

# INDONESIAN WOMEN ELECT: THE STUDY OF ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY

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## Abstract

Women's participation in Indonesian politics gives its own color for the democracy of the nation. The number of female voters in the DPT of General Election 2019 is greater than the number of male voters, becoming an important key to the future direction of Indonesia's politics, democracy, and governance. This causes women's voices to become significantly valuable as the entry gate for the struggle and the development of the face of Indonesian politics, democracy, and governance. In this study, descriptive qualitative method was used with the Secondary Data Analysis (ADS) approach which utilized secondary data as the main research data related to the phenomenon of women's choice in the 2019 Presidential Election. The main objective of the current research is to see and analyze the level of adherence, pragmatism, fanaticism, and political intelligence of Indonesian women in making decisions to give their vote in the Presidential Election 2019 in a philosophical study. In terms of democratic presidential elections, philosophically if we believe in a democratic system as a form of sovereignty in the hands of the people, it is appropriate that the people directly elect the executive authorities, which in this case are the president and vice president. The elected president and vice president will further be responsible for the people who choose them, in this case is taking care, protecting, and guaranteeing the welfare of all people, including women. Therefore, there are several factors behind women's decisions in determining or voting which pair of president and vice president they think is ideal.

**Keywords:** Fanaticism, Obedience, Political Intelligence, Pragmatism, Women Vote

## A. Introduction

Women and voting behavior have again seized the public's concern (Mujani & Liddle, 2020). This is not only because of the democratic transition in the form of free and fair elections and the direct election of the President and Vice President (*Pilpres*) since 2004, 2009, 2014, and 2019 which was just held (Bunte & Ufen, 2008), but also due to the emergence of women's power which was assumed to be the driving factor for Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin's victory (Agus, 2019). Related to this, the main political driver for the victory of Khofifah Indar Parawansa as the governor of East Java in 2018 was women, especially *Muslimat Nahdhatul Ulama (NU)* (Tim Editor, 2018b). In addition, the victory of Mundjidah Wahab in the Regent Election (*Pilbup*) in Jombang, East Java was

also based on women's commitment and the social influence of Muslimat NU Jombang (Maula, 2016).

Indonesian women become the determining factor in the substance of the routine General Election (*Pemilu*) which is not only a democratic process and means to deliver people's aspirations, but also an inclusive elite circulation where every people has the opportunity to vote and be elected. The means of such people's sovereignty aims to elect members of the People's Representatives Council (DPR), members of the Regional Legislative Council (DPRD) of Province and Regency/City, the President-Vice President, and members of the Regional Representatives Council (DPD). This further is carried out directly, publicly, freely, secretly, honestly, and fairly (*Luber Jurdil*) within the territory of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) based on Pancasila as the basis of the state and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (UUD) as its constitution.

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At the level of idealism-normative, Indonesian women has completely become the determinants of state life through the momentum of the general election 2019. Indonesian people (both men and women) are true voters who have the right to choose the highest leader of their own country. In a democratic procession, elections are a single event and an open political space for the people to express their views. A democratic state must submit to consensus and carry out the will of the people. This is in accordance with our understanding that the criteria for democracy are effective participation, equality of voice, clear understanding, and control of the agenda.

Based on the philosophy of Pancasila and the mandate of the 1945 Constitution, the sovereignty of the Presidential Election 2019 is in the hands of the people. In this case, people are the ones who hold the highest authority to determine the substance and procedures. All of the stages of the presidential election 2019 must involve the active participation of the people until a definitive president is elected. People's sovereignty, in this case, must always be protected so that it is not reduced, simplified, or manipulated into the sovereignty of the authority.

The indicator of the highest state authority implementation in the hands of the people is that their involvement must be manifested in democratic parties. Therefore, people's political participation is necessary, including women's participation. In this case, the people's involvement is in the form of being voters, particularly those who have met the qualifications, such as being Indonesian citizens (WNI), aged at least 17 years old when voting or are married or have been married, and are registered in the Permanent Voter List (DPT).

The determination of women in the presidential election 2019 needs further analysis. The *first* question raised is whether women are able to show their independence in determining their voting rights or whether they are still dependent in the name of adherence to the religious leaders, public figures such as *kyai*, or family figures such as parents and husbands. Female voters are basically very vulnerable to

losing their role as subjects in the general election because most of them sometimes do not have power over themselves. When a woman is single, she is under the control of her parents; and after marriage, they are under the power of her husband. In using their right to vote, women are very vulnerable to the influence of their husbands and parents so that they cannot freely and independently make their choices. Women's independence in voting becomes even more absolute when women are politically powerless due to their low knowledge of their political rights.

