WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP IN MADURA: Analysis of Women's Leadership in Student Organizations at Higher Education in Madura

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ABSTRACT

In modern society, women have more opportunities to participate in public spheres. However, in Madura, Indonesia, social expectations rooted in patriarchal norms still limit their leadership potential, especially in student organizations. In fact, of the 257 student organizations in 8 universities, only 18% are led by women. This study explores how Madurese students perceive female leadership, how female students view their own leadership abilities, and how these perceptions, shaped by social beliefs and gender stereotypes, influence their involvement in these organizations. Based on Emile Durkheim's concept of social facts, this study examines how family values, religious interpretations of female leadership roles, and campus and community environments shape these perceptions. Using a qualitative research methodology with a sociological perspective, this study highlights the factors that influence female leadership aspirations in higher education in Madura. The findings of this study highlight the role of a supportive environment in countering negative social constructs and empowering women to pursue leadership roles in student organizations.

ABSTRAK

Meskipun era modern membuka peluang yang lebih luas bagi perempuan untuk berkiprah di ranah publik, di Madura, ekspektasi sosial yang berakar pada norma patriarki masih membatasi potensi kepemimpinan mereka, khususnya dalam organisasi kemahasiswaan. Faktanya, dari 257 organisasi mahasiswa di 8 perguruan tinggi, hanya 18 % yang dipimpin oleh perempuan. Penelitian ini mengeksplorasi bagaimana persepsi mahasiswa Madura tentang kepemimpinan perempuan, bagaimana mahasiswi memandang kemampuan kepemimpinan mereka serta bagaimana persepsi ini, yang dibentuk oleh keyakinan sosial dan stereotip gender, memengaruhi keterlibatan mereka dalam organisasi tersebut. Berdasarkan konsep fakta sosial Emile Durkheim, penelitian ini meneliti bagaimana nilai-nilai keluarga, interpretasi agama tentang peran kepemimpinan perempuan, serta lingkungan kampus dan komunitas membentuk persepsi ini. Dengan menggunakan metodologi penelitian kualitatif perspektif sosiologis, penelitian ini menyoroti faktor-faktor yang memengaruhi aspirasi kepemimpinan perempuan dalam pendidikan tinggi di Madura. Temuan penelitian ini menyoroti peran lingkungan yang mendukung dalam melawan konstruksi sosial negative dan memberdayakan perempuan untuk mengejar peran kepemimpinan dalam organisasi kemahasiswaan.

Introduction

The modern era provides the widest possible space for women to take part in public space. However, complex issues such as social construction still overshadow women's lives to this day. According to Nasaruddin Umar there are several things that perpetuate patriarchy, first, namely power and status. The assumption that men's power and status is higher than women's makes men get special treatment and privileges in society. Second, non-verbal communication. In society women are considered to have weak power while men have more power. Through this view, women's souls will automatically be closed and shy, while men tend to be more open and able to communicate freely with anyone. Third, the limitations of women in the organization. Women are considered as less skilled, and men are considered far more skilled than men. Fourth, due to biological factors inherent in each gender. Fifth, the division of labor, the division of labor based on the body shape of men and women often harms women.[1]

Research conducted by Unilever shows the impact of this gender stereotype, based on research conducted in various countries 77% of respondents said that men were more suitable to become leaders and handle strategic projects, while those who said women were worthy for it is only about 55%.[2] Even though one study proves that women who are married and have children can achieve the same career as women who are not married if their families support their career achievements.[3] This proves that it is actually the nature of women to be able to give birth to children that should not be an obstacle in women's participation in the public sphere.

Due to the different body shapes of men and women and resulting in a different division of labor, the involvement of women is very small. UN Women noted that as of September 2021 only 10 countries had women as leaders, and 13 women became heads of government and on average only 21% percent of women became ministers in world countries.[4] The data shows that women's participation in politics is still very low. Education and technological advances do not necessarily eliminate women's backwardness and provide an awareness of equality in the public space.

