

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN POLITICAL CONTESTATION IN INDONESIA: AN ANALYSIS OF THE POLITICAL IDEAS OF ALI ABDUR-RAZIQ

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Abstract

This article aims to explore the potential of women in political contestation from the perspective of Ali Abdur-Raziq, a prominent Islamic thinker and reformer. The growing population, predominantly female, positions women as a significant force. Yet, the recognition of women's contributions to politics remains limited. This perspective is reinforced by historical narratives that depict men as the dominant figures in all aspects of life, rendering the discussion of women in politics almost taboo. The aim of this article is to reintroduce women as equals to men, entitled to the same opportunities in every aspect. Through literature research, this article posits that women, while maintaining their religious consciousness, have the potential to transform societal and political views.

Keywords: *Women, Islam, Politics, Ali Abdur Raziq*

Abstrak

Artikel ini membahas tentang potensi perempuan dalam kontestasi politik dari perspektif Ali Abdur Raziq, seorang pemikir dan reformis Islam terkemuka. Pertumbuhan penduduk yang didominasi oleh perempuan menjadikan mereka sebagai kekuatan tersendiri. Namun kesadaran atas sumbangsih perempuan dalam dunia politik masih minim. Pandangan tersebut didukung oleh fakta sejarah yang menampilkan laki-laki sebagai karakter yang mendominasi segala aspek kehidupan, sehingga menarasikan perempuan dan politik dalam satu perbincangan nyaris dianggap sebagai sesuatu yang tabu. Tujuan daripada penulisan artikel ini adalah untuk kembali menampilkan perempuan sebagai figur yang berdiri sama seperti laki-laki, memiliki kesempatan yang sama dalam setiap hal. Dengan mempergunakan kajian kepustakaan, artikel ini mendapatkan hipotesis bahwa perempuan dengan tetap membawa kesadaran religiusnya memiliki potensi untuk ikut mengubah negara dan pandangan masyarakat melalui aspek politik.

Kata Kunci: *Perempuan, Islam, Politik, Ali Abdur Raziq*

A. Introduction

Islam is a special religion, where its emergence in the Arabian region marked a pivotal moment that brought about changes to the world thereafter. Muhammad, who was an ordinary human being, was honored by Allah SWT by bestowing upon him the Qur'an as a perfect holy book, completing all the teachings that had been revealed by previous prophets and messengers through revelations in their time, including the Torah, Psalms, and the Gospel. (Athief, 2019).

Islam, as a new religion, elicited various reactions upon its emergence. Some embraced it with open arms, not only due to guidance but also because its arrival aligned with diverse earlier sources. Meanwhile, there were also those who rejected it, considering Islam a misguided religion, fearing its emergence could undermine the authority of the Quraysh, one of the most powerful tribes at that time (Ivan Sunata, 2019).

Whether consciously or not, by using the terms "perfect" and "final," Islam indirectly implies that all the problems faced by humanity should be explained by Islam, including challenges in dealing with the changing times and interactions with non-Muslims. This is what leads to various studies within Islam, not limited to the Qur'an alone but also including the Hadith, Ijma', Qiyas, and so on. This diversity of studies within Islam gives rise to various branches of knowledge, including Aqidah (theology), Akhlak (ethics), Fiqh (jurisprudence), Tafsir (exegesis), and many others (Athief, 2019). All these branches of knowledge are nothing but evidence of the responsibility of the Muslim community to address the challenges of the times, rather than merely using empty rhetoric devoid of meaning.

Among the many aspects discussed in Islam, one intriguing aspect is politics. Politics, as an important aspect due to its direct impact on human life, holds equal importance alongside other aspects such as economics and socio-cultural dynamics. Through politics, a nation's existence is not only explained from a general and definitive perspective but also reveals the components within it, ranging from leadership systems to the governance of structured territorial systems.

