

Muslim Women in Politics: Does it Align With Shari'ah Parameters?

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to identify the practice of Muslim women in politics according to Shari'ah principles and Malaysian perspective on their involvement as this country has adopted democracy which allows women to get involved in politics. Generally, there are at least two opinions found in the literature where there are scholars who have decisively opposed women from positioning themselves in politics i.e: head of a state and others permit their grant for women to involve in politics. This study is applying the qualitative methodology in which the authors tend to get information directly from the primary sources as well as the secondary booked by both traditional and modern scholars related to the field of this study. All the information gathered in the books does seem important to the authors as it denotes the idea of the topic clearly from the illustrated interpretations. As a result, the authors find that there is no harm for Muslim women to involve in the political area. Despite the permission, Malaysia still struggling to empowering women's will as noted in National Women's Policy Malaysia which to provide encouragement for women's involvement in politics by targeting 30 percent of their involvement.

Keywords: Women, politics, shari'ah, Malaysia, involvement.

INTRODUCTION

Generally, Shari'ah does not oppose women to opt working as long as they have their husband's consent.¹ Our Muslim scholars agreed on allowing women to be involved in the workforce since there is no explicit evidence from Shari'ah opposing women to work. Since the emergence of Islam, Muslim women have taken their part to contribute to the nation building as well as serve to their community. There are lots of *sahabiah* who helped their husband by joining the workforce in order to be co-worker such as Asma' bint Abu Bakr,² or assisting in generating incomes to sustain the family such as Ummu Mubashshir al-Anṣāriyah, or even providing services for other Muslim such al-Rubay' bint al-Mu'awwidh. Nevertheless, political involvement for Muslim women is different. This topic remains debatable and the unanimity amongst scholars does not seem to be achieved as it becomes controversial to discuss in Muslim world. The topic has ignited too much debate amongst both supporters and critiques regarding the issue. With this respect, the authors' highlight is to point methodological study to view Shari'ah's point of view for this particular issue.

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¹ Al-Kāsanī, *Badā'i' al-Ṣanā'i' fī Tartīb al-Sharā'i'*. Cairo: Dar al-Hadith. 2005

² Muslim, *Sahih Muslim*, Kitab al-Salam, Bab Irdaf al-Mar'ah, 2182

The Opposition

Most of the traditional scholars have disagreed the involvement of women in politics. That is why it can be seen where most of them opposed women to be appointed as head of a state.³ On top of that, this opinion is supported by the majority of Muslim exegesis including as al-Ṭabarī,⁴ al-Qurṭubī,⁵ al-Baiḍāwī,⁶ Ibn Kathīr⁷ and al-Shawkānī.⁸ This point of view is supported by numbers of evidence from al-Qur'an and al-Sunnah:

1. Allah says in the Holy Qur'an: "Men are in charge of women by right of what Allah has given one over the other and what they spend for maintenance from their wealth. So righteous women are devoutly obedient, guarding in [the husband's] absence what Allah would have them guard. But those wives from whom you fear arrogance, first, advise them, then if they persist, forsake them in bed; and, finally, strike them. But if they obey you (once more), seek no means against them. Indeed, Allah is ever Exalted and Grand".⁹

This verse is perceived to be the most valid evidence to restrict women from being head nation. Many Muslim exegeses shared the same opinion including al-Ṭabarī¹⁰ as he says in his book: "Narrated from Ibn Abbās as he interpreted the meaning of *qawwamah* as *al-umara'* (leaders of a state). In a similar vein, al-Qurṭubī¹¹ used analogical deduction (*qiyas*) by applying the ruling in respect of maintenance's provision, enunciating that if husband is obliged to sustain his wife in the name of *qawwamah* (leadership), then men are reserved for it as they deserve to involve in the field of leadership.

Allah further says in the Holy Quran: "And abide in your houses and do not display yourselves as was the display of the former times of ignorance. And establish prayer and give alms and obey Allah and His Messenger. Allah intend only to remove from you the impurity of sin, O people of the Prophet's household, and to purify you with extensive purification" (Al-Aḥzāb: 33).