Research conducted by Irmayani (2012) concludes that women are not independent in voting parties. Several reasons for this issue is that they follow the choice made by *kyai*, the choice made by their husband, relatives, friends, or the environment. The dependence of women in acting, behaving, and making decisions towards their husbands, relatives, or others cannot be separated from the social order of society which is dominated by men. In such order, women are placed as the second human being who is under the superiority of men, which eventually causes broad implications in the social life.

The *second* question raised is whether female voters use their right to vote based on pragmatism, for example, based on promises made during the campaign by the contestants in facilitating the process and access to education, health, employment, and welfare. Or, whether they vote for a candidate who opens up opportunities and freedom for women, children, people with disabilities, and other marginalized groups by ignoring other qualifications. In addition, whether her choice is able to lead Indonesia to become an important part of every policy of the world community.

Pragmatism is actually a continuation of critical empiricism which emphasizes the priority of actual experience over fixed principles and a priori reasoning (no experience) in a critical investigation. According to James (1897), pragmatism turns away from abstraction and inadequacy, verbal solutions, a priori bad reasoning, fixed, closed, and absolutes principles, and the original which pretends to turn towards concreteness and adequacy towards facts and factual actions (Sumartono, 2018).

The presidential and regional head elections (*Pilkada*) in Indonesia have been implemented directly since 2004, particularly after the political reform in Indonesia in 1998. In this case, the pattern of public participation has changed, one of them is by the emergence of political pragmatism in society. In political practice, pragmatism means a condition that encourages people to get instant benefits so that they take any action to make it happen. It is a fact that Indonesian politics pragmatism has not only affected the upper class who have a high level of political education but has also affected the common people who have a low level of political education. Several indicators of Indonesia's pragmatism which occur in the society is the phenomena of rampant money politics in various forms, cattle trading politics, vote sales, or the existence of political dowries as the signs of the occurrence of political transaction in our society.

Furthermore, the *third* question raised is whether female voters make their choices based on group fanaticism. Fanaticism is a blind naive belief which is difficult to shift, moreover to be changed, even though it has no theoretical background or reality. Fanaticism is based on irrationality because it defies logic and morality. This behavior will lead to aggressive behavior which gradually forms an uncontrolled deindividuation behavior (McIntosh, 2013).

A person is considered fanatic when he does not have the ability to see relevant information and arguments provided by the other party. A person is also considered a fanatic when they fail to see the faults in their own party's methodology. Strong political views come from someone who prepares himself or herself to seek, comprehend, sort, and respond to information. Meanwhile, fanatic comes from people who allow other people think for them (Davis, 2014).

In addition, the fourth question raised is whether female voters make their choices based on their political intelligence. A smart voter will pay attention to how the leaders and political representative candidates behave during the campaign period. By paying attention and participating in monitoring the course of politics during the campaign period, we can obtain a picture of candidates for people's representatives who deserve to lead this country for the next five years without being affected by others. Women are able and have to choose potential leaders who will develop Indonesia and assure that diversity is Indonesia's wealth which becomes the nation's identity.

Ellen Vrana, one of the political writers from the US, argued five characters in political intelligence as follows. The first character is the ability of someone who has strong principles even though they are under pressure to behave contrary to their principles. The second characteristic is self-awareness, which is in the forms of understanding the strengths and weaknesses, knowing when to speak and being silent, as well as refraining oneself from showing superficiality, stupidity, and arrogance. The third characteristic is empathy, which is the intelligence to see from others' perspective to build mutual respect and being humble in opening dialogue without losing integrity. The fourth characteristic is having skills to build strategies in planning, implementing, and evaluating the impact of each action. The fifth characteristic is execution, which is implementing what has been formulated in the strategy. Related to the general election, such execution refers to going to polling places to execute their right to vote with full integrity in accordance with self-awareness, healthy empathy, and a mature strategy.

In relation to general elections, voter behavior is one of the important elements to be analyzed. It is not only because of its significance to gain votes but to explore and understand more about the constellation of people's hopes and aspirations in determining the nation's future. The reason for choosing the research locus in East Java was mainly due to the phenomenon of the success of women in occupying strategic positions both as governors (regional heads) of East Java Province and regional heads/vice regional heads in several regencies/cities in the Regional Head Election in 2018 of East Java or the previous election (Tim Editor, 2018a). In 2018, many women occupied the regional heads or vice regional heads in East Java Province (Puspitasari, 2019). In addition, East Java is the base for Muslimat NU and Fatayat NU with the largest number of members in Indonesia (Tim Editor, 2018b).

