



**Politea** : Jurnal Pemikiran Politik Islam  
**P-ISSN** : 2621-0312  
**E-ISSN** : 2657-1560  
**Vol. 6, No. 1 Tahun 2023**  
**DOI** : [10.21043/politea.v6i1.17438](https://doi.org/10.21043/politea.v6i1.17438)

---

## Gender and Islam in Village Head Elections in Kudus Regency in 2022

Ozi Setiadi  
IAIN Kudus, Kudus, Indonesia  
ozisetiadi@iainkudus.ac.id

### **Abstrak**

*Relasi gender dan Islam menempati ruang yang khas dalam suksesi kepala desa. Penelitian ini akan menyoroti relasi gender dengan Islam dan keterlibatan kalangan nasionalis dan Islamis perempuan dalam pemilihan kepala desa. Penelitian lapangan ini menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif analisis data naratif. Data diperoleh dari wawancara tidak terstruktur, dokumen, focus group discussion (FGD), dan literatur. Penelitian ini menemukan terdapat relasi antara gender dan Islam dalam pemilihan kepala desa di Kabupaten Kudus tahun 2022. Relasi dapat dilihat dari adanya keterlibatan perempuan kalangan Islamis dan nasionalis dalam pemilihan kepala desa, sebagai pemilih, calon, hingga tim sukses. Pertentangan antara adat dengan Islam yang tidak membolehkan perempuan untuk terlibat dalam suksesi kepemimpinan, bahkan terlibat dalam ranah publik yang lebih luas, tidak menjadi penghalang. Perempuan Kabupaten Kudus tetap menghormati Islam dalam dimensi formal, sementara kesetaraan gender antara laki-laki dengan perempuan dianggap sebagai sebuah bentuk keadilan.*

**Keyword:** *Gender, Islam, Pemilihan Kepala Desa, Kabupaten Kudus*

### **Abstrak**

Gender relations and Islam occupy a distinctive space in the succession of village heads. This research will highlight gender relations with Islam and the involvement of female nationalists and Islamists in village head elections. This field research uses a qualitative research method of narrative data analysis. Data were obtained from unstructured interviews, documents, focus group discussions (FGD), and literature. This research found that there is a relationship between gender and Islam in the village head elections in Kudus Regency in 2022. This

relationship can be seen from the involvement of Islamist and nationalist women in village head elections, as voters, candidates, to the success team. The conflict between adat and Islam which does not allow women to be involved in leadership succession, and even involved in the wider public sphere, is not a barrier. Kudus Regency women continue to respect Islam in the formal dimension, while gender equality between men and women is considered a form of justice.

Keywords: Gender, Islam, Village Head Election, Kudus Regency

## **Introduction**

Simultaneous village head elections have been held in 2022. One of the regencies that are carrying out simultaneous village head elections is Kudus Regency. During the village head election in Kudus District, discussions arose about gender relations and Islam. The district with the nickname of the city of santri is still limited in modern discussions such as gender. However, like it or not, the discussion of gender and Islam remains a concern, especially among academics.

In the village head election on March 31 2022, the involvement of women in the village head succession was quite massive. They were not only involved as a voting committee, but also as a success team, up to village head candidates. The women participated in socialization, to ensure that they and the champion they carried won the election (Garis & Trisnia, 2021).

Makiko Hanami stated that women are actors of their own accord. They are the social partners of men and are at the center of family and kinship life. For Hanami, by upholding Islam in its formal dimension, village communities (especially women) have succeeded in preserving the traditional and informal dimensions of their lives based on traditional values (Hanami, 2002). Similar to Hanami, Ali and Buratai argue that men and women are born equal and need equal justice for nation building (Ali & Buratai., n.d.). However, this opinion is not entirely acceptable. Widmann Abraham Danielle reports that social suffering has led to the creation of new public spaces and experimental social practices. In these spaces, local understandings of Islamic ethics, gender formation, interreligious relations, and religious authority are elaborated in such a way as to reshape social relations that are lived (Widmann

Abraham, 2013). This means that there are still interpretations of women's participation and gender relations with religion (Islam).

The previous research conducted by Hanami, Ali and Buratai, and Widmann Abraham Danielle discussed gender a lot, but did not focus on its relationship with Islam in the context of village head elections. Meanwhile, this research will highlight gender relations with Islam and the involvement of nationalist and Islamist women in the succession of village heads. This research is important to do considering that there are no other researchers who have examined gender and Islamic relations in village head elections, especially in Kudus Regency. Gender relations and Islam in the village head election in Kudus Regency in 2022 can be seen from the involvement of women in Islamist and nationalist circles, both as candidates, voters and campaign teams. This study confirms the results of previous studies. Even though there is a conflict between adat and Islam that does not allow women to be involved in leadership succession, even in the wider public space. However, women still respect Islam in the formal dimension. Gender equality between men and women is a form of justice (Sidiq & Erihadiana, 2022).