Regarding the verse, al-Shawābakah¹² explains, this verse has been justified as Shari'ah's provision provides women to be under protection in term of their safety, marital rights, managing their children and house, in which according to them, house is the origin place of women.

2. In the ḥadīth, the Prophet Muhammad suggests for not appointing women as a leader, otherwise the nation will downfall into demolition. The Prophet describes his opposition through the ḥadīth: "Never will succeed a nation as makes a woman their ruler."¹³

They justify the ḥadīth as it indicates the correlation between the failure of a nation and a governance of women. Some of the modern scholars has given his thought of the hadith. According to Al-Sibā'ī,¹⁴ this ḥadīth addresses that women are confined to position themselves in the field of general administration (*al-wilāyah al-'uzma*). Describing the reason of the restriction, Yusminah Rohmatullah states that

³ Al-Dusūqī, *Hashiah al-Dusuqi*, 6, Al-Nawawī, *al-Majmu'*, 416 and Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Mughni*, 420.

⁴ Al-Ṭabarī, *Jami' al-Bayān fi Ta'wil ay al-Qur'an*, (Damascus: Dar al-Qalam), vol 2, 586.

⁵ Muhammad bin Ahmad bin Abū Bakar al-Qurṭubī, *al-Jāmi' li Ahkām al-Qur'an*, (Beirut: Muasasah al-Risalah), vol 6, 278.

⁶ Nāṣir al-Dīn 'Abdullah bin 'Umar Al-Baiḍāwī, *Tafsir al-Baiḍāwī*, (Beirut: Dar Ihya' al-Turath, 1998), vol. 2, 72.

⁷ Isma'il bin Kathir, *Tafsir Ibn Kathir*, (Beirut: Muassasah al-Risalah al-'Ālamiah, 2012), vol 2, 269.

⁸ Muhammad 'Alī Al-Shawkanī, *Fath al-Qadīr*, (Beirut: Dar Ibn Kathir, 1994), vol. 1, 531.

⁹ Al-Nisā': 34

¹⁰ Al-Ṭabarī, *Jami' al-Bayān*, vol 2, 586.

¹¹ Al-Qurtubi, *Jami' al-Ahkam*, vol 6, 278.

¹² Al-Shawābakah, *'Amal al-Mar'ah*, 79.

¹³ Al-Bukhārī, *Sahih al-Bukhārī*, Chapter of al-Fitan, 7099.

¹⁴ Muṣṭafā al-Sibā'ī, *Al-Mar'ah baina al-Fiqh wa al-Qanūn*, 33.

women are not fit enough for such position.¹⁵

3. In another version of hadith, women are described as *'awrah*, so that they are prohibited to disclose themselves publicly: "Woman is a blemish. Whenever she goes outside of her house, devils will look up to her. Henceforth, the closest she is to her Lord at the bottom of her house".¹⁶

Referring to the ḥadīth, they argue as it is a prescription of the Prophet who preferred women to abide in their house. This is because, it is such necessary for women to avoid being sociable with men.¹⁷

The supporter

On a different note, Muslim scholars like Muhammad al-Ghazālī,¹⁸ Maḥmūd Shaltūt¹⁹ and Zāfir al-Qāsimī²⁰ tend to allow Muslim women to involve in politics. As a consequence, it can be seen from their idea by allowing Muslim women to take part in the appointment of head of state. Their point of view is also supported by the following Shari'ah evidence:

1. Allah says in the Holy Qur'an: "Men are in charge of women by right of what Allah has given one over the other and what they spend for maintenance from their wealth. So righteous women are devoutly obedient, guarding in [the husband's] absence what Allah would have them guard. But those wives from whom you fear arrogance, first, advise them, then if they persist, forsake them in bed; and, finally, strike them. But if they obey you [once more], seek no means against them. Indeed, Allah is ever Exalted and Grand".²¹

According to supporters, the verse precisely explains of Shari'ah regulation in respect of family institution.²² Thus, they deny the probability of the verse to be implemented in other issues as it has no relation, particularly in leadership at state level.

