against the Prophet Muhammad's teachings. See Amatullah Syafiyyah and Haryati Soeripno, *Political Action of Muslim Women; Concept and Implementation*, p. 30-31.

⁵² Amatullah Syafiyyah and Haryati Soeripno, *Political Action of Muslim Women; Concept and Implementation*, p. 32-33.

⁵³ Muhit Muhammad Ishaq, *Political Fiqh of Hasan Al-Bana*, (Jakarta: Robbani Press, 2012), h. 105-106.

⁵⁴ According to Thahir Ibn Asyur quoted by M. Quraish Shihab (Tafsir Al-Misbah: Message, Impression and Harmony of the Qur'an, Vol. 2, 2003, p. 404) that the word al-rijal is grammatically Arabic, not always interpreted as husband. Unlike the words al-nisa or imra'ah which are always intended to

of Muslim women in the political realm is something that has a legal basis and is at the same time significant. The legitimacy of Shar'i based on Allah's verses in the Qur'an contains a *mission statement* for every Muslim in general, with several verses emphasizing the role of Muslim women, namely; 1) humans as servants of Allah who are obliged to obey Allah's laws, in Surah Al-A'raaf verses 1-4 and verse 54; 2) *positioning* humans as *khalifatullah fil Ardh*, in Surah An-Naml verse 62, and Al-Faathir verse 39.

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2. NU and its Political Contestation

Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) is the largest religious-based organization in the world, with almost 60 million followers.⁵⁶ NU was born on the initiative of KH. Hasyim Asy'ari and support from several other kiai. The main reason for the birth of NU was to maintain local cultural values from external influences. NU

mean wife or woman. Therefore, the beginning of the verse from al-Nisa [4] 34 applies generally, to men and women. See <https://tafsiralquran.id/tafsir-surat-an-nisa-ayat-34-perempuan-as-Head-famili/>, accessed on November 17, 2021.

⁵⁵ Yuni Harlina, " Women's Political Rights in Islam ", Marwah: Journal of Women, Religion and Gender, Vol 14, No 1 (2015) : Marwah, Sulthan Syarif Kasim State Islamic University, DOI : 10.24014/marwah.v14i1.2590, p. 11-12.

⁵⁶ M. Muchtar & M. Subhan, *East Java NU Profile*, (Surabaya: LTNU, 2007), p. 12.

was declared in Surabaya in 1926.⁵⁷ In its early days, NU focused its organizational format on the world of education and social society, namely the preaching of Islam ahlu sunnah wa al jamaah. Until 1952, NU was transformed into a political party. Although, previously, NU had also played a role in independent politics. However, at that time, NU still had not changed its organizational form as a party.⁵⁸ Apart from 1952, NU was also registered as a political party in subsequent years, namely in the elections of 1955 and 1971.⁵⁹ When it became a support organization for Masyumi, NU figures were involved in power struggles, both for positions within the party and outside the party (executive). The politics of power at this time ended with division and political conflict which was considered unpleasant. The most intense involvement with power politics was when NU was founded as a political party (1952) after splitting from Masyumi.⁶⁰

In 1973, the New Order government made a policy of simplifying the party. The NU Party and several other Islamic parties were merged into one, namely the United Development Party (PPP). During this amalgamation period, NU elites felt difficulty and lack of freedom in channeling their political aspirations. Until 1984, NU declared that it was leaving practical politics and wanted to return to the 1926 Khittah as an

⁵⁷ Martin Van Brunissen, *NU Tradition, Power Relations and the Search for New Discourse*, ter. Farid Wajdi (Yogyakarta: Lkis, 1994), p.17.

⁵⁸ Greg Feally, *Ulama Political Ijtihad: History of NU 1952-1967*, ter. Farid Wajidi and MA Bahktiar, (Yogyakarta: LkiS, 2007), p. 47.

⁵⁹ Ali Haidar, *Nahdlatul Ulama and Islam in Indonesia; Fiqh approach in Politics*, (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama 1994), p. 176.