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[1] Nasaruddin Umar, *Argumen Kesetaraan Jender Perspektif Al Quran*, II (Jakata: PARAMADINA, 2001).
[2] Carolyn C. Meltzer, "Women Leaders: Myths and Challenges," *Journal of the American College of Radiology* 15, no. 12 (2018): 1800–1802, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jacr.2018.06.005.
[3] Lynn R. Offermann et al., "Achieving Leadership and Success: A 28-Year Follow-up of College Women Leaders," *Leadership Quarterly* 31, no. 4 (2020): 101345, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2019.101345.
[4] Alyson Meister Hanneke Grutterink, "Women in Executive Government Positions," *Thinking of You Thinking of Me: An Integrative Review of Meta-Perception in the Workplace*, 2019.

The same research was conducted by Putri and Fatmariza on the involvement of women leaders in student organisations (*ormawa*) at the State University of Padang. In the study, the results obtained caused the low participation of women in the leadership of *ormawa* which was only 5.88%. It was caused by inadequate knowledge in knowledge, lack of wisdom in making decisions, patrirakhi culture, not having responsibilities like men and not enough confidence.[5]

The same reality, based on the preliminary research conducted by researchers to several higher education institutions in Madura, that women leadership participation in student organizations are still low.

Tabel 1

Number of organizations and percentage of women-led organizations

Name of College	Number of Ormawa	Number of Women-Led	Percentage
IAIN Madura	43	3	7%
Wiraraja University	52	15	29%
Trunojoyo University	74	18	24%
STKIP Sumenep	15	2	13%
Madura University	22	1	5%
Madura Islamic University	23	2	9%
Instika Sumenep	15	0	0%
Polinema Sampang	13	0	0%

It can be seen the significant gap in the percentage of female and male students holding leadership positions in students organization. Female students who become leaders are only around 18%. This raises a big question mark, when higher education institutions have provided equal space for male and female to actively participate in politics on campus. This proves that education does not automatically provide a social construct of gender equality. This study seeks to address three research focus (1) How do Madurese university students perceive female

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[5] Nurhayati Putri, "Perempuan Dan Kepemimpinan Di Organisasi Mahasiswa Universitas Negeri Padang" 3, no. 3 (2020).

leadership (2) How do Madurese female university students perceive their own suitability for leadership roles? (3) What factors determine the perception of female leadership among Madurese university students?

In this context, perception is defined as an individual's behavior in accordance with societal norms and expectations regarding appropriate conduct[6]. This perception influences an individual's acceptance or rejection of certain actions. Individual perception is a composite of various factors, including societal judgments about the individual and their group affiliation. This implies that an individual perceptions are socieatal agreements internalized as concepts of good and right versus bad and wrong.

From a sociological perspective, the perception described is shaped by what Émile Durkheim termed "social facts." Social facts, according to Durkheim, are external to the individual and exert a coercive force, compelling individuals to conform to prevailing societal norms and behaviors. These norms and behaviors are generally accepted and widely practiced within a given society [7].

Social facts shape the perception of self-worth of students to become leaders among the student organizations they follow. It is internalized through three elements; 1) Family. It is the first social institution that introduces values into individuals, therefore the family plays an important role in shaping a child's self-confidence. [8] 2) Religion. Religious values are often a benchmark for individuals in behaving.[9] 3) Social or Cultural Environment. It is nrmative values that exist in society in building stability through norms and values that exist in an area in society[10].

This study employed a qualitative research methodology with a sociological lens, specifically drawing on Emile Durkheim's concept of social facts, to explore how Madurese female students perceive their leadership abilities and the social influences shaping them. In-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted and focus groups were held, using an initial purposive sampling strategy to identify participants who met specific criteria. Snowball sampling was then employed to expand the sample and ensure diverse perspectives. Data collection also included

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[6] María Portillo and Javier Fernández-Baena, "Social Self-Perception in Adolescents: Accuracy and Bias in Their Perceptions of Acceptance/Rejection," *Psicologia Educativa* 26, no. 1 (2020): 1–6, https://doi.org/10.5093/PSED2019A12.

[7] Betty R. Scharf, *Kajian Sosiologi Agama* (Yogyakarta: PT Tiara Wacana, 1995).