Allah prescribes in the Quran that women share same responsibilities as men do as He describes it through the verse: "The believing men and believing women are allies of one another. They enjoin what is right and forbid what is wrong and establish prayer and give *zakah* and obey Allah and His Messenger. Those Allah will have mercy upon them. Indeed, Allah is Exalted in Might and Wise".²³

According to the verse, they equate the relation between men and women in terms of abidance with the responsibilities provided by Shari'ah. (Dendel Jabr, 2010). By sharing responsibilities, both men and women could be the partner to govern society together as it is but a promotion of virtue and prevention of vice.²⁴

2. According to the supporters, al-Qur'an recognised women to be crowned a state leader. This point of view is derived from the narration of Balqis, who was once a leader of her people. It is stated in the Holy Quran: "Indeed, I found there a woman ruling them, and she has been given of all things, and she has a great throne".²⁵

¹⁵ Yusminah Rohmatullah, "Kepimpinan Perempuan Dalam Islam: Melacak Sejarah Feminisme Melalui Pendekatan Hadits dan Hubungannya Dengan Tata Negara, 95.

¹⁶ Al-Tirmidhī, Chapter of al-Raḍa', Book of 1173

¹⁷ Al-Shawābakah, *'Amal al-Mar'ah*, 79.

¹⁸ Al-Ghazālī, *Al-Sunnah al-Nabawiah baina Ahl al-Fiqh wa Ahl al-Hadīth*, 58.

¹⁹ Maḥmūd Shaltūt, *al-Mar'ah wa al-Qānun*. Cited in al-Shawābakah, *Hukm 'Amal al-Mar'ah*, 83

²⁰ Zafir al-Qasimi, Zāfir al-Qāsimī, *Nizam al-Hukm fi al-Shari'ah wa al-Tārikh al-Islām minha*, (Amman: Dar al-Nafā'is, 1990).

²¹ Al-Nisā': 34

²² Dendel Jabr, 2010, *Al-Mar'ah wa al-Wilayah al-'Ammah fi al-Siyasah al-Shar'iah*, 229.

²³ Al-Tawbah: 71

²⁴ Al-Shawābakah, *Hukum 'Amal li al-Mar'ah fi al-Fiqh al-Islāmī*, 884

²⁵ Al-Naml: 23

Based on the verse, they claim it as imperative evidence proving women has been recognized as a nation leader. Invoking the narration of the Prophet Sulaymān, where he founded a woman that was being a leader of her people. Using this as a proof, Muhammad al-Ghazālī denied those who oppose women to recognised as a leader by questioning their argument, where the Qur'an denotes otherwise.²⁶

3. In addition to this, the hadith which they believe it could be the proof in order to support their opinion is described as follows: “Never will succeed a nation as makes a woman their ruler”.²⁷

From their point of view, this ḥadīth should be interpreted by taking present circumstance into account which indicates justification of the Prophet's speech on that particular issue such .This was taken by the commentary of Ibn Ḥajar as he explained when the Prophet Muhammad appointed Abdullah ibn Hudhāfah al-Sahmī to write a letter and send it to the Ruler of Bahrain, then He gave it to Kisrā. After reading the letter, he then ravelled it. The Prophet then responded according to what Kisrā done to him: May Allah ravel the Government of Kisrā.²⁸ Yusminah Rohmatullah urges that, the speech of the Prophet was contextually revealed due to particular occasion.²⁹ The demolition of the Kisrā Government was in accordance with the Prophet Muhammad's conjecture about the future of that Government. After decades, the Kisrā was starting to have internal crisis that led the demolition of the government when the daughter named Shairawaih took over the governance of Qaisar.³⁰

4. In another hadith, the Prophet Muhammad has claimed: “Woman is the counterpart of men”.³¹
The aforementioned hadith denotes that women are part of men in term of their features as humankind. The supporters delineate it as an essence to prove that there is no difference between men and women as both of them are human being and sharing the same feature of humanity.³² Sharing the same features, they contend that when men can be considered to be a head of nation, thus women can fit the position as well.