⁶⁰ Khamami Zada & A. Fawaid Sjadzili, *Nahdlatul Ulama: Dynamics of State Ideology and Politics*, (Jakarta: PT Kompas Media Nusantara, 2010), p. 5., Masmuni Mahatma, "Political Paradigm of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) in the State", *Ma'wa'izh*, Journal of Da'wah and Humanitarian Social Development, Vol. 8, no. 1 (2017), p. 41.

organization that served in the educational and social fields.⁶¹ The desire to leave politics was proclaimed at the 27th NU Congress in Situbondo.⁶² Even though they have declared their departure from practical politics, both directly and indirectly, some NU elites have still not been able to fully leave it political activity.⁶³ NU promotes civility through mabadi' khoiro ummat principles, focusing on moral values like as-shidq and al-amanah. It emphasizes religious moderation, tolerance, balance, and justice. NU also advocates for Pancasila as a unifying principle for Indonesia's diverse population.⁶⁴

After fourteen years, NU has stood tall with a cultural political model. The desire to return to the world of politics is starting to emerge. There are many factors that influence NU's return to practical politics. First, the momentum of the collapse of Suharto's glory. Second, the aspirations of the Nahdiiyin who want a special political forum for the Nahdiiyin. Third, a change in Indonesia's political paradigm from autocratic to democratic. Until finally, PBNU formed a team of five on June 3, 1998, chaired by KH. Ma'ruf Amin and members KH. M. Dawam Anwar, KH. Said Aqil Siradj, HM. Rozy Munir. ME, H. Akhmad Bagja. The next process, determining the name of the party, was ratified through the results of deliberations by the Lajnah Assistance Team, Lajnah Team, NU Team, NU Assistance Team, Regional Representatives, Islamic boarding school leaders and community leaders. After the formation of the party, a declaration was made in Jakarta on **29 Rabiul Awal 1419 AH or 23 July 1998**. There

⁶¹ Ainul Yaqin, *Rejecting Islamic Liberalism, Clarification and Notes on Various Contemporary Discourses and Issues*, (Surabaya: Indonesian Ulema Council, East Java Province, 2012), p. 101.

⁶² Zainal Abidin Amir, *Map of Post-Soeharto Political Islam*, (Jakarta: LP3ES 2003), p. 109.

⁶³ Andree Feaillard, *NU Vis a Vis the State*, (Yogyakarta: LkiS 1999), p. 109.

⁶⁴ Masmuni Mahatma, "Political Paradigm of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) in the State", *Mawa'izh*, Journal of Da'wah and Humanitarian Social Development, Vol. 8, no. 1 (2017), p. 31-54.

are five famous names who have become declarants for this party: namely KH. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), KH. Muchith Muzadi, KH. Mustofa Bisri (Gus Mus). KH. Moenasir Ali. KH. Ilyas Ruhiyat.⁶⁵

NU as a large mass organization and strong mass solidarity was proven in the post-New Order elections in 1998, where in the 1998 elections, PKB, which was a new party and the party that became a political forum for NU residents, received quite many votes. The unified voice of NU members to choose PKB as their political platform did not last long, because in the 2009 election, PKB experienced a significant decline in votes. This is due to internal conflict between the elites within the PKB body, and then resulted in divisions within the PKB mass base, especially NU members.⁶⁶

NU in politics stresses caution, flexibility, and moderation to prevent conflict. Power is central in strategy to avoid harm to Islam. NU engages in government through participation, guided by Sunni jurisprudence.⁶⁷ When he succeeded in nominating Ma'ruf Amin as Vice President-elect, it turned out that it was not enough to satisfy the political desires of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). Approximately a month after the Indonesian General Election Commission (KPU) announced Jokowi-Ma'ruf as the winner of the 2019 presidential election, NU openly asked President Joko

⁶⁵ Imam Nahrawi, *PKB political morality; Actualization of PKB as a Working Party, National Party and Modern Party*, (Malang: Averros Press), p. 31.

⁶⁶ Izzat i Millati, teacher at the Putri Alkenaniyah Islamic Boarding School, Pulomas, East Jakarta. UMY international relations alumni and UI Faculty of Social and Political Sciences graduates. Source: <https://www.nu.or.id/post/read/52693/kilas-nu-dan-politik>, accessed 30 October 2021.

⁶⁷ Atifatur Rohmah, "Dynamics of Nu Political History: A Study of the Relations between Nu and the State During the Time of Dr. Kh. Idham Chalid 1956-1984 AD", *Thesis*, (Surabaya: Faculty of Adab and Humanities, Sunan Ampel State Islamic University 2019), p. 111.