[8] Soelaeman Soemardi Selo Soemardjan, *Setangkai Bunga Sosiologi* (Jakata: Lembaga Penerbit FE UI, 1964).

[9] Selo Soemardjan.

[10] Selo Soemardjan.

document analysis of student organization reports on student leadership roles and elections. Thematic analysis was used to identify recurring themes within the collected data, with a particular focus on how family values, religious interpretations of women's leadership roles, and community environments all influence these perceptions. Ethical considerations were addressed through informed consent procedures and maintaining participant anonymity.

The informants in this study were students from several universities or colleges in Madura, namely Wiraraja University, Sumenep STKIP, An Nuqoyyah Islamic Institute, IAIN Madura, Madura University, Madura Islamic University, Madura Polytechnic (Polinema) and Trunojoyo University Madura. There are two factors underlying the research location in Madura, namely (a) low political participation of female students in leadership, (b) social construction in Madura and internalize the values of how women behave and act.

Results and Discussion

This section presents the results and discussion of a study exploring how Madurese students perceive leadership by women, how Madurese female students perceive their own suitability for leadership roles, and what factors determine the perception of female leadership among Madurese students. The study demonstrates how family support, contextual religious interpretations, and supportive environments empower female students to view themselves as capable leaders. Conversely, patriarchal norms, restrictive religious interpretations, and unsupportive environments hinder their leadership aspirations.

How Madurese Students Perceive Women Leadership

Discourse surrounding women leadership is always intriguing, as many women often feel they lack support from their fellow students to assume leadership roles. Based on interview result, there are various pros and cons regarding women leadership among students as peers of female students. Some support and encourage their female peers to become leaders in student organizations, while others disagree.

1. Supporting Women Leadership

a) Perception of Equality

"Men and women are equal, therefore they have the same opportunities to become leaders, as long as they possess the necessary leadership skills." (Informant 2)

This interview excerpt introduces the concept of equal leadership opportunities for men and women. Foe example, Informant 2 emphasizes a meritocratic approach, suggesting that gender is not a barrier to leadership as long as individuals possess the necessary skills. This perspective sets the stage for exploring the factors that may influence or challenge this notion of equality in leadership roles within the broader context of the study.

b) Perception of Skills and Potential

Leadership effectiveness depends on the individual's skills and potential, regardless of gender. A female leader's ability to be firm, wise, and guide a student organization towards progress demonstrates that women can be just as effective, if not more effective, than men. An informant provided an example of a student organization they were involved in the previous year, which was led by a woman. During her leadership, the organization experienced significant growth compared to previous leadership. This refutes the notion that women are weak and incapable of leadership. The informant emphasized that the gender of the leader is not important; what matters is their ability to lead the organization effectively.

"I completely agree with the women leadership. In fact, last year at UNIRA, specifically in the Semesta LPM Organization, the chairman was a woman. She is a very capable leader, and during her term, the organization improved even more than before. Their media presence got better, and many members won competitions. So, it depends on the individual's potential. Personally, I don't feel any envy or inferiority towards women leaders. As long as she has the skills/potential, is qualified, and is trusted by the campus community, that's great!" (Informant 5)

c) Egalitarian and Gender-Just Religious Understanding

A gender-just interpretation of religion also influences support for female leadership. Informant 12 explains that there is no dichotomy between men and women in terms of leadership.

"If a woman has the competence to be a leader, why not? The most specific reason is that there is a textual evidence in the Quran that does not dichotomize between men and women in matters of leadership, namely in QS. al-Baqarah verse 30 as follows: (Remember) when your Lord said to the angels, "Indeed, I will make upon the earth a vicegerent." They said, "Will You put therein one who will cause corruption therein and shed blood, while we are constantly exalting You with praise and sanctifying You?" He said, "Indeed, I know what you do not know." (Informant 12)

According to informan 12, it is clear from this verse that there is no difference between men and women because all humans are khalifahs on earth, both men and women, so women also

have the right to be leaders as long as they have the ability to lead. The permissibility of women's leadership is also emphasized by another informants.