In Islam, explanations regarding politics do not directly elaborate on these complex aspects but rather refer more to attitudes and leadership etiquette, especially concerning the relationship between leaders and the led. This is because from its inception, Islam did not prioritize politics and leadership as its main focus but rather regarded them as complementary. Islam's primary focus during its establishment was solely to spread its teachings to the Arab people, particularly the inhabitants of Mecca (Y. K. Yahya, 2019). In addition, Islam, which was still a minority at that time, interacted with various followers of other religions, including Christians and Zoroastrians. It was only after the death of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) that systems of governance and leadership began to emerge during the era of the Rashidun Caliphs. The peak of the era of the Rashidun Caliphs witnessed the conflict between Ali ibn Abi Talib and Muawiyah, which resulted in warfare among Muslims

(Junaidin, 2020). After the end of the era of the Rashidun Caliphs, the leadership system held by the caliphs, known as the caliphate, continued to exist. However, its presence continuously led to turmoil within the Muslim community, and eventually, the caliphate system ceased to exist after its abolition in Turkey by Mustafa Kemal Atatür (Sugiri, 2019).

Today, the concept of the caliphate is not as prevalent, although there are some movements advocating for its revival in several countries with predominantly Muslim populations, including Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam, and some countries in the Middle East. However, reintroducing the idea of the caliphate as a governance system does not receive unanimous approval; it encounters both supporters and opponents. Proponents argue that the caliphate is a system based on the practices of the Rashidun Caliphs and therefore should be reinstated, especially in Muslim-majority countries. On the other hand, opponents reject the reimplementation of the caliphate as a governance system, citing historical evidence that the caliphate was inherently unstable and did not thoroughly explore the idea of democracy, which is often seen as representing the political view of the state's support for its people.

Studies on the caliphate become increasingly important, especially when connected to the fact that there exists a patriarchal system that only supports men as the sole players eligible for involvement in politics and leadership roles within government. However, upon closer observation, the growth of women is significantly greater than that of men, implying that women should have the opportunity to participate in the political arena. Indonesia stands out as a special example of gender equality, with figures like Megawati Soekarno Putri having served as president. Additionally, names like Khofifah Indar Parawansyah and Tri Rismaharini have also held leadership positions. This illustrates that women have both the potential and opportunity to engage in politics.

Revisiting the theme of the caliphate and women's leadership always remains pertinent, especially as elections approach. The purpose of revisiting this theme is to raise awareness, particularly among women, regarding issues related to the political sphere. To support this discussion, the author brings forth the political ideas of Ali Abdur Raziq, who was also against the caliphate system. While Raziq's ideas may be controversial, it would be erroneous to interpret this controversy subjectively. Therefore, Ali Abdur Raziq's perspective on the caliphate can be used to analyze contemporary phenomena. The aim of this analysis is to enable women to understand their existence not only as individuals but also as members of society with equal standing and shared responsibility for creating a good life for everyone.

Therefore, it is necessary to understand the biography of Ali Abdur Raziq and his background that shaped his life and thinking. This is done solely to gain a comprehensive view of Ali Abdur Raziq and his significant perspective in demonstrating the importance of women's contributions to the political world.

B. Method

The method used by the author in this article is library research method, which is a research approach that utilizes literature such as books and journals as supporting data for completing the writing. The literature used includes biographies combined with other literary data, from which the author attempts to conduct analysis and present it in a way that the writing can be read and understood sequentially (Sari & Asmendri, 2020).

C. Discussion

1. Biography of Ali Abdur Raziq

Ali Abdur Raziq was a man born in 1888 AD and passed away in 1966 AD, amidst tumultuous polemics in both the Western and Eastern worlds. He was born in the village of Abu Jarj, Bani Mizar City, located approximately 80 kilometers from the center of Alminya, the province of that city. Ali was born into the lineage of Abdur Raziq, the founder of the Abdur Raziq family, who was assigned to be a judge in the Bahnasa region around 1798 AD. Bahnasa was a vast area within the Bahr Yusuf region, which encompassed a long history of Islam, starting from ancient times during the Pharaonic rule, followed by the Christian era, until the early days when Islam entered the region and spread to the surrounding areas. However, geographically, Bahnasa was quite distant from where Ali lived, approximately 15 kilometers to the west. In that region, Ali Abdur Raziq's family was one of the four prominent families that contributed significantly to the area, particularly in terms of material assistance. The prominent families in the area included the Abdul Jalil family, the Abdur Raziq family, the Mahmud family, and the Badawi family. All these families coexisted harmoniously in the region, and even when travelers or caravans from distant lands passed through, they could sense the tranquility there, as there was hardly any disturbance. Ali's grandfather, Ahmad Abdur Raziq, served as a judge in the Abu Jarj area and was also the first person to establish a residence there. Due to his grandfather's profession, the Abdur Raziq family was known as a family of judges (Sa'fan, 2009).