SHARI'AH ANALYSIS OF MUSLIM WOMEN TO JOIN POLITICS

Based on Surah al-Nisa': 34 as stated above, it is imperative to address here that Shari'ah has adjudicated men to be responsible to maintain their wife and family. This is regarded as a sign of recognising men as leader, meanwhile women should be protected by her husband. In the same verse, it is seen too many Shari'ah provision obliges husband to fulfil essential duties to the family such as providing dowry, maintenance, residence, foods, beverages and more. Using this analogy, the opponents raised a question on the capability of a woman who is in need of her husband's protection to become the leader of a state. The supporters, however, separated the roles of women when they are with family and during fulfilling their responsibilities. Thus, it not impossible according to the supporters if they could play both roles at the same time.

Meanwhile, Surah al-Aḥzāb: 33, prohibited women to leave their houses as it causes defamation againts them and leads them to commit *tabarruj* (display themselves as was the display of the former times of ignorance).

²⁶ Muhammad al-Ghazālī, *Al-Sunnah al-Nabawiah baina Ahli al-Fiqh wa Ahli al- Hadith*

²⁷ Al-Bukhārī, *Sahih al-Bukhari*, Book of al-Fitan, 7099

²⁸ Al-‘Asqalānī, *Fath al-Bārī bi Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*

²⁹ Yusminah Rohmatullah, “Kepimpinan Perempuan Dalam Islam: Melacak Sejarah Feminisme Melalui Pendekatan Hadits dan Hubungannya Dengan Tata Negara

³⁰ Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Chapter of 2009, 4424 and Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-Bārī*, 161

³¹ Abū Daud, *Sunan Abu Dāud*, Chapter of al-Ṭaharah, 236

³² Al-Shawābakah, *Hukum ‘Amal li al-Mar‘ah fi al-Fiqh al Islāmī*, 85

Fundamentally, this pointed argument is regarded as blocking the ways (*sadd al-dhara'i'*) of harms and evils. However, this connotation seems not in line with the practice of the Prophet's era, where the Prophet used to grant women freedom to go to the mosque if they intended to do so as the Prophet has advised his companion: "Do not forbid the female slaves of Allah from (going into) the mosques of Allah" (12).³³ This is regarded as a basic law (al-aṣlu) of a ruling, in which provides women the permissibility of leaving their house when they were in need (ḥājah). The prohibition of committing tabarruj as stated in the verse, is not a sign of prohibition by Shari'ah on women to leave their house rather it is part of requirements for every Muslim women has to fulfil when they are exposed in public. Al-Sa'dī explains that the connotation of *tabarruj* is to cover their beauty and not to be abundant in fragrance as it evokes attraction and would trigger the desire of men.³⁴

Muhammad al-Ghazali justifies his thought by looking the narration of Balqis as a significant point to allow women involve in politics. Although methodologically his was against the majority, he firmly said that the narration is good enough to prove women are adequate to involve in politics. The verse, nonetheless, elucidates one of the most important roles obliged to any prophet, which spreading the *da'wah* to the non-believers as it is stated in the next verses where it indicates the precise evidence stating how Balqīs submitted herself to Allah The Almighty, as she believed the religion taught by Sulaymān. Submitting herself which was a queen of her people to the true king assigned by Allah proves that the *nubuwwah* (prophethood) is a specific duty held by men. There are no other rules over the *nubuwwah*. Historically, conquest is one of the essential ways recognised by Islam to spread the messages of Allah and the Prophet inspired by Allah's messengers themselves. Analysing any verse related to the subject of discussion assists to yield collective meaning of the prescription.

