Law, Politics, and Women: How were 'Aisyiyah's cadres involved in the party?

Anom Wahyu Asmorojati[1*], Fauzan Muhammadi[2]

[1,2]Faculty of Law, Universitas Ahmad Dahlan, Yogyakarta, Indonesia
*email: anom.asmorojati@law.uad.ac.id

Keywords:
Involvement of women; Aisyiyah's cadres; Feminism

ABSTRACT

The law has regulated the quota of women candidates for legislative members of at least 30%. This regulation has encouraged all political parties to seek female members. However, women who have the capacities and capabilities as members of the legislature are difficult to find. One possible reason is their low participation in political education in religious, social organizations, such as' Aisyiyah. This study aimed to analyze the cadre system of women's political education of 'Aisyiyah in the Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN). This research is a normative, empirical legal research with a qualitative phenomenological approach. The informants of this research were 'Aisyiyah cadres or activists who were PAN and the Legislature members. The results showed that the cadre system of women's political education in 'Aisyiyah was carried out naturally through a public leadership capacity-building program. The involvement of 'Aisyiyah women in PAN was not merely practical politics, but it was carried out for the sake of upholding the law in Indonesia. Therefore, they were not affiliated with one particular political party but spread to various political parties in Indonesia. Thus, the involvement of 'Aisyiyah women in PAN was not merely a political movement but a legal movement and da'wah of amar ma'ruf nahi munkar (enjoining the good and avoiding the bad).

1. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is one of the few countries that has had a female president.[1] Even the superpowers countries that declared themselves to be democratic country have never had a female president. That matter proves that women have human rights protected by law. The women's movement and their active participation in politics have been well documented in history.[2] Women national hero, especially from Muhammadiyah-Aisyiyah who is referred to as Kartini Muhammadiyah is Nyai Walidah Dahlan. She has

---

[1] Gazali; Syafrizal, "Presiden Perempuan: Studi Atas Pandangan Kiyai Husein Muhaammad," *Living Islam: Journal of Islamic Discourses* 3, no. 2 (2020): 1–23.

[2] Abraham Nurcahyo, "Relevansi Budaya Patriarki Dengan Partisipasi Politik Dan Keterwakilan Perempuan Di Parlemen," *Agastya: Jurnal Sejarah Dan Pembelajarannya* 6, no. 01 (2016): 25.

successfully proven that women's involvement in national politics is beyond doubt.[3] Therefore, it is expected that since its Establishment on May 19, 1917 'Aisyiyah has committed to the process of regeneration of women cadres by giving political education to women.

The issuance of Law No. 2 of 2011 concerning Amendments to Law No. 2 of 2008, which regulates political parties, has brought logical consequences to the importance of women's involvement in politics today. Article 29 paragraph 1 (a) of Law No. 2 of 2011 confirms that women's representation in political parties should be at least 30%. Thus, ideally, women involved in political parties have taken the political education in socio-religious organizations, such as 'Aisyiyah (1). Childs has the right to receive education and teaching in personal development and the level of intelligence according to their interests and talents. As put forward by Karim, Sylvester's feminist standpoint theory states that the policy of involving women in politics must be supported by the participation of women's social organizations/women's activists.[4]

However, data from the last two elections show that women are not appropriately involved in political parties. They are involved as a mere quantitative administrative requirement[5]. This fact further shows that women have historically been underrepresented in democratic assemblies, especially in top positions of executive power. In almost all countries, the role of women in politics, especially in developing countries, faces a number of both structural and cultural obstacles. These constraints are often related to issues of education, social status, economy, and employment. Women's work is often identified as "second class" jobs.[6] In Indonesia, these obstacles can also be seen in political life.

Consequently, the gender quota reforms address this problem by requiring equal gender representation in elections.[7] Unfortunately, this reform is faced with a socio-political dilemma. On the one hand, women have to be responsible for their role and function as housewives, but on the other hand, they are required to have qualities when entering a career in politics[8]. The gender reform that has been voiced by feminists recently

---

[3]Afrizky Fajar Purnawan; Mohammad Ikhwanuddin, "Feminisme Dalam Pandangan Pimpinan Daeraha Aisyiyah Kota Surabaya (Studi Tentang Keterlibatan Perempuan Di Ruang Publik)," *Maqosid: Jurnal Studi Hukum Islam* 7, no. 1 (2018): 2615–22.

[4] Abdul Karim, "Feminisme: Sebuah Model Penelitian Kualitatif," *Sawwa* 10, no. 1 (2014): 83–98.

[5]Dirga Ardiansa, "Menghadirkan Kepentingan Perempuan Dalam Representasi Politik Di Indonesia," *Jurnal Politik* 2, no. 1 (2017): 71.

[6] Susi Susanti and Adelita Lubis, "Partisipasi Politik Perempuan Pada Partai Keadilan Sejahtera Kota Medan," *JPPUMA: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan Dan Sosial Politik UMA (Journal of Governance and Political Social UMA)* 3, no. 1 (2015): 1–13.

[7]B. Geys and Rune J. Sørensen, "The Impact of Women above the Political Glass Ceiling: Evidence from a Norwegian Executive Gender Quota Reform," *Electoral Studies* 60, No. June (2019): 102050.

[8] Ulfatun Hasanah and Najahan Musyafak, "Gender and Politic: Keterlibatan Perempuan Dalam Pembangunan Politik," *Sawwa* 12, no. 3 (2017): 409–32; Suyadi, "Diferensiasi Otak Laki-Laki Dan Perempuan Guru Taman Kanak-Kanak Aisyiyah Nyai Ahmad Dahlan Yogyakarta: Studi Pendidikan Islam

has not significantly impacted women in Indonesia. It is still difficult to find female cadres who are ready to participate in political parties.[9] This research aims to explore 'Aisyiyah women in political parties, with the initial hypothesis that they have been prepared for regeneration and political education.

Research on the involvement of 'Aisyiyah women in political parties is still rare so far. Previous studies mainly concentrate on the role of women in politics in general and not in political parties in particular. Furthermore, research examining the role of 'Aisyiyah women cadre in political parties tends to be philosophical and normative. It has not yet reached the empirical sphere. For example, research conducted by Dzuhayatin examines the extent to which Aisyiyah's cadres have involved in politics. This research tends to question whether Aisyiyah's women are involved in political parties at all.[10] Besides, Handayani's and Rosmilawati's research on the role of Muhamamdiyah women in political movements focuses on strengthening religious understanding. They state that the 'Aisyiyah women's movement is attached to a mission to create a truly Islamic society. It is in line with the mission of Islam as a religion that upholds the glory of women as Khalifah, the manifestation of the *rahmatan lil'alamin* treatise.[11] Purnawan and Ikhwanuddin conduct the most relevant empirical research. They are interview 'Aisyiyah women activists at PDA Surabaya. The results show that 'Aisyiyah women play a critical role in political parties.[12] However, this research does not show in more detail who these cadres are and what forms of involvement they have given. Thus, there has been limited research investigating explicitly 'Aisyiyah women in political parties, especially in Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN). Therefore, this research is necessary because women's representation in political parties will also impact public policymaking that concerns the wider community's interests.

This study aims to analyze the involvement of women cadre of 'Aisyiyah in PAN after the issuance of Law No. 2 of 2011, which regulates political parties. This law requires at least a 30% quota for women in forming political parties and its membership. The focus of this research includes three aspects. Firstly, this research focuses on a normative juridical review of the role of women in politics. Secondly, it examines the cadre system (political education) of women in 'Aisyiyah as an independent organization

---

Anak Usia Dini Perspektif Gender Dan Neurosains," *Sawwa: Jurnal Studi Gender* 13, no. 2 (2018): 179–202.

[9]Ade Irma and Dessy Hasanah, "Menyoroti Budaya Patriarki Di Indonesia," *Scial Work Journal* 7, no. 1 (2018): 1–29.

[10]Siti Ruhaini Dzuhayatin, "Menakar 'Kadar Politis' Aisyiyah," *Yin Yang: Jurnal Studi Gender Dan Anak* 4, no. 2 (2009): 1–10.

[11]Indah Tri Handayani and Nayiatul Aiyiyah, "Politik Perempuan Muhammadiyah Dalam Kepemimpinan Dan Politik Di Kalimantan Tengah (Muhammadiyah Women's Role in Leadership and Politics in Central Kalimantan)," *Pencerah Publik* 6, no. 2 (2019): 32–42.

[12]Ikhwanuddin, "Feminisme Dalam Pandangan Pimpinan Daeraha Aisyiyah Kota Surabaya (Studi Tentang Keterlibatan Perempuan Di Ruang Publik)."

within Muhammadiyah to produce female cadres who have the capacity and capability to take part in politics. Thirdly, it analyses the involvement of women in PAN.

This research is conducted based on the argument that although women in Indonesia are culturally more likely to carry out their traditional roles as a housewive rather than current roles in the public sector such as politicians, with the mandate of the law, however, women must be prepared to be able to fill public positions as mandated in the Constitution. Politics, which is so far seen as the world of men and is inappropriate for women, has changed along with the development of democracy. 'Aisyiyah, as an autonomous organization within Muhammadiyah, has a strategic role and has been able to produce women who are capable of holding political positions. It is a fascinating phenomenon to study because although 'Aisyiyah is not strictly affiliated with any political party, 'Aisyiyah has proven that its women cadres can participate in practical politics. Another argument is that the involvement of women in politics is needed. In terms of involvement, quantity is not the only indicator, but it more important to pay attention to the quality of the cadres, which evaluates how capable they are. The results of this study can be used as a role model to increase the role of women and their quality in politics. This research analyses the activities of 'Aisyiyah women who have no ties to any political party and how they can produce cadres capable of occupying positions in various political parties.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Law, Politics, and Women

Law is an agreement that is relatively and explicitly recognized as originating from human interaction, which creates rights and obligations for individuals referred to as legal subjects (*rechtspersoon*). As a form of democracy, representative democracy is a modification of the purest form of popular sovereignty. In the formation of law, democracy is expected to create responsive and aspirational laws.[13] The laws that regulate women's 30% representation are Law no. 2 of 2011 on political parties, Law no. 12 of 2003 on General Elections, and Law no. 10 of 2008 concerning the General Election of Members of the DPR-DPRD. Law no. 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections states that women's representation is 30% at the central level. Unfortunately, finding women legislative candidates who have the capacity and capability to be ready to compete in the political parties and general elections is not accessible. Therefore, many political parties look for female cadres from various socio-religious organizations and movements, especially 'Aisyiyah.

---

[13] Wimmy Haliim, "Demokrasi Deliberatif Indonesia: Konsep Partisipasi Masyarakat Dalam Membentuk Demokrasi Dan Hukum Yang Responsif," *Jurnal Masyarakat Indonesia* 42, no. 1 (2016): 19–30.

The 30% minimum quota for women both in the formation and Establishment of political parties as mandated by Law No.2 of 2011 concerning political parties is evidence that the role of women in politics is getting more significant and developing. It is hoped that adequate representation of women can provide, complement and develop the vision, mission, and further operationalization of Indonesia, which is objective but empathetic and gender-equitable (does not discriminate against one gender). [14]

The presence of women in the legislative body is very central because the law is made to create justice, certainty, and benefit. This conception places the legislature as an essential element in a modern rule of law. In the context of people's sovereignty, the legislative body is formed by the people through usual methods, representing women in the legislative body. [15]

Although there have been many efforts to promote women's equality through campaigns, the results seem to have not been optimal. The view that places women as domesticated beings with their domestic roles has obscured their political rights. Thus, this has resulted in lower women's involvement in politics. In addition, women's involvement is not comparable to the number of women's voices that exist. It is one of the factors that cause bias in policies produced by political institutions in Indonesia in general. [16]

The rapid growth and development of democracy in Indonesia have opened vast opportunities for women to participate in politics. One of the characteristics of good democratic growth is creating a political system that defines the involvement of citizens as a whole without distinguishing their sex.[17] In general, the involvement of women in the political sector in Indonesia is considered too late. One indicator is the relatively small number of women holding public positions.[18]

As the institution that has the power to form regulations, the State has strictly regulated the involvement of women in politics with Law No. 2 of 2011 on Political Parties. One of the manifestations of equality in politics for men and women is through general elections. Every democracy upholds the idea that citizens should make political decisions directly or indirectly through the elected representatives. A classic-style democracy puts sovereignty in the hands of the people and sets a common goal that determines who will hold power. The high political participation of the people is

---

[14]A Pendahuluan, "Keterwakilan perempuan dalam partai politik berdasarkan undang-undang nomor 02 tahun 2008 dan undang-undang nomor 02 tahun 2011 tentang partai politik" 2011, 64–81.

[15] Satjipto Rahardjo, *Sosiologi Hukum : Perkembangan, Metode Dan Pilihan Masalah* (Yogyakarta: Genta Publising, 2010).

[16]Sirajuddin Sirajuddin and Adiloka Sudjono, "Implementasi Affirmative Action Kuota Perempuan Dalam Partai Politik dan Lembaga Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah (Studi Di Wilayah Kota Malang)," *Widya Yuridika* 1, no. 2 (2018): 169.

[17]S Suriadi et al., "Partisipasi Perempuan Dalam Politik Perspektif Pendidikan Islam Dan Gender," *Al-Ulum,* Vol. 18, No. 1 (2018): 247–70.

[18] Suriadi et al.

considered a sign that they understand political problems and want to be involved in political activities.[19]

As a democratic country, which puts the highest power in the hands of the people, the role of political parties is significant because it is through political parties that the aspirations of the people can be realized.[20] Political parties are a reflection of the success or failure of a democratic process in a country. Suppose political parties can carry out their functions properly. In that case, the people's sovereignty will undoubtedly be realized through policies oriented to uphold the people's interests because political parties manifest the votes of the people they represent. On the other hand, if political parties cannot voice the aspirations of the people they represent, the essence of democracy will not materialize.

As the role of political parties is significant in democratic life, political parties should have sufficient capacity to carry out the function of protecting people's sovereignty. Political parties should consist of a group of famous people and have a high financial capacity to get the most votes in legislative elections. More than that, members of political parties must have good intellectuality, morality, and financial capacity to fight for the will of the people they represent. The people are given space to play an active role and become part of the democratic process, although substantially, the people's participation still tends to be procedural and limited.[21]

As the spearhead of the implementation of democracy in Indonesia, political parties have different routes in realizing the sovereignty of their people. Democracy in Indonesia is quite different from democracy in several countries such as Britain, America, and France, which recognizes the bourgeois revolution marked by capitalism and parliamentary democracy.[22] Theoretically, women's representation in politics is often divided into the categories such as 'formal', 'descriptive', 'substantive' and 'symbolic.' 'Formal' representation relates to the general rules governing an institution, while 'descriptive' representation concerns the actual number and proportion of women as members of parliament. According to Phillips' 'politics of presence' argument, this is important because if women are absent from political arenas such as parliament, they may have little influence on decision-making processes and outcomes. Supporting the belief that 'descriptive' representation is related to 'substantive' representation of women (i.e.,

---

[19]Yusuf Fadli, "Islam, Perempuan Dan Politik: Argumentasi Keterlibatan Perempuan Dalam Politik Di Indonesia Pasca Reformasi," *Journal of Government and Civil Society* 1, no. 1 (2018): 41.

