



Gender Equality in the Perspective of Amina Wadud and Its Relevance to Gender Politics in Lampung Province

Restiyani ^{a,1,*}, Nadirsah Hawari ^{b,2}, Gesit Yudha ^{b,3}

^a Pemikiran Politik Islam, UIN Raden Intan Lampung, Indonesia

^b Pemikiran Politik Islam, UIN Raden Intan Lampung, Indonesia

^c Pemikiran Politik Islam, UIN Raden Intan Lampung, Indonesia

¹ restiy594@gmail.com; ² nadirsahhawari@radenintan.ac.id; ³ gesit@radenintan.ac.id

* corresponding author

ARTICLE INFO

Article history

Received: 25 September 2025

Revised: 19 November 2025

Accepted: 04 December 2025

Keywords

Amina Wadud's Hermeneutics;

Fiqh Siyāsah;

Gender Politics;

Islamic Feminism;

Lampung Province.

ABSTRACT

Gender equality in Muslim societies remains marked by a persistent gap between normative Islamic ideals and socio-political realities, particularly in women's political participation and leadership. This study examines Amina Wadud's feminist hermeneutics and its relevance to gender politics in Lampung Province, Indonesia. Employing a qualitative socio-legal approach, the research integrates textual analysis of Wadud's major works with a critical review of literature on gender and political representation in Indonesia. Focusing on principles of contextual Qur'anic interpretation, spiritual equality, and anti-hierarchical theology grounded in tawhīd and justice (al-'adl), the study finds that political gender inequality stems not from Islamic doctrine but from patriarchal interpretations, masculinized institutions, and entrenched cultural norms. Despite increased visibility of women in Lampung's political arena, participation remains largely symbolic and constrained by conservative religious readings. This study contributes to Islamic feminist scholarship and fiqh siyāsah by demonstrating that feminist hermeneutics provides a normative and epistemological foundation for advancing substantive gender equality through cultural, institutional, and theological transformation.

This is an open access article under the [CC-BY-SA 4.0](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/) license.



1. Introduction

Over the past few decades, global feminist discourse has increasingly scrutinized religious doctrines concerning the status and rights of women. Issues such as political

leadership, access to public office, inheritance rights, and the acknowledgment of women's fundamental human dignity have become central themes in contemporary scholarship.¹ These debates have stimulated the development of women's studies institutions, the strengthening of civil society movements, and the institutionalization of gender equality initiatives at the state level.² In Indonesia, this intellectual shift is reflected not only in the establishment of women's study centers and national policy frameworks but also in the growing integration of gender justice principles into governance and community-based initiatives.³ Despite these developments, there remains an urgent need to critically reassess women's position within religious, socio-legal, and political frameworks, particularly in Islam, where classical interpretations continue to exert a powerful influence on gender norms and policymaking.

Within this context, gender equality continues to represent a pressing concern both internationally and locally. In Indonesia including in Lampung Province the implementation of gender mainstreaming policies and the institutionalization of a 30 percent quota for women's political representation since 2003 have not yet translated into substantive participation or equitable political outcomes.⁴ Women continue to face structural, cultural, and ideological constraints rooted in deeply embedded patriarchal norms and religiously legitimized stereotypes.⁵ This condition persists despite Islamic teachings emphasizing *al-'adl* (justice), *al-karāmah al-insāniyyah* (human dignity), and the protection of *al-ḥuqūq* (fundamental rights) as core objectives of *maqāsid al-sharī'ah*.⁶ The gap between these normative Islamic ideals and lived socio-political realities underscores the importance of reexamining Islamic interpretive traditions through gender-sensitive methodologies capable of informing inclusive political reform.

Empirical evidence from Lampung Province illustrates this gap. The Gender Empowerment Index (IDG) in Lampung has fluctuated over 2019–2023, reaching 68.16 in

¹ Kesetaraan Gender dan Perempuan Indonesia, "Pancasila, Kesetaraan Gender, dan Perempuan Indonesia," *PANCASILA* 3, no. 2 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.52738/pjk.v3i2.179>.

² J Jones, "Muslim feminism as Islamic modernism: Women's activism in India between the Quran and the Constitution," *Modern Asian Studies* 58, no. 2 (2024): 421–47, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X23000495>.

³ S E Wieinga, "Women resisting creeping Islamic fundamentalism in Indonesia," *Asian Journal of Women's Studies* 15, no. 4 (2009): 30–56, <https://doi.org/10.1080/12259276.2009.11666077>.

⁴ Ayu Annisa Akmaliah et al., "Affirmatif Action Terhadap Perempuan dalam Bidang Politik ; Sebuah Tinjauan di Negara Hukum Pancasila," *Constitutional Law Review* 1, no. 2 (2022): 57–77, <https://jurnal.iain-bone.ac.id/index.php/colrev/article/view/3972/1567>.

⁵ K Großmann, "Muslim female activists and sharia in Indonesia: Scopes of acting in national and international perspectives," *RIMA: Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 48, no. 1 (2014): 95–125, <https://www.scopus.com/inward/record.uri?eid=2-s2.0-84926315931&partnerID=40&md5=29a1194f44c4d966c9ae9e19eccd64af>.

⁶ Agus Purnomo et al., "Dimensions Maqāsid Al-Sharī'ah and Human Rights in The Constitutional Court's Decision on Marriage Age Difference in Indonesia," *Samarah* 7, no. 3 (2023): 1397–1421, <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjkh.v7i3.13283>.