Furthermore, Blitar and Pamekasan Regencies were chosen as the locus of current research due to the following considerations: Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin won a landslide victory in Blitar with the highest percentage in East Java with 638,096 votes (85.21%), while Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno obtained 110,751 votes (14.79%). Meanwhile, Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno won a landslide victory in Pamekasan with the highest percentage in East Java with 531,561 votes (83.78%), while Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin obtained 102,931 votes (16.22%) (Bayu, 2019). The total votes obtained by Joko Widodo - Ma'ruf Amin in East Java were 16,231,668 votes or 65.79%, while Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno obtained 8,441,247 votes or 34.21%. Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno pair excelled in six regencies out of 38 regencies/cities in East Java, while Joko Widodo-Maruf Amin pair excelled in 32 districts/cities.

## **B. Methods**

Current research was carried out through descriptive qualitative research with Secondary Data Analysis (ADS) approach which is a method that utilizes secondary data as the main research data. Meanwhile, the descriptive research design was applied to describe, illustrate, analyze and interpret the conditions that occur.

Therefore, this research can be considered to seek information about the current condition of each data, since it will only describe the information as obtained from research data. Furthermore, qualitative method was chosen in this research design with the aim of producing more comprehensive facts in uncovering the phenomenon of women's vote in the presidential election 2019 (Creswell, 2013).

The data sources used in this study are secondary data sources obtained from KPU (General Election Committee) agency on the KPU official website and several other supporting data. The data contains the number of votes won by presidential candidates in 2019 in each region in Indonesia. Furthermore, the data were identified using qualitative research instruments and were examined for their relevance or suitability with the research theme. The collection of data in the current research was conducted by searching secondary data from various relevant sources and documentation studies so that the data obtained can then be processed and compiled objectively to meet the next data analysis technique. A documentation study is an objective collection of written data from materials or theories that are directly related to research data. Therefore, in the case of this study, researchers looked for data from various sources, including KPU's official website regarding the number of votes acquired by presidential candidates in the general election 2019 as well as various supporting information related to the focus of research.

Since this study applied secondary data, data obtained from various sources will be presented simply in order that readers can understand and interpret them more easily. The data on the results of the presidential election 2019 will be developed into a research data which will then be summarized into a data tabulation. This stage was carried out to interpret the data and research results obtained which will then be explained and described by the researcher in an appropriate conclusion according to the research focus. In analyzing the secondary data obtained, the researcher conducted several stages. The first stage is determining the data sources, which are the data from the recapitulation of the presidential election 2019. The second stage is normalizing the data with the aim of making the data into an equal format. Then, the last stage is mapping the data so that it can be used, compared and reviewed with relevant theories according to the researcher's analysis.

### **C. Results and Discussion**

#### **Women's Political Participation**

In the context of linguistic, political participation is defined as participation in the political context and process in all stages of policy: decision-making, decision evaluation, and decision implementation. Meanwhile, in the context of terminology, political participation is defined as an active involvement in politics which includes and is not limited to electing the state leaders either directly or indirectly, which begins with making choices, attending campaigns, and becoming political members or mass organizations (Miaz, 2012). Political participation is a very significant effort to realize the independence of citizens which leads individuals to become public citizens who control the satisfaction of the needs of the rulers (Mukarom, 2008).

Political participation is a manifestation of the implementation of legal political authority by the people. Voter participation in elections is encouraged by the belief that people's aspirations can be delivered through the elections. Such effect is called political efficacy. The more people participate in politics indicates that the public's political education has been successful and the quality and condition of democracy in a country are getting better. The number of the community following, understanding, and participating in various political activities indicates the level of people's participation (Budiardjo, 1998).

On the other hand Verba & Nie (1972), gave another definition referring to the *Handbook of Political Sciences* they quoted. According to them, political participation is the activity of individual as the legal members of society, which more or less directly has the aim of influencing the election of power holders in a country or the policies and actions they take. As Davis explained, there are three important elements that a person must possess to be actively involved in political participation activities, namely: a) the involvement of thoughts and feelings; b) motivation to contribute; and c) shared responsibility (Davis, 1997). Meanwhile, according to Cohen & Uphoff (1977) political participation can be in the forms of a) participation in making decisions; b) participation in carrying out activities; c) participation in utilizing the results of the activities carried out; and d) participation in evaluation activities.

Furthermore, according to Sastropetro (2000) political participation can also be in the forms of physical participation in joint activities, mandatory or voluntary donations in the form of money, goods and infrastructure, decision-making processes, and support. According to him, various political participation can be classified in the form of mind participation, energy participation, mind and energy participation, expertise participation, goods participation, and money/fund participation.