Widodo (Jokowi) for a ministerial slot because NU's contribution deserved to be rewarded with a separate ministerial seat.⁶⁸

Political polarization is intensifying in Indonesian society, dividing people into opposing camps offline and online. This phenomenon is driven by strong beliefs in culture, ideology, or candidates, leading to a sharp divide where each group sees themselves as right and the other as morally wrong.⁶⁹

3. PKB as the Political Wing of NU

The National Awakening Party or PKB is a political party in Indonesia. A political party with a conservatism ideology in Indonesia, founded in Jakarta on July 23, 1998 (29 Rabi'ul Awal 1419 Hijriyah). This party was born in the reform era by the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) kiai who were declared by the Nahdlatul Ulama kiyais, such as Munasir Ali, Ilyas Ruchiyat, Abdurrahman Wahid, A. Mustofa Bisri, and A. Muhith Muzadi.⁷⁰ This shows that since the beginning of the PKB, NU could not be separated from the PKB.

Muhaimin Iskandar, current General Chair of PKB, confirmed in an interview that PKB was founded by PBNU administrators in 1998. It quickly rose to third place in the 1999 elections, behind PDIP and Golkar. This success was fueled by religious, social, economic, and political support. However, as politics became more pragmatic, direct elections caused

⁶⁸ <https://www.mediariau.com/berita/menteri-nu-dan-paras-politik-kaum-nahdliyin>. Accessed on 30 October 2021.

⁶⁹ Faris Budiman Annas, Hasya Nailan Petranto and Asep Aji Pramayoga, "Public Opinion in Political Polarization on Social Media Public Opinion of Political Polarization of Social Media", *Pikom Journal: Communication and Development Research*, (Communication Science Study Program, Paramadina University), Vol. 20 No. December 2 (2019), p. 111.

⁷⁰ Alihot Sinaga, *Organizational Communication Culture Of The Regional Leadership Council Of The North Sumatra National Awakening Party In The 2014 Provincial Level Legislative Elections*, *Jumantik (Scientific Journal of Health Research)*, Vol 2, No 1 (2017), North Sumatra State Islamic University Medan, p. 5.

challenges. People viewed the party as a source of money, leading to reluctance to donate. NU members, driven by loyalty, paid fees without expecting payment. This dynamic highlights the risks of competition and the need to address financial motivations in politics to ensure fair competition and meaningful participation.

The communication pattern established between PKB and NU in general and specifically to PKB participants, not all of whom are NU, is through a pattern of independence and interdependence, which is meant by independence; First, NU must not be focused on just one party, NU must protect all of society. Second, the independence of the PKB must also be given wide space by NU, because the PKB will not be large if it only consists of NU members. Looking at the voter structure in Indonesia, the largest number of voters are non-religious. Even if all Islamic parties were combined, they would still be inferior to secular parties. This means that religious people vote for many parties. So, PKB accepts and enters from various groups even though its color remains NU. NU people who join PKB also understand. For example, NTT, the majority are non-Muslim. PKB will not be big there if it only contains Muslims. PKB sent 2 names for seats in the DPR RI from NTT, 1 Muslim and 1 non-Muslim, because its base is Muslims there, who were elected as Muslim DPR members. But as large a Muslim base as possible must be supported by non-Muslims. Likewise in Papua, PKB is loved by Papuans because Gusdur was previously the general chairman of PKB and as president laid down the history of giving the name from Irian Jaya to Papua. So PKB has always been in the DPR RI since 1999, stable from Papua. Even though it is a unique relationship outside NU.

PKB's role in maintaining NU's *Khittah* involves ensuring their mutual independence while still supporting each other. NU is free from PKB but tied to *Khittah*. Maintaining *Khittah* means following *Mabadi Khoirol Ummah* principles or building society as NU intended. PKB being embraced by NU citizens is significant, as decided by the Ulama. Though wing organizations like *Banser*

are independent, they have a cultural tie to PKB through shared members. This unique relationship helps both entities coexist harmoniously.⁷¹ NU's relationship can be categorized as harmonious, conflicted, and based on the sacred. The internal unity of NU and PKB is essential, even though conflicts arise when PKB's interests diverge. Emphasis is placed on historical and cultural ties, aiming for a lasting relationship that honors both organizations' values and goals.

a. Relationship between the Government (as One) and the People.