2023,⁷ which reflects moderate empowerment of women but indicates persistent challenges in achieving full gender equality. Similarly, the Gender Inequality Index (IKG) for the province shows improvement in the reproductive health dimension, such as a decrease in the proportion of women giving birth before age 20 from 26.9% in 2022 to 26.0% in 2023.⁸ However, in terms of political participation, women's representation in legislative bodies remains low: female legislators accounted for only 18.82% from 2021 to 2023, a decline from 20% in 2019–2020.⁹ Regional disparities are also evident, with the highest percentages of female legislators found in Kabupaten Pesawaran (28.89%), Kabupaten Pringsewu (27.50%), Kota Metro (24.00%), Kabupaten Mesuji (22.86%), and Kota Bandar Lampung (22.00%).¹⁰ These figures highlight that, despite quota policies and gender mainstreaming initiatives, women in Lampung still face significant structural and cultural barriers to political empowerment. Lampung represents a particularly compelling case not only because its gender indicators remain below national expectations, but also due to the strong influence of religious authority in shaping public morality and political decision-making.

Amina Wadud's feminist hermeneutics offer such a methodology. Her reinterpretation of Islamic texts challenges androcentric readings that have historically justified gender hierarchy, while distinguishing universal Islamic ethical principles from culturally contingent patriarchal constructions.¹¹ Emphasizing contextual interpretation, ethical universality, and women's experiential knowledge, her framework provides a critical lens for dismantling patriarchal epistemologies embedded in religious and political institutions. These ideas resonate significantly with contemporary gender initiatives in Indonesia. For instance, efforts to educate male religious leaders on gender justice in Lampung mirror Wadud's emphasis on utilizing authoritative religious discourse to promote equality.¹² Similarly, the emergence of female religious leadership initiatives such as programs developing women ulama reflects Wadud's insistence on women's right to interpretive authority and participation in shaping religious meaning.¹³ At the policy level, gender programs addressing violence against women in Lampung, supported by local NGOs

⁷ BPS Provinsi Lampung, "Indeks Pemberdayaan Gender (IDG) Provinsi Lampung," 2024.

⁸ BPS Provinsi Lampung, "Indeks Ketimpangan Gender (IKG) 2023," 2024.

⁹ BPS Provinsi Lampung, "Terdapat 18,82 % Proporsi Perempuan pada Lembaga Legislatif Provinsi Lampung, 2023," 2024.

¹⁰ BPS Provinsi Lampung.

¹¹ Amina Wadud, *Qur'an and Woman: Rereading the Sacred Text from a Woman's Perspective.*, Oxford University Press (New York, 1999).

¹² Mufliha Wijayati et al., "'The New Men': The Rahima's Experiences in the Gender Sensitivity Construction among Marriage Registrar in Lampung Indonesia," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam* 7, no. 3 (2023): 1489–1513, <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v7i3.17666>.

¹³ Nor Ismah, "Destabilising Male Domination: Building Community-Based Authority among Indonesian Female Ulama Destabilising Male Domination: Building Community-Based," *Asian Studies Review* 40, no. 4 (2016): 491–509, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2016.1228605>.

and female legislators, further illustrate how religiously grounded feminist ethics intersect with grassroots activism and institutional policymaking.¹⁴

Nevertheless, despite the significant developments that have occurred, existing studies reveal notable gaps. Previous research on Wadud's hermeneutics has largely been confined to theoretical-theological discourse focusing on text interpretation and normative ethics.¹⁵ In contrast, studies on gender governance and political participation in Indonesia tend to concentrate on institutional, legal, and sociocultural dimensions without systematic engagement with progressive Islamic feminist theology.¹⁶ As a result, feminist theology and empirical political realities are often treated as separate analytical domains. Furthermore, the application of gender-sensitive religious interpretation in Indonesia, which involves Islamic feminist perspectives, occurs within a socially and politically contestative environment, characterized by ideological tensions between democratic cosmopolitanism and conservative religious nationalism. These tensions influence public moral debates and the interpretation of Pancasila as the basis for gender policy.¹⁷ This condition underscores a critical research gap: the lack of an integrative study that systematically links Amina Wadud's feminist hermeneutics with the empirical development of gender politics at the local level, particularly in Lampung Province, where religious authorities, policy innovation, and grassroots activism interact

This study seeks to address that gap by analyzing how Amina Wadud's conception of gender equality can serve as both a theoretical and normative foundation for reshaping gender politics in Indonesia, with specific attention to Lampung Province. It examines the extent to which egalitarian Islamic interpretations grounded in *maqāsid al-sharī'ah* and *fiqh siyāsah* can strengthen women's political empowerment in contexts where conservative interpretations still dominate. By linking theological discourse with empirical socio-political realities, this research contributes to Islamic feminist scholarship and contemporary Islamic political thought while offering a conceptual pathway for developing more just, inclusive, and ethically grounded gender governance in Indonesia.

¹⁴ H Hanifah et al., "Diffusion of Policy to Address Violence Against Women: Implementation Evidence from Indonesia," *Politics and Gender*, 2025, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X25100172>.

¹⁵ S Syamsiyatun, "Redefining Manhood and Womanhood: Insights from the Oldest Indonesian Muslim Women Organization, 'Aisyiyah,'" *Studia Islamika* 29, no. 3 (2023): 547–73, <https://doi.org/10.36712/sdi.v29i3.23455>; Z Saleem, "Addressing Quran 4:34: Muslim Feminists' Hermeneutics vs. Mahmoud Muhammad Taha's Hermeneutics," *Hawwa* 22, no. 3–4 (2024): 266–90, <https://doi.org/10.1163/15692086-12341420>.