In addition, based on the perspective of political sociology, political participation is defined as the voluntary actions of individuals as a means of participating in the process of selecting leaders and participation either directly or indirectly in the policy-making process for the public interest (McClosky, 1990). further stated that activities that are included in unconventional political participation can be in the form of filing petitions (Roth and Wilson, 2010), demonstrations, confrontations, and non-action. Rosenau in Nimmo further classified two categories of citizens; the first are citizens who are very concerned about politics and the second is citizens who are mobilized for political interests. Nimmo further added that a person's involvement in political participation is affected by factors of legitimate opportunity, social resources, and personal motivation (Nimmo, 2000).

Huntington and Nelson described that political participation in developing countries is more determined by the country's development factors. In this case, the level of participation is correlated with the progress of social and economic aspects and the level of development progress in the country (Huntington and Nelson, 1990). Meanwhile, Mee explained that the level of political participation of citizens is affected by elements of political awareness about their rights and obligations and their trust in the government. It does not have a common thread with political knowledge, interests, and political attitudes (Mee, 1999).

### **Voting Pattern**

Based on the results of the literature review, the general election can be classified into four groups of voting patterns, those are first, the Sociological Model proposed by Berelson, Lazarsfeld (2000) from Columbia University, Lipset, Rokkan (1990) as well as Butler and Stokes (Butler and Stokes, 1999). This model believes that a person's voting behavior is determined by his character and sociological background, such as class, religion, race, language, and region. The second is the Party Identification Model or the Social-Psychological Model proposed by Campbell, Converse, Miller (1990) from Michigan University. This model claimed that a person's political preferences in general elections are not only determined by the social characteristics of voters but are also affected by psychological factors. Campbell et al. proposed the concept of party identification or partisanship, which is a sense of closeness to certain political parties. This concept has been a reference for many researchers to study the problem of voter behavior to this day.

The third is the Rational Voting Model based on the work of (Downs, 2000) and later developed by, among others (Lewis-Beck, 2005). Based on this model, voter behavior is significantly affected by their evaluation of economic conditions, social conditions, and political situations at the individual level (egocentric) as well as at the local, regional, and national (sociotropic) levels. Himmelweit, Humphreys (1997) who also developed this Rational Economic or Political approach stated that the election of a party or candidate for leader was affected by several factors including preference for a certain party, the public figures, candidates for representatives of the people, and political issues of a country. This means that party identification dominantly affect the voters (Miaz, 2012). In this case, Kristiadi (1999) concluded that the first two models did not satisfy the latest researchers, thus the third approach was proposed, named the economic approach.

The fourth is the dominant ideological model which believes that the process of ideological manipulation and control will greatly influence voter preferences in general elections (Heywood, 2008). This model originates from socialist countries that have a very limited number of political options. Compared to the other three models, the dominant ideological model is relatively underdeveloped.

### **Political Behavior**

Voting behavior or political behavior is an action carried out by a person or group in political activities. Political behavior includes internal responses such as views, attitudes, the direction of thoughts and beliefs as well as concrete actions in the form of voting, lobbying, protesting, and so on. Political attitudes express correlations between inherent beliefs that motivate a person to respond to political issues or situations in their own way. People's political attitudes and behavior are affected by dynamically continuous historical events related to the political system or political instability. In addition, political promises that are not kept have a huge impact on people's political behavior.

The voting behavior approach initiated by Dieter Roth asserts that there is no absolute truth in analyzing voter behavior, but in his version there are approaches that have high validity, which is sociological or social structural, social psychology, and rational choice approaches (Roth, 2009). The sociological or social structural approach proposed by Lipset (2000) emphasizes the importance of socio-economic status, religion, and the residential areas that have strong correlation with the voter behavior. The psychological approach or social psychology proposed by Michigan University through The Michigan Survey Research Center (Michigan's School), focuses on general election behavior. Personal views and evaluation of the candidate or the themes raised during the campaign period significantly affect people's choice in the general election. The rational choice approach proposed by Downs assumed that voters basically act rationally regardless of religion, gender, class, parental background, and other external backgrounds. They use considerations of costs and benefits on ideas or programs that meet themselves before making a choice (Downs, 2000).

There are at least 5 *heuristics* versi Lau and Redlawsk (RLau and Redlawsk, 2001), which voters can refer to in making decisions in politics. Those are affect referral (voters choose the most emotionally attractive candidate), endorsement (voters will choose candidates based on advice and direction from close family, political elites they trust, or from social groups), familiarity (voters choose candidates who are known), habit (voters choose candidates based on their choices in the previous election), and viability (voters choosing candidates who have a greater chance of winning).

### Islamic Political Philosophy

The formulation in Islamic philosophy does not have a distinctive difference with Greek philosophy. This can be seen when we explore Islamic political philosophy which generally departs from the classical division of Islamic philosophy into two groups, those are theoretical philosophy (*al-hikmah al-nazhariyah*) and practical philosophy (*al-hikmah al-amaliyah*). In this case, the theoretical philosophy is related to metaphysics, physics, and psychology, while practical philosophy is related to ethics, economics, and politics.