This study used a qualitative research method (Muhadjir Noeng, 2011). Presentation and analysis of data is done narratively (Subandi, 2011). One type of qualitative research is field research. The qualitative method was chosen in order to know the data holistically. This method makes it possible to explore and deepen social phenomena or the social environment consisting of actors, events, places and times.

The research locations chosen were in villages that held village head elections in Kudus Regency in 2022, namely eight villages; Undaan Lor Village (Undaan District), Kaliputu Village (City District), Langgardalem Village (City District), Hadiwarno Village (Mejobo District), Mejobo Village (Mejobo District), Ternadi Village (Dawe District), and Loram Wetan Village (Jati District). The research subjects that were explored in order to find facts and information on the ground were Fatayat-Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Aisyiyah-Muhammadiyah administrators, women nationalist groups, and elected village heads. Primary data obtained from unstructured interviews, documents, and literature. While the secondary data of this research consists of books, journals, articles, magazines, newspapers and others that discuss and relate to the research theme.

## **Result and Discussion**

### *The Concept of Gender in an Islamic Perspective*

Gender is a term that comes from English, so the term gender is not found etymologically in Indonesian. Gender has a meaning that is not singular. This can be interpreted as differentiating roles, behaviors and attitudes, as well as attributes that grow and develop in a society, which can be considered appropriate for both men and women (Wulan, 2012). There are also those who interpret gender as the acquisition of a learning process and socialization through community culture. Gender distinguishes men and women socially, not by nature (Tridewiyanti, 2012).

Gender issues, especially the marginalization of women, were first felt by non-Muslim women, namely Jews and Christians. Because there are still dominant male values (patriarchy) and gender bias, the emergence of gender issues in the Islamic world is expected to occur in the modern period starting in 1800 AD, when the Islamic world had made contact with the Western world. Europe) (Muslikhati, 2004). In Indonesia, the controversy over women leaders had actually started to blow long before the 1999 elections. Pros and cons came from various walks of life, ranging from politicians from Islamic-based parties and from non-party circles including academics, activists from Islamic organizations, even students (Saputra, 2016).

In the Islamic context, the presence of women cannot be suppressed at all. Islamic teachings originating from the Qur'an and hadith regulate the principles and ethics of equal rights for women, especially in social life. The Qur'an often mentions the principles of deliberation, justice and equality (Saputra, 2016). As for gender, Zussiana Eli Triantini argues that in Islam, hadith texts about women which read *lan yufliha* (“you will never be lucky...”) have no other meaning and remain so. At this point, language has become a private or personal item. Consequently, the meaning of a text also needs to pay attention to its context (Yuberti, 2015).

In line with Triantini, Agus Moh. Mujib said that the textual vision has a major influence on the world's Muslim community, including Indonesia. In Islamic history, the queen, for example, was always attacked by her political opponents, including “fatwa

scholars” who stated that her leadership was inappropriate, not because of her incompetence but because of women (Yuberti, 2015). The debate about women as heads of state has always been a tough discussion and has become a conflict between classical and contemporary Islamic scholars. Wahbah az Zuhaili argues that a man is a must for a believer to become the head of state, and this provision is a treatise on *ijtihad* (*ijma'*) of the scholars. Zuhaili added, illegitimate women served as *Al-Imamah Al-Uzma* (head of state) and governors. Women magistrates and governors were never appointed during the time of Prophet Muhammad, *Al Khulafa Ar Rasyidin*, and the leaders of subsequent dynasties (Az-Zuhaili, 2007).

In contrast to Ibn Hazm who has a more progressive view. According to him, Islam does not prohibit women from occupying any position, except as caliphs or heads of state (Zuhri, 2017). In line with Imam Abu Hanifah who argues that women may become judges, even though it is still in the context of civil judges, not criminal case judges (Maimun, 2012). Imam Jarir at Tabari is different from the two previous opinions. Instead, he allows women to occupy any position in public office, including as heads of state (Nurdin, 2016). For his attitude, he was later opposed by Imam Al Mawardi. According to Al Mawardi, at Tabari contradicts *ijma'* and his opinion is *syadz*. Even so, Tabari was not alone, he was with Muhammad Al Ghazali and Fatimah Mernissi. Both are figures who support women's involvement in the public sphere (Wahid, 2008).

In contrast to the various opinions above, the fact that women are involved in leadership succession in Indonesia also exists at the village level. The involvement of women in village head elections is at least supported by several factors. The unavoidable factor is the kinship factor. This factor encourages women to be involved in the succession of village heads. Kinship forms an extensive family network in the village, especially with the presence of political cadres. The existence of political cadres can create a movement of relatives to influence neighbors to choose the candidate they are carrying (Junaidi & Lestari, 2021).

### *Village Head Election in Kudus Regency in 2022*

In 2022, Kudus Regency will hold village head elections (*Pilkades*). This election was held simultaneously on March 30 2022 in eight villages in Kudus Regency, one of which is from time to time (*PAW*). The eight villages are Kaliputu and Langgardalem (City Regency),

Undaan Lor (Undaan Regency), Loram Kulon (Jak Regency), Ternadi (Dawe Regency), Mejobo and Hadiwarno (Mejobo Regency), and Kirig Village (Mejobo Regency) (Nazaruddin 2022 ). One of the eight villages that PAW conducted was Kirig Village in Mejobo District. A total of 22 participants took part in the village head election (Fakhrudin, 2022).

On Monday, 14 March 2022, participants will receive a serial number. Then on March 15-22 2022 serial numbers, photos and names of candidates will be announced to the public. While the campaigning opportunity was given by the committee for three days, from 23-25 March 2022. Submission of vision and mission on 23 March 2022, while elections were held on 30 March 2022 (Fakhrudin, 2022).

The election for the Head of Kaliputu Village was won by Widyono Pramono (Wulandari, 2022). The village head with a background in the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) mass organization received 1,009 votes (Jiwa, 2022). Pramono defeated two of his competitors, namely serial number 2, Muhammad Reza who received 42 votes, and serial number 3, Sumar with 862 votes. While the invalid votes totaled 38 votes (Redaksi, 2022).

The majority of the people of Kaliputu Village are business actors. The field of business that many people in Kaliputu Village are involved in is Jenang snacks (Ardi, 2020). In the context of village head elections, these business actors have a fairly strong contribution. There is no valid data regarding the sensitivity of employees in selecting village heads based on directions from business owners. However, the Kudus people, who incidentally have a Javanese ethnic background, have Javanese customs and ethics that are upheld. The term "ewuh pakewuh" or reluctant if you don't choose, becomes a culture that cannot be separated, including choosing according to the choice of the business owner (Wibowo, n.d.).

Women in Kaliputu Village are involved in the succession of village heads. There are three types of women who are involved in building networks and campaigning for candidates for the Kaliputu Village Head. They spread and campaign for their main voice bag by approaching mothers and women in general. They are women traders, women who have important influences in the structure of society, and women in their respective core teams. Sukarni is one of the women who has an important role in the pilkades. Although initially

the aim was to trade, not specifically to be involved as a success team, this can provide an understanding that women have a strategic role in village head elections (Jiwa, 2022).

The village head election in Langgardalem Village was attended by three village head candidates, and was won by M. Khoirul Amin, S.Pd. This man who was born 38 years ago works as a businessman and teacher at an elementary school (SD). Interestingly, even though the culture of the Langgardalam community is Nahdlatul Ulama, the elected village head is structurally not affiliated with the NU organization. The elected village head tends to be neutral and does not highlight certain mass organizations, such as NU, Muhammadiyah or LDII (Amin, 2022). Financially, the people of Langgardalem have a fairly well-established economic level. However, this does not rule out the possibility of money politics occurring in the succession, even if it is not visible to the naked eye. In the election for the village head of Langgardalem, village head candidates spent hundreds of millions of rupiah, even more than one billion (Maulana, 2022).

The election for the Head of Langgardalem Village involved three candidates. The first candidates were Sugiato who obtained 429 ballots, M. Khoirul Amin, S.Pd. I got 488 votes, and Maulana Mahrus Syadzali, SE with 195 votes. From the voting process, there were 30 invalid votes. While the unused votes are 10 ballots. The total number of voters who attended the election reached 1,461 people, consisting of 673 men and 788 women (Sugiharto, 2022).

Based on the above data, in the context of gender, women occupy a higher number than men. They are involved as a success team, up to the voting committee in the village head election. This is the same as what happened in Kaliputu Village, but in Langgardalem Village there is no dichotomy of three fields as happened in Kaliputu Village.

In the village head election which was also held in Mejobo Village, there were three candidates involved in the election. They are Sutomo, Mustain and Sueb Jamaludin., S.H. Based on information obtained from infojateng.id, voting will be conducted at 15 polling stations (TPS). Candidate number 3, Sueb Jamaludin, won the most votes with a total of 3,064 votes. This figure beat competitor number 2, Mustain, who received 2,690 votes, and number 1, Sutomo, who only won 108 votes (Muntoha, 2022). Meanwhile, there were 57 invalid votes and 5,919 ballots that entered the ballot box. The age range of voters is between 19-75 years. While the voting profession is businessmen, drivers, teachers, entrepreneurs,

employees of government agencies, students, farmers, and others. They are scattered in 4 Neighborhood Units (RW) and 35 Neighborhood Units (RT). Elections are conducted at 15 polling places (TPS) (Document).

Sueb Jamaludin won the election with the most votes (Muntoha, 2022). Community support for him is quite large, where most of the people who provide support are affiliated with the Nahdlatul Ulama organization, both structurally and culturally. Meanwhile, not too many people are affiliated with the Muhammadiyah and LDII organizations, and cannot be detected respectively. The Mojobo Village Secretary said that women took part and not only as voters in the village head election process. There are those who act as success teams for each candidate and there are also those who become assistant staff or support teams at TPS. In addition, women are also involved in the government structure in Mejobo Village.

In Ternadi Village, three candidates participated in the village head election. Interestingly, there are three candidates in Ternadi Village, two of whom are husband and wife. They are Arif Wahono with his wife Zulaichah, and Sucipto (Ridlo, 2022). The village head election was won by Arfi Wahono. A total of 2,468 people were involved in the election of the Head of Ternadi Village. They consisted of men and women, with various age backgrounds, ranging from 17 years to more than 76 years (Desa, 2022b).

The number of valid ballots which reached 2,146 out of a total of 2,468 gives an understanding that the legitimacy of village head elections is very high. Public interest and enthusiasm for participating in the election reached more than 90%. The high level of community involvement in village head elections is also offset by the involvement of women as a success team. No less than 78 women are reported to have joined the success team of the three village head candidates. Meanwhile, there are 20 women involved in village government. Both as employees, to figures involved in various programs in the village. In fact, one of the village head candidates in Ternadi Village is a woman (Desa, 2022b).

The village head election in Undaan Lor Village was also attended by the majority of the community. More than 90% of the 6,046 people consisting of 3,014 men and 3,032 women registered on the voter list are still taking part in the election. In contrast to the number of participants in the village head election which was based on gender, the number did not reach 6,000 people. The total number of residents who attended the village head election in



Undaan Lor Village reached 5,339 people. From these figures it can be seen that the interest of the people of Undaan Lor to take part in the village head election is very high. In addition, women rank higher in the number of voters than men. The number of female voters reached 2,697 people, while the number of male voters was 2,642 people (Document). The village head election in Undaan Lor Village was attended by four candidates, namely Fatchul Anam, Sunaryo, Nurul Qomar and Aldi Alvianto. They were chosen by the Undaan Lor community with various age backgrounds, ranging from 17 years and over. Young voters are bigger than old or advanced voters.

In the election for the village head of Hadiwarno, Mejobo District, it was reported that there were three candidates for village heads competing in the village. What is interesting about these three candidates is the participation of the husband and wife in the election for the head of Hadiwarno Village. They are Rokhani and his wife, Ngatminah. They compete with Sugiyarto. Even though Rokhani and Ngatminah are husband and wife, they have their respective supporters (Document).

The voter list reached 4,063 people. This data consists of 2,086 women and 1,977 men. While the distribution of voters is based on age, Village Secretary Hadiwarno said the village does not classify voters based on age. (Interview with Sekdes Hadiwarno). However, in general, it is possible to classify voters based on age, namely adults 25-40 years, youth 17-24 years, parents and seniors aged 41-75 years, and elderly (Desa, 2022a).

The role of women in the village head elections in Hadiwarno Village is also quite significant. Even though in terms of quantity the number of women involved as campaign teams and village head election committees was quite minimal, overall as voters, the number of women was still large. As a success team, women are generally involved as financial treasurers, to outreach to the community. Especially women who have the right to vote.

In Loram Kulon Village, voter list data varies according to age level. The age of most registered voters ranged from 16 to 26 years. Their number reached 1,861 people. Between the ages of 27 and 36, the number reached 1,195. Age 37-46 totaled 1,586 people. While those aged 47-56 years totaled 1,154 people. Age 57-66 years as many as 781 people. There were 253 people aged 67-76 years, and 70 people aged over 77 years (Document).

The number of voters reaching 6,170 people in Loram Kulon Village, consisting of 3,011 men and 3,159 women, has a high level of participation in the succession of village heads. This can be seen from the number of valid ballots which reached 5,490. Meanwhile, only 66 ballots were invalid. The total unused ballots in the village head election in Loram Kulon Village reached 614 ballots. While the number of election participants reached 6170 people (Document).

Village head elections in Kirig Village are carried out by changing the time (PAW). Because the old village chief died. In the village head election in Kirig Village, not all village people who already have the right to vote participate, but only representatives. Because of this, there was no presentation of the vision and mission, because the new village head only continued the vision and mission of the old village head.