Based on the hadith which describes women as '*awrah*', the ḥadīth in a particular case, cannot be recognized as imperative evidence because of critiques regarding to its clarity. The hadith has been criticised as a weak one (ḍa'īf) by al-Ajlūnī³⁵ and al-Tirmidhī³⁶ himself. Another hadith recorded by al-Bukhārī, stating women would cause devastation was revealed with its contextual meaning. The hadith proves that the Prophet knows about the unseen event (*ghaibiyyat*) before it happens. Although some interpreters might say *Al-'Ibrah bi 'Umu'm al-Lafz la bikhuṣūs al-Sabab* (the significance of revelation derived from its general sentence, no a specific occasion). The hadith itself, however, described the present situation where the enemies did not respond the Prophet's call with a good response. In addition to this, it was very unusual for women to participate in the field of leadership at the state level. They were not recognised as a contributor in the field of leadership as they were merely involved in domestic roles. Therefore, the Prophet's defiance in refusing women to be appointed as a leader of people in the mentioned hadith is relatable with the existing political circumstance.

Based on the statement above, from our humble submission, there is no harm for any Muslim woman if she decides to involve in politics. Politics could be the initiative to facilitate community of a country. Women also can utilise their potential to boost development for the country using their expertise. Although, we did not see Muslim women's role in politics explicitly during the Prophetic era, our Prophet did not abandon his *sahabiah*'s roles to help nation building. History has recorded how much influence did the *sahabiah* have where they were involved in warfare, served as leading scholars for the successors (*tabi'in*) as well as advisory council for the remain *sahabah* i.e: the battle of *jamal*.

³³ Mālik ibn Anas, *al-Muwatta'*, 2012, 12.

³⁴ Al-Sa'dī, Abdurrahman al-Sa'dī, *Taisir al-Rahmān al-Karīm*. (Available at: al-eman.com).

³⁵ Al-Ajlūnī, *Kashfu al-Khafā'*. Cairo: Maktabah al- Qudsi, 1932.

³⁶ Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan al-Tirmidhi*, Chapter of al-Rada', 1173.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF EXISTING POLITICAL STRUCTURE

As the caliphate political system experienced its downfall, specifically at the end of the Ottoman's caliphate, and the Islamic states, which were previously under their jurisdiction and provision, had been colonized, unfortunately divided and then each ruled by their own political system. These nations, which were previously known for their political system that does not welcome woman to participate freely, by time, are adapting to the modern system thus allowing women to take their part in this field, specifically in the governance level.

It is meant to be believed that colonialization is a factor which leads to changes in the political system in these Islamic countries as the new system is adapted from the colonials, especially when the democratic political system, which has been known to take each citizen's vote, including women, into account to shape their countries' motion, was introduced to them. With the changes, at least nationally, throughout the political practices, adaptation of principles and standards in the Islamic law is the best option to thrive forward accordingly to the present time as Shariah is well-known to entertain and welcome occurring change as long as it does not violate its principles.³⁷

To enlighten this motion, we can see the countries in Arabian Gulf has been drove to this notion accordingly to the modern world such as The United Arab Emirates which states in their constitution that for a person to become a minister, he must be a citizen of UAE with known competence and experience (Constitution of United Arab Emirates) despite of what his gender is. A few other countries also share this motion such as Kuwait (Constitution of Kuwait), Bahrain (Constitution of Bahrain), Qatar (Constitution of Qatar) and Oman (Constitution of Oman) except the highest ruler is the hereditary king for each country, excluding UAE. Practically, in the present days, the abovementioned countries have already included women in their government as deputy ministers and ministers³⁸ and Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is also not excluded as they have, for the first time in ages, appointed a woman, Norah al-Faiz as their deputy minister of education.³⁹