¹⁶ Mohammad Rofiq dan Ita Rodiah, "Kesetaraan Gender dan Reformasi Hukum: Pemikiran Amina Wadud dan Siti Musdah Mulia Dalam Konteks Indonesia," *Jurnal Harkat: Media Komunikasi Gender* 20, no. 2 (2024): 97–107.

¹⁷ Gender dan Indonesia, "Pancasila, Kesetaraan Gender, dan Perempuan Indonesia."

2. Legal Materials and Methods

This study adopts a normative-qualitative, library-based research design within the field of Islamic legal and political studies. Primary sources include Amina Wadud's seminal works, *Qur'an and Woman*, *Inside the Gender Jihad*, and *Qur'an menurut Perempuan*, which serve as the foundational hermeneutical and theoretical framework for the study. These are complemented by secondary sources such as peer-reviewed journal articles, academic books, authoritative commentaries, and policy documents on Islamic feminism, gender justice in Islam, and women's political participation in Indonesia, particularly in Lampung Province. Data were collected through a systematic literature review and doctrinal classification of relevant legal, theological, and political discourses, followed by content analysis integrated with Islamic feminist hermeneutics to ensure both conceptual depth and analytical rigor.

The analysis proceeded in three stages: (1) a textual-theological examination of Wadud's reinterpretation of Qur'anic principles relating to justice, equality, and human dignity; (2) a normative Islamic legal analysis to evaluate the consonance of these principles with broader Islamic legal and political doctrines, including *fiqh siyāsah* and *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*; and (3) a contextual application of these principles to the contemporary socio-political realities of gender politics in Lampung Province. This approach directly addresses the research gap identified in the introduction by systematically integrating feminist hermeneutics with empirical gender politics, offering a methodologically coherent and academically rigorous analysis.

3. Result and Discussion

3.1. Amina Wadud's Feminist Hermeneutics and Its Contribution to Islamic Political Thought

Amina Wadud (b. 1952) is widely recognized as a foundational figure in contemporary Islamic feminist thought whose scholarship has fundamentally reshaped Qur'anic interpretation in relation to gender, authority, and social justice.¹⁸ Trained in Islamic studies and Arabic within leading Western academic institutions, Wadud's intellectual formation bridges classical Islamic exegetical traditions and modern critical hermeneutics, enabling her to engage both textual orthodoxy and contemporary socio-political realities. Crucially, her work moves beyond a descriptive critique of patriarchal interpretations by constructing an alternative epistemic framework grounded in Qur'anic ethics of justice (*ʿadl*), equality, and human dignity. This framework not only challenges gender hierarchies within Islamic jurisprudence but also carries significant implications for

¹⁸ Abu Bakar, "Women on The Text According To Amina Wadud Muhsin in *Qur'an and Women*," *Al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum dan Pranata Sosial* 13, no. 117 (2018), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.19105/al-ihkam.v13i1.1467>.

Islamic political thought, particularly in rethinking authority, leadership, and moral legitimacy in Muslim public life.¹⁹

Central to Wadud's intellectual project is the assertion that gender inequality in Muslim societies does not originate from the Qur'anic text itself, but from historically embedded interpretive traditions shaped by male-centered epistemologies. In her seminal works, *Qur'an and Woman*²⁰ and *Inside the Gender Jihad*,²¹ Wadud demonstrates how classical tafsīr has frequently universalized particular socio-historical norms, thereby naturalizing male dominance as divinely sanctioned authority.²² By exposing this process, her scholarship seeks not only to deconstruct inherited interpretive biases but also to reconstruct a hermeneutical paradigm grounded in the Qur'an's ethical universality. This paradigm reconfigures the relationship between text, authority, and power, challenging the theological legitimation of gendered hierarchies that have long underpinned political leadership and normative governance in Muslim societies.

Methodologically, Wadud's feminist hermeneutics integrates textual–philological analysis, thematic (mawḍū'ī) interpretation, and historical–contextual reconstruction of revelation (asbāb al-nuzūl), while recognizing women's lived experiences as legitimate interpretive lenses.²³ This synthesis constitutes not merely a methodological innovation, but a profound epistemological repositioning within Islamic scholarship. By centering women as active interpretive subjects rather than passive recipients of religious meaning, Wadud directly challenges the epistemic monopoly historically exercised by male scholars over Qur'anic interpretation. This reconfiguration of interpretive authority expands the domain of Islamic knowledge production and carries significant political implications, as it destabilizes traditional claims to religious legitimacy that have long structured gendered access to leadership, legal authority, and public decision-making in Muslim societies.²⁴

At the heart of Wadud's hermeneutics lies the principle of tawḥīd (Divine Unity), which she conceptualizes not merely as a theological doctrine but as an ethical paradigm with far-reaching socio-political implications.²⁵ If God alone constitutes the locus of ultimate

¹⁹ A Akbar, "Fazlur Rahman's Influence on Contemporary Islamic Thought," *Muslim World* 110, no. 2 (2020): 129–53, <https://doi.org/10.1111/muwo.12334>.

²⁰ Wadud, *Qur'an and Woman: Rereading the Sacred Text from a Woman's Perspective*.

²¹ Amina Wadud, *Inside the Gender Jihad: Women's Reform in Islam*, Oneworld Publication (Oxford, 2006).