Students who participate in organizations strongly support female leadership, provided that women meet the qualifications of a good leader. A good leader is not determined by gender but by personal qualities such as responsibility, credibility, and leadership potential. It is in line with Eagly, at all stated that there are no significant gender differences in leadership [11]. However, according to the informants, it is not easy for women to become leaders in Madurese culture, which is patriarchal. As a result, the role of men is still more dominant than that of women.

2. Resistance to Women Leadership

Resistance to female leadership stems from various patriarchal perceptions embedded in culture, stereotypes about female weakness, and gender-biased religious interpretations.

a) Patriarchal Culture

The patriarchal nature of Madurese culture, which still upholds the superiority of men over women, poses a significant challenge to changing attitudes towards female leadership. Education alone cannot immediately transform the existing system in Madura. Informant 6 point towards a cultural preference for male leadership and a secondary role for women. Other informants, such as Informant 15 and 20, emphasized the impossibility of women becoming leaders due to the deeply ingrained patriarchal system.

"In my view, much of Madurese culture prioritizes men over women. Therefore, female leadership is often overlooked." (Informant 6)

"Patriarchal gender norms in Madura are deeply entrenched, relegating women's roles to a secondary position." (Informant 15)

"Madurese culture dictates that leadership should only be held by men. The patriarchal system remains firmly embedded within Madurese culture. I have conducted research on Madurese families three times. On average, they acknowledged that women are better suited for household chores only." (Informant 20)

According to the informants, if there are still men who can be leaders, then women should step aside and become housewives. This is certainly in line with Karl Marx's theory that women are often seen as inferior creatures. In the class structure of society, women occupy the second

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[11] Alice H. Eagly, Steven J. Karau, and Mona G. Makhijani, "Gender_and_the_Effectiveness_of_Leaders.Pdf," *Psychol Ogical Bulletin*, 1995.

position after men [12]. Of course, this view cannot be separated from the values that exist in Madurese society, which still places the position of women as unequal to men.

b) Women are More Suited for Domestic Work

The interview excerpt below suggests a belief that women are unfit for leadership due to cultural norms and religious interpretations. These interpretations view women's public actions and presence as shameful and disruptive, citing religious scholars who prohibit women from leadership positions.

"This view is more inclined towards Eastern customs, namely holding onto the strong culture of women being positioned inside/at home/behind. The basis for this lies in the ulama (religious scholars), who prohibit women from becoming leaders because everything a woman does is considered aurat (shameful). This includes her voice, her behavior that is seen by men who are not her mahram (close male relatives), or anything that a woman does when she leaves her house, which tends to lead to fitnah (temptation and discord) and because everything is aurat for women." (Informant 16)

c) Religious Prohibitions Against Female Leadership

The data suggests some Madurese people believe religion prohibits female leadership. For example, informant 22 highlights the link between strong religious customs and the perception that women are unfit for leadership roles. This implies religious beliefs may be a factor influencing the resistance to female leaders within Madurese society.

"Madurese people have strong religious customs, so many Madurese people believe that women are not fit to be leaders." (Informant 22)

d) Men Are More Rational Than Women

The perception that men are more rational than women is also a reason for the rejection of female leadership. According to the informant, women are not willing to accept input and do not want to be criticized, therefore they are not fit to be leaders.

"If there is still a man who is seen as capable of leading, it is better to give it to a man because based on my observation, most female leaders are very reluctant to be criticized and given input because they think they are doing the right thing, so in my opinion women are not fit to be leaders. (Informant 17)

"Because a woman's mood changes quickly and easily, so sometimes very few women can't control their emotions. In addition, women's mental state is also easily down. The solution is to

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[12] Mansour Fakih, *Analisis Gender Dan Transformasi Sosial*, 4th ed. (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2013).

train them to be more able to control their emotions, so that when they become a leader, they can be wiser and control theirrself and even control theirr members later (Informant 8)"

How Madurese Female Students Perceive Their Own Suitability For Leadership Roles

Just like men, women have diverse motivations for pursuing their dreams and aspirations. Female leaders are driven by a range of factors, including:

1. The Desire to Guide Others

Female leaders, like their male counterparts, harbor dreams of improvement and seek to guide others. They are particularly motivated to provide direction and open the minds of their younger peers to prevent them from making mistakes in choosing organizations, as the informant said,

> "I want to become a leader not for personal gain but to guide and empower younger members to make informed decisions about their involvement in organizations. Recognizing that every student organization has its strengths and weaknesses. I believe that assuming a leadership role would provide the opportunity to openly discuss these aspects with members" (Informant 1)

2. A Drive to Reform Stagnant Organizations

Some female leaders are motivated by a desire to revitalize organizations they are involved in, particularly if they have witnessed a lack of progress or improvement during their membership.