Apart from that, despite of the scholars' view in opposing women's appointment as the head nation, there is a grey area in appointing them with *al-wilāyah al-‘āmmah*, excluding *al-wilāyah al-uẓmā*, such as ministers or deputy ministers, or *al-wilāyah al-khāṣṣah*, as executive officers in the ministries, as their distinction revolves around the jurisdiction of the appointed position whether it involves the legislative affairs or not ().⁴⁰ As a matter of fact, due to the non-existent of clear indication in the Quran from appointing women in the political fields, apart from associating with *al-wilāyah al-uẓmā*, thus it is permissible for them to participate in those respective fields unless stated otherwise.⁴¹ This opinion is supported by the previously mentioned Quranic verse from al-Tawbah: 71 and a ḥadīth, which Prophet Muḥammad claimed, "Each one of you is a leader, and each one of you is responsible for his responsibility".⁴²

³⁷ Al-Qaradāwī, *Mūjibāt Taghayyur al-Fatwā fī ‘Aşrinā*, Beirut: Maktabah Beirūt, 2007, 67

³⁸ Al-Yamahī, "The Role of Women in Politics in the United Arab Emirates", *Journal of Islam in Asia*, Vol. 16, No. 3, December 2019. Gombak: International Islamic University of Malaysia.116

³⁹ Al Arabiya, 14th February 2009

⁴⁰ Al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkam al-Sultaniyyah*, 49 Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Muḥallā*, 528

⁴¹ Ibn Hazm, *al-Muḥallā*, 52.

⁴² Sharifah Hayaati, "Kepimpinan Wanita dalam Politik dari Perspektif Siyāsah Syar'iyah", *Jurnal Syariah*, vol. 12, no. 2. Kuala Lumpur: Universiti Malaya. 2002, 117

WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP: HOW FAR MALAYSIA GOES?

Malaysia was also colonized by various parties throughout its history thus affected their political experience by time. In the present days, similar to the previously mentioned countries, Malaysia is practicing a democratic monarchy by placing Yang di-Pertuan Agong (YDPA), the hereditary king, at the top of the political hierarchy as the absolute leader of the nation (Federal Constitution of Malaysia). On the other hand, there is an appointed Prime Minister, via parliamentary majority along with YDPA's consent (Federal Constitution of Malaysia), acting in the name of Malaysian citizens.

Upon this evidence, we can conclude that the supreme leader in Malaysia is YDPA, who is also a man (Federal Constitution of Malaysia). Thus, woman cannot be appointed as a YDPA as it is, academically, defined as position with *wilāyah 'uzmā'*. While as a Prime Minister, as the position, which is recognized as *wilāyah 'āmmah*, does not have a hierarchal power higher than YDPA, there is a distinction between scholars to appoint woman as a leader depending on the position's jurisdiction whether it is similar to YDPA's or not. Hence, theoretically, the researchers agreed that it is permissible to let a woman takes place as a Prime Minister in Malaysia.

Although, without a doubt, apart from purely discussing the ruling in this issue, we must also take *maṣlahah* into account by analysing does appointing woman as a Prime Minister in this country will give benefits to the nation and will not, consequently, occur any fatal damage to the primary political institution, which is family institution.⁴³ In addition, due to Malaysian political reality which is being dominated by men, and quite few of women's participation in this field, is it truly a need to appoint woman as a Prime Minister in Malaysia? Briefly, to answer the question, it depends on the hierarchal position, credibility, known competency and experience, and the political customs in Malaysia.

The policy of the Government of Malaysia towards women has documented the formulation of the National Policy on Women in 1989. This policy asserts its main objectives as:

1. To ensure an equitable sharing in the acquisition of resources, information, opportunities, and benefits of development for men and women. The objectives of equality and justice must be made the essence of development policies, which must be people-oriented. So that women who constitute half of the nation's population can contribute and realise their potentials to the optimum.
2. To integrate women in all sectors of development according to their capabilities and needs to enhance the quality of life, eradicate poverty, ignorance and illiteracy, and ensure peacefulness and a prosperous nation.¹²⁸

In 2009, this policy was revised according to the current issues, opportunities, challenges and circumstances. National Women's Policy 2009 is a continuation of the previous version (1989). In line with the Federal Constitution, the principles of the state and the social policies, the new policy embraces the mission to achieve gender equality in national development.¹²⁹ The new policy has been documented with the main objectives:

1. To develop potential and empowering women from all level and sector as an agent to bring the changing movement into the community and as a contributor to the economic and social development.