²² Cahya Edi Setyawan, "PEMIKIRAN KESETARAAN GENDER DAN FEMINISME AMINA WADUD TENTANG EKSISTENSI WANITA DALAM KAJIAN HUKUM KELUARGA," *Zawiyah Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 3, no. 1 (2017): 70–91.

²³ Saleem, "Addressing Quran 4:34: Muslim Feminists' Hermeneutics vs. Mahmoud Muhammad Taha's Hermeneutics."

²⁴ R E Saputri et al., "THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN MARITAL DYNAMICS: Hadis Interpretation of Amina Wadud's Hermeneutic," *Miqot: Jurnal Ilmu-ilmu Keislaman* 48, no. 2 (2024): 282–300, <https://doi.org/10.30821/miqot.v48i2.1180>.

²⁵ Wadud, *Qur'an and Woman: Rereading the Sacred Text from a Woman's Perspective*.

authority, then no human being male or female can claim inherent superiority or divinely sanctioned dominance over another. From this theological foundation emerges an ethic of reciprocity, equal moral responsibility, and shared public participation between men and women. Gender hierarchy, therefore, is reframed not only as a sociological or cultural problem, but as a theological distortion that undermines the Qur'anic basis of moral authority and political legitimacy in Islamic governance.²⁶

Building upon the principle of *tawhīd*, Wadud further aligns her hermeneutical framework with the objectives of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, particularly *al-'adl* (justice), *al-karāmah al-insāniyyah* (human dignity), and the protection of essential human interests as articulated within Islamic ethical thought.²⁷ These principles affirm that the Qur'an's normative orientation is fundamentally egalitarian. Accordingly, restrictions on women's participation in leadership, governance, and public authority cannot be justified solely through selective or literalist textual readings, but must be evaluated against the Qur'an's overarching ethical commitments to justice and human dignity.²⁸ This reorientation relocates debates on women's political participation from pragmatic or sociocultural considerations to the realm of Islamic normative ethics and political legitimacy.

Within this ethical architecture, women's leadership is positioned as theologically legitimate rather than merely permissible.²⁹ Wadud explicitly challenges interpretive approaches that rely on isolated verses or contextually specific narratives to justify male dominance in public authority.³⁰ She highlights Qur'anic depictions of women as moral deliberators, bearers of knowledge, and active social actors.³¹ By foregrounding these narratives, Wadud reclaims religious legitimacy for women's participation in governance, lawmaking, and political decision-making processes.

Wadud's intellectual contribution therefore extends beyond theological discourse into the realm of Islamic political thought. Her hermeneutical framework provides a normative foundation for articulating gender-just political ethics, thereby strengthening contemporary engagements with *fiqh siyāsah* and ethically grounded models of governance

²⁶ Uswatun Hasanah Harahap, "Hermeneutika Feminisme dalam Tafsir Al-Qur'an: Kajian Metodologi Amina Wadud Hermeneutics of Feminism in Tafsir Al-Qur'an: Methodological Study of Amina Wadud," *Alhamra: Jurnal Studi Islam* 5, no. 1 (2024): 85–96.

²⁷ Purnomo et al., "Dimensions Maqāṣid Al-Sharī'ah and Human Rights in The Constitutional Court's Decision on Marriage Age Difference in Indonesia."

²⁸ Harahap, "Hermeneutika Feminisme dalam Tafsir Al-Qur'an: Kajian Metodologi Amina Wadud Hermeneutics of Feminism in Tafsir Al-Qur'an: Methodological Study of Amina Wadud"; Asma Barlas dan أسماء بارلاس, "The Qur'an and Hermeneutics: Reading the Qur'an's Opposition to Patriarchy / فهم النص القرآني: قراءة في رفض القرآن لمبدأ ما يسمى بالأبوية" في معناها الذكوري." *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 3, no. 2 (30 Desember 2001): 15–38, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.undip.ac.id:2048/stable/25728036>.

²⁹ Ziba Mir-hosseini, "Muslim Women's Quest for Equality: Between Islamic Law and Feminism" 32, no. 4 (2006): 629–45.

³⁰ Wadud, *Qur'an and Woman: Rereading the Sacred Text from a Woman's Perspective*.

³¹ Mutiara Rizqa Chairunnisa, "Kepemimpinan Perempuan Dalam Hermeneutika Feminisme Amina Wadud," *Zawiyah: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 8, no. 2 (2022): 32, <https://doi.org/10.31332/zjpi.v8i2.4078>.

within Muslim societies. Rather than framing gender equality as an external liberal imposition, her approach situates it firmly within the Qur’anic moral universe and its ethical commitments to justice and human dignity. In doing so, Wadud offers a persuasive theological basis for the moral legitimacy of gender-inclusive governance arrangements in Islamic political theory.

This contribution becomes particularly significant in contexts such as Indonesia, where religious authority continues to exert substantial influence over public morality, political legitimacy, and social policy. In regions such as Lampung, where women’s political agency intersects closely with religious discourse, Wadud’s hermeneutical framework can be read as a normative counter-discursive resource for critically engaging conservative theological narratives that are frequently mobilized to delegitimize women’s leadership. Her emphasis on justice, reciprocity, and ethical equality enables women’s political participation to be articulated not as a departure from Islamic tradition, but as an expression of its core moral commitments and sources of normative legitimacy.

However, it is equally important to acknowledge that Wadud’s hermeneutical project is not automatically or structurally transformative. While it offers a powerful theological and ethical framework, it does not by itself resolve entrenched structural inequalities or institutional constraints that continue to shape women’s political realities. Meaningful transformation still depends on broader political and institutional reforms, including changes within political parties, effective enforcement of affirmative action policies, institutional protection against gender-based political violence, and wider societal paradigm shifts. Nevertheless, Wadud’s thought functions as an enabling intellectual infrastructure through which such reforms can be ethically articulated and normatively legitimized within Islamic political discourse.

In sum, Amina Wadud’s feminist hermeneutics constitutes a significant contribution to Islamic political thought by providing a coherent theological justification for women’s political participation, leadership, and public authority. Her work bridges theology, ethics, and governance, offering an integrated framework through which gender justice can be articulated from within Islamic normative discourse. In contexts such as Lampung, this framework not only enhances the religious legitimacy of women’s political agency but also strengthens the ethical foundations for envisioning and sustaining a more gender-inclusive democratic order.

3.2. Gender Politics in Lampung Province: Structural Constraints, Cultural Narratives and Religious Legitimacy

The landscape of gender politics in Lampung Province reveals persistent structural constraints that continue to limit women’s representation in formal political institutions. Despite Indonesia’s long-standing commitment to a 30 percent affirmative action threshold as an indicator of substantive gender equality, women’s political representation in Lampung remains significantly below this benchmark. During the 2019–2024 legislative period, only

14 of the 85 members of the Lampung Provincial Parliament (16.47 percent) were women,³² a proportion that increased only marginally to approximately 17.65 percent following the 2024 electoral cycle,³³ underscoring the limited impact of affirmative mechanisms. Subnational variation further illustrates uneven patterns of political inclusion across districts. Between 2021 and 2023, female legislators constituted merely 18.82 percent of representatives, declining from 20 percent in the 2019–2020 period.³⁴ The highest levels of female legislative presence were recorded in Kabupaten Pesawaran (28.89 percent), Kabupaten Pringsewu (27.50 percent), Kota Metro (24.00 percent), Kabupaten Mesuji (22.86 percent), and Kota Bandar Lampung (22.00 percent).³⁵ These patterns indicate that women's political participation in Lampung is not only structurally constrained, but also mediated by divergent institutional practices, political cultures, and local socio-religious configurations across regional jurisdictions.

Women's underrepresentation in Lampung emerges from the intersection of structural, institutional, cultural, and ideological factors. Structurally, party recruitment mechanisms remain predominantly masculine and deeply embedded in patronage networks, systematically positioning women in less strategic electoral slots while constraining their access to financial capital, political networks, and internal bargaining power. This structural pattern is empirically corroborated by recent large-N analyses of Indonesia's 2024 legislative elections, which demonstrate that while voter bias against women candidates persists, party-controlled list placement and asymmetrical candidate selection criteria play a far more decisive role in shaping women's electoral success, thereby substantially diluting the substantive impact of gender quota policies.³⁶ Institutionally, although gender quotas formally exist, weak enforcement and an overreliance on procedural compliance rather than substantive commitment significantly undermine the transformative potential of affirmative action mechanisms. At the cultural level, deeply entrenched patriarchal norms continue to frame politics as an inherently masculine domain, fostering the stigmatization of female leadership as emotionally unstable, morally questionable, or socially inappropriate.³⁷ These structural and cultural barriers are further reinforced by ideological narratives, including selective religious interpretations that implicitly legitimize male political authority. Taken together, these dynamics align with broader scholarly findings emphasizing how patriarchy,

³² BPS Provinsi Lampung, "Terdapat 18,82 % Proporsi Perempuan pada Lembaga Legislatif Provinsi Lampung, 2023."

³³ Badan Pusat Statistik, "Keterlibatan Perempuan di Parlemen (Persen) 2024," 2025.

³⁴ BPS Provinsi Lampung, "Terdapat 18,82 % Proporsi Perempuan pada Lembaga Legislatif Provinsi Lampung, 2023."

³⁵ BPS Provinsi Lampung.

³⁶ Edward Aspinall, Sally White, dan Amalinda Savirani, "Women's Political Representation in Indonesia: Who Wins and How?," *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 40, no. 1 (2021): 3–27, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1177/1868103421989>.

³⁷ Sally White, Eve Warburton, dan Adrianus Hendrawan, "Voting against Women: Political Patriarchy, Islam, and Representation in Indonesia," *Politics & Gender* 20, no. 2 (2024): 391–421, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X23000648>.

clientelism, unequal resource distribution, and religiously inflected moral discourses systematically disadvantage women in Indonesian politics.³⁸

Beyond structural and cultural barriers, gendered exclusion in Lampung is further sustained through more coercive mechanisms, particularly gender-based political violence. An additional and critical dimension shaping gender politics in the province is the persistence of intimidation, verbal harassment, reputational attacks, moral policing, and disinformation campaigns that disproportionately target women candidates and officeholders.³⁹ Testimonies from research participants and reports by civil society organizations indicate that these practices generate a pervasive climate of symbolic and psychological violence, undermining women's sense of political security and discouraging sustained participation in public life.⁴⁰ Notably, such forms of violence are frequently legitimized through moralized and religiously inflected narratives that frame women's political engagement as ethically suspect or socially transgressive. Consequently, women's underrepresentation cannot be reduced to electoral outcomes alone, but must be understood within a broader framework of gendered political vulnerability shaped by intersecting structures of power, morality, and legitimacy.⁴¹ In this sense, the Lampung case mirrors broader findings that gender-based political exclusion in Indonesia is sustained not only through formal institutional arrangements, but through "invisible" power structures that normalize discrimination while preserving procedural legality.