In essence, one is in the context of political philosophy when he begins with a question, "what does refer to the common good and a good society?" (Rusydi, 2015). This issue relates to the target and objectives that the political community must follow. It is also necessary to answer questions related to the goals of a state, moral judgments on political power and the dividing line between government authority and human freedom. This means that political philosophy always results in ethics. Therefore, the main theme of Islamic political philosophy is about happiness which determines the scope, nature, function, and purpose of political science or political philosophy itself.

Ibn Abi Rabi, al-Ghazali, Ibn Taimiyah, al-Mawardi, Ibn Khaldun, Jamaluddin al-Afghani, Muhammad Abduh, Rashid Rida, Ali Abd al-Raziq and Mohammad Husain Haikal are classical and contemporary islamic scholars who present concepts about Islamic politics. Based on their work, it can be concluded that *al-siyasah* (politics), is linguistically defined as *tadbir al-syu-un al-'ammah li mashalihihim fi al-ma'asy wasa'adatihim fi al-ma'ad* (how to regulate life to obtain prosperity both in the world and the hereafter). Therefore politics is interpreted as covering the universe of human life from the domestic-public, cultural-structural, and personal-communal spaces. In the following decades, there was a simplification of meaning into structural practical politics which only served as an arena for the competition to gain power for the sake of individuals, groups, or parties' interests (Muhammad, 2015).

In the perspective of *siyasah fiqh*, general election is one of many ways (*uslub*) to elect representatives of the people (legislative general elections) or elect the head of the authority (executive general elections). Legislative general election is carried out to elect representatives of the people who are authorized to compile legal drafting in accordance with the universal message of shari'ah, while executive general election is carried out to elect leaders who will carry out development programs in various fields in order to achieve the benefit of the people. In the election of the head of state and regional heads, voters ideally choose those who meet the qualifications as leaders. General elections can be one way in democratic-based state life that is in accordance with Shari'ah values (Sodikin, 2015). Muhammad Rasyîd Ridhâ and Ab al-A'lâ al-Mawdûdî are contemporary Islamic scholars who allow general election as has been practiced so far in many Muslim countries, including Yusuf al-Qaradhawî and 'Abd al-Qadir Awdah.

In his book of *Majmû' Fatâwâ*, Taimiyah (1997) stated: "No human being is able to achieve perfect prosperity, both in this world and in the hereafter unless he joins in an association (*ijtimâ'i*), creates cooperation, and helps each other." In this case, the cooperation and helping each other are aimed at obtaining benefits and avoiding anything that harms them.

The general election system has actually been practiced in Islamic history, which is during *al-Khulafa ar-Rashidin* era although there was no standard pattern regarding the appointment of the *Khalifah* at that time. Abu Bakr was appointed by election in an open consensus. Umar was appointed through appointment by his predecessor based on closed consensus with several senior companion. Utsman became *Khalifah* through the elections in an open consensus by the "Formation



Council". Meanwhile, Ali bin Abi Talib was appointed as Khalifah through open election and meeting, but in a chaotic situation after the killing of Utsman. At that time there were only a few senior friends living in Madinah (Pulungan, 2002).

In the *Syar'iyah Siyasa*, the head of state has the authority to determine how *Sharia* should be regulated. Its decisions, however, must reflect the authority of the state over the public and aim at the good for society (*maslahah*). On the other hand, *maqasid syar'iyah*, also promotes/projects realization of benefits (*maslahah*) and prevention of harm (*mafsadah*) in every decision-making and policy-making to conform to shari'ah (Rahman, 2015).

Referring to the verses of the Qur'an in Surah Ali Imran (3):195, Surah al-Nahl (16):97, and Surah al-Taubah (10):71 (Ali, 2008), it can be understood that Allah has given the potential to every of His servants without physical limitations in the form of gender, ethnicity, race, and so on. The substance of the verses above legitimizes women's participation in all aspects of life, including political participation. Women have the right to appear intelligent side by side with men in all dimensions and spaces of life, both domestic and public, to prosper the earth. Based on the observation on valid sources of transcendental authoritative, there is not a single text that explicitly states that only men have the right to control the political aspect. For example related to Islamic history, we know the figure of Queen Balqis whose intelligence in government is actually listed eternally in the Qur'an in Surah al-Naml (27): 23.

In the historical journey, there has been a reduction and simplification of women's involvement in the political aspect based on the presumption of thick discriminatory tendencies with patriarchal domination that women are the creatures of God who are irrational, emotional, and do not have the competence and credibility in the public and political aspects. It is difficult to find conventional classical literature that legitimizes women's involvement in spheres and spaces related to politics, both in the legislative and judicial aspects (Amalia, 2017).