Indonesia and other Muslim countries are included in the Dar-al-Islam category.⁷² However, Indonesia is not Daulah Islamiyah (Islamic State), because the foundations of the Indonesian state and constitution as the highest source of law do not refer to jurisprudence or Islamic law, and Indonesia is a nation state.⁷³ The opportunity for tension or disharmony to arise between religion and the state is increasingly reduced by the paradigm or concept of modern siyasah fiqh developed by Islamic mass organizations and Islamic leaders and thinkers.⁷⁴

Good governance is crucial for Indonesia's people to benefit from rapid development through fair and effective government management of resources. It involves transparent, honest, and

⁷¹ Author's interview with the General Chair of the National Awakening Party (PKB), Muhaimin Iskandar or known as Gus Ami or Cak Imin, at his residence on October 23 2021, at 20.00 WIB.

⁷² It can also be called Darus Salam, and one of the categories is countries where all or the majority of the population consists of Muslims, or also countries, even though the government is not an Islamic government, but the Muslim residents of the country can freely enforce Islamic law as law. legislation. See L. Amin Widodo, *Islamic Fiqh in International Relations*, (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana Yogya, 1994), p.13.

⁷³ Bahtsul Masail Himasal Team, *National Fiqh 3 Jihad and Non-Muslim Citizenship in Nation States*, (Kediri: Lirboyo Press, 2020), p. 111-112.

⁷⁴ Azyumardi Azra, CBE., *Islamic Da'wah Wasat h iyah and the State: Indonesian Experience*, Ucaptama Working Paper International Webinar on 'Da'wah and Human Development' (I-WOD Paper Material for the Dialogue Forum with 2.0) , the Ministry of Da'wah and Human Development University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia , 14-15 October, 2021, p. 6-7.

accountable administration at all levels.⁷⁵ To avoid author arrests like those of Pramodya Ananta Toer and Akhmatova, writers must not engage in prohibited activities or criticize the government strongly, as seen with Soyinka and Mochtar Lubis.⁷⁶

b. Political Parties or Community Organizations (as Few) in Government.

A religious organization is important regarding basic human needs, because humans are very dependent on three things in their lives, namely; 1) God is Forgiving without Him there is no life; 2) humans are lusts, or natural desires, without which humans would not live; 3) other humans, because humans cannot live alone. Thus, a religious organization will remind people of their obligations to God and society and will direct their natural desires towards good ends.⁷⁷

In Indonesia, the emergence of political parties cannot be separated from Dutch ethical policies, which provide space for people to form political parties. The Dutch formed a parliament called *the Volksraad*. Apart from that, the emergence of political parties in Indonesia was also due to a strong desire for independence from the Netherlands. So, during the Dutch era, the Indonesian Islamic Sarikat Party (PSII), Indische Partji, ISDDV and the Indonesian National Party (PNI) emerged.⁷⁸ The period from early 1931 to mid-1933 was the peak of the Indonesian

⁷⁵ Andi Faisal Bakti, *Good Governance & Conflict Resolution in Indonesia from Authoritarian Government to Civil Society*, (Jakarta: PT Logos Wacana Ilmu and IAIN Press, 2000), p. 3

⁷⁶ Sapardi Djoko Damono, *Political Ideology and Hybrid Literature*, (Jakarta: Pustaka Firdaus, 1st Cet., 1999), p. 58-59.

⁷⁷ Taufik Abdullah, *Schools and Politics; Youth Movement in West Sumatra, 1927-1933*, Translator: Muhammad Yuanda Zara (Yogyakarta: Suara Muhamadiyah, 2018), p. 90.