Looking at his lineage, Ali Abdur Raziq was born into a distinguished family. His grandfather, Ahmad Abdur Raziq, served as a judge in the region. His father, named Hasan Basya' Abdur Raziq, was a representative of the people in parliament specifically for their region. He served as a parliament member during the reign of al-Khadyuwi Ismail. In politics, he actively participated in leadership nominations within the parliament, which made his name quite prominent in parliamentary circles. After serving as a representative for the Alminya region, he also held a position as a member of the Shura Council tasked with studying national laws. He fulfilled this duty for 18 years, and his conclusions had a significant influence on movements advocating for religious reforms in Egypt, particularly in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Sa'fan, 2009).

Not only were they well-educated, but the Abdur Raziq family was also wealthy in the Alminyia region. Despite their wealth, they were known for their wisdom and humility, never flaunting their riches. Instead, they were renowned for their generosity, always ready to assist those in need. Within the community, they actively participated in various activities and initiatives. They played a significant role in the establishment of the Al-Jami'ah Al-Khairiyyah educational institution, which is the oldest elementary school in the Alminyia province. Moreover, they supported financially disadvantaged children to attend school, ensuring that most of the students in the madrasah hailed from the villages surrounding their own, rather than from other areas (Sa'fan, 2009).

Ali Abdur Raziq's father, Hasan Basya', placed great emphasis on the education of his two sons, Ali and his brother Mustofa. There was nothing extraordinary about their early education. Both Ali and Mustofa underwent the same educational journey as other Egyptian children, including learning to read, write, count, and memorize the Quran, as was customary at that time. To accelerate their learning, Hasan Basya' often invited teachers to their home outside of school hours, especially Quran teachers to correct their recitation. Moreover, Hasan Basya' frequently invited Quran reciters to their home to recite verses beautifully, aiming to invoke divine protection and blessings for everyone present. Almost every harvest season, the Abdur Raziq family distributed their crops, such as corn and wheat, to the teachers and Quran reciters who had taught and recited in their home. This act was a manifestation of their gratitude for the abundant harvest bestowed upon them by Allah. During Islamic festivals, the Abdur Raziq family also sent staple foods like meat, milk, and cheese to these teachers and reciters. Consequently, even after Ali and Mustofa graduated from the elementary school, the teachers and reciters maintained close ties with the family. This was primarily due to the family's generosity, as the teachers and reciters did not wish to sever ties, knowing that the family's benevolence would continue to benefit them (Sa'fan, 2009).

All of the disciplined educational systems put in place by Hasan Basya' were for the future of his children. He desired for both his sons to graduate from Al-Azhar University, a highly esteemed institution at that time. This aspiration was not without reason; Hasan Basya' wished for his sons to be respected figures within their community. In the societal norms of that era, individuals who graduated from Al-Azhar were regarded as honorable, distinguished, and possessing above-average education. Moreover, Hasan Basya's desire was grounded in the fact that he himself was an Al-Azhar graduate. Therefore, he believed it would be a source of immense pride if his children were to follow in his footsteps and graduate from there as well. However strong his desires were, Hasan Basya' always anchored them in the goal of drawing closer to Allah SWT (Sa'fan, 2009).