Voters registered in the PAW election in Kirig Village reached 116 people. Details of the 116 people consist of 20 Neighborhood Associations (RT), where each RT is represented by 4 people, bringing the total to 80 people. This number was added by 1 female representative from IPPNU, PKK and Muslimat, a total of 3 people. The rest came from RT heads, community leaders, religious leaders, and educational leaders. Valid ballots reached 104 ballots. While invalid ballots there are only 12 ballots. Participation reached 100%. This figure is very high and there are no participants who do not vote (Jiwandhana, 2022).

#### *Involvement of Women's Nationalists and Islamists in the Succession of Village Heads in Kudus Regency*

The replacement of village heads in Kudus District involved both nationalist and Islamist women's groups. Women's nationalists, with the Women's Family Empowerment and Welfare (PKK) network, occupy an important position in the village that is directly related to the mass base. Women nationalists were more often involved in various village activities. Their activities are quite helpful for women to understand village politics and governance. Whereas female Islamists can be classified into two forms in the succession of the Village Head of Kudus Regency. First, structurally, such as being part of a successful team or other winning structure. Second, non-structural, in this case Islamic women are only limited to helping socialization. On average, Islamic women in the rural communities of Kudus

Regency become administrators of religious organizations, such as Fatayat, Muslimat, Aisiyah, and Nasiatul Aisiyah.

The political views of Islamist women will usually be in line with the political views of the religious elite who serve as mentors or role models for the religious organizations they support. Political views that must side with the religious elite is a common phenomenon in every succession in Kudus Regency. Likewise in the election for the village head of Kudus Regency in 2022. “Kiai/Bu Nyai” as a religious symbol often colors Islamic political views (Ida, 2001).

Islamist women are one of the most dominant groups in the village head elections in Kudus Regency. With this role, Islamist women become significant voice advocates. For example, during campaign momentum, cadres of women's religious organizations such as Fatayat or Muslimat NU were involved in campaign activities. They offer their candidates to be chosen. Even though they are not involved as a success team whose task is to find masses directly, the involvement of Islamic women in Kaliputu Village, for example, has a strategic role in the community. With the provision of a position in their religious organization, they can bring the issue of village head succession into their network.

The same case also occurred in Mejobo Village. Sueb Jamaludin, the village head of Mejobo who was elected in 2022, is a figure who is quite actively involved with Islamic women. An issue that surfaced a lot in the campaign, he was supported by a mass base from circles affiliated with the local religious elite. Indirectly, female Islamists are involved in candidate succession. Sueb was elected as village head with a vote of 3,064 of the total votes. He defeated two of his competitors who were running for the 2022 Kudus Regency village head candidate in Mejobo Village, namely Sutomo and Mustain.

Sueb Jamaludin is active as a Nahdlatul Ulama administrator. Through all networks among Islamists including women, the voice of support for Sueb is quite strong. She conducted outreach and open campaigns for women's religious organizations such as Fatayat and Muslimat NU to gain support.

The pattern of getting support from Islamic women by approaching women's organizations and providing assistance has been very often carried out in several village head elections. This method is considered very effective for mobilizing the masses. One month

before election day, the campaign team will be increasingly communicating with elites from all organizations, including women's religious organizations. In Desa Mejobo, relations with female Islamists were prioritized based on vote share during the Pilkades and after.

In Langgardalem Village, female Islamists are not very influential. Victory of M. Khoirul Amin, S.Pd. as village head is not because of the domination of Islamist or nationalist women. Instead, he is seen as a person who tends to be neutral. Both nationalists and women Islamists seem reluctant to be directly involved in the village head elections in Langgardalem Village.

The involvement of nationalist and Islamic women and their forms need attention. The difference in their experiences in the local political sphere made it possible to achieve women's rights and emancipation. The involvement of these two groups is closely related to the emancipation of women in local politics. And explicitly criticize policies that are considered discriminatory against women.

#### *Factors Driving Women's Involvement in Village Head Elections.*

Women's involvement in community organizations, both nationalist and Islamic, can be explained as a new social order, namely a psychological drive for a person to be able to place himself in two domains. First, the public sphere, and secondly, the private sphere as individuals in a socio-political system. However, involvement in politics is not to achieve a political position, but rather based on a willingness to articulate ideas in building society (Zamroni, 2013).

In the local realm, women's involvement is usually still closely related to the patriarchal culture that overshadows it. The resonance of increasing women's involvement can be explained by various driving factors. First, the issue of gender and the role of community organizations in modern society attracts the interests of political elites from the basis of voices that are controlled. Second, women's experiences and roles in politics are more relevant, especially in organizing women when compared to men in the local political context (Holillah, 2014).