[20] Jimly Asshiddiqie, *Pengantar Hukum Tata Negara* (Jakarta: PT Raja Grafindo Persada, 2013).

[21] Farahdiba Rahma Bachtiar, "Pemilu Indonesia: Kiblat Negara Demokrasi Dari Berbagai Refresentasi," *JPP (Jurnal Politik Profetik)* 2, no. 1 (2014).

[22] Moh. Mahfud MD, *Demokrasi Dan Konstitusi Di Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Liberty, 2000).

obtaining more favorable policy outcomes), research has found that having more women in leadership positions can lead to more gender-sensitive policies.[23]

Based on these arguments, women's involvement in politics must be interpreted correctly. It is the issue of achieving numbers that are normatively mandated in the law. Women's involvement in political parties should help place them as an essential element in a country. Therefore, women's empowerment in politics is a severe solution so that women can function themselves in political life based on the goals they want to achieve in their field.[24]

Mona Lena Krook, as quoted by Dirga Ardiansa, states that affirmative action on women's representation, from various literature on gender quotas, consists of various types and variants that can be classified into three types. The first type is the party quota which gives access to political parties to nominate women in a certain percentage of the candidate list. The second type is the legislative quota, which is somewhat similar to the party quota. It provides access to nominations for women in a certain percentage. It is just that it is mandated for all political parties that contest through binding regulations.

Meanwhile, the third type is reserved seats, somewhat different from the two previously mentioned types. This type guarantees to obtain seats in parliament in a certain number or percentage for women through election regulations. The first two types of gender quotas intervene more in the voting process because they are in the domain of the voting process, providing a "more" representative choice. Meanwhile, the latter type intervenes more in the outcome so that the parliament is ensured to have "more" female representatives.[25]

In a more specific context, PAN tends to use the Party Quota and Reserved Seats. The party quota in Partai Amanat Nasional opens the broadest possible opportunity for women to be involved in the formation, Establishment, and membership of political parties. Meanwhile, Reserved Seats will guarantee seats in parliament at a certain percentage. It is not explicitly written but is limited to internal political-cultural ethics. Thus, PAN opens up space for women's involvement in political parties as mandated in the political party law.

2.2.   'Aisyiyah and Politics Education for Women

The involvement of 'Aisyiyah cadre in politics is also a strategic way to spread Islamic teachings. The regulation on Political Party Law can be an opportunity for Muhammadiyah women cadres in 'Aisyiyah. In 'Aisyiyah's, there is one council, namely

---

[23] Sadhvi Kalra and Devin K. Joshi, "Gender and Parliamentary Representation in India: The Case of Violence against Women and Children," *Women's Studies International Forum* 82, no. July 2018 (2020): 102402,.

[24] Mikail, "Politik Dan Perempuan: Perjuangan Politik Perempuan Di Iran Pasca Revolusi Islam 1979."

[25] Ardiansa, "Menghadirkan Kepentingan Perempuan Dalam Representasi Politik Di Indonesia."

the Law and Human Rights Council, where political education is included in the law and human rights council study. However, to be able to take part in politics certainly requires good skills and knowledge in politics, so in this study, the author intends to examine the importance of political education being given to 'Aisyiyah members as female cadres in Muhammadiyah and how it influences their opportunities to involve in practical politics.

Political education is a systematic and deliberate effort to shape the constitutional piety of politically conscious individuals capable of becoming political actors. It trains them to be morally responsible for realizing their political goals. [26] The effort to provide political and democratic education for every citizen is a conscious and planned effort to realize the nation's goals in protecting the rights and obligations of citizens. The low level of participation in general elections is influenced by the inadequate efforts of political and democratic education.[27] Personally, there are many Muhammadiyah figures and cadres who openly have political activities. Many of them are actively involved in several political parties in Indonesia. It has made Muhammadiyah organizationally able to build political relations that are "overwhelming". Of course, this is a political force for Muhammadiyah to continue to be a social organization with a decisive political role.[28] As an organization with networks down to the village level, politics is one of Muhammadiyah's investments in organizing the future.

Political education is an effort to improve the quality of democracy in a country, including Indonesia. A 30% representation quota for women in political parties indicates a positive democracy, and this must be used optimally by Muhammadiyah and 'Aisyiyah cadres. 'Aisyiyah's work is comprehensive, covering not only Muslims. Women who are part of the 'Aisyiyah have to realize the mission and the function of carrying out da'wah through political channels. Unfortunately, those fill the 30% quota for women's representation in political parties without adequate competence and morals. Therefore, it is necessary for 'Aisyiyah further to improve the quality of its cadres in politics to fill strategic positions and participate in policymaking through politics.

Historically, Muhammadiyah's involvement in complicated politics could be traced back before Indonesia's independence in 1945 while it has practiced soft politics since its Establishment. Muhammadiyah soft political activities include: (1) Opposing the Dutch East Indies government policy to collect taxes on sacrificial services, (2) Demanding the Islamic religious court against the Dutch East Indies Government, (3) instilling a sense of nationalism and love for the motherland among Muslims in Indonesia,

---

[26] Rafika Dwi Rahma MZ Suyadi, Sumaryati, Dwi Hastuti, Desfa Yusmaliana, "Constitutional Piety: The Integration of Anti-Corruption Education into Islamic Religious Learning Based on Neuroscience," *J-PAI: Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam* 6, no. 1 (2019): 38–46.

[27]Iqbal Syariefudin Rohmat, Amarru Muftie Holish, "Pengaruh Pendidikan Politik Dan Demokrasi Bagi Generasi Muda Terhadap Tingkat Partisipasi Pelaksanaan Pemilihan Umum," 2018.

[28]Adil Mubarak, "Wajah Politik Muhammadiyah ," *Jurnal Demokrasi* Vol 11, no. 1 (2012): 215–22.

by using the Indonesian language in sermons or writings in Muhammadiyah's bulletin. When Japan was in power, (4) Muhammadiyah refused to do *seikerei* bowing to the sun as a sign of respect for Tenno Heika.[29]

Muhammadiyah introduced the concept of *khittah* at the 33rd Congress in 1956 in Palembang. This *khittah* is often referred to as the "Khittah Palembang". The 1956 Khittah Palembang contains seven main actions that the organization urged to take, namely: (1) following the personality of Muhammadiyah leaders, (2) implementing Uswatun hasanah, (3) requiring the organization to tidy up administration, (4) increasing and enhancing charity, (5) enhancing the quality of members and forming cadres, (6) accelerating Uhkuwah and (7) demanding members' livelihoods.

However, there is a Muhammadiyah Khittah which is very closely related to political issues. This *Khittah* is also often known as the Political *Khittah* because the main thoughts and decisions generated by the *Khittah* eventually become a robust mechanism and provisions in regulating Muhammadiyah involvement in politics. The *Khittah* is the 1971 Ujung Pandang *Khittah*.