After completing their studies at the elementary school level, Ali and his brother Mustofa pursued knowledge within the community. They joined the study circle (halaqah) of Muhammad Abduh. Due to their close relationship with their teacher and

their enthusiasm for learning, Ali and Mustofa frequently visited their teacher's home along with their friends. It was not a problem for Ali to visit his teacher's home regularly because he did not live with his family; instead, he chose to reside in the vicinity of Al-Azhar, although his home was not far from the university. In their learning activities, Ali not only participated in Muhammad Abduh's study circle but also engaged in argumentation with his peers, including Thaha Husain, who often accompanied him when facing difficulties or needing opinions on understanding lessons and books discussing literature. Ali also studied under professors or Western scholars, such as Santillana, Nino, and Litman. Ali's life, filled with intellectual pursuits and thought movements, differed significantly from that of his brother, Mustofa. Unlike Ali, Mustofa preferred books, articles, and literature, much like many other Al-Azhar students. Moreover, the scholarly contexts of their studies became increasingly distinct. Mustofa favored textual studies, while Ali was more interested in politics. Due to his preference, Mustofa eventually reached the peak of his career, being appointed as a sheikh of Al-Azhar until his passing. His life was respected and honored by those around him. Meanwhile, Ali, who had an inclination toward politics, delved into the study of the caliphate system and political currents in Egypt (Iqbal, 2015).

After completing his education at Al-Azhar in 1911 with a Bachelor of Arts degree in Al-Alimiyah, Ali Abdur Raziq initiated the formation of a study group for the study of rhetoric under his own guidance, driven by his love for the knowledge he possessed (Wibowo, 2015). Ali went to England to continue his studies at the University of Oxford in 1912. However, he actually lagged behind his brother, Mustofa, who had also gone abroad to pursue education in 1909. Mustofa went to France and studied at the University of Sorbonne and Lyon. Their experiences abroad were vastly different. Mustofa spent his learning years abroad peacefully and joyfully. The serene learning environment and friends from various countries, especially from France and the Arab world, made Mustofa thoroughly enjoy his time there until he completed his studies. He even wrote about his experiences in the newspapers "al-Siyasah" and "al-Muayyad" in 1914 under the title "Mudzakkirah al-Musafir" (Memoirs of a Traveler). Mustofa's happiness in France was not mirrored by Ali during his time in England. In England, Ali only enjoyed his education for three years. After that, he was forced to return to Egypt due to the outbreak of World War I (Sa'fan, 2009).

The interruption of his education in England did not deter Ali from continuing his contributions to the field of knowledge. He was appointed as a judge in the religious court of Manshurah city. Ali became a judge at the exact time when his brother Mustofa and his friends launched a magazine called "al-Sufur." The publication of this magazine took place after their return from Europe in 1915. Witnessing his brother's progress, Ali decided to pursue his academic talent further by writing books and literary works. His most monumental work to date is "al-Islam wa Ushul al-Hukm" (Islam and the Foundations of Governance) (Sa'fan, 2009).

2. Creations

Not many books were written by Ali Abdur Raziq. This does not mean that he was not productive in writing, but rather because he focused more on acquiring knowledge by attending seminars and various discussion forums. Therefore, his works did not receive much attention from Islamic scholars, except for his work titled "al-Islam wa Ushul al-Hukm". Before that book, there was another book written by Ali titled "al-Ijma' fi al-Syari'ah al-Islamiyyah". The book, completed in 1947, contains definitions of ijma' and all its components. He wrote this book based on his own lectures to Sharia diploma students at Cairo University. In addition to that book, there is also his controversial book titled "al-Islam wa Ushul al-Hukm". This book was published in support of Ataturk's efforts to dismantle Islamic culture in Turkey. It surprised Islamic scholars both in the East and the West due to its sharp criticism of the caliphate. Some people received the ideas presented in the book with an open mind, arguing that it was a courageous work addressing what had long been considered taboo by the Islamic community (Mukhlis, 2016). However, on the other hand, the book is considered to damage the image of the caliphs that has been cherished by the Islamic community (Nelli, 2014). In addition, the publication of the book was considered inappropriate because it coincided with the impending coronation of King Fuad in Egypt. Consequently, even unintentionally, the book was seen as a sharp criticism of the government at that time (Mulia, 2011). As a result, Ali Abdur Raziq had to face societal sanctions, including being ostracized and his ideas rejected, and all of his works were destroyed.