Despite these structural and symbolic constraints, Lampung has also exhibited important, though uneven, signs of progress, particularly in the realm of executive political leadership. The electoral victory of Eva Dwiana as Mayor of Bandar Lampung and the inauguration of Jihan Nurlela as Deputy Governor of Lampung (2025–2030) signal a growing public recognition of women's political competence and leadership capacity.⁴² These achievements suggest that political legitimacy can be actively constructed through sustained community engagement, effective public communication, religious networking, and strategic digital mobilization.⁴³ Nevertheless, in the absence of deeper structural reform within party institutions and more robust affirmative mechanisms to strengthen women's

³⁸ Jóhanna Kristín, "The Patriarchy in the Parties : Voters , parties and women ' s electoral fortunes in the 2024 legislative election in Indonesia," *Electoral Studies* 95, no. July 2024 (2025): 102938, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2025.102938>.

³⁹ Sita Aripurnami et al., "Violence against Women in Indonesia ' s 2024 Elections," 2025.

⁴⁰ Aripurnami et al.

⁴¹ Puji Lestari et al., "Beyond Legal Frameworks : Uncovering the Hidden Impact of Gender Violence in Indonesia ' s 2024 Political Recruitment," 2024.

⁴² Vina Oktavia, "Partisipasi Pemilih Rendah, Petahana Eva-Deddy Unggul di Pilkada Bandar Lampung," *Kompas.id*, 2025; "Presiden Republik Indonesia Lantik Rahmat Mirzani Djausal dan Jihan Nurlela sebagai Gubernur dan Wakil Gubernur Lampung Periode 2025 ♦ 2030," <https://lampungprov.go.id>, 2025.

⁴³ Kurniawati Hastuti Dewi et al., "Modal, Strategi dan Jaringan Perempuan Politisi dalam Kandidasi Pilkada Langsung," *Jurnal Penelitian Politik* 15, no. 726 (2019), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.14203/jpp.v15i2.765>.

representation in legislative bodies, such advances risk remaining largely symbolic rather than producing transformative change in gendered political power relations.

From a governance perspective, Lampung's experience reveals a persistent disjuncture between individual electoral breakthroughs and systemic gender inclusion. While women's success in executive leadership demonstrates the possibility of political agency, these achievements have not translated into the broader democratization of legislative representation. This pattern suggests that political openings for women remain selective and contingent rather than institutionalized within party systems and representative institutions.⁴⁴ This tendency is consistent with broader Indonesian empirical findings, such as studies on the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), which show that although gender quotas are formally fulfilled, women candidates often lack substantive political support, strong recruitment pipelines, and access to strategic party positions, resulting in limited electability.⁴⁵ Accordingly, meaningful gender inclusion requires deliberate structural reform

Crucially, the dynamics of gender politics in Lampung cannot be fully understood without situating them within the province's strongly religious socio-political environment, where religious discourse functions as a key source of public morality, leadership legitimacy, and political authority. Conservative interpretations of Islamic texts are frequently mobilized to normalize male political dominance and to delegitimize women's claims to public leadership. It is precisely within this socio-religious terrain that Amina Wadud's feminist hermeneutics becomes particularly salient. By foregrounding *tawhīd* as an ethical principle of non-hierarchical authority, alongside justice (*'adl*), human dignity (*karāmah al-insāniyyah*), and gender reciprocity, Wadud offers a powerful counter-discursive framework capable of reorienting Islamic normative ethics toward inclusivity, equality, and gender-just governance.

In this regard, Wadud's thought does more than provide abstract theological reflection; it constitutes a morally authoritative and contextually resonant resource for re-legitimizing women's leadership in a religious society such as Lampung. By grounding gender equality in Islamic ethical foundations rather than purely secular democratic principles, her framework enables the construction of a religiously rooted justification for women's political participation. This opens normative space for female legislators,

⁴⁴ Alvinda Putri Ruriana, Adhi Cahya Fahadyna, dan George Towar Ikbal Tawakkal, "Political Parties and Women's Representation in the Indonesian Parliament 2009-2019," *Politik Indonesia: Indonesian Political Science Review* 8, no. 2 (2023): 234–51, <https://doi.org/10.15294/ipsr.v8i2.45916>.

⁴⁵ Titin Purwaningsih, "Political Recruitment of Female Candidates in Meeting the Quota Policy in the Prosperous Justice Party (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera) of DIY Province in 2019," *Jurnal Studi Pemerintahan* 10, no. 3 (2019): 243–52.

executives, religious leaders, and activists to articulate claims to authority not as deviations from tradition but as faithful expressions of Islamic moral commitments.⁴⁶

In sum, gender politics in Lampung reflects a complex configuration of structural constraints, cultural resistance, institutional ambivalence, and ongoing ideological contestation, yet it remains open to transformative intervention. The coexistence of persistent legislative underrepresentation alongside notable executive success reveals both the fragility and the latent potential of women's political empowerment. Meaningful and sustainable change, however, requires not only electoral engineering and institutional reform, but also sustained theological and discursive transformation as integral components of democratic governance capable of disrupting religious narratives that continue to naturalize male political dominance. Without such a multidimensional reconfiguration of power, legitimacy, and ethics, women's political achievements will remain vulnerable, partial, and insufficient to catalyze a genuinely gender-inclusive democratic order.