Women's involvement in community organizations is influenced by many factors. These factors are trust, solidarity and solidity which as a whole determine the existence of women in the villages. In this case, the community's political views have affirmed the involvement

of women and underlies the formation of gender equality in village head elections (Fakih, 2006). This pattern of women's involvement eventually penetrated widely in Kudus Regency, especially at the village level. Candidates for village heads who are contesting in the Pilkades of Kudus Regency in 2022 are likely to be followed from all walks of life. And because the village is the smallest in scope in elections, there are many factors related to trust in the granting of voting rights other than money politics.

The presence of women's community organizations can be a medium for women's involvement in politics. Islamic women's community organizations such as Fatayat will certainly participate in the struggle for the welfare of cadres and the general public. Fatayat's involvement in the Pilkades moment for Kudus Regency certainly had a considerable influence. This is based on the fact that the cadres of the Fatayat branch in the villages of Kudus Regency have mostly participated in the village's socio-political agenda.

There is no strong evidence that the involvement of women in local politics will go hand in hand with their economic development. Women must struggle independently, bearing in mind that the village economic system is still not the main driver of women's independence. It's just that the involvement of women in Ternadi Village is the result of affiliation between women and community organizations. And if one observes what happened in the Pilkades of Ternadi Village, the work program for alleviating women's economic backwardness is still not a priority for the village head candidates who are competing.

Socio-economic life related to gender has become an interest and a necessity in every village head election. This has been realized by the management of women's community organizations. Women's economy which is still lacking is an obstacle for them to be involved in existing political currents. The village economic structure, which still considers women's realm to be limited to the scope of the domestic sphere, gives women a form of control over a policy which is still neglected. This issue has become the most vociferous voice so that women are involved in community organizations. Through a collective role, women can be present directly in determining gender mainstreaming policies.

## *Gender and Islamic Relations in Village Head Elections in Kudus District*

In the village head election (Pilkades) in Kudus Regency in 2022 there is a phenomenon where a network of institutions and initiatives related to religion are involved in the gender equality agenda. The aim is to understand gender relations and Islam in the local political arena. Gender in the Pilkades of Kudus Regency is more tied to Islamic values. This is due to several reasons. First, Islam is the majority religion in rural areas, so when talking about gender, Islamic values will definitely be highlighted. Second, both from a social, cultural and gender perspective, the rural community of Kudus Regency certainly uses Islamic values as a benchmark. Third, in the Pilkades context, candidates who represent Islamic values tend to receive more support.

The village head election in Kudus Regency has gender and Islam relations which are seen as political interests. This view is counterproductive to the values of gender equality. The issue of gender sensitivity is built based on the existing interests in village head elections. Village head candidates formulate ways for their victory. One of them is by making gender an important part of political strategy. The village head candidates realized that the number of women (Muslimah) who were registered as permanent voters in Kudus Regency was very significant. Therefore, a gender approach will be very important in the succession of village heads.

Gender and Islamic relations in village head elections are also in line with the empirical conditions of Kudus Regency. For example, the condition of rural communities is increasingly developing and heterogeneous, both from heredity, culture, to work, where the position of each individual begins to be taken into account. This has encouraged village head candidates to remap the potential mass base, including from among Muslim women. They became one of the focuses on village head elections.

Gender, Islam, and village head elections in this study look at the wave of mobilization of Muslim women during village head elections in Kudus District. As a result, there are more Muslim women in the 2022 village head elections in Kudus Regency than men. However, it actually shows women's ambivalent perception of their role in village head elections. Women actually understand that they are part of the village head election and contribute to many

things. Unfortunately, there are still women in structures and narratives related to gender relations and Islam who do not get space for them.

Nonetheless, the explanation above shows that women (muslimah) in Kudus District in village head elections have been involved in the succession and election of leaders. This provides a deeper explanation that women's involvement in the public sphere has shown women's openness and deeper involvement. There has been a cultural transformation of "Arab-centric" which makes women subordinate, becomes more open and leads to equality.

## **Conclusion**

It turns out that there is a relationship between gender and Islam in the village head election in Kudus Regency in 2022. This relationship can be seen from the involvement of Islamist and nationalist women in village head elections, as voters, candidates, to the success team. There is a conflict between adat and Islam which does not allow women to be involved in leadership succession, even being involved in the wider public sphere is not a barrier. The women of Kudus Regency still respect Islam in the formal dimension. Gender equality between men and women is a form of justice.

This research has limitations in terms of time. For future researchers, the duration of research can be done longer. In addition, the use of other theories and approaches can also be done in order to obtain more significant results and findings.