> "Yes, I have had a desire to become a leader since joining the organization. I was a member in 2018, a board member in 2019, and in 2020 I became the General Chair of LPM Semesta. The reason I have a desire to become a leader is because during my time as a member and board member of LPM Semesta, the changes have not been significant enough, so I have a desire to make better changes, and of course, change starts with a leader. In addition, what motivated me to become a leader was when I was entrusted by my previous LPM Leader to attend a meeting with PPMI (Perhimpunan Pers Mahasiswa Indonesia). It was there that I found such a big difference between LPM on my campus and PPMI. So, I was interested in making better and more advanced changes." (Informant 13)

3. Self-Development

According to the informants, a desire for growth and personal development is a compelling reason to pursue leadership roles. Building leadership skills requires a process, and one effective approach is to take on leadership positions in student organizations.

> "From a young age, I always aspired to become a leader, and my dream came true when I became the General Chair of UKM-F RISET FISIB Universitas Trunojoyo for the 2020/2021 period. As a woman, I wanted to prove that successful leadership is not determined by gender but by one's qualities and capabilities." (Informant 12)

Factors Determine the Perception of Women Leadership Among Madurese University Students

1. Family Support

Interviews with female student leaders revealed a strong theme of family support as a key factor in their leadership aspirations. Here are some excerpts from the interviews:

"Yes, I'm supported by may family because it is a positive thing, and they believe that everyone has the right to political participation, including leadership." (Informant 13)

"Yes, my parents support me. Because my parents don't want me to just be a student who just goes to class and comes home. Knowledge is indeed meant for students, but identity, insight, relationships, and experience must be gained through organizing." (Informant 2)

"Yes. My family will always support my decisions as long as they are considered good, especially in terms of academics and the organizations I am involved in. The desire to become a leader is a good thing that my family believes can develop my potential and add to my experience." (Informant 12)

These interview excerpts demonstrate that family support acts as a significant force in shaping female students' leadership aspirations by fostering confidence, encouraging participation, and valuing the positive outcomes of leadership experience.

2. Religious Perspectives

In addition to family, religion plays a crucial role in shaping an individual's mindset. Religious values often serve as a benchmark for individuals' behavior [13]. Religious understanding also significantly impacts one's perception of their ability to lead. On the one hand, some religious texts, such as the Quranic An Nisa' verse 34, may seem to restrict female leadership. This verse states:

اَلرِّجَالُ قَوَّامُوْنَ عَلَى النِّسَاۤءِ بِمَا فَضَّلَ اللّٰهُ بَعْضَهُمْ عَلٰى بَعْضٍ وَّبِمَآ اَنْفَقُوْا مِنْ اَمْوَالِهِمْۗ فَالصّٰلِحٰتُ قٰنِتٰتٌ حٰفِظٰتٌ لِّلْغَيْبِ بِمَا

حَفِظَ اللّٰهُۗ وَالّٰتِيْ تَخَافُوْنَ نُشُوْزَهُنَّ فَعِظُوْهُنَّ وَاهْجُرُوْهُنَّ فِى الْمَضَاجِعِ وَاضْرِبُوْهُنَّ ۚ فَاِنْ اَطَعْنَكُمْ فَلَا تَبْغُوْا عَلَيْهِنَّ سَبِيْلًاۗ اِنَّ

اللّٰهَ كَانَ عَلِيًّا كَبِيْرًا

"Men are the protectors of women, by what Allah has given some of them over others, and by what they have spent of their wealth. So the righteous women are obedient [to Allah], and keep their chastity in the husband's absence with what Allah has kept [for them]. And those whom you fear that they may rebel, then admonish them and forsake them in beds and strike them.