4. Conclusion


This study concludes that gender inequality in politics is not inherently rooted in Islamic doctrine but, rather, in patriarchal interpretations of religious texts and masculine socio-political structures that continue to shape political realities. Through Amina Wadud's feminist hermeneutics, which prioritizes justice (al-'adl), spiritual equality, human dignity (al-karāmah), and egalitarian human relations, this research demonstrates that Islam, in its normative sense, offers a robust ethical and theological foundation for legitimizing women's political participation and leadership. In the context of Lampung Province, although notable progress has been made, such as the increasing visibility of female leaders and gradual improvements in representation, these developments have yet to yield a structural transformation that fosters substantive gender equality. Institutional barriers, patriarchal political culture, and the limited penetration of progressive religious interpretations continue to hinder women's roles in decision-making processes. By integrating Islamic feminist hermeneutics, gender representation theory, and local political dynamics, this study contributes to contemporary fiqh siyāsah discourse. It offers a critical framework for policymakers, scholars, and civil society to promote a more inclusive, just, and gender-responsive political system, one in which women's political presence transcends symbolic achievements and leads to substantive and sustainable democratic transformation.

5. References

- Ahmad, N, Z H Zamri, dan N S Omarali. "Islamic Nations' Approaches to Combating Gender Discrimination against Women: An Examination of the Southeast Asia Region." *De Jure: Jurnal Hukum dan Syar'iah* 16, no. 2 (2024): 501–30. <https://doi.org/10.18860/j-fsh.v16i2.29965>.
- Akbar, A. "Fazlur Rahman's Influence on Contemporary Islamic Thought." *Muslim World*

⁴⁶ N Ahmad, Z H Zamri, dan N S Omarali, "Islamic Nations' Approaches to Combating Gender Discrimination against Women: An Examination of the Southeast Asia Region," *De Jure: Jurnal Hukum dan Syar'iah* 16, no. 2 (2024): 501–30, <https://doi.org/10.18860/j-fsh.v16i2.29965>.

- 110, no. 2 (2020): 129–53. <https://doi.org/10.1111/muwo.12334>.
- Akmaliyah, Ayu Annisa, Irfan Amir, Ismail Keri, dan Rosita. “Affirmatif Action Terhadap Perempuan dalam Bidang Politik ; Sebuah Tinjauan di Negara Hukum Pancasila.” *Constitutional Law Review* 1, no. 2 (2022): 57–77. <https://jurnal.iain-bone.ac.id/index.php/colrev/article/view/3972/1567>.
- Aripurnami, Sita, Edriana, Benita Nastami, dan Ayu Anastasia. “Violence against Women in Indonesia ’ s 2024 Elections,” 2025.
- Aspinall, Edward, Sally White, dan Amalinda Savirani. “Women ’ s Political Representation in Indonesia : Who Wins and How ?” *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 40, no. 1 (2021): 3–27. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1177/1868103421989>.
- Badan Pusat Statistik. “Keterlibatan Perempuan di Parlemen (Persen) 2024,” 2025.
- Bakar, Abu. “Women on The Text According To Amina Wadud Muhsin in Qur’an and Women.” *Al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum dan Pranata Sosial* 13, no. 117 (2018). <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.19105/al-lhkam.v13i1.1467>.
- Barlas, Asma, dan أسماء بارلاس. “The Qur’an and Hermeneutics: Reading the Qur’an’s Opposition to Patriarchy / فهم النص القرآني: قراءة في رفض القرآن لمبدأ ما يسمى بالأبوية” في “معناها الذكوري.” *Journal of Qur’anic Studies* 3, no. 2 (30 Desember 2001): 15–38. <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.undip.ac.id:2048/stable/25728036>.
- BPS Provinsi Lampung. “Indeks Ketimpangan Gender (IKG) 2023,” 2024.
- . “Indeks Pemberdayaan Gender (IDG) Provinsi Lampung,” 2024.
- . “Terdapat 18,82 % Proporsi Perempuan pada Lembaga Legislatif Provinsi Lampung , 2023,” 2024.
- Chairunnisa, Mutiara Rizqa. “Kepemimpinan Perempuan Dalam Hermeneutika Feminisme Amina Wadud.” *Zawiyah: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 8, no. 2 (2022): 32. <https://doi.org/10.31332/zjpi.v8i2.4078>.
- Dewi, Kurniawati Hastuti, Atika Nur Kusumaningtyas, Esty Ekawati, dan Syafuan Rozi Soebhan. “Modal, Strategi dan Jaringan Perempuan Politisi dalam Kandidasi Pilkada Langsung.” *Jurnal Penelitian Politik* 15, no. 726 (2019). <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.14203/jpp.v15i2.765>.
- Gender, Kesetaraan, dan Perempuan Indonesia. “Pancasila, Kesetaraan Gender, dan Perempuan Indonesia.” *PANCASILA* 3, no. 2 (2023). <https://doi.org/10.52738/pjk.v3i2.179>.
- Großmann, K. “Muslim female activists and sharia in Indonesia: Scopes of acting in national and international perspectives.” *RIMA: Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 48, no. 1 (2014): 95–125. <https://www.scopus.com/inward/record.uri?eid=2-s2.0-84926315931&partnerID=40&md5=29a1194f44c4d966c9ae9e19eccd64af>.
- Hanifah, H, J True, A Mavisakalyan, dan A Flynn. “Diffusion of Policy to Address Violence Against Women: Implementation Evidence from Indonesia.” *Politics and Gender*, 2025. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X25100172>.
- Harahap, Uswatun Hasanah. “Hermeneutika Feminisme dalam Tafsir Al-Qur ’ an : Kajian Metodologi Amina Wadud Hermeneutics of Feminism in Tafsir Al-Qur ’ an : Methodological Study of Amina Wadud.” *Alhamra: Jurnal Studi Islam* 5, no. 1 (2024): 85–96.
- Ismah, Nor. “Destabilising Male Domination : Building Community-Based Authority among Indonesian Female Ulama Destabilising Male Domination : Building Community-Based.” *Asian Studies Review* 40, no. 4 (2016): 491–509. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2016.1228605>.
- Jones, J. “Muslim feminism as Islamic modernism: Women’s activism in India between the Quran and the Constitution.” *Modern Asian Studies* 58, no. 2 (2024): 421–47.