The appreciation of giving space to women's intellectual and political intelligence was pioneered by Ibn Rushd, (d. 1198 AD), in his monumental work of *Talkhish al-Siyasa li Aflathon* (Rusydi, 2000). Ibn Rushd bases his thinking on the assumption that political problems are humanitarian problems that are significantly related to the problem of desire (*iradiyah*). Therefore, the only possible way to study political issues is to approach human character (*tabi'iyah al-insaniyah*). He also considered that the problems of the state have many similarities with the problems of the human soul. Therefore, in his political discussions, he raised "human perfection" (*al-kamalat al-insaniyah*) as the main foundation (Rusydi, 1999).

Furthermore, raised the theme of democracy or people's sovereignty. According to him, there is no sovereignty other than in the hands of the people in a democracy. This is in accordance with the basic law of *fitriyah* which respects human freedom (*la siyadata illa biiradah al-musawwidin wa tab'an li al-qawanin al-ula al-fitriyah*). It can be seen, how he respects human rights as creatures created from birth (*fitriyah*, natural), and does not see humans from the side of religion, gender, and group.

Women's political participation is not based on political interests only but because religion has legalized political space for women. Providing massive and escalating space for women in structural politics actually removes discriminatory culture both in the domestic and public spheres. This is intertwined with the reactualization of the doctrine of the almighty of God (*tauhid*), freedom (*al-hurriyyah*), equality (*musawwah/equality*), human respect (*karamah al-insaniyah*) and justice (Muhammad, 2013). States that the core of the theology of the Almighty of God (*tauhid*) requires us to organize social, cultural, economic and political life in the perspective of independence (freedom), equality, justice and mutuality

Furthermore, Ibn Rushd has dared to introduce equal rights between men and women until he expressed the opinion that women citizens can also be appointed as leaders like men in a country (Rusydi, 1999). Such discourse really shows the Islamic principle which gives women the same rights as men except in certain issues that are specific to women or only for men because of the shar'i arguments. In this case, Islam allows women to preach, seek knowledge, and take part in various fields of life, such as economics, agriculture, and even politics. In Islamic history, the wives of the Prophet, especially Aisyah, had played a very crucial political role. Likewise, many other Muslim women who were involved in political affairs, and not a few of them dead on the battlefield such as Umm Salamah (the Prophet's wife), Shafiyah, Laylah al-Ghaffariyah, and Umm Sinam al-Aslamiyah. Meanwhile, those who are active in politics, for example are Fatimah bint Rasulullah, Aisyah bint Abu Bakr, and others (Umar, 1998).

In the construction of Islamic political philosophy as described above, it is apparent that women contestation and political ideology in the public sphere has always been a debate from a religious perspective. The background of thought patterns and local culture has so far played a role in adorning the arena of thought about the position of women in the political space. However, profound philosophical studies in Islamic political philosophy have provoked a pattern of thought and local culture that constantly develops from time to time. What it means is that Islamic political philosophy has sparked the emergence of ideas that can respond to various debates in contemporary society, especially those related to women's political activities. Therefore, practically, the main objective of this study was to explore and provide an understanding of the essence of Islamic political philosophy in responding to various upheavals and dynamics of contemporary society.

#### **Level of Adherence, Pragmatism, Fanaticism, and Political Intelligence of Indonesian Women in Decision-Making to Vote in Presidential Election 2019**

The implementation of the Indonesia presidential election in 2019 was able to illustrate that women have an important role in realizing the political life of a country. This can be seen from the number of Indonesian people who are dominated by women and their participation in political life in Indonesia. The Recapitulation of the Permanent Voter List (DPT) for the General Election 2019 conducted by the General Elections Commission (KPU) is 187,781,884 people, in which 185,732,093 were domestic voters and 2,049,791 were overseas voters. In the case of domestic voters, the number of female voters in the country is greater than the number of male voters, which are 92,929,422 and 92,802,671, respectively. Furthermore, in the context of overseas voters, the number of female voters is also greater than the number of male voters, which are 1,065,300 and 984,491, respectively (Bayu, 2019).

Based on the comparison between the recapitulation and the number of voters on the Revision of Permanent Voter List (DPTHP-2) issued by the General Elections Commission (KPU) as many as 192,828,520, it shows that the Indonesian people, who in this case also include women voters, have began to become aware of participating in the political process, one of them is through the presidential election. Considering the importance of women's voices in the presidential election 2019, several analyzes have been carried out from various interviews that have been conducted. Among them, women in Blitar Regency made their choice for the Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin pair because they were considered to have provided a lot of assistance to the people of the region so that they felt that the pair has additional value, compared to the other couples. In other regions, there were also some women who considered that the Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin pair is an ideal partner, judging by the actions of Jokowi in the previous period and

Ma'ruf Amin who is a religious figure they need to obey because of his skills and good religious understanding.