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[13] Selo Soemardjan, *Setangkai Bunga Sosiologi*.

But if they obey you, then seek not against them [any further]. Indeed, Allah is Ever High, Ever Great."

This verse suggests that men are responsible for women, and obedience is emphasized. However, alternative interpretations of religious texts also support female leadership. For instance, the Quranic At Taubah, verse 71 states:

وَالْمُؤْمِنُوْنَ وَالْمُؤْمِنٰتُ بَعْضُهُمْ اَوْلِيَاۤءُ بَعْضٍۘ يَأْمُرُوْنَ بِالْمَعْرُوْفِ وَيَنْهَوْنَ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ وَيُقِيْمُوْنَ الصَّلٰوةَ وَيُؤْتُوْنَ الزَّكٰوةَ وَيُطِيْعُوْنَ اللّٰهَ وَرَسُوْلَهٗۗ اُولٰۤئِكَ سَيَرْحَمُهُمُ اللّٰهُ ۗاِنَّ اللّٰهَ عَزِيْزٌ حَكِيْمٌ

"The believers, men and women, are allies of one another, enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong, and upholding prayer and giving alms and obeying Allah and His Messenger. Those are the ones whom Allah will have mercy upon. Indeed, Allah is Exalted and Wise".

The perception that women are allowed to become leaders stems from their own understanding of religion, as expressed by the interviewees:

"In my religion, Islam, there is no prohibition against me as a woman becoming a leader. This is stated in the fact that Allah created humans, both men and women." (Informant 13)

"A hadith states: كلكم راع و كلكم مسؤول عن راعيته (Every individual is a leader. And each of them will be held accountable for what they lead). So, it is permissible for men to be leaders." (Informant)

"Surah Al-Baqarah verse 30 explains that: 'And (remember) when your Lord said to the angels, "I am going to place a vicegerent on earth." They said, "Will You place there one who will cause corruption and shed blood, while we are constantly declaring Your praise and glorifying You?" He said, "I know what you do not know." This verse explains that all humans are equal, meaning they can be vicegerents and create goodness on earth. The Prophet SAW said, "Know that each of you is a leader, and each of you is responsible for what you lead."
"It is permissible in a religious context for someone to become a leader, in this case teaching us to be a good and wise role model in leading the people." (Informant 12)

"In religious views, there is no prohibition against a woman becoming a leader. In the time of the Prophet Muhammad, Sayyidah Aisyah was a war leader." (Informant 19)

Religious understanding significantly impacts a woman's perspective on her suitability for leadership roles. The interviewees' interpretations of Islam, based on three main pillars: the Quran, hadith, and the history of female leadership in Islam, support their belief that women are permitted to lead. The Quran, according to the interviewees, clearly states that men and women are equal before Allah and have equal rights and obligations as His servants. In the hadith, they find the notion that every individual, whether male or female, is a leader for

themselves. Historically, female leadership is exemplified by Aisyah R.A., who led the Battle of Jamal.

An individual's interpretation of religion influences their decision-making and self-perception as a 'thing' in Durkheim's terminology [14]. This 'thing' manifests in an individual's behavior within society.

3. Societal Perceptions

The self-confidence of female students in their leadership abilities is also fostered by the supportive environment of the organizations they participate in and the broader community in which they reside. The prevailing norms and values within these environments influence their perceptions and mindsets, reinforcing their belief in their leadership potential.

As Mac Iver and H. Page noted in their work on sociology, these norms and values serve as mechanisms for maintaining societal stability within a particular region or community [15].