3. The issue of the caliphate

The discussion about the caliphate can only be understood if it is not explained from past events that have occurred in the history of the Islamic community, starting from the birth of Islam to the development of Islam during the time of the Rashidun Caliphs. Long before the caliphate was formed (Hamlan, 2014). Shrouded in the uncertainty of the future and supported by the low moral awareness of the Arab nation, everyone within it desired change. Eventually, Allah SWT sent Muhammad to spread the teachings of Islam to the Arab nation. Islam emerged as a critique of the turmoil that had long plagued the world due to those who had forgotten the teachings of the previous bearers of revelation. The emergence of Islam not only brought about change in the Arab nation but also in all of humanity. Islam revived true and clear religious beliefs, minimizing the occurrence of crimes such as murder and rape that were often prevalent. Islam also stood up to fight for the rights of women who had long been degraded and treated inhumanely. The birth of Islam has clearly had a significant impact on the world, building a civilization that advances social values and a sense of unity among many groups. Islam then established its territory, forming a position with strong legal sources, enabling it to stand alone against the strong currents of various groups. After the passing of the Prophet, Islam underwent a change in power, marked by the formation of

dynasties, from which Islamic leaders emerged, namely caliphs and kings who had spent time defending the glory of Islam.

Over time, people came to realize that the caliph was someone appointed according to his family lineage. This means that the caliphate was a position inherited through generations within the caliph's family who ruled, of course (Yusalia, 2016). It indeed becomes a complicated issue when, in reality, the successors of the previous caliphs are unable to fulfill their responsibilities like their predecessors, and even tend to weaken the governance system. Then, if the governance proportion is measured in such a way, wouldn't it undermine the governance itself? However, this issue is not the main problem of the caliphate system. The main problem of the caliphate system arises if only the descendants of the caliph have the right to lead the Islamic community, wouldn't that directly kill the democratic rights that should be possessed by every citizen of a state? Whereas every citizen has democratic rights, which should be upheld even by the government itself, as a form of the aspirations and strength of the society within a government. This is what Ali Abdur Raziq raised concerns about. In his book entitled "al-Islam wa Ushul al-Hukm," written during the time of Atatürk who invaded Islamic culture in Turkey, Ali questioned the validity regarding the legality and legal foundation upon which the current caliphate is established. From Ali's research, none of the many pieces of evidence available provide a legal basis for the establishment of the caliphate (Yusuf, 2017). Even if there are evidences that could serve as a legal basis, those evidences are nothing but weak, with flawed narrations, and have defects here and there. It is from there that Ali Abdur Raziq presented his arguments in such a manner.

Furthermore, if indeed the caliphate is mandated to be implemented in Islam, then the implementation of theocracy will be very difficult. There must be a balance between the two, where a leader whose country adheres to theocratic principles will obtain a position as an intermediary of God directly in the implementation of its laws (Aziz, 2016). A ruler of a theocratic state is never wrong because they hold the law of God in their hands. Therefore, every citizen must obey the ruler, even if the ruler does things that deviate from the principles of Sharia. In this context, the ruler should not be opposed or questioned. The ruler also has the right to transfer authority over the laws they apply, create, and modify according to what they believe is needed for their country (Sa'fan, 2009).

The statement about theocracy raises further issues in Ali's thinking. If indeed the establishment of the caliphate is nothing more than regulating or balancing the implementation of religion and Sharia within society, then what if the Sharia and religion within society itself are already perfect? Wouldn't that mean the task of the caliphate is already completed? If so, then the assertion that Islam must establish a caliphate in its governance system collapses under its own implementation (Iqbal, 2015). From the above arguments, it can be concluded that the caliphate is not a definitive system that must be followed by the Islamic community. The caliphate is

merely one of many options regarding governance systems that can be chosen by the Islamic community.

Furthermore, Ali also emphasized that in reality, Islam does not extensively discuss politics. Muhammad was sent by Allah SWT purely to convey the final message to humanity (Iqbal, 2015). Therefore, it is not often found in the Qur'an or hadiths relating to politics or the foundations of state. Even the affirmation of the existence of the caliphate is absent. This is because the caliphate system was adopted as a form of concern by the early Muslims if the Muslim community fragmented after the death of the Prophet. When the Prophet passed away, several rebellions occurred everywhere, especially in areas far from the center of Islamic governance, which at that time was in the Prophet's own home. These rebellions were caused by the belief of some that if the Prophet had died, Islam also ended instantly. This prompted the companions to gather and form the caliphate system, which over the years evolved into dynasties.