- <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X23000495>.
- Kristin, Jóhanna. "The Patriarchy in the Parties : Voters , parties and women ' s electoral fortunes in the 2024 legislative election in Indonesia." *Electoral Studies* 95, no. July 2024 (2025): 102938. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2025.102938>.
- Lestari, Puji, Aprila Niravita, Erisandi Arditama, dan Ayup Suran Ningsih. "Beyond Legal Frameworks : Uncovering the Hidden Impact of Gender Violence in Indonesia ' s 2024 Political Recruitment," 2024.
- Mir-hosseini, Ziba. "Muslim Women ' s Quest for Equality : Between Islamic Law and Feminism" 32, no. 4 (2006): 629–45.
- Oktavia, Vina. "Partisipasi Pemilih Rendah, Petahana Eva-Deddy Unggul di Pilkada Bandar Lampung." *Kompas.id*, 2025.
- "Presiden Republik Indonesia Lantik Rahmat Mirzani Djausal dan Jihan Nurlela sebagai Gubernur dan Wakil Gubernur Lampung Periode 2025  2030." <https://lampungprov.go.id>, 2025.
- Purnomo, Agus, Nor Salam, Mukhammad Zamzami, dan Abu Bakar. "Dimensions Maqāsid Al-Sharī'ah and Human Rights in The Constitutional Court's Decision on Marriage Age Difference in Indonesia." *Samarah* 7, no. 3 (2023): 1397–1421. <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhc.v7i3.13283>.
- Purwaningsih, Titin. "Political Recruitment of Female Candidates in Meeting the Quota Policy in the Prosperous Justice Party (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera) of DIY Province in 2019." *Jurnal Studi Pemerintahan* 10, no. 3 (2019): 243–52.
- Rofiq, Mohammad, dan Ita Rodiah. "Kesetaraan Gender dan Reformasi Hukum: Pemikiran Amina Wadud dan Siti Musdah Mulia Dalam Konteks Indonesia." *Jurnal Harkat: Media Komunikasi Gender* 20, no. 2 (2024): 97–107.
- Ruriana, Alvinda Putri, Adhi Cahya Fahadyna, dan George Towar Iqbal Tawakkal. "Political Parties and Women ' s Representation in the Indonesian Parliament 2009-2019." *Politik Indonesia: Indonesian Political Science Review* 8, no. 2 (2023): 234–51. <https://doi.org/10.15294/ipsr.v8i2.45916>.
- Saleem, Z. "Addressing Quran 4:34: Muslim Feminists' Hermeneutics vs. Mahmoud Muhammad Taha's Hermeneutics." *Hawwa* 22, no. 3–4 (2024): 266–90. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15692086-12341420>.
- Saputri, R E, N Burhanuddin, G Gazali, N Hendri, dan M A Majid. "THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN MARITAL DYNAMICS: Hadis Interpretation of Amina Wadud's Hermeneutic." *Miqot: Jurnal Ilmu-ilmu Keislaman* 48, no. 2 (2024): 282–300. <https://doi.org/10.30821/miqot.v48i2.1180>.
- Setyawan, Cahya Edi. "PEMIKIRAN KESETARAAN GENDER DAN FEMINISME AMINA WADUD TENTANG EKSISTENSI WANITA DALAM KAJIAN HUKUM KELUARGA." *Zawiyah Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 3, no. 1 (2017): 70–91.
- Syamsiyatun, S. "Redefining Manhood and Womanhood: Insights from the Oldest Indonesian Muslim Women Organization, 'Aisyiyah." *Studia Islamika* 29, no. 3 (2023): 547–73. <https://doi.org/10.36712/sdi.v29i3.23455>.
- Wadud, Amina. *Inside the Gender Jihad: Women's Reform in Islam*. Oneworld Publication. Oxford, 2006.
- . *Qur'an and Woman: Rereading the Sacred Text from a Woman's Perspective*. Oxford University Press. New York, 1999.
- White, Sally, Eve Warburton, dan Adrianus Hendrawan. "Voting against Women : Political Patriarchy , Islam , and Representation in Indonesia." *Politics & Gender* 20, no. 2 (2024): 391–421. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X23000648>.

-
- Wieinga, S E. “Women resisting creeping Islamic fundamentalism in Indonesia.” *Asian Journal of Women’s Studies* 15, no. 4 (2009): 30–56. <https://doi.org/10.1080/12259276.2009.11666077>.
- Wijayati, Muflaha, Muhamad Nasruddin, Tutik Hamidah, Nancy Dela Oktora, dan Ibnu hasan Muchtar. “‘The New Men’: The Rahima’s Experiences in the Gender Sensitivity Construction among Marriage Registrar in Lampung Indonesia.” *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam* 7, no. 3 (2023): 1489–1513. <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjkh.v7i3.17666>.