The significance of environmental support and societal norms in shaping perceptions of female leadership is acknowledged by several interviewees:

"My surroundings don't view it as taboo; it's fair to say they support me or my family members taking on roles in our college activities." (Informant 25)

"Regarding the views of the surrounding environment on female leadership, I think it needs to be classified. For primitive societies, it is still taboo. However, academics in my surroundings already consider it normal, especially if women are considered better leaders than men, even though this view is still a minority." (Informant 5)

"Yes, because the campus gives freedom to every student." (Informant 11)

The interviewees emphasize that environmental support, particularly the openness to female leadership, plays a crucial role in shaping their perceptions of their suitability for leadership roles. They highlight that modern times have created a more inclusive environment for women to pursue leadership positions, challenging traditional notions that leadership is solely a male domain. This aligns with the perspective of socialist feminism, which argues that the primary obstacle to women's advancement in the public sphere is not their inherent nature as women but rather the socially constructed barriers imposed by society [16].

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[14] Ritzer George, *Sosiologi Ilmu Pengetahuan Berparadigma Ganda* (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2014).
[15] Selo Soemardjan, *Setangkai Bunga Sosiologi*.
[16] Fakih, *Analisis Gender Dan Transformasi Sosial*.

Controversy about women's leadership still occurs in society. From a religious perspective, it is still being debated whether women can become leaders or not, even though in democratic countries like Indonesia, it provides wider space for women to become leaders. Culturally, women cannot freely express their abilities so that they can prove their superiority over men. Socio-cultural construction still underestimates the ability of women to become leaders, often they are identically with weak traits, must be protected so they cannot protect, are suitable for doing housework, and taking care of children

1) Women's Leadership According to Religion

In Islam, the discourse about whether or not women are allowed to be leaders is shown by various arguments from the Al-Qur'an as a primary source and Hadith as a secondary source. In the Al-Quran itself there are various axioms about whether or not women are allowed to be leaders.

The verse that does not allow women to become leaders is related to the creation of a certain will elevate those who believe among you and those who are given some degree of knowledge. Allah is All-Seer of what you do."

> "The believers, men and women, some of them become helpers for others (328) They order (do) good and prevent (do) evil, enforce prayers, pay zakat, and obey Allah and His Messenger. They will be given mercy by Allah. verily Allah is Mighty, Wise."

Meanwhile, the interpretation that is used as legitimacy for women should not lead is found in Surah An Nisa' verse 1 concerning creation

> "O people, fear your Lord who created you from one self (Adam) and He created from him his partner (Eve). From both of them Allah breeds many men and women (143) Fear Allah in whose name you ask one another and (maintain) family relations. Verily, Allah is always guarding and watching over you."

Based on the verse above women are considered unfit to be leaders, because women are actually under the responsibility of men. With this theological foundation, women's movement in public spaces is automatically more limited than men, even in many cases, women are difficult to just get their rights.

The verse above is reinforced by the hadith narrated by Ibn Hisham which reads[17];

> "Women were created from men, therefore their passion is in men, and men were created from the ground, so they became passionate about the earth, so take care of your women (History of Ibn Abi Hisham)

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[17] Iain Sultan, Amai Gorontalo, and Sulaiman Ibrahim, "Kepemimpinan Perempuan Di Ruang Publik Dalam Tafsir Al-Kasysyâf Sulaiman Ibrahim" 18, no. 2 (2018): 459–80.

However, Al Maraghi quoted by Sultan argues that the purpose of one self does not mean that women were created from Adam's rib, the one self indicates that the process of creating Adam and Eve is the same, namely from the One Self[18]

Women's leadership which is often based on hadith:

"From Uthman bin Haitsam from Auf from Hasan from Abi Bakrah said: 'Allah benefited me with a sentence that I heard from Rasulullah SAW on the day before the Jamal War, after I almost justified them (Ashabul Jamal) and fought with them. When news reached Rasulullah SAW that the Persians had appointed Kisra's daughter as leader, he said "It will not be successful for a people who leave their affairs to women." (Al-Bukhari)

But the hadith is weak in the sanad and does not show any accurate evidence supporting the sanad of the hadith.[19] Although there is controversy in Islam about whether or not women are allowed to be leaders, when viewed from the interpretation of the scholars, it actually implicitly allows women to become leaders as long as they meet the requirements as a leader

2. Women's Leadership in a Gender Perspective

Women's leadership in the public sphere still has social construction constraints. Patriarchal culture in society is still a thick wall for women to express themselves more freely and involve themselves actively in the political sphere.