In the context of complicated politics, Muhammadiyah's involvement could be seen in the Dutch colonial government, the Old Order, the New Order, and the beginning of the Reformation. During the Dutch colonial period, Muhammadiyah pioneered the Establishment of the Indonesian Islamic Party (PII), which was led by the Chairman of PP Muhammadiyah, KH. Mas Mansur in 1938. Then, in 1945 Muhammadiyah became the leading supporter of the Establishment of the Masyumi, one of the Islamic Parties in Indonesia. The official support was declared in Madrasah Mu'allimin Yogyakarta, a Muhammadiyah boarding schools. In fact, in the period 1945-1959, almost 50% of the Masyumi Party members were Muhammadiyah cadres.[30]

The peak of Muhammadiyah's ijtihad in practical politics occurred at the beginning of reform. At the Muhammadiyah Tanwir Session in Semarang on 5-7 July 1998, Muhammadiyah permitted Dr. Amien Rais as Chairman of PP Muhammadiyah to carry out political ijtihad to establish a political party that stood outside Muhammadiyah. This political party was later known as Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN). Muhammadiyah's involvement in politics, therefore, is not something new. The political involvement has been written in the Muhammadiyah's Islamic Life Guidelines for members. It is written that in the nation's life, Muhammadiyah members need to take part and should not be apathetic to political dynamics.[31]

In many ways, the Government of Indonesia has adopted the education system that Muhammadiyah has applied. For instance, the Ministry of Religious Affairs

---

[29] Gili Argenti, "Civil Society Dan Politik Moral Muhammadiyah," *Jurnal Politikom Indonesia* 2, no. 2 (2017): 82–104.

[30] Argenti.

[31] Argenti.

establishes madrasas in which Islamic studies and modern science are taught.[32] It is clear evidence that Muhammadiyah places great importance on education in its activities, including political education for women.

Political education can shape the character and nourish members' character to participate in democracy responsibly to achieve a more advanced civilization[33]. It follows the only goal of 'Aisyiyah, which is to place women in a noble and civilized position. Therefore, in the author's opinion, political education for female cadres in 'Aisyiyah is essential to be studied. Indonesia needs women who have traditional roles and women who can play a role in practical politics. Therefore, women are also required to have the ability and knowledge to play this role. For this reason, 'Aisyiyah can become an embryo that will produce capable female cadres in politics to contribute to the development of the nation.

3. RESEARCH METHOD

This research is a normative, empirical legal research with a qualitative phenomenological approach. This approach combines normative legal research oriented towards studying legal materials with empirical legal research oriented towards reviewing data in the field. This research presents the data as complete as possible through organization and classification to describe facts in a systematic and integrated manner about the research object. Primary data and secondary data consist of primary legal materials, secondary legal materials, and tertiary legal materials.[34]

The research was conducted at Muhammadiyah and ''Aisyiyah and PAN in Yogyakarta. Yogyakarta was chosen because it was the capital of the birthplace of the Muhamamdiyah and 'Aisyiyyah. The PAN was chosen based on two criteria. First, the political party shares the same ideology as Muhammadiyah and 'Aisyiyah. Second, a preliminary study conducted by the research team showed 'Aisyiyah cadres in the party. Thus, this research setting was very relevant to the research focus.

Data collection techniques in this study were carried out through library research and field studies. The literature study was carried out by examining various documents in the library[35] which are relevant to the object of research. Document study is intended to

---

[32] Abdul Mu'ti, *Kosmopolitan Islam Berkemajuan*, ed. Ahmad Fuad Fanani Abdul Mu'ti, Fajar Riza Ulhaq, Azaki Khoirudin, Cetakan I, vol. 01 (Surakarta: Muhammadiyah University Press, 2016).

[33] Aris Riswandi Sanusi and Cecep Darmawan, "Implementasi Pendidikan Politik dalam Membentuk Karakter Kepemimpinan Lintas Budaya Pada Generasi Muda Demi Mewujudkan Budaya Politik Pancasila (Studi Deskriptif Terhadap Organisasi Kepemudaan Gerakan Pemuda Ansor Jawa Barat)," *Jurnal Pendidikan Ilmu Sosial* 25, no. 1 (2016): 24.

[34] Muhamad Azhar Kornelius Benuf, "Metodologi Penelitian Hukum Sebagai Instrumen Mengurai Permasalahan Hukum Kontemporer," *Jurnal Gema Keadilan* 7, no. 1 (2020): 20–33.

[35] I Made Pasek Dhiantha, *Metodologi Penelitian Hukum Normatif Dalam Justifikasi Teori Hukum* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2015).

analyze the material (content analysis) of legal materials found in the library[36]. The legal materials include primary sources authorities in the form of laws and regulations related to women's involvement in political parties. These materials consist of Law Number 2 of 2011 concerning Political Parties and Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning elections. Second, secondary source authorities were books, research results, papers, scientific journals. Third, tertiary legal materials included legal materials in the form of explanations or opinions from legal experts, encyclopedias, and legal dictionaries relevant to the object of research.

The field study was carried out to complement the literature study to obtain more comprehensive data, especially data not found in the literature study. The field study focused on the involvement of 'Aisyiyah cadres in PAN, especially the Yogyakarta Region. In-depth interviews with 'Aisyiyah cadres focused on their involvement in policymaking decisions in the public sphere.

Data analysis was performed by organizing, classifying, and systematizing the data presented in a descriptive juridical form. Furthermore, the analysis was carried out in a qualitative juridical form, namely an analysis that attempts to reflect and describe research data with general descriptions and explanations (generalizations) of the research object[37].

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Women's involvement in political parties

The development of democracy in Indonesia has consequences for the development of the role of women in politics. Post-independence Indonesia was declared as a modern country with the concept of a nation-state so that democracy became a political system. Since entering the transitional reform period, elections have been held by directly electing people's representatives from 1999, 2004, 2009, 2014, and 2019. The result of these elections has produced several objects of study, and one of which is the representation of women in the legislative body.

As quoted by Surbakti, Berger states that participation is quite complex and is often faced by developing countries.[38] Participation is used as an indicator of the acceptance of a political system built by a country. Therefore, the progress and development of a country that is still in the stage of improving national civilization require the involvement of its citizens regardless of gender, where there is no distinction between men and women. Understanding Political participation or involvement is very complex, considering that political participation is an essential means to run a democratic system.

---

[36] Dhiantha.

[37] Mahmud Marzuki, *Penelitian Hukum: Edisi Revisi* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2017).

[38] Sudaryono; Natangsa Surbakti, *Hukum Pidana Dasar-Dasar Hukum Pidana Berdasarkan KUHP Dan RUU KUHP* (Surakarta: Muhammadiyah University Press, 2017).

Indonesia's positive achievements as a democratic country show that democracy can grow and develop well in Indonesia.[39] In the Indonesian constitutional system, the concept of a rule of law and democracy is a formal juridical bond that must be implemented in state life.

Women's political rights have been protected and regulated, especially since Law No.2 of 2011, which provides space for women's involvement in politics. Article 2 paragraph (2) of Law No.2 of 2011 stipulates that the Establishment and formation of Political Parties as intended in paragraph (1) must include 30% (thirty percent) of women's representation. This regulation has made women's participation in politics becoming more apparent than ever. This arrangement also deserves appreciation because a democratic country always places its sovereignty in the hand of its people regardless of gender. This regulation is an opportunity and a challenge for women to play a role in politics.