There are many arguments stating that the caliphate is not a rigid system for Islamic governance. However, the main reason for this is not only due to rebellions or the lack of foundations for the establishment of the caliphate, but also lies in the flaws of the caliphate system itself. History records the journey of the Islamic caliphate with a dark ink, where throughout the life of the caliphate, there has always been bloodshed among Muslims themselves. This history began after the formation of the caliphate, starting with the tragedy of the assassination of Umar ibn al-Khattab, who was stabbed with a dagger during the dawn prayer (Fitrianto, 2010). After that, a series of tragic events continued to color the system of the Islamic caliphate. Ali interpreted that the caliphate system was created solely to control security. This is evidenced by the fact that throughout its existence, the caliphate government mostly dealt with issues of rebellion and betrayal. Moreover, the caliphate system is a governance system that has cost many lives among Muslims. When a leader dies and his son succeeds him, his other brothers may attempt a coup, or vice versa. It is not uncommon for killings to occur even among siblings themselves, all for the sake of the throne and crown.

Not only did the caliphate face issues with performance and governance, but it was also weakened because not all its leaders possessed good leadership qualities, thus they couldn't fully realize the aspirations of the people. History records that only a few caliphates were able to bring honor to Islam in the eyes of the world, making their names still known today. For instance, Khalifah Umar bin Abdul Aziz, a wise and astute Umayyad caliph, who made the greatest contribution to Islam and the world by his efforts to collect and document Hadiths, ensuring their dissemination to Muslims today. Additionally, there was Khalifah Harun al-Rashid, who was close to the scholars, among other caliphs. The rest were little more than dictators who prioritized their personal pleasures under the guise of serving the people's interests. For example, Yazid from the Umayyad dynasty, who was notorious for his cruelty in governing.

Because of these reasons, Ali proposed his idea that the caliphate is not a good system for the Islamic community. Additionally, Ali hoped that this idea would also

imply that Muslims can develop their own thoughts about the right Islamic state system, one that can accommodate all forms of creativity and aspirations of its people (Ridwan, 2015).

4. The Relationship between Religion and State

Ali Abdur Raziq's phenomenal thought is related to the relationship between religion and state. In his thinking, Ali provides a concept similar to the West, where there is a separation between religion and state. Religion and state must have clear boundaries, where religion and state are separate domains with different areas of concern. The state is a universal matter, where citizens discourse about it because the state shelters the people. The state gathers aspirations, unifies goals, and embraces differences to move forward together. Therefore, discussions related to the state are general. Meanwhile, if someone discusses religion, that person enters into a specific discussion, where religion is a personal matter for each individual. God encompasses all creation, but humans must be selective in interpreting the word of God when speaking in public. Goodness is a positive thing that can be explained when it concerns the public interest. Other religious obligations are the urgency of the individual. Whether to pray or not, to worship or not, these are matters between the individual and their God, and do not need to be brought into the public sphere. Because the public itself consists of various types of individuals who undoubtedly adhere to different religions.

This line of thought was sparked by Ali's inspiration from Atatürk, the father of Turkish secularism, who carried out a massive overhaul of Islam in Turkey and replaced it with Western culture. This is often referred to as westernization. Atatürk argued that Islam had long lagged behind Christianity, creating a vast gap that separated the East from the West. This was due to the caliphate system, which seemed to restrain the thinking of reformers and tended to reject changes that would only benefit the caliphate itself. However, this was often associated with religion, giving the impression that Islam was a less flexible religion, not loyal to new ideas, and inclined to resist change. Atatürk then observed the West and began to realize that the remarkable progress of the West was actually due to the separation of religion from the state. It was from this observation that Atatürk took extreme measures, replacing all attributes labeled as Islamic with Western labels.