Physical differences have social implications for the role of women in the public sphere. In the perspective of Sociology, gender consists of natural sex and categorical sex. Natural sex, one cannot choose to be born as a woman or a man. The sex he has is a natural nature that is brought from birth.[20] Meanwhile, category gender is formed according to the inherent nature of the nature it carries. Masculine traits are inherent in men and feminine traits are inherent in women. In the following table, we distinguish in detail the stereotypes and social construction of society for the female and male sexes. Nasaruddin Umar quoted Unger in detail the differences in traits inherent in men and women due to differences in biological autonomy.[21]

Traits that are considered inherent in men are called masculine traits, while traits that are considered inherent in women are called feminine traits. Masculinity and femininity that are built on social construction often cause discrimination and injustice to women.

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[18] Sultan, Gorontalo, and Ibrahim.
[19] David Solomon Jalajel, *Women and Leadership in Islamic Law*, 1st ed. (New York: Routledge, 2017).
[20] Amy S Warthon, *The Sociology of Gender : An Introduction to Theory and Research*, First edit (UK: Blackwell Publishing, 2005).
[21] Umar, *Argumen Kesetaraan Jender Perspektif Al Quran*.

This stable social construction has received criticism from feminists. Fakih quotes Rosemarie Tong, there are various feminism, namely liberal feminism, radical feminism, Marxist feminism, and socialization feminism which are divided into two paradigms, the functionalism paradigm and the conflict paradigm.[22]

a. Functionalism Paradigm in Feminism

The structural functionalism paradigm views that elements in society are interrelated with one another and support each other to create balance (equilibrium). The roles and status of women that are different from men in society should have happened to complement each other and maintain the harmony of community life itself. The functionalism paradigm is represented in liberal feminism which criticizes the opportunity for women to get their rights. Precisely the difference in obtaining rights creates discrimination against women, because women and men have the same rights. if you have been given the same rights and opportunities but have not been able to be equal to men, the skills and capabilities possessed by women are wrong. An alternative to overcome the minimal skills and capabilities of women by developing women's resources so that they are able to compete with men is the main agenda of this movement

b. The Conflict Paradigm in Feminism

Every relationship that has interests of power is no exception with the relationship between men and women which characterizes this paradigm. Radical feminism is a representation of the conflict paradigm. Differences in the treatment of men and women because of their gender is the background for the emergence of radical feminism. The stereotypes attached by society to men and women put women in an inferior position and men in a superior position.

Socialist feminism believes that it is not a biological factor of the gender differences or capitalist production interest that make women oppressed. The factor of discrimination against women is more due to social construction or ideology that is gender bias causing women to receive discriminatory treatment.

Radical feminism which emphasizes the issue of biological differences between male and female sexes, and is criticized by Marxist feminism which argues that discriminatory treatment is due to the economic interests of capitalist production benefited by low-paid female workers than men. Socialist feminism provides an alternative middle ground. If the existing social construction

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[22] Fakih, *Analisis Gender Dan Transformasi Sosial.*

in a society is just towards women there will be no discrimination against women even though their gender is different. Beside the natural problems that are inherent in men and women, women who are pregnant, give birth and breastfeed, and men who have penises that women do not have, what men do can also be done by women, and vice versa. Moreover, the modern era provides the widest possible space for women. It used to be taboo, like women driving motorbikes or cars, now it's commonplace and it's not considered taboo anymore, there are even women who drive buses.

Conclusion

Although higher education provides the widest possible space for women to develop themselves into leaders who have a role in student organizations where these women participate in activities to forge themselves, but in reality the patriarchal culture inherent in society makes a system that Emile Durkheim called social fact.

Social constructions, taken from the socialism feminist term, is formed perception that settles within women (college students) that men are more worthy of being leaders than women. Stereotypes attached to men as more rational, braver, more responsible eventually become perceptions and are unconsciously justified by women. Women who have the confidence to become leaders in students organizations are indeed supported by their family, environment and religious perceptions that are gender-equitable.

Problem solving in this case will be formulated in more detail when there are results from the research carried out but broadly speaking, this problem can be overcomed by changing cultural perceptions by educating gender awareness among university students.

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