The existence of women in political contestation has a significant role in increasing women's involvement in public policymaking. Feminist theory, from the point of view of Cristine Sylvester, states that the experience of women in political life provides a perspective on social issues that provides a valuable insight into politics. [40] Based on this theory, the involvement of women in politics can link social issues regarding women that have not been optimal in the laws and regulations. Law No. 2 of 2011 on Political Parties, which guarantees space for women's involvement in politics, further emphasizes the importance of social issues informing laws and regulations. One of the essential foundations in forming laws and regulations is the sociological basis from real social issues in society.

4.2.   'Aisyiyah Women's Cadre Political Education System

Politics education as part of the education system is expected to impact education significantly, allowing political values such as civic participation. A democratic country should use its education system as an effective indoctrination mechanism.[41] As one of the democratic countries, Indonesia should also use its education system to correct politics, especially women.

The chairman of 'Aisyiyah of Yogyakarta particular region, in regards to regeneration system and politics education in Muhammadiyah, states that

---

[39] Zulkarnain Ridlwan, "Cita Demokrasi Indonesia Dalam Politik Hukum Pengawasan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Terhadap Pemerintah," *Jurnal Konstitusi* 12, no. 2 (2016): 305, https://doi.org/10.31078/jk1226.

[40] Karim, "Feminisme: Sebuah Model Penelitian Kualitatif."

[41]Ishac Diwan and Irina Vartanova, "Does Education Indoctrinate?," *International Journal of Educational Development* 78, no. August 2019 (2020): 102249.

"In general, concerning political education, 'Aisyiyah does not have a specific practical politics education, but there are activities to increase the capacity of women's leadership. So far, training for the cadres has been carried out. The program focuses on increasing their leadership capacity, managing the program, and managing the potential around them. In the end, the 'Aisyiyah cadres can organize the 'Aisyiyah members in their surrounding environment. They are also trained to design a program by composing a proposal and submitting the proposal through local leaders or leadership in the village. Almost we have links to the village. "

The statement of 'Aisyiyah chairman above suggests that political education in 'Aisyiyah is not predetermined, but rather it is carried out in the form of a leadership capacity program. One of its signature programs requires cadres to design a proposal independently for every social activity program they intend to do—for instance, the cadres involved in village planning program to elect village leader.

Women have historically been underrepresented in democratic assemblies, especially in top positions of executive power. Gender quota reforms address this by requiring equal gender representation in elections.[42] The issuance of Law No.2 of 2012 on political parties has had a new impact where every Establishment of a political party requires the female representation of at least 30%. In a democratic country, this is significant progress even though realizing these regulations is not an easy task. Not all regions in Indonesia have female human resources that are ready to enter into politics. Likewise, several regions are ready to accommodate the regulation.

From a democratic perspective, political education for women is part of the constitutional rights of citizens, as stated in Article 31 paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. The Constitution stipulates that every citizen has the right to education. Political education as part of the right to education is needed today because of the demands of democratization. The concept of democracy that places the people as the holder of the highest sovereignty means that the people, including women, must have adequate politics to use their political rights as guaranteed in law.

In carrying out its function as an organization of power, the country must still be controlled through democratic mechanisms. Political institutions such as the House of Representatives are essential to exercise control over the government. The community plays a role in enlightening society through political education. So, when people have high political awareness, they understand the various socio-political changes that occur

---

[42] Geys and Sørensen, "The Impact of Women above the Political Glass Ceiling: Evidence from a Norwegian Executive Gender Quota Reform."

rapidly. These changes are much more complex and more complicated than the personal problems commonly faced.[43]

4.3. The involvement of 'Aisyiyah women in Partai Amanat Nasional

As previously explained, PAN tends to adhere to the Party Quota and Reserved Seat systems. Therefore, PAN has female members, one of whom is informant 2 (IH, 58 years old), also an 'Aisyiyah cadre. She explained that the cadre of 'Aisyiyah in PAN gave a sense of uniqueness in the PAN existence. The main contribution of 'Aisyiyah cadres in political parties is the desire to strengthen the affirmative action policy in achieving the 30% quota for women. She wants to contribute directly as an actor, and not only as an observer, in achieving a quota of at least 30% of women in practical politics. Joining 'aisyiyah in 2004, informant 2 was previously a member of the Nasyiyatul 'Aisyiyah Central Executive board and the Muhammadiyah Central Council of Tarjih. As the former head of women's empowerment at PAN, the informant played a role in recruiting women members and administrators in political parties and increasing women's capacity and awareness in politics. When she joined a political party, the most impressive experience was to invite women to participate in practical politics, making women enjoy their role in politics and having the courage to be involved in the election.

Meanwhile, she also felt several bitter experiences during her time at the party. She witnessed the fact that women in the political area were still underestimated. More crucially, gender equality and justice in political parties is a mere discourse that did not go further into practical application.

In terms of the cadre regeneration in 'Aisyiyah, the informant said that' 'Aisyiyah was committed to placing its cadres in political parties and the legislative body. However, 'Aisyiyah's plan was constrained by Muhammadiyah's policy that restricted its cadres, especially lecturers, to be involved in practical politics. Whereas in general, female lecturers have excellent potential to play a role and support the 30% quota of women in practical politics.

The presence of Law No. 2 of 2011 on Political Parties itself is expected to accommodate the involvement of women in politics. According to informants, this law is sufficient to support the role of women in politics. However, unfortunately, it does not regulate sanctions if political parties do not comply with these regulations. Consequently, political parties feel they are not bound by these rules and tend to act arbitrarily. In the Muhammadiyah and 'Aisyiyah, the problem of regeneration or political education has not been systemized. So far, it seems ambivalent, especially in supporting organization cadres involved in the practical political area. The regulation that prohibits lecturers and education staff from becoming members of political parties contradicts the current

---

[43] Syarifuddin Jurdi, "Muhammadiyah Dan Gerakan," *Sulesana* 6, no. 2 (2011): 1–14.

situation. Through Law No. 2 of 2011 on Political Parties, the role of women in politics must increase both in quantity and quality. Finally, the informant stated that Nasyiatul 'Aisyiyah had made a political school for women in the past, but the idea was not realized.

According to Law No.2 of 2011, political parties are defined as national organizations in scope and are formed by a group of Indonesian citizens voluntarily based on typical desires and aspirations. Based on this common aspiration, they fight for and defend the political interests of their members, society, nation, and State and maintain the integrity and unity of their nation. The aspiration is grounded on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. In a country based on democracy, at least political parties have 4 (four) main functions. These functions include political education, political communication, recruitment, and reducing conflict in society. [44]

Before the Indonesian independence, Indonesian founders were involved in ideological conflict, where there were two opposing ideological poles at that time, namely the secular nationalist and the religious-nationalist group. Meanwhile, Islam does not separate religion and political matters. Islam views politics as part of the da'wah route that Muslims must take advantage.[45] In reality, this ideological conflict also happened among Muhammadiyah elites. They have different perspectives. The Muhammadiyah movement, modern, dynamic, and progressive, does not always act normatively, where its activists would be rational. The leadership factor, which is collective-collegial and the absence of one command, also affects the variations in the political attitudes of the Muhammadiyah elites. [46]

Considering Muhammadiyah's existence and how Islam sees politics as part of da'wah, political education is a necessity for Muhammadiyah. Politics in Muhammadiyah is high politics because Muhammadiyah makes politics a means of da'wah, including women in 'Aisyiyah. One of the concrete pieces of evidence, among others, can be seen in the 'Aisyiyah anthem, where the lyrics read "creating a truly Islamic society, full of blessings". In other words, 'aisyiyah is a forum to channel the political aspirations of Muhammadiyah women. 'Aisyiyah cadre must not be politically blind because politics will affect all aspects of community life.