Meanwhile, in Pamekasan Regency, some interviews that have been conducted concluded that some women chose the presidential and vice-presidential candidates pair because Indonesia still needs a leader who has a good work program, a good way of communicating, and their appearance in the media. Fanaticism was also seen in the presidential and vice-presidential elections 2019, where the community inclination in an area towards a political party, religion, or certain group is considered in decision-making in choosing the president and vice president, including by women. The large difference in score between one candidate and another, can be seen from one region to another, with different regional demographics. In addition, many women are already aware of the importance of their votes or decisions in the presidential election 2019. Therefore, they really consider various things before making a decision on which presidential and vice-presidential candidate they chose.

The level of obedience, pragmatism, and fanaticism as well as the political intelligence of Indonesian women in voting for the 2019 Presidential and Vice-Presidential election have indicated that women in Indonesia command aspects of obedience, pragmatism, fanaticism, and political intelligence. This is evidenced by several data showing that there is a certain degree of obedience by Indonesian women in electing the President and Vice President in 2019. In terms of obedience, there is a very high interpretation of participation obtained from women's groups in the 2019 general election. In terms of pragmatism, the 2019 presidential and vice-presidential election have shown that women in Indonesia have pragmatism in thinking. This category is supported by the political intelligence of women who wish government programs to have an impact on women in general, as in economic, education, law policies, and so on. Meanwhile, in terms of fanaticism in voting the President and Vice President in 2019, women are at the level of organizations and groups that are commonly followed by women's groups.

### **The effect of the level of adherence, pragmatism, fanaticism, and political intelligence of Indonesian women in decision-making to vote in Presidential Election 2019**

The obedience of Indonesian women to participate in the political process can be seen from their level of awareness in political participation, which in this case is the Indonesian presidential and vice-presidential elections 2019, which are currently getting higher. The increase of women's awareness in participating in political participation is in accordance with their awareness to choose Indonesian presidential and vice-presidential candidates according to their ideal criteria. In this case, they will consider several things before making a vote for which presidential and vice presidential candidates they will choose.

Furthermore, fanaticism towards a certain political party or against a particular religion and group affects women's choices in voting presidential and vice presidential candidates. The tendency to choose a partner in the election of presidential candidates is affected by an environment that is indeed fanatical about certain political party, religion, or group. This can be seen from the large difference in vote acquisition in one region with another, which in this case is Blitar and Pamekasan Regencies. In Blitar Regency, Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin won a landslide victory with the highest percentage in East Java with 638,096 votes (85.21%), while Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno obtained 110,751 votes (14.79%) only. Meanwhile, in Pamekasan, Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno won a landslide victory with the highest percentage in East Java by acquiring 531,561 votes (83.78%), while Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin acquired

102,931 votes (16.22%). In accordance with the latest data submitted by KPU at the end of the recapitulation of the national vote count on 21 May 2019, where the presidential and vice presidential candidate pair number 01 Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin received 85,607,362 votes or 55.50% of the total national valid votes of 154,257,601 votes. Meanwhile, the number of valid votes for the pair number 02 Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno is 68,650,239 votes or 44.50 percent of the total national valid votes (Agus, 2019). The total votes obtained by Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin in East Java were 16,231,668 votes or 65.79%. Meanwhile, Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno received 8,441,247 votes or 34.21%. In this case, Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno excelled in six regencies out of 38 regencies/cities in East Java, while Joko Widodo-Maruf Amin pair excelled in 32 regencies/cities. Therefore, it can be seen how big the influence of fanaticism on women's decisions in choosing the president and vice president.

In voting, female voters also depend on psychological aspects. The interesting aspects of presidential candidate pair are what also appeals to them, for example the attractiveness of the presidential and vice-presidential candidates who are seen both physically, how to communicate, appearance in the media, and others. For this reason, the psychological aspect has an influence in determining the choice of president and vice president by women in Indonesia.

In addition to the psychological aspect, the sociological aspect also has a major influence in determining women's choices in voting their ideal presidential and vice-presidential candidates, for example in the proximity of a candidate to a particular community or group. For example, Ma'ruf Amin with *Nahdhatul Ulama* and his *kyai*, or Sandiaga Uno with the millennials and mothers. The *Nahdhatul Ulama* group (*Fatayat, Muslimat, IPPNU, etc.*) and groups that want a leader who understands Islam will certainly tend to choose Jokowi-Ma'ruf pair more, while the millennial group and mothers will certainly tend to choose Prabowo-Sandi more. Apart from the above factors, women can make their own choices without any coercion from any party. Eventually, they still choose which partner would be ideal according to them.