5. The Existence of Women in Political Contestation in Indonesia within the Political Ideas of Ali Abdur Raziq

In the history of the establishment of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia or NKRI, the political system has always been dominated by men. This statement can be traced back through the history books of independence, where names such as Soekarno, Soeharto, Soedirman, Soepomo, and various other male names appear more frequently, contrary to the names of women such as Raden Ajeng Kartini and Dewi Sartika. This initial portrayal depicts the dominance of men in all aspects of

life, including politics. This view also subsequently resulted in the limited participation of women in the political arena. Although in recent years women have regained recognition, such as Megawati Soekarno Putri as President, Khofifah Indar Parawansyah as Governor of East Java, Tri Rismaharini as Minister of Social Affairs, and Aminatun Habibah as Vice Regent of Gresik, their participation is still considered minimal compared to the number of women in Indonesia.

One of the many aspects that contribute significantly to the limited participation of women in politics is the low level of education they often receive. Reflecting on history, education during the colonial era primarily prioritized men over women. Women were still able to access education, but it was limited to the aristocracy and only up to a certain level (Wijaya, 2023). Because women in that era primarily focused on finding a spouse during their youth (Hidayani & Hardini, 2016). Meanwhile, men could continue their education and had far more freedom than women did in their lives.

This viewpoint indeed reflects a classic perspective, yet in reality, many people today still adhere to these outdated beliefs. Women's aspirations remain limited, constrained by the perceptions of their own communities. However, if women reconsider their existence, Indonesia as an archipelagic and unified nation can progress further. The population growth is predominantly driven by women, thus the potential for economic growth and the utilization of productive labor in various industries and occupations can be significantly enhanced by empowering women.

This not only applies to the workforce but also extends to women's participation in community service. Women can engage in politics, which in turn has the potential to better represent the aspirations of the people and expand the reach of democratic rights to the lower-middle-class communities. Women need not feel awkward about engaging in discussions within government buildings, sharing ideas, and participating in dialogues without being constrained by outdated perspectives.

To realize these aspirations, women have formed a movement known as feminism, a social movement simply understood as the efforts of women to advocate for their rights in society (Suhada, 2021). Women, who have long been regarded as the "second class," are now realizing the dominance of men in their participation in society and the discrimination they face. They are gaining the courage to fight for their lives. Various actions are being taken to raise awareness among the community about the importance of women in the cycle of life, not just as complements or supplements but also as catalysts within society itself.

In feminism, there's often a misunderstanding between equality and sameness. Equality tends to encompass a broader scope beyond physical attributes, such as body parts and tangible possessions. While equality goes beyond sameness, as it's not confined to physical aspects but also includes perspectives and viewpoints. Women, no matter to what extent, will never be the same as men. This can be observed through physical observations. Therefore, pursuing women's rights and responsibilities in society cannot be based on the premise of sameness. Instead, women must revive the

spirit of feminism to pursue equality as their rightful claim, which has been alienated by society. Beyond physical limitations, pursuing equality means restoring women to their fullest inherent nature as members of society who contribute to life. They should have equal opportunities, both in the eyes of society at large and in various aspects within society itself, such as social, economic, and political realms.

There are various impacts that arise from women's active participation in the political arena. Firstly, there's an increase in the awareness of justice within society, which is a continuation of the goals of feminism that pursue equality (Bendar, 2020). The active participation of women in politics demonstrates a sense of justice in providing them with opportunities to contribute to nation-building. Since there are still relatively few women involved in the political arena, their involvement allows for a variety of ideas that may emerge, potentially bringing about changes for a better future for society.

The second is a manifestation of democratization. Men, who have traditionally dominated the political sphere, naturally constructed a perception that only men can be leaders and govern society. This perception gradually formed and was considered a common value in society, although it lacked a factual basis. This absence of a foundation reinforces male dominance. However, democracy, as conceptualized by Abraham Lincoln, is based entirely on the people (Qoroni & Winarwati, 2021). While the populace or society isn't limited to men alone but also includes women. By reinstating opportunities for women to participate in exploring the political world, it indirectly restores the meaning of democracy by entrusting it fully to the people.

The third is evidence of the universality of Islamic values. As explained by Ali Abdur Raziq, there is a clear demarcation between religion and state. In the Quran, there isn't direct elaboration on governance and politics, but rather on the attitudes that need to be upheld and implemented in politics by both leaders and the populace. This at least serves as evidence that the Quran indeed grants freedom to Muslims to re-explore political views that align with the principles of Islam. Islam itself, as a comprehensive divine religion, highly esteems morality or ethics, thus rules regarding leadership are more emphasized than providing clarity on the concept of statehood.

Pancasila, as the foundational philosophy of Indonesia, inherently encompasses Islamic values by prioritizing belief in one God as the first principle of the state, acknowledging that all occurrences in the universe are the will of Allah SWT. Pancasila does not draw demarcations for religious adherents in applying its values. Instead, the values of Pancasila can embrace all religious followers because it was formulated by figures who did not solely rely on one perspective but also considered other viewpoints. Various different groups provided input, resulting in Pancasila's ability to unite the entire Indonesian society.

Democracy does not confine politics to specific groups but rather restores democracy itself to the people. The populace can voice their opinions and express their ideas because they are protected by the 1945 Constitution (Marwandianto & Nasution,

2020). Similarly, in politics, the community has the right to choose its leaders, as is always done in Indonesia during presidential transitions and changes in leadership ranks below. There is no coercion or domination; the community can freely participate as candidates for leadership positions or as voters in general elections. This will ignite a sense of democracy within the community, providing a space for women to become aware and assert themselves by participating as candidates, thereby contributing to community development.

The entire process would not be found in a khilafah system because the khilafah system tends to appoint leaders by acclamation, thus narrowing the opportunities for the community to participate in it. Additionally, the khilafah system is not suitable for Indonesia's vast geographical conditions, with various islands inhabited by diverse groups of people, making it even more difficult to implement such a system. Moreover, the khilafah system as a form of governance also experienced a decline during the leadership of Uthman ibn Affan, which leaned towards using a familial system to govern the people (Akmalia, 2018). The familial system was then adopted and continued, leading to the formation of various dynasties, all of which have collapsed in the present day, rendering the khilafah system less viable for implementation. In the khilafah system, women would also not find a place to participate because the understanding of Quranic readings tends to be rigid, leading to interpretations with classical perspectives that may no longer be suitable for the present time.

However, on the other hand, Ali Abdur Raziq's political ideas pave the way to regain our awareness of the fact that there are indeed many potentials unlocked when providing women with a broader space for political implementation in society. Various stigmas may make women feel inferior about the common ideas upheld by society. However, conversely, society must also realize that women can regain their full opportunities from within society itself. Society should encourage women to participate in nation-building, nothing more, nothing less, than to create a good and comfortable life for everyone, as mandated by the nation's leaders when formulating Pancasila.

However, the long-standing stigma and societal views that tend to discriminate against women cannot be eradicated immediately. These common perspectives lead to discrimination against women not only in politics but also in education, where many women still do not receive adequate education. Therefore, to build awareness and reconstruct society's views on women, it is necessary for society to reopen education as widely as possible, with a priority given to women. Ease of access to information and knowledge, as well as the affordability of educational facilities, are small efforts in changing societal perspectives that will have a significant impact in the future.

D. Conclusion

Ali Abdur Raziq was a reformist in Islam who extensively criticized the caliphate system, particularly in his attempt to separate religion from the state. Although his ideas are considered controversial and tend towards secularism, Ali's perspective on

the caliphate system rekindled awareness regarding the necessity of leadership within the system of governance itself. Ali's political ideas also provided a new treasure trove, especially in his view of a democracy-based political system with a broad geographical scope unexplored by the caliphate system. This opened up potential for women to once again rejuvenate outdated societal perspectives, notably by addressing the marginalization of women in political aspects. Ali sought to unlock the potential of women, encouraging them to become pioneers in reshaping the nation.

Women undeniably possess inherent strength in the political realm, particularly in terms of quantity. Hence, it is imperative for society to explore the quality within this quantity. The fears of women and prevalent discriminatory views can only be overcome by the society itself, through making knowledge easily accessible to everyone, thus fostering new awareness. Subsequently, it's about allowing time to nurture this awareness while continuously providing opportunities for women to participate in politics within society without exerting pressure.

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