Muhammadiyah is one of the influential Islamic mass organizations that focus on community activities, has a very significant role in politics. It has proven its role in producing elite political figures. Logically, a massive organization has broad access to society and the potential to attract public interest to choose its political channels.

---

[44] Anis Septiana Erik Darmawan, "Analisis Fungsi Partai Politik Pada Pilkada Musi Banyuasin 2017 (Studi Terhadap Partai Politik Pengusung Pasangan Dodi Reza Dan Beni Hernedi)," *Jurnal Studi Sosial Dan Politik* 3, no. 1 (2019): 28–41.

[45] Fathor Rosi, "Gerakan Politik Kiai Dan Dakwah Islam: Membaca Aktifitas Dakwah Dan Politik Kiai Pada Momentum Pemilu," *At-Turost: Journal of Islamic Studies* 07, no. 02 (2020): 233–55.

[46] Ridho Al-Hamdi, "Dinamika Islam Dan Politik Elit - Elit Muhammadiyah Periode 1998-2010," *Journal of Government and Politics* 3, no. 1 (2012): 161–96.

Muhammadiyah has declared that it is neutral towards practical politics and has no affiliation with any political party. Muhammadiyah also gives freedom to its members as long as they uphold the principle of *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*, (enjoining good and forbidding wrong). Muhammadiyah also tries to use political forces as a medium of preaching. This neutral attitude was further refined in the 1978 Surabaya Khittah, which regulated that Muhammadiyah was an Islamic Da'wah movement focused on socio-religious activities. It had no organizational relationship with and was not an affiliate of any political party or organization. More than that, it is emphasized that every member of Muhammadiyah following their human rights may or may not join other organizations, as long as they do not deviate from the main principles of Association, Bylaws and the applicable provisions of the Muhammadiyah organization[47].

4.4. Discussion

As described in the previous section, political neutrality is an option that Muhammadiyah has taken. It is also a strategy to maintain Muhammadiyah's independence, dignity, and unity of its members. The existence of a political party reduces, reduces, and destroys the prestige of the Muhammadiyah.[48] However, as one of the largest socio-religious organizations in Indonesia.[49] It has an autonomous body for its female cadres, namely 'Aisyiyah. It is within Muhammadiyah interest to contribute to the broader social community, not only for the Muslims community. The leaders at the regional level and the sub-branches level can translate what is underlined by the central leadership. An autonomous organization such as 'Aisyiyah can run its program as long as it does not deviate from the central principles of the organization.[50]

Muhammadiyah was founded on November 18, 1912. Apart from focusing its attention on the social, religious, educational, and health issues, it also carries out a political function, wherein national level Muhammadiyah has taken part in the national awakening movement, laying the foundation of the State based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. It also upholds the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia in the Constitution to realize the independence goals.[51]

As the 3rd largest country after the United States and India in terms of democracy[52], this democratic leadership model has given birth to progressive and

---

[47] Jurdi, "Muhammadiyah Dan Gerakan."

[48] Min-hyu Kim et al., "Assessing the South Korean Model of Emergency Management during the COVID-19 Pandemic," *Asian Studies Review* 44, no. 4 (2020): 567–78.

[49] Suyad, "Mainstreaming The Knowledge of Islamic Education With Progress and of Islam Nusantara Education," *Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 24, no. 1 (2019): 37–66.

[50] Kim et al., "Assessing the South Korean Model of Emergency Management during the COVID-19 Pandemic."

[51]Hikmawan Syahputra, "Peran Politik Muhammadiyah Tahun 2010-2014," *Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan Universitas Brawijaya*, no. 10 September 2014 (2014): 1–30.

[52]Argenti, "Civil Society Dan Politik Moral Muhammadiyah."

intellectual women who become members of 'Aisyiyah[53]. Although organizationally 'aisyiyah as part of Muhammadiyah is not involved in practical political activities, its focus on social, health, law, and religious matters has allowed its members to grow their mindset positively.

Muhammadiyah has been criticized because it prohibits women cadres of 'Aisyiyah especially teachers and lecturers, from practical politics. However, this policy needs to be reconsidered because women cadres' of 'Aisyiyah, especially teachers and lecturers, have the capacity and capability to get involved in politics. This policy is undoubtedly very unfavorable for 'Aisyiyah women because most' 'Aisyiyah women cadres who work in academia have adequate skills and knowledge required to participate in practical politics. This policy is considered ambivalent if related to the regulations in Law No.2 of 2011 concerning Political Parties because it tends to hinder women from engaging in practical politics.

This finding strengthens Cristine Sylvester's feminist standpoint theory that although the law's policy supports the involvement of women in politics if women's organizations do not support it, it will not be optimal. In general, the legal approach to feminist theory is still predominantly about gender differences. Feminist legal theory initially adopted a discriminated model for gender issues. Discriminatory treatment requires the law to regulate equal opportunities for men and women in various aspects, especially politics. [54]

The realization of women's participation in politics will further minimize possible discrimination between women and men. The issuance of Law No. 2 of 2011 on Political Parties, which is the normative basis for the importance of political education for women, must be taken seriously and thoroughly. Both women and men have equal access to achieving a leadership role. Now women are better able to participate and give control over the development of the country. It is a policy in obtaining equitable and fair benefits from democratic development.[55] It is time for women to advance and have an important leadership role. It has been fought for by 'Aisyiyah through various social activities carried out continuously, even before Law No.2 of 2011 was regulated.

'Aisyiyah is highly committed to placing its cadres in political parties and legislative institutions, and the informant of this research also has a similar view on this matter[56]. This commitment, however, is contradictory to Muhammadiyah policy that

---

[53]Darliana Sormin, "Program 'Aisyiyah Dalam Mewujudkan Keluarga Sakinah Menuju Islam Berkemajuan," *Intiqad: Jurnal Agama Dan Pendidikan Islam* 11, no. 1 (2019): 155–70.

[54] Martha Albertsen Fineman, "Feminist Legal Theory: Foundations," *Choice Reviews Online* 31, no. 02 (1993): 31-1192-31–1192, https://doi.org/10.5860/choice.31-1192.

[55]Handayani and Aiyiyah, "Politik Perempuan Muhammadiyah Dalam Kepemimpinan Dan Politik Di Kalimantan Tengah (Muhammadiyah Women's Role in Leadership and Politics in Central Kalimantan)."

[56] Zainul Arifin, "'Aisyiyah Dan Pembinaan Pemberdayaan Perempuan Sebagai Upaya Mencapai Kesetaraan Gander," *Forum Ilmu Sosial* 44, no. 1 (2017): 68–71.

prohibits female 'aisyiyah cadres, especially academia, from being involved in practical politics. It is rather unfortunate as the 'aisyiyah cadres who have the capacity and capability are mostly the academia (lecturers). This policy is certainly very unfavorable for 'Aisyiyah women because most' 'Aisyiyah women cadres who work as academics have adequate skills and knowledge in practical politics. This policy is considered ambivalent if it is related to the regulations in Law No.2 of 2011 on Political Parties because it seems to hinder women from engaging in practical politics.

Although the cadre system or political education for 'Aisyiyah women is not a formal education with a standardized curriculum, Muhammadiyah has proven that its capacity-building programs are effective. For instance, the programs have successfully given several opportunities for Muhammadiyah women to be appointed as leaders in Muhammadiyah organizational institutions, such as Muhammadiyah Higher Education. (PTM).[57] Female cadres also become members of the legislature in the DPR (people's representative council) and DPRD (Regional People's Representative Assembly), holding executive positions both at the central and regional levels. This fact proves that Muhammadiyah has truly realized political education for female cadres who have been well placed in various political institutions, including political parties, like PAN, because a political institution will only take women with the suitable capacities and capabilities.

Considering that the type of law is responsive, the law is a facilitator or means of responding to social needs and aspirations. Women's representation in the legislative body can impact two things. First, the law must be functionally pragmatic, purposeful, and rational. Second, the law acts as a critical norm to change inappropriate social institutions.[58] The position of women in political parties as a form of representative democracy that holds people's sovereignty is to fulfill the quantity requirements in law and bring about positive changes in the development of a modern legal state and democratic life.

5. LIMITATION OF RESEARCH

The limitation of this research is that the legal review of women's representation both normatively, empirically. It sociologically is still limited to one party and one organization, namely PAN and 'Aisyiyah. PAN has also recruited female cadres from outside 'Aisyiyah and' 'Aisyiyah itself are affiliated with one political party. Therefore, it is necessary to carry out further research on legal reviews of women's involvement.

---

[57] Sutrisno dan Suyadi, *Desain Kurikulum Pendidikan Tinggi Mengacu KKNI* (Bandung: Rosda Karya, 2015).

[58] Haliim, "Demokrasi Deliberatif Indonesia : Konsep Partisipasi Masyarakat Dalam Membentuk Demokrasi Dan Hukum Yang Responsif."

6. CONCLUSION

Based on the research and discussion results above, there are 2 (two) main findings in this study. First, law enforcement regarding women's representation in political parties, especially the cadre of 'Aisyyah in the National Mandate Party, is in line with Islamic law, which places politics as part of the way of da'wah. The existence of 'Aisyiyah has proven how important political education is for Muhammadiyah female cadres, although Muhammadiyah is not organizationally affiliated with any party. 'Aisyiyah is a forum to channel the political aspirations of Muhammadiyah women. The women cadres must not be politically blind because politics will affect all aspects of community life. Secondly, political education for female cadres of 'Aisyiyah is conducted through leadership capacity training, organizing programs in organizations, optimizing potential in their environment, and organizing fellow cadres in the 'Aisyiyah community. It has been proven by various strategic positions that female cadres' 'Aisyiyah have in various institutions, holding executive positions both at the central and regional levels. This fact proves that the women of 'Aisyiyah have indeed embodied political education for female cadres.

This research explicitly recommends two essential things. First, to respond to regulations that provide space for women's representation in the Establishment and formation of political parties, women's appropriate political education model is needed. It can be optimally achieved by optimizing the 'aisyiyah to become a quality political learning medium to produce qualified women in politics. Second, the idea that women's representation does not have to be represented by women appears after the arrangement of women's representation law must be immediately addressed. It is urgent because the number of women populations is still higher than men. Thus, political education should be carried out more massively so that women can be represented concretely.

REFERENCES

Adil Mubarak. "Wajah Politik Muhammadiyah Oleh : Adil Mubarak." *Jurnal Demokrasi* Vol 11, no. 1 (2012): 215–22.

Al-Hamdi, Ridho. "Dinamika Islam Dan Politik Elit - Elit Muhammadiyah Periode 1998-2010." *Journal of Government and Politics* 3, no. 1 (2012): 161–96. https://doi.org/10.18196/jgp.2012.0009.

Ardiansa, Dirga. "Menghadirkan Kepentingan Perempuan Dalam Representasi Politik Di Indonesia." *Jurnal Politik* 2, no. 1 (2017): 71. https://doi.org/10.7454/jp.v2i1.82.

Argenti, Gili. "Civil Society Dan Politik Moral Muhammadiyah." *Jurnal Politikom Indonesia* 2, no. 2 (2017): 82–104.

Arifin, Zainul. "'Aisyiyah Dan Pembinaan Pemberdayaan Perempuan Sebagai Upaya Mencapai Kesetaraan Gander." *Forum Ilmu Sosial* 44, no. 1 (2017): 68–71.

Asshiddiqie, Jimly. *Pengantar Hukum Tata Negara*. Jakarta: PT Raja Grafindo Persada, 2013.

Bachtiar, Farahdiba Rahma. "Pemilu Indonesia: Kiblat Negara Demokrasi Dari Berbagai

Refresentasi." *JPP (Jurnal Politik Profetik)* 2, no. 1 (2014).

Dhiantha, I Made Pasek. *Metodologi Penelitian Hukum Normatif Dalam Justifikasi Teori Hukum*. Jakarta: Kencana, 2015.

Diwan, Ishac, and Irina Vartanova. "Does Education Indoctrinate?" *International Journal of Educational Development* 78, no. August 2019 (2020): 102249. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2020.102249.

Dzuhayatin, Siti Ruhaini. "Menakar 'Kadar Politis' Aisyiyah." *Yin Yang: Jurnal Studi Gender Dan Anak* 4, no. 2 (2009): 1–10.

Erik Darmawan, Anis Septiana. "Analisis Fungsi Partai Politik Pada Pilkada Musi Banyuasin 2017 (Studi Terhadap Partai Politik Pengusung Pasangan Dodi Reza Dan Beni Hernedi)." *Jurnal Studi Sosial Dan Politik* 3, no. 1 (2019): 28–41.

Fadli, Yusuf. "Islam, Perempuan Dan Politik: Argumentasi Keterlibatan Perempuan Dalam Politik Di Indonesia Pasca Reformasi." *Journal of Government and Civil Society* 1, no. 1 (2018): 41. https://doi.org/10.31000/jgcs.v1i1.267.

Fineman, Martha Albertsen. "Feminist Legal Theory: Foundations." *Choice Reviews Online* 31, no. 02 (1993): 31-1192-31–1192. https://doi.org/10.5860/choice.31-1192.

Geys, B., and Rune J. Sørensen. "The Impact of Women above the Political Glass Ceiling: Evidence from a Norwegian Executive Gender Quota Reform." *Electoral Studies* 60, no. June (2019): 102050. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2019.102050.

Haliim, Wimmy. "Demokrasi Deliberatif Indonesia : Konsep Partisipasi Masyarakat Dalam Membentuk Demokrasi Dan Hukum Yang Responsif." *Jurnal Masyarakat Indonesia* 42, no. 1 (2016): 19–30.

Handayani, Indah Tri, and Nayiatul Aiyiyah. "Politik Perempuan Muhammadiyah Dalam Kepemimpinan Dan Politik Di Kalimantan Tengah (Muhammadiyah Women's Role in Leadership and Politics in Central Kalimantan)." *Pencerah Publik* 6, no. 2 (2019): 32–42.

Hasanah, Ulfatun, and Najahan Musyafak. "Gender and Politic: Keterlibatan Perempuan Dalam Pembangunan Politik." *Sawwa* 12, no. 3 (2017): 409–32.

