



The Role of Women's Equality in Government Programs: An Analysis from the Perspective of *Qira'ah Mubadalah*

Afifun Najib,^{1*} Sugianto², Yusuf Setyadi³

^{1,2}Univeristas Islam Negeri Siber Syekh Nurjati, Jl. Perjuangan Sunyaragi, Cirebon, Indonesia

³Universitas Siber Asia, Jalan Harsono RM Pasar Minggu, Jakarta, Indonesia

*(Corresponding author) e-mail: afifun.najib68@gmail.com

Abstract

Women are frequently marginalised as a gender that receives less recognition in social life, particularly within patriarchal societies. In comparison to men, women experience inequality across various domains, both in societal contexts and within governmental structures. This phenomenon underscores the inherent injustices present in the dynamics between women and men. However, this does not imply that women's opportunities to assume leadership roles are entirely obstructed. This paper utilises the *Qira'ah Mubadalah* perspective, which emphasises the values of equality and justice for women, thereby advancing the role of equality between women and men. This research is qualitative in nature and employs an empirical-sociological approach. Primary data sources were obtained through field interviews, while secondary data were sourced from academic journals, implementation guidelines for the Family Hope Program, and relevant legislation. Data collection techniques included in-depth interviews conducted through direct fieldwork. The interview data were subsequently analysed using the *Qira'ah Mubadalah* framework. The findings indicate that women play a crucial role in the government's Family Hope Program (PKH). This is evident in the promotion of women's equality or reciprocity within PKH beneficiary families, the advancement of gender equity for women in the division of household responsibilities, and the reinforcement of equal relationships between men and women in the public sphere. Furthermore, this research contributes to enhancing public understanding and improving family law literacy. This paper may also pave the way for further exploration of the role of women's equality in other strategic government initiatives.

Keywords: Family Hope Program; The Role of Women's Equality; *Qira'ah Mubadalah*.

Abstrak

Perempuan seringkali dimarginalkan sebagai gender yang kurang mendapatkan pengakuan semestinya dalam praktik kehidupan sosial, terutama dalam masyarakat yang berbudaya patriarki. Jika dibandingkan dengan gender laki-laki, gender perempuan diperlakukan secara tidak setara dalam berbagai hal, baik di masyarakat maupun dalam pemerintahan. Fenomena ini menggambarkan adanya ketidakadilan dalam hubungan antara gender perempuan dan laki-laki. Namun, hal ini bukan berarti bahwa kesempatan perempuan untuk berperan sebagai pemