

The Participation of Muslim Community in the Election of Mayor Bandar Lampung: A Study of Voters' Understanding of Women's Leadership in the Living Tafsir Study

Faizal^{1*}, Khairullah¹, Farizal Makmun¹, Anisa Mawarni¹

¹UIN Raden Intan Lampung, Indonesia

 faizal@radenintan.ac.id*

Abstract	Article Info
This article examined the basis for voters in the political contestation in the Bandar Lampung City government in 2020 in deciding their choice of female leadership candidates. The foundation in question is an understanding based on the concept of leadership in Islam, as indicated by the Koran and Hadith. This study would be highlighted by the Reviea wing of Ving tafsir, a relatively new Model of Al-Qur'an study in Al-Qur'an studies. The study findings show that the people of Bandar Lampung City, in electing female leaders, have brought to life the verses of the Koran about leadership, even though they have not memorized or understood the text textually. Meanwhile, the level of community participation in the Mayor of Bandar Lampung election for female leadership candidates was higher than for male leadership candidates. Eva Dwiyanana won 66.67% of the votes, which surpassed 2 (two) male leadership candidates, namely Ryco Mendoza, who won 14.33 votes, and Yusuf Qohar, who won 25.88 votes. This participation is classified as independent participation with indicators of confidence in the work program, especially in the religious field, and an increasingly mature level of political education.	Article History <i>Received:</i> August 21, 2024 <i>Revised :</i> October 06, 2024 <i>Accepted:</i> November 30, 2024 Keywords: <i>Participation of Muslim Community, Living Tafsir, Leadership</i>
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INTRODUCTION

Women's participation in political leadership is still an interesting issue. In fact, discussions on gender discourse, feminism and equality of men and women are part of emancipation, democratization and humanization of culture to this day still echo in various forums. From time to time, lawsuits and dismantling of structures of injustice, discrimination, oppression and violence against women seem to be increasingly widespread and demanding (Ali et al., 2023). The above polemic about women's leadership is of course motivated by many things, such as cultural background, shallow understanding of religious teachings, civilization and the social conditions of human life, causing clashes and differences in perceptions among society.

Basically, *common sense*, As a religion whose teachings are perfect, Islam places men and women in equal positions both as servants (ʿAbid) and as rulers of the earth. (*khalifatullah fil ardh*). (*Al-Quran And Its Interpretation*, 2010; Shihab, 1996; Endro & Aswhar, 2023) The presence of Islam has eliminated discrimination between men and women, including becoming leaders. The factor that is taken into consideration is that

the Koran does not explain the existence of fundamental differences regarding differences, instead it explains the degree of equality in the activities of *amar ma'ruf nahi mungkar* (Wahyuni & Ismail, 2007; Didi, 2013; Dewi Kurnia & Risman, 2023).

Contradictions about equality and rationalism become energy in fighting for gender equality rights which are constructed using a social and cultural approach. Women's traits can also be possessed by men (Muhajir, 2018; Yukl, 1994; Abdurrohman Al & Robingun Suyud El, 2022; Lutfiyah & Diyanah, 2022). Borrowing sociological theory about needs, women are part of individuals who *the self actualization needs* or the need to develop potential talents, interests and abilities, work, be creative, etc. (Kartono, 1998; (Akbar & Faudy, 2015). Meanwhile, the concept of culture is a product that is based on mutual agreement and may change along with changes in situations. and the condition of a society.

In the Indonesian context, the results of efforts to fight for gender equality rights, especially through political media, are proven by the birth of Law no. 2 of 2008, which in its articles states that political parties must include at least 30% of women in their management or establishment. However, the mandate of this law has not been fulfilled optimally due to the lack of access for women to actualize their potential and abilities. From a cultural perspective, especially Lampung culture, the low participation of women in politics is greatly influenced by social culture and psychologically understanding women only as housewives (Heddy Shri, 2012; Any, 2013; Deswanti Nabilah et al., 2024). Lampung's social culture, which adheres to a kinship system and places the oldest son as the leader of the family, also contributes to the low participation of women in various fields (Rizki & Kholis, 2019). The attitude that doubts women's leadership, that female leadership candidates and leaders are always overshadowed by men, especially those who have family relations who have held political positions, can be interpreted as meaning that the actual existence of women in seizing political leadership is still being questioned because they are not independent or not because the potential he has *per se*.

In fact, participation from all elements of the nation, including women, is a benchmark in assessing the success of implementing government policies (Sobahi & Suhana, 2011). The three active dimensions are the dimensions of personal awareness, actors' knowledge and commitment to achieving several goals, as well as the facility of power to change the social order (Poloma, 1987). Awareness, knowledge and power are believed to lead to transformation, because transformation will create more perfect values (Rafiq, 2022; Nailus & Umma, 2019; Salsabila et al., 2024).

Community participation in the 2020 Bandar Lampung Mayor election which was held in December 2020 showed very significant results for female leadership candidates (Eva Dwiyana / Dedi Amrullah 57.3%), Yusuf Qohar / Tulus Purnomo 21.4%, and Rico Meinoza / Johan Sulaiman 21.3% ("KPU Real Count, Mayor's Wife Wins in Bandar Lampung Regional Election," 2020). One of the factors in winning a female mayoral candidate is personal awareness because it is influenced by theological understanding, that gender is not something that needs to be contested in a leadership position.

This research examines whether voters in the political contestation in the Bandar Lampung City government in 2020 decided their choice of a female leader candidate, based on their understanding of the concept of leadership in Islam as indicated by the Koran and Hadith. This study will be highlighted through review *living tafsir* which is a relatively new model of Al-Qur'an research in Al-Qur'an studies. So the results of this study are an effort to introduce and develop theory *living tafsir* through a lively

understanding of the verses of the Koran which are often used as theological arguments regarding women's leadership (Huzaemah Tahido, 2016; Mufarikhin & Siti Malaiha, 2021).

Although the living tafsir research model or what is better known as the living Qur'an is still relatively new, studies based on field and conceptual research on this research model are increasingly becoming a new trend in Al-Qur'an studies. This could be influenced by the new trend in Islamic studies which carries an interdisciplinary spirit in an effort to answer the challenges faced by Islamic sciences in providing solutions to contemporary problems, including the issue of women's leadership in the public sphere. Some research and writings that researchers can put forward include: *The Living Al-Qur'an: Some Anthropological Perspectives*. This conceptual article was written by Heddy Shri Ahimsa-Putra and published by Jurnal Walisongo Semarang Volume 20, Number 1, May 2012. In this article Ahimsa-Putra offers an anthropological approach that can be applied in research using the living Qur'an model (Heddy Shri, 2012 ; Qaraḏāwī, 1995). Henderi Kusmidi wrote Women's Leadership in the Public Realm in the Study of Fiqh Perspectives. This article is a conceptual study of the Fiqh perspective. In his findings, the author concludes that there are different views of ulama regarding whether or not women should be leaders in the public sphere. However, in the author's comprehensive analysis, a more logical and rational view at this time is that women can become leaders while still considering their involvement and having to pay attention to and carry out their domestic household obligations (Henderi, 2020; Lujeng & Lubabah, 2022; Hamdiah, 2020;).

A study that is different from the 2 (two) articles above was written by Huzaemah Tahido Yanggo. The author raises Women's Leadership in the Perspective of Islamic Law. By using a semantic, semiotic and hermeneutic review of religious texts (the Koran and Hadith), the author critically emphasizes that Islam was the first to initiate the concept of gender justice in history, throughout human life. In fact, the author suspects that classical interpretation has proven to be not objective, having been contaminated by socio-cultural conditions which are dominated by men's roles, especially in the context of women's leadership (Amtai, 2021; Wibowo, 2013; Soekanto, 2001; Syamsuddin, 2020; Syauqi, 2023).

From the description of the background of the problem and a review of research that has been conducted, the researcher proposes 2 (two) problem formulations, namely: How do voters understand the concept of female leadership from the perspective of the Koran? and What is the level of community participation in the Bandar Lampung City Mayor Election for female leadership candidates?

The submission of the 2 (two) problem formulations above aims to introduce and develop the theory of living interpretation through a living understanding of the verses of the Koran which are often used as theological arguments regarding women's leadership. Furthermore, it can open the horizon regarding the functionalization of the Al-Qur'an, both informatively and performatively, as a form of public reception of the Al-Qur'an which is said to be able to influence the level of public participation in electing women in the political realm.

METHOD

The approach used in research is a phenomenological approach. The phenomena that will be interpreted in this study are voters' understanding and views of the verses of the Koran which are often used as performative arguments in deciding their attitude

in choosing a mayoral candidate. The research data collection was based on the sub-district areas with the most votes voting for female Mayor candidates. Meanwhile, the research time span is from June to September 2021. The research data source is the Islamic community who participated in choosing the candidate for Mayor of Bandar Lampung in 2020 using the technique *sampling* use *snowball sampling*, and data collection using interview and documentation methods. The data that has been collected will be analyzed critically to describe systematically, factually and accurately the facts and relationships between the phenomena studied (Moleong, 1989; Miles, 1992).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The discussion contains research results, relationships with concepts or theories and other relevant research results, interpretation of findings, research limitations, and implications for the development of concepts or science. Avoid repeating sentences from the introduction, discussion or conclusion.

The research entitled Islamic community participation in the election for mayor of Bandar Lampung (Study of Voters' Understanding of Women's Leadership in the Living Tafsir Study) is a scientific study to describe and analyze an understanding and events in society. Public understanding of Islamic concepts regarding the phenomenon of political behavior that develops in society, especially in relation to women's leadership as government leaders in the study of the Living Al-Qur'an. Also, implementing this understanding in their participation in selecting female leadership candidates in the mayoral election, especially in the city of Bandar Lampung.

The Voter's Understanding of the Concept of Women Leaders from the Al-Qur'an Perspective

In taking an attitude, including the attitude in determining the choice of a female leader candidate, the factor of understanding becomes a very influential factor or at least directs a person to the decision of his choice. The factors explored in this research are found in the grids that are then *breakdown* into questions about the data source's views and understanding of whether or not it is permissible to elect female government leadership candidates (Walgito, 2024; Rahardjo, 1996).

There are several question items that have been asked to the data source. The first question explores the views or understanding of data sources regarding whether or not women are allowed to become leaders in government according to Islamic teachings. There are 30 out of 32 people from data sources who understand that Islamic teachings do not have a problem with women becoming leaders in government, while only 2 people stated that they do not agree with women becoming leaders in government even if they choose women as government leaders. Of the 30 data sources that stated their attitude of not having a problem with women holding leadership positions in government and even participating in electing women to be mayor, this means that the majority of data sources agree that women become leaders in government. For the majority of data sources, the consideration in selecting a potential leader is not seen from the gender aspect, but considers the candidate's suitability aspect.

Conceptually, there are Islamic principles that explain the indicators of a leader's suitability, namely being able to maintain trust (Ali, 1996), which is interpreted as honesty, trust. The second indicator is being able to be fair (Al Munawar, 2002). Next, leaders must act dialogically, be able to uphold the truth and prevent evil. Of the three indicators of suitability for potential leaders, none of the indicators concerns gender.

This means that 32 people expressed their attitude of agreeing or not having a problem with women becoming leaders in government, even though they did not explicitly use dictions taken from Al-Qur'an terms, very clearly illustrating that there is a similarity in voters' views on the concept of leadership from an Islamic perspective (Djam'annuri, 2003; Esack, 2002).

Furthermore, when answering the next question about the data source's views on women's ability to lead, there were 32 people who believed that women had the same ability as men to become leaders. Meanwhile, 8 people are of the view that men have more ability than women in leading and Islam requires leaders to be men.

Such views of voters, when derived from how the Qur'an gives equal rights to men and women in all matters, then voters actually have the same view as what is indicated in the Qur'an. The substantive consideration in this case is the ability and criteria to become a leader, not gender considerations. So, as long as the man or woman is capable and meets the criteria to occupy even the highest position in government, then he or she may become a judge and the highest leader in a country such as Prime Minister or President (*Interpretation of Al-Kashshaf about the facts of the mysteries of the revelation and the eyes of the sayings in the aspects of interpretation 1-4 Part 1*, 2015).

The above view is also strengthened by the views of the majority of data sources regarding important considerations regarding the requirements for women who want to become government leaders, namely the potential leader's ability, level of education, the integrity of the potential leader, such as being able to act fairly and protect the community. This means that the ability to lead is the main requirement for anyone who wants to become a leader, whether male or female.

The next question was about the view that women are only responsible for taking care of the household. 32 data sources answered that they did not agree with this view, and 8 people said they agreed. Of the 32 people who expressed their disagreement if women's role was only to take care of the household, this again strengthens the attitude that Islam gives equal rights to men and women to do and be anything, including being leaders in government. The attitude of disagreement that is greater than the attitude that agrees above shows that the majority of data sources deny that the role and abilities of women are only related to matters related to domestic affairs.

However, although the views of the majority of data sources regarding whether or not women should become government leaders are similar to the principles that prospective leaders must possess from the perspective of the Koran and Hadith, the majority of data sources cannot but mention the verses of the Koran. The ans and hadiths are the basis for selecting leaders. This is no different from the view of the majority of data sources who also cannot mention the names of the scholars they use as references in choosing leaders.

From data analysis regarding voters' views on the conception of female leaders from the perspective of the Koran, it can be said that the majority of existing data sources do not have contradictory views with how Islam positions men and women. The positions of men and women are the same in two respects; as a servant (ʿAbid) and as a leader on earth (*khalifatullah fi al-ardh*). Both positions *equal*. In fact, since 14 centuries ago, the Qur'an has eliminated various kinds of discrimination between men and women, the Qur'an gives rights to women as well as the rights of men, including in matters of leadership, The Qur'an gives women the right to become leaders, as well as the rights given to men. The most substantive consideration lies in a person's abilities and criteria for being a leader, not gender considerations. It can also be said that data

sources agree on equality in opportunities to become leaders, as long as the man or woman is capable and meets the criteria to occupy even the highest position in government, such as Prime Minister or President.

Based on the description of the data and analysis above, it can be understood that in reality, the principles in choosing leaders as indicated by the Koran have colored or influenced voters' attitudes in choosing female leaders. This means that these principles live in society. The phrase "the living Qur'an" is aptly applied to the data source. This expression can be interpreted to mean that the Koran is not just a book, but a "living book", namely one whose manifestation in everyday life is very pronounced and real, and is diverse, depending on the field of life, including in terms of choosing leaders.

Understanding: 30 of the 32 data sources that selected female leadership candidates understand that it is permissible for women to become government leaders in Islamic teachings, whether sourced from the Koran or sourced from the opinions of scholars, whether obtained directly through education and reading or known from The opinions of ulama conveyed by preachers through the media cannot be separated from the influence of voters' perceptions of potential leaders.

The election of a woman (Eva Dwiyanan) as Mayor of Bandar Lampung for the 2020-2025 period in the perspective of Pieter and Lubis (perception theory) is the result of a person's process of observing, recognizing and understanding objects or events that occur outside themselves. This conclusion is based on 30 out of 32 data sources which state that women's leadership is based on Islamic religious teachings and an understanding of the religiosity of potential leaders by looking at religious work programs and responsiveness to religious activities in society.

According to Sugihartono in Hadi Suprpto Arifin et al., perceptions can be positive or negative, and will influence human actions (Arifin et al., 2017). According to Nizar, the nature of perception is influenced by internal factors, such as psychological needs, background, experience, personality, values, and reception, as well as external factors, such as intensity, size, contrast, movement, repetition, familiarity and something new. These internal and external factors influence the positive perceptions expressed by the community in determining attitudes in selecting leaders and negative perceptions influence attitudes of rejection.

The attitude of society's acceptance of what is seen, evaluated and understood by female leadership candidates gives rise to behavior based on several things, including: First, in terms of *psikologyc needs* (Meliza et al., 2020), the majority (32) of data sources stated that the work programs offered by prospective female leaders were due to work programs in the religious field to fulfill inner (ruhiyah) needs (Meliza et al., 2020). Second, in terms of *personality*, female leadership candidates are recognized by the public as being better known than other candidates. According to 28 data sources, Mrs. Eva is closer and more familiar with the community. Third, in another view, someone's support arises as a result of the process of receiving the Koran and/or something else. The voting public perceives the religious values and behavior of a candidate based on the reception of the Koran in creating a religious culture and society.

Community Participation in the Bandar Lampung City Election for Female Leader Candidates

Community participation in selecting female leadership candidates in the 2020 Bandar Lampung mayoral election was very significant compared to the other 2 male candidates. Namely, 249,134 out of 435,134 voters or 57.27% compared to 21.29% and 21.44%.