There is an effect of the level of obedience, pragmatism, fanaticism, and political intelligence of Indonesian women on the presidential and vice-presidential election in 2019. This effect occurs because of the sociological and psychological aspects that influence women in voting for the president and vice president in 2019. In the psychological and sociological aspects, there is a pattern of presidential and vice-presidential election which are influenced by the background and socio-culture of Indonesian women. At this level, the psychological aspect is influenced by the background of the political party and the background of the presidential and vice-presidential candidates. While the sociological aspect is influenced by the level of understanding and fanaticism towards women's groups and organizations. Thus, this pattern has an effect on the 2019 presidential and vice-presidential election in terms of obedience, pragmatism, fanaticism, and women's political intelligence in voting.

### **Philosophy of level of adherence, pragmatism, fanaticism, and political intelligence of Indonesian women in decision-making to vote in Presidential Election 2019**

In this case, democracy is realized through the direct elections for the president and vice president of Indonesia in 2019. This actually was held to give freedom to the people to express their choices directly, both by men and women. Women's participation in the presidential election is a form of political participation. Women have the right to appear intelligent with men in all dimensions and spaces of life both domestically and publicly for the sake of prosperity, including in politics. The participation and awareness of women which are in accordance with their adherence in the political process show that women have the same rights and positions as men to realize the prosperity.

In terms of democratic presidential elections, philosophically if we believe in a democratic system as a form of sovereignty in the hands of the people, it is appropriate that the executive power, which in this case is the president and vice president, is directly elected by the people. The elected president and vice president will be responsible for the people who choose them to take care, protect and guarantee the welfare of all people, including women. Therefore, there are several factors behind women's decisions in determining or voting which pair of the president and the vice president they think is ideal.

Women's ideal view certainly has its own character and must be different from one another. In voting for their ideal president and vice president, there are factors or aspects that affect women's decision-making, those are psychological, sociological and rational consideration factors. Among these factors, these women certainly make the decision to vote one of the presidential and vice presidential pairs in the expectation that the responsibility of the elected president and vice president will be realized to the people who choose them, in this case, including the women who are also part of the people.

The process of electing the president and vice president in 2019 has provided philosophical aspects to the obedience, pragmatism, fanaticism, and political intelligence of Indonesian women. In which, Indonesian women have a strong position in the Indonesian political order. This shows that the philosophical aspect of women's position in the political space is an aspect of equality in the nation and state.

Based on the influence and degrees of devotion, pragmatism, fanaticism, and political intelligence, Indonesian women in voting in the 2019 presidential election is philosophically reflected in the independence of women in making political choices. Women's independence in voting in the 2019 Presidential Election from the perspective of Islamic philosophy is caused by the prevalence of discrimination against women. In Islamic philosophy, women's political intelligence shows the competence of women in the social space. This is what is called human desires and instincts in terms of humanity by Ibnu Rusyd, including in this case in terms of politics. In the study of Islamic philosophy, politics is an aspect of humanity that should be fought for by anyone. In this case, women in the contemporary era currently have a significant role and share in terms of devotion, pragmatism, fanaticism, and political intelligence in voting in the 2019 Presidential Election. Meaning, Islamic political philosophy states that the democratic system is a form of popular sovereignty to determine the leader it wants. In this case women holds sovereignty which is reflected by devotion, pragmatism, fanaticism, and political intelligence.

#### **D. Conclusion**

One of the supporting aspects in the success of political democracy in the 2019 presidential and vice-presidential election in Indonesia is the central role of women in voting. This is evidenced by the level of obedience, pragmatism, fanaticism, and political intelligence of women in participating in the 2019 presidential and vice-presidential election. The pattern of obedience, pragmatism, fanaticism, and political intelligence of Indonesian women has had an effect on the presidential and vice-presidential election. The effect then gave a philosophical contribution to the democratic structure in Indonesia. On the philosophical aspect, there has been a shift in the role and position of women in obedience, pragmatism, fanaticism, and political intelligence. On this aspect, democracy in the 2019 general election has shown the presence of equality and the contribution of women in the democratic state order. So, in terms of implementation, the results of this study are expected to serve as the basis for state institutions in drafting laws and regulations on elections that are oriented towards women's equality and participation.

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### F. Author Contributions Statement

This research was conducted in a collaboration between two authors. The two authors worked together in formulating the manuscript, extracting data, analyzing data, and compiling the final manuscript. Then the two authors did the synchronization of the manuscript as the final step in writing the article.

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