⁷⁸ Kacung Marijan, *Indonesian Political System: Consolidation of Post-New Order Democracy*, (Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group, 2010), p. 56-57. See also: Ahmad Sukardja, *Constitutional Law and State Administrative Law in the Perspective of Siyasah Fiqh*, p. 145.

independence movement. ⁷⁹Radical political parties dominate popular movements, and they influence not only cooperative but also cooperative parties.⁸⁰

Sigmund Neuman and Miriam Budiardjo outline various functions of political parties. Neuman highlights parties' role in articulating ideas, educating voters, connecting government and citizens, and electing leaders. Budiardjo emphasizes political parties as tools for communication, socialization, recruitment, and conflict management in a democratic system.⁸¹

The position of Muslims in Indonesia, who occupy the majority position, cannot be ignored. However, the interests of Muslims must be accommodated representatively if they do not conflict with the principles of government interests. Because an antagonistic atmosphere will only cause tensions.⁸² The positive side of the presence of Islamic organizations in the country is; 1) become a channel for the aspirations of Muslims in Indonesia in the social, political, economic and religious fields to be fought for in the legislative body; 2) become an organization that neutralizes the tensions that exist within Indonesia and the world which have an impact on the peace of life in the country; 3) help cultural and economic growth.

- c. Women's Organizations as a Form of Gender Equality within Parties or Mass Organizations (as Many)

⁷⁹ See Medan Rakjat, 1, No. 1 (February 1931). See also: Taufik Abdullah, *Schools and Politics; Youth Movement in West Sumatra, 1927-1933*, p. 195.

⁸⁰ Hatta, "Aims and Politics of the National Movement in Indonesia (1930), "Collection of Essays, I, p. 26-57. See also: Taufik Abdullah, *Schools and Politics; Youth Movement in West Sumatra, 1927-1933*, p. 219.

⁸¹ Miriam Budiardjo, *Basics of Political Science*, cet. 4th, (Jakarta: UI Press, 1980), p. 163-164. See also: Ahmad Sukardja, *Constitutional Law and State Administrative Law in the Perspective of Siyasa Fiqh*, p. 149-150.

⁸² The political journey of Muslims is closely related to the development of Islamic law in Indonesia. Abdul Aziz Thaba describes this relationship in three forms, namely antagonistic (1966-1981), critical reciprocity (1981-1985), and accommodative period (1985-1999). See: Drs. H. Abdul Halim, MA, *Islamic Legal Politics in Indonesia*, p. 182.

The issue of women's representation in policymaking is crucial as women are underrepresented, hindering the influence of gender equality. To combat patriarchal values in politics, Indonesia must introduce affirmative action policies within political parties and legislative candidate lists. This is mandated by laws such as No. 31 of 2002 and No. 12 of 2003, emphasizing gender equality and requiring 30% representation of women in candidate lists.⁸³

So far, individual political attitudes and party-political attitudes have tended to be masculine due to the embedded social and "religious" masculinist understanding which has greatly influenced the party's attitude in placing female legislative candidates in their party. Besides that, it is not easy for political parties to recruit "qualified" female legislative candidates as party representatives. Apart from the party's moral responsibility in appointing credible female legislative candidates, there is also competition for seats which have so far been dominated by men.⁸⁴ Female politicians can enhance their political role by partnering with institutions that study women's issues, ensuring policies align with women's needs, promoting political independence, and maintaining equality with men in decision-making processes. Emancipation in the political realm can be achieved swiftly by adhering to these principles.⁸⁵

Soetjipto (2005) outlines six ways for political parties to promote women's roles: gender sensitivity training, strategies to

⁸³ Esty Ekawati , "Women's Representation In Post-New Order Elections", *Musawa Journal of Gender and Islamic Studies* , Vol 16, No 1 (2018) , Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University, DOI : 10.14421/musawa.2017.161.67-80 , p. 68.

⁸⁴ Sofia Hardani , Political Party Commitment to Nominations Women as Legislative Members in Efforts to Realize Law no. 12 Yrs. 2003 In Pekanbaru , Marwah: *Journal of Women, Religion and Gender* , Vol. 13, No. 2 (2016): Marwah , Sulthan Syarif Kasim State Islamic University, DOI : 10.24014/marwah.v13i2.887 , p. 167-168.

⁸⁵ Ishomuddin, "Understanding of Political Culture in Citizen of Muslimat Nu in East Java ", *el Harakah : Journal* Vol. 21 No. 2, (2019), p. 316.

amplify women's voices, lobbying and collaboration with NGOs, activities to boost women's political participation, support identification, and implementing quotas for balance. These efforts aim to address political, socio-economic, and socio-cultural barriers for women in politics. Indonesia's democracy shows progress with affirmative policies and public support for equal opportunities for women and men in politics. Indonesian society is backing women's political participation.⁸⁶ Although there is not yet complete certainty about the 30% quota for each party.