Meanwhile, if we look at the sample areas determined in this research, namely Panjang sub-district as the area with the most female leader candidates and Enggal sub-district as the area with the fewest female leader candidates compared to other sub-districts. Community participation in the two sub-districts was 54.97%, consisting of Panjang sub-district 65.65% and Enggal sub-district 43.3%.

According to Mulyasa, quoted by Faizal, this large community participation is a measure of the success of political education as well as success in implementing policies based on the needs of grass-roots society directly (Faizal, 2015). Therefore, the work program of elected leaders must be in line with the needs of society in general.

The number of voters for female leadership candidates can be categorized in several ways, including participation based on their nature. Based on data in chapter III sub B.2. it was written that 23 (71.87%) of the 32 data sources chose female leadership candidates for reasons based on personal desire and motivation from the programs offered by the potential leaders. Especially religious work programs, such as programs to increase religious aid funds, assistance to the activities of taklim assemblies, and free umrah programs. 6 (18.75%) of 32 data sources stated that the motivation for choosing female leadership candidates was due to remuneration that could not be conveyed to the public. 2 (6.25%) of the 32 data sources were based on coercion. 1 (3.12%) data source stated it was due to lure.

The motivation of the data source in selecting female leader candidates is in accordance with Toha's opinion about the nature of participation, namely independent participation, mobilization participation and ceremonial participation (Faizal, 2015). 23 (71.87%) were classified as independent participation and 9.37 were classified as mobilization participation. Thus, in terms of the nature of their participation, the majority of the people of Bandar Lampung City, represented by Enggal subdistrict and Pahoman subdistrict, are independent or have personal willpower.

Thus, the participation of the people of Bandar Lampung city in selecting female leadership candidates is classified as independent participation. Independent participation is studied using a participatory approach, reflecting that there has been a transformation in the political field. Awareness and knowledge among potential leaders and voters is an indicator of the transformation of political education. The people of Bandar Lampung City are classified as politically educated people, and the high number of voters for female leadership candidates shows that there is strong political support.

Participation is seen in terms of its scope, the majority of community support for elected leaders in participation theory means trust and responsibility. Trust in carrying out leadership fairly, honestly, and favoring geographical communities. Community involvement in making decisions, implementing development programs, involvement in monitoring (evaluation), and enjoying the results of equitable development (Theresia et al., 2014).

CONCLUSION

The closing contains conclusions that contain answers to research questions. Written in narrative form, not in numerical/numbering form. Suggestions are given on the basis of research results. After collecting and analyzing data on data sources on research objects based on problems and research question formulations regarding the participation of the Islamic community in the 2020 Bandar Lampung mayoral election, a study of voters' understanding of women's leadership in the study of living interpretation, then Researchers can conclude that the people of Bandar Lampung City

understand that women as government leaders are an actualization of the concept of leadership in Islamic teachings. The understanding that is based on the understanding of the mufassirin or ulama regarding the verses on women's leadership in the perspective of the Qur'an, that men and women have the same rights and obligations in amar makruf nahi mungkar cannot be separated from efforts to manifest one's obedience to His Khaliq. In understanding the research data source, men and women have the same opportunities and level of intelligence. The restrictions on the rights and obligations between men and women are only related to the division of tasks and responsibilities in the household. In the context of the living Al-Qur'an, verses about leadership have lived in society, even though they have not memorized or known the text textually. Meanwhile, the level of community participation in the election for Mayor of Bandar Lampung for female leadership candidates was higher than for male leadership candidates. Eva Dwiwana won 66.67% of the votes, surpassing 2 (two) male leadership candidates, namely Ryco Menoza who won 14.33 votes and Yusuf Qohar who won 25.88 votes. This participation is classified as independent participation with indicators of confidence in the work program, especially in the religious field and an increasingly mature level of political education. From the research findings above, the researcher makes suggestions. *First*, The government needs to increase political education for prospective voters, so that transactional politics or retribution can be minimized in selecting prospective government leaders. And *second* The community should avoid transactional politics in the form of participation in mobilization and ceremonies that prioritize retribution and coercion, which will give birth to leaders who are dishonest, unfair and irresponsible.

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