Ikhwanuddin, Afrizky Fajar Purnawan; Mohammad. "Feminisme Dalam Pandangan Pimpinan Daeraha Aisyiyah Kota Surabaya (Studi Tentang Keterlibatan Perempuan Di Ruang Publik)." *Maqosid: Jurnal Studi Hukum Islam* 7, no. 1 (2018): 2615–22.

Irma, Ade, and Dessy Hasanah. "Menyoroti Budaya Patriarki Di Indonesia." *Scial Work Journal* 7, no. 1 (2018): 1–29.

Jurdi, Syarifuddin. "Muhammadiyah Dan Gerakan." *Sulesana* 6, no. 2 (2011): 1–14.

Kalra, Sadhvi, and Devin K. Joshi. "Gender and Parliamentary Representation in India: The Case of Violence against Women and Children." *Women's Studies International Forum* 82, no. July 2018 (2020): 102402. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2020.102402.

Karim, Abdul. "Feminisme: Sebuah Model Penelitian Kualitatif." *Sawwa* 10, no. 1 (2014): 83–98.

Kim, Min-hyu, Wonhyuk Cho, Hemin Choi, Joon-young Hur, and Min-hyu Kim. "Assessing the South Korean Model of Emergency Management during the COVID-19 Pandemic." *Asian Studies Review* 44, no. 4 (2020): 567–78. https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2020.1779658.

Kornelius Benuf, Muhamad Azhar. "Metodologi Penelitian Hukum Sebagai Instrumen Mengurai Permasalahan Hukum Kontemporer." *Jurnal Gema Keadilan* 7, no. 1 (2020): 20–33.

Marzuki, Mahmud. *Penelitian Hukum: Edisi Revisi*. Jakarta: Kencana, 2017.

MD, Moh. Mahfud. *Demokrasi Dan Konstitusi Di Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: Liberty, 2000.

Mikail, Kiki. "Politik dan Perempuan: Perjuangan Politik Perempuan Di Iran Pasca Revolusi Islam 1979." *Addin* 9, no. 2 (2015): 253–76. https://doi.org/10.21043/addin.v9i2.615.

Mu'ti, Abdul. *Kosmopolitan Islam Berkemajuan*. Edited by Ahmad Fuad Fanani Abdul Mu'ti, Fajar Riza Ulhaq, Azaki Khoirudin. Cetakan I. Vol. 01. Surakarta: Muhammadiyah University Press, 2016.

Nurcahyo, Abraham. "Relevansi Budaya Patriarki Dengan Partisipasi Politik Dan Keterwakilan Perempuan Di Parlemen." *Agastya: Jurnal Sejarah Dan Pembelajarannya* 6, no. 01 (2016): 25. https://doi.org/10.25273/ajsp.v6i01.878.

Pendahuluan, A. "Keterwakilan Perempuan Dalam Partai Politik Berdasarkan Undang-Undang Nomor 02 Tahun 2008 Dan Undang-Undang Nomor 02 Tahun 2011 Tentang Partai Politik," 2011, 64–81.

Rahardjo, Satjipto. *Sosiologi Hukum : Perkembangan, Metode Dan Pilihan Masalah*. Yogyakarta: Genta Publising, 2010.

Ridlwan, Zulkarnain. "Cita Demokrasi Indonesia Dalam Politik Hukum Pengawasan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Terhadap Pemerintah." *Jurnal Konstitusi* 12, no. 2 (2016): 305. https://doi.org/10.31078/jk1226.

Rohmat, Amarru Muftie Holish, Iqbal Syariefudin. "Pengaruh Pendidikan Politik Dan Demokrasi Bagi Generasi Muda Terhadap Tingkat Partisipasi Pelaksanaan Pemilihan Umum," 2018. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.15294/snh.v4i03.27024.

Rosi, Fathor. "Gerakan Politik Kiai Dan Dakwah Islam: Membaca Aktifitas Dakwah Dan Politik Kiai Pada Momentum Pemilu." *At-Turost: Journal of Islamic Studies* 07, no. 02 (2020): 233–55.

Sanusi, Aris Riswandi, and Cecep Darmawan. "Implementasi Pendidikan Politik Dalam Membentuk Karakter Kepemimpinan Lintas Budaya Pada Generasi Muda Demi Mewujudkan Budaya Politik Pancasila (Studi Deskriptif Terhadap Organisasi Kepemudaan Gerakan Pemuda Ansor Jawa Barat)." *Jurnal Pendidikan Ilmu Sosial* 25, no. 1 (2016): 24. https://doi.org/10.17509/jpis.v25i1.3668.

Sirajuddin, Sirajuddin, and Adiloka Sudjono. "Implementasi Affirmative Action Kuota Perempuan Dalam Partai Politik Dan Lembaga Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah (Studi Di Wilayah Kota Malang)." *Widya Yuridika* 1, no. 2 (2018): 169. https://doi.org/10.31328/wy.v1i2.746.

Sormin, Darliana. "Program 'Aisyiyah Dalam Mewujudkan Keluarga Sakinah Menuju Islam Berkemajuan." *Intiqad: Jurnal Agama Dan Pendidikan Islam* 11, no. 1 (2019): 155–70.

Surbakti, Sudaryono; Natangsa. *Hukum Pidana Dasar-Dasar Hukum Pidana Berdasarkan KUHP Dan RUU KUHP*. Surakarta: Muhammadiyah University Press, 2017.

Suriadi, S, A Adnan, J Jayadi, S Susilawati, and ... "Partisipasi Perempuan Dalam Politik Perspektif Pendidikan Islam Dan Gender." *Al ...* 18, no. 1 (2018): 247–70.

Susanti, Susi, and Adelita Lubis. "Partisipasi Politik Perempuan Pada Partai Keadilan Sejahtera Kota Medan." *JPPUMA: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan Dan Sosial Politik UMA (Journal of Governance and Political Social UMA)* 3, no. 1 (2015): 1–13.

Sutrisno dan Suyadi. *Desain Kurikulum Pendidikan Tinggi Mengacu KKNI*. Bandung: Rosda Karya, 2015.

Suyad. "Mainstreaming The Knowledge of Islamic Education With Progress and of Islam

Nusantara Education." *Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 24, no. 1 (2019): 37–66.

Suyadi, Sumaryati, Dwi Hastuti, Desfa Yusmaliana, Rafika Dwi Rahma MZ. "Constitutional Piety: The Integration of Anti-Corruption Education into Islamic Religious Learning Based on Neuroscience." *J-PAI: Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam* 6, no. 1 (2019): 38–46. https://doi.org/10.18860/jpai.v6i1.8307.

Suyadi. "Diferensiasi Otak Laki-Laki Dan Perempuan Guru Taman Kanak-Kanak Aisyiyah Nyai Ahmad Dahlan Yogyakarta: Studi Pendidikan Islam Anak Usia Dini Perspektif Gender Dan Neurosains." *Sawwa: Jurnal Studi Gender* 13, no. 2 (2018): 179–202.

Syafrizal, Gazali; "Presiden Perempuan: Studi Atas Pandangan Kiyai Husein Muhaammad." *Living Islam: Journal of Islamic Discourses* 3, no. 2 (2020): 1–23.

Syahputra, Hikmawan. "Peran Politik Muhammadiyah Tahun 2010-2014." *Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan Universitas Brawijaya*, no. 10 September 2014 (2014): 1–30.