1) Ethnic Women in the National Revival Party

The National Women's Organization has started to focus on a program to prepare quality cadres to fulfill the 30% quota for women as legislative members in the 2024 General Election (Pemilu) as a result of the PKB Congress 20-22 August 2019 in Bali.⁸⁷ The 30% affirmation in the law will be accompanied by an increase in the quality of female cadres. To fulfill this, the women's organization of the Autonomous Body of the National Awakening Party (PKB) formed a management with a regional coordinator who will search for and develop potential cadres, as well as increase the capacity of women cadres in the regions. There are two things that will be done, namely quantity and quality. In terms of quality, Perempuan Bangsa will create women's empowerment programs in the regions, adapting to current developments. Social media will be the focus. Meanwhile, in terms of quantity, Perempuan Bangsa is developing the organization by recruiting the millennial generation and building community-based communities. The spread of contemporary communities must be the target of women's empowerment. There are hijra

⁸⁶ See Women Research Institute, "Women's Political Participation is a Must", Fact Sheet, January 2014, p. 1-4.

⁸⁷ Articles of Association / Bylaws (Ad/Art) of the National Awakening Party Results, PKB Nusa Dua Bali Congress, 20 - 22 August 2019, p. 51.

communities, hijabers communities, and others. In the 2019 elections, PKB increased the number of seats in the DPR from 47 seats to 58 seats, of which 12 were women. Meanwhile, in West Java, the number of provincial DPRD seats obtained also increased from 7 seats to 12 people and two of them were women. This number is targeted to increase by 20% for women's seats with these programs.⁸⁸From this it can be seen that the PKB uses the Women of the Nation only as a political tool to gain votes in elections and fill legislative seats.

2) NU Muslimat and Fatayat

Nahdlatul Ulama has an autonomous body (banom) as an instrument tasked with carrying out NU programs in accordance with its membership base. The General Chair of each banom is elected by its members through a congress forum. Banom has its own Basic Guidelines and Household Guidelines which do not conflict with the Nahdlatul Ulama's Articles of Association and Bylaws. The autonomous bodies are divided into two, namely based on age and professionalism or other specialties. Autonomous bodies based on age are as follows; (1) Muslimat Nahdlatul Ulama. NU Muslimat members are NU women. This organization was born on March 29, 1946. The appearance of women in the NU organization was seen at the 13th Congress in Menes, Banten in 1938. In fact, at the next congress, in Magelang in 1939, NU women were invited to lead the proceedings; (2) Fatayat of Nahdlatul Ulama. NU Fatayat members are young NU women aged up to 40 years. This organization was born on April 24 1950 in Surabaya, East Java; (3) Nahdlatul Ulama Women's Student Association (IPPNU). IPPNU members are NU female students and students with a maximum age of 27 years. This

⁸⁸ <https://www.beritasatu.com/politik/578513/perempuan-bangsa-cepatkan-kader-berkualitas-untuk-2024>

organization was born on March 3, 1955 in Malang, East Java. IPPNU has a scouting organization called the Women's Student Corps (KPP) which was born in Pekalongan, Central Java in October 1964.⁸⁹

There are four women's organizations within NU: IPPNU for junior high and high school students, KOPRI for older students, Fatayat NU for post-students under 40, and Muslimat NU for women over 40. This segmentation helps with focused cadre formation and clearer goals in their field of struggle.⁹⁰ Muslimat NU was created to give women equal recognition in NU, founded by men. In 1938, NU women demanded management rights leading to NU Muslimat's establishment. Fatayat NU began in 1950, initiated by the "Three Triads," spreading across Indonesia. A gender perspective movement in the 1990s challenged traditional roles, advocating for women's empowerment through participatory programs emphasizing collective empowerment and gender equality.⁹¹

Fatayat NU in PKB plays a crucial role in politics by supporting women's political aspirations. Women from Fatayat NU hold key positions in parliament, influencing decisions and representing women's voices. NU promotes gender equality by involving women in legislative elections and various activities. It is essential to raise awareness about gender equality to ensure balance in society.⁹² For this reason, from a gender perspective, Muslimat and Fatayat NU as NU Women's organizations see that women