⁴³ Ibid.

2. To provide a conducive environment including policy formulation and women- friendly legislation to enhance dignity and well-being among women living in all physical, economic, political, health, psychology, and spiritual aspects.
3. To cultivate gender equality among societies from all sectors.
4. To ensure the points of view from women and their voices are adopted in the decision-making process at all-level.
5. To achieve equitable partnership between both men and women in acquiring and controlling the resources and opportunities for the involvement and enjoying the benefits from the development.
6. To enhance and empower the fairness and equitable sharing between men and women in all aspects of life to strengthening family institutions as well as community development.

The finding also says that women in the labour force continue to be the important component of the labour supply in Malaysia, where there have been 3.17 million or 33.1 percent of the total labour force in 2000. Women's participation rate in Labour Force for Peninsular Malaysia from 1957-2000 keeps showing an increasing rate from 30.8 per cent to 46.7 percent. The rate continuously increased to 54.3% in 2017, 54.7 percent in 2018, 55.2 percent in 2019% and 55.6 percent in 2020.

Despite the increasing number of women's involvement in the labour force, there is still a gap between men and women regarding their participation rate. According to the statistic released by the Department of Statistics Malaysia from 2017 until 2020, men have achieved more than 80% consistently Labour Force Participation Rate (LFPR) score. That is why some groups in Malaysia are concerned over this trend in Malaysia where women are seemed dominant when it comes to academic achievement but never have enough opportunity to prove themselves when it comes to career progression.

Comparison Rate for Male and Female in Parliamentary Seats (%)

Year	Male	Female
2017	89.2	10.8
2018	89	11
2019	85.6	14.4
2020	Not Mentioned	Not Mentioned

Source: (Department of Statistic Malaysia)

The statistic of women's involvement in politics in the context of Malaysia also indicates the same result as women are too far from catching up with men's involvement in such area. The following schedule records

the women's percentage in parliamentary seats, which is lower as compared to men from 2017 until 2020. Also, Berita Harian published in November 10, 2022 reported that only 13.4 percent of women participate in general election 2022 (GE15). There have 127 candidates representing women compared total of the candidates of which was 945 candidates. On top of that, only 32 of 127 candidates has succeed to win the general election for that year. By all means, since National's Women Policy established, the execution of the policy still nowhere near to the targeted achievement.

CONCLUSION

Islam has played a role in embracing each individual, including women, in communities without any discrimination by placing each of them in their respective fields. For that being said, without denying the fact of quite few women's participation in politics throughout the Islamic history, the scholars, traditional and modern, discussed the ruling to let them participate directly in the national affairs. Scholars from different eras, through analysing numerous foundations in the Islamic Law, appointed their arguments and opinion based on different context thus caused a distinction between them though they did agree upon disallowing woman from being appointed as a *khalīfah*, a head leader for Islamic nation who associates directly with *wilāyah uzma*.

Regarding to other political positions, which associates only with *wilāyah 'āmmah*, as long as it does not have a hierarchal power higher than *khalīfah*, and *wilāyah khaṣṣah*, it is allowed for women to be appointed in those positions due to their political rights given in the Quran and Sunnah without abandoning the *maṣlahah* aspect. This motion has been followed by some of the present Islamic nations in the Arabian Gulf, and Malaysia from Southeast Asia. Malaysia, which is a nation practicing democratic monarchy. These changes of permissibility to allow women participate directly in politics was due to the non-existent of applied caliphate political system globally as all nations has adapted their own political system that suits their countries best as it is unacceptable to apply the caliphate system in the present time due to different working governance system.

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