## References

- Ali, M. A., & Buratai., H. A. (n.d.). Women and Gender Equality: Justice or Civilization? *Journal of Liberty and International Affairs*, Vol. 5,(Iss. 3), 55–68. Retrieved from <https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/women-gender-equality-justice-civilization/docview/2439614165/se-2>
- Amin, M. K. (2022). *Wawancara tentang Pemilihan Kepala Desa di Langgardalem*. Kudus.
- Ardi. (2020). Desa Kaliputu Asal Muasal Kudus Kota Jenang. Retrieved from ANTVKlik.Com website: <https://www.antvklik.com/berita/397271-desa-kaliputu-asal-muasal-kudus-kota-jenang>
- Az-Zuhaili, W. (2007). *Al-Fiqh al-Islami wa Adillatuhu* (8th ed.). Damaskus: Dar al-Fikr.
- Desa, P. (2022a). *Wawancara tengan Pemilihan Kepala Desa di Desa Hadiwarno, Kudus*. Kudus.
- Desa, P. (2022b). *Wawancara tengan Pemilihan Kepala Desa di Desa Ternadi, Kudus*. Kudus.
- Fakhrudin, M. (2022). Pilkada Serentak di Tujuh Desa di Kudus Diikuti 22 Calon. Retrieved from [repjogja.republika.co.id](https://repjogja.republika.co.id) website: <https://repjogja.republika.co.id/berita/r8qogh327/pilkades-serentak-di-tujuh-desadi-kudus-diikuti-22-calon>
- Fakih, M. (2006). *Analisis Gender dan Transformasi Sosial*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Garis, R. R., & Trisnia, T. (2021). Partisipasi Politik Perempuan Dalam Pemilihan Kepala Desa Muktisari Kecamatan Cipaku Kabupaten Ciamis Tahun 2020. *Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Administrasi Negara*.
- Hanami, M. (2002). *Gender in a rural Malay community: Between adat and Islam* (University of California, Los Angeles). Retrieved from <https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/gender-rural-malay-community-between-i-adat-islam/docview/275710202/se-2?accountid=25704>
- Holillah. (2014). Fungsi dan Gaya Kepemimpinan Kepala Desa Perempuan Desa Masaran, Banyuates Sampang. *Jurnal Review Politik*, 04(01), 120 – 130.
- Ida, R. (2001). The Construction of Gender Identity In Indonesia: Between Cultural Norm, Economic Implication, and State Formation. *Masyarakat, Kebudayaan Dan Politik*, 21–34.
- Jiwa, A. (2022). Pilkada Kudus, Calon Kades Siapkan Sarapan dan Angkutan Gratis. Retrieved from [Muria News](https://www.murianews.com/2022/03/30/281159/pilkades-kudus-calon-kades-siapkan-sarapan-dan-angkutan-gratis) website: <https://www.murianews.com/2022/03/30/281159/pilkades-kudus-calon-kades-siapkan-sarapan-dan-angkutan-gratis>
- Jiwandhana, A. (2022). Pemenang Pilkada PAW Kirig Kudus Kantongi 73 Suara, Ini Mekanismenya. Retrieved from [Murianews.com](https://www.murianews.com/2022/03/31/281489/pemenang-pilkades-paw-kirig) website: <https://www.murianews.com/2022/03/31/281489/pemenang-pilkades-paw-kirig>



- kudus-kantongi-73-suara-ini-mekanismenya
- Junaidi, K., & Lestari, T. (2021). PERAN KEKERABATAN DALAM PEMENAGAN PEMILIHAN KEPALA DESA MENJALIN TAHUN 2018. *JURNAL SOCIOPOLITICO*. <https://doi.org/10.54683/sociopolitico.v3i2.43>
- Maimun. (2012). Kontroversi Wanita Menjadi Pemimpin: Kajian Analisis Metodologis. *Jurnal Hukum Dan Ekonomi Islam*, 4(1), 4. Retrieved from <http://garuda.ristekdikti.go.id/journal/article/149569%0Ahttp://ejournal.iainradenintan.ac.id/index.php/asas/article/view/208%5Cnhttp://ejournal.iainradenintan.ac.id/index.php/asas/article/download/208/154>
- Maulana. (2022). *Focus Group Discussion Gender dan Islam dalam Pemilihan Kepala Desa Kabupaten Kudus*. Kudus.
- Muhadjir Noeng. (2011). *Metodologi Penelitian Paradigma Positivisme Objektif Fenomenologi Interpretif Logika Bahasa Platonis, Chomskyst, Hegelian & Hermeneutik Paradigma Studi Islam Matematik Recursion, Set Theory & Structural Equation Modelling dan Mixed (VI)*. Yogyakarta: Rake Sarasin.
- Muntoha, A. (2022). Dua Pasangan Suami Istri di Kudus Bersaing Jadi Kades. Retrieved from Murianews.com website: <https://www.murianews.com/2022/03/19/278928/dua-pasangan-suami-istri-di-kudus-bersaing-jadi-kades>
- Muslikhati, S. (2004). *Feminisme dan Pemberdayaan Perempuan dalam Timbangan Islam*. Jakarta: Gema Insani.
- Nurdin, R. (2016). Dekonstruksi Gender Perspektif Rasyid Ridha (Studi Analisis Ayat-Ayat Bias Gender Pada Kitab Tafsir Al-Manār). *Tahkim*, 12(2), 88–103.
- Redaksi. (2022). Berikut Hasil Lengkap Perolehan Suara Pilkada Serentak Kabupaten Kudus. Retrieved from suarabaru.id website: <https://suarabaru.id/2022/03/30/berikut-hasil-lengkap-perolehan-suara-pilkades-serentak-kabupaten-kudus>
- Ridlo, M. (2022). Duel Lawan Suami di Pilkada Serentak Kudus, Zulaichah Bilang Begini. Retrieved from Liputan6.com website: <https://www.liputan6.com/regional/read/4915647/duel-lawan-suami-di-pilkades-serentak-kudus-zulaichah-bilang-begini>
- Saputra, H. (2016). *Pemikiran Musdah Mulia tentang Kepemimpinan Politik Perempuan* (Institut Agama Islam Negeri Bengkulu). Retrieved from <http://repository.iainbengkulu.ac.id/32/1/TESES FULL HENDRI.pdf>
- Sidiq, Y. H., & Erihadiana, M. (2022). Gender dalam Pandangan Islam. *JIIIP - Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Pendidikan*. <https://doi.org/10.54371/jiip.v5i3.502>
- Subandi. (2011). Qualitative Description as one Method in Performing Arts Study. *Harmonia*, (19), 173–179.
- Sugiharto. (2022). Hasil PILKADES Desa Langgar Dalem Kudus, yang Telah Melaksanakan Pemilihan Kepala Desa Tahun 2022. Retrieved March 13, 2022, from Portalkudus.com website: <https://portalkudus.pikiran-rakyat.com/kudus/pr-794119939/hasil-pilkades->

desa-langgar-dalem-kudus-yang-telah-melaksanakan-pemilihan-kepala-desa-tahun-2022

- Tridewiyanti, K. (2012). Kesetaraan dan Keadilan Gender di Bidang Politik “ Pentingnya Partisipasi dan Keterwakilan Perempuan di Legislatif.” *Jurnal Legislasi Indonesia*, 9(1), 73–90. Retrieved from [http://www.bps.go.id/booklet/Boklet\\_November\\_2011.pdf](http://www.bps.go.id/booklet/Boklet_November_2011.pdf).
- Wahid, A. (2008). *Pemimpin Perempuan Menurut Pandangan Fatimah Mernissi* (UIN Sunan Kalijaga). Retrieved from <https://digilib.uin-suka.ac.id/id/eprint/1238/>
- Wibowo, D. E. (n.d.). Rekonstruksi Budaya “Ewuh Pakewuh“ untuk Pemberdayaan Perlindungan Konsumen yang Berkeadilan. *Jurnal UNS*.
- Widmann Abraham, D. (2013). *Beyond Charity: Poverty, Gender, and Local Islam in Contemporary India*. Harvard Divinity School.
- Wulan, I. S. (2012). Parameter Kesetaraan Gender Dalam Pembentukan Peraturan Perundang-Undangan. In *Jakarta: Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak, Cetakan ke-2*. Retrieved from <https://www.kemennppa.go.id/lib/uploads/list/c3196-parameter-kesetaraan-gender-dalam-pembentukan-peraturan-perundang-undangan.pdf>
- Wulandari, K. (2022). Resmi Dilantik jadi Kades Kaliputu, Widiyo Akan Rangkul Pelaku Usaha Jenang. Retrieved from betanews.id website: <https://betanews.id/2022/05/resmi-dilantik-jadi-kades-kaliputu-widiyo-akan-rangkul-pelaku-usaha-jenang.html>
- Yuberti. (2015). Relasi Gender dan Kekuasaan dalam Islam Indonesia. *ANALISIS: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, 15, 519–548. Retrieved from <http://ejournal.radenintan.ac.id/index.php/analisis/article/view/734/0>
- Zamroni, M. (2013). Perempuan Dalam Kajian Komunikasi Politik dan Gender. *Jurnal Dakwah*, XIV(1).
- Zuhri, Z. (2017). Ibnu Ḥazm Al-Andalusī Dan Khilāfah. *ESENSIA: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin*, 17(2), 141. <https://doi.org/10.14421/esensia.v17i2.1284>