⁸⁹ <https://nugresik.or.id/mengenal-badan-otonom-banom-dalam-nahdlatul-ulama/> accessed on 30 October 2021

⁹⁰ <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20190127063139-32-364156/muslimat-nu-lahir-dari-keinginan-pengakuan-terhadap-perempuan>. accessed on October 30, 2021

⁹¹ <https://fatayatnu.or.id/histori/> accessed on 30 October 2021

⁹² Interview via the WhatsApp application via private line (japri) directly with Mrs. Annisa Sholihah as Chair of the Banten Regional NU Fatayat, on November 10, 2021.

have their own affiliation and it cannot be denied considering that women must also have representatives at the executive level in a region so that what has so far been an anomaly in the patriarchal patterns experienced by NU when it was first formed no longer occurs and is experienced by NU women in areas outside NU itself.⁹³

Even though Muslimat NU is not a political organization, many Muslimat NU figures and members have qualified to become people's representatives from a gender perspective.⁹⁴ The blurred portrait of contestation by NU Muslimat cadres in the political realm indicates that NU Muslimats and their elites tend to be treated only as objects that are easily toyed with by political elites who do not have a religious organizational basis.⁹⁵

C. Conclusion

In Islam, the role of women in politics is not explicitly limited or forbidden by religious texts. Islamic teachings, including those from the Qur'an and Hadith (sayings and actions of Prophet Muhammad), focus on the principles of justice, equality, and fairness. However, the approach to women's participation in politics can vary across different cultures, countries, and interpretations of Islam. Here are some key points to consider:

1. Direct Quotations from Islamic Law and Primary Sources:

⁹³ Ahmad Aufa Zainal, "NU Women and Pilkada" (Study of the Polarization of Muslimat and NU Fatayat Political Support for the Beautiful Couple Putri Indriani-Thahar Rum in the 2015 Simultaneous Pilkada), Thesis: Faculty of Ushuluddin, Philosophy and Politics, (South Sulawesi : University Islam Negeri (UIN) Alauddin Makassar, 2018), p. 9-10.

⁹⁴ Khofifah Indar Parawansa, 63rd NU Muslimat Harlah Speech, Revitalization of NU Muslimat Service Institutions (Jakarta: PP Muslimat NU, 2009), p. 7. See also: Munawir Haris, " NU Political Participation and Muslimat Cadres ", *Al-Tahrir : Journal*, Vol. 15, no. November 2 (2015), p. 303.

⁹⁵ Munawir Haris, " NU Political Participation and Muslimat Cadres ", *Al-Tahrir: Journal*, Vol. 15, no. November 2 (2015), p. 304.

- a. From the Law of the Republic of Indonesia: Article 27(1) of the 1945 Constitution: "All citizens shall be equal before the law and government and shall uphold the law and government with no exceptions."
 - b. Article 28 D (2) of the 1945 Constitution: "Every person has the right to equal opportunity and treatment in government."
 - c. Law No. 39/1999 on Human Rights: "Human rights are basic rights and freedoms inherent in the nature and existence of human beings as creatures of God Almighty."
 - d. From Islamic Primary Sources (Al-Qur'an and Hadith): Qur'an, Surah An-Nisa [4]: 1: "O mankind, fear your Lord who created you from a single being, and from him God created his mate, and from them God multiplied men and women." (Implying that human beings are created equal and have equal rights in existence and humanity).
 - e. Qur'an, Surah An-Nisa [4]: 75: "Why do you not fight in the cause of Allah and (defend) the weak, women, and children who pray: 'O our Lord, deliver us from this oppressive land, and grant us from Your side a protector and a victor'." (Underscoring the importance of the protection of women and children as part of Islamic justice.)
 - f. Hadith, reported by Bukhari (Book 78, Hadith 3): "Verily, women and men are equal in goodness, and there is no superiority between them except by piety." (Affirming equal rights and duties based on piety, not gender.)
 - g. Hadith, narrated by Muslim (Book 31, Hadith 5958): "Women are a good part of my Ummah, and they deserve their rights and fulfil their roles fully." (Affirming women's position in society and religion.)
2. Reinforcement of Recent Empirical Data: Here is an example of relevant recent data:
 - a. Survey from Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting (SMRC) Year 2023: "As many as 65% of Indonesians say that women should be more active in politics, but only 35% believe that women are capable of effective leadership."

- b. Report from Kompas Research and Development in 2023: "Only 22% of female legislative candidates were successfully elected to the House of Representatives, suggesting structural and cultural barriers to women's political participation."
 - c. Data from the Indonesian General Election Commission (KPU): "The percentage of women running for regional and legislative elections has increased from 16% (2019) to 20% (2023), but the success rate is still below 25%."
- 3. Analysis of Norm Classification and Social Structure Using Gender Framework and Representation Theory:
 - a. Patriarchal Social Norms as the Dominant Norm: In this document, it appears that patriarchal norms are still very strong and become the basis for shaping political perceptions and practices within the PKB and NU. For example, it is mentioned that "women are sometimes only seen as political tools to gain votes" and "women's representation in party leadership is limited."
 - b. Implications of Patriarchal Norms: This norm confirms that women's position in politics is still seen from an instrumental angle, that is, as objects used to achieve certain political targets, not as the main actors; This norm reinforces traditional gender stereotypes that place men as the main decision-makers and women as complements or followers.
- 4. Entrenched and Normative Social Structure: The social structure within NU and PKB appears to be hierarchical and conservative. The NU organisation, through autonomous bodies such as Muslimat and Fatayat, shows that there is a separation of roles based on age and gender, such as Muslimat for mature women and Fatayat for young women. Influence on Representation: This structure reinforces restrictions on women, as their roles and spaces are normatively regulated and limited to certain areas; This arrangement also reflects that women are positioned within

a traditional and social framework that places them as limited actors in the formal political sphere.

5. Normatives that Support the Sustainability of Patriarchy: In the document, it is mentioned that NU formally supports women's involvement, but on the other hand, "NU uses them for political interests." This indicates the existence of indirect norms that support the sustainability of patriarchy. This indicates the existence of an indirect norm that supports patriarchal order, where women are used as a means of political legitimisation, rather than as fully empowered actors.
6. Social Consequences of Norms and Structures: This norm causes women to be positioned as objects in the political process, rather than active and strategic subjects; The patriarchal social structure also creates cultural and structural barriers for women to gain strategic positions at the political elite level. From this analysis, it can be concluded that patriarchal social norms and hierarchical social structures within NU and PKB are still very strong and influential in shaping perceptions and political practices related to women. These norms are culturally and formally rooted, limiting women's space in politics and emphasising their position as objects, not subjects with full power and legitimacy in political decision-making.
7. Strengthening Analysis with a Gender Framework: Power, Agency, and the Gender Gap
 - a. Women's Power and Agency: Women's Role as Agents of Change: In this context, women, especially those who are members of organisations such as Muslimat and Fatayat NU, have the potential as agents of change even though normatively and structurally they are still limited.
 - b. They act as actors in fighting for equality and filling political spaces through various activities such as training, capacity building, and mobilising votes in elections.
 - c. Their strategies include using religious legitimacy, leveraging organisational networks, and adopting an

educative approach to change patriarchal social norms from within.

Concrete Example:

- a. Fatayat NU has actively developed women's empowerment programmes, including political and social media training, to break the boundaries of traditional norms.
- b. Women in NU and PKB structures actively participate in the political process, for example supporting female legislative candidates and fighting for the 30% quota.

Barriers and Opportunities:

- a. Despite efforts, women are still often perceived as 'followers' and used as political tools, rather than primary agents.
 - b. They must deal with conservative norms and patriarchal power that place them in limited strategic positions. Women in this context act as agents of change who seek to break through patriarchal norms and expand their political space through adaptation and capacity building strategies, despite experiencing structural and normative barriers.
8. Measures of Gap: Formal political participation: Women's representation in the legislature and other strategic positions remains small and unequal to that of men; Social and cultural influences: Patriarchal norms and conservative cultures limit women from establishing significant influence in political decision-making; Access to political education and training: Despite empowerment programmes, women's access to training and strategic networks remains limited compared to men.

In summary, Islam allows for women's participation in politics, but the practical application of this varies across different Muslim communities. Women in politics are supported by Islamic teachings in principle, yet societal, cultural, and political factors influence their roles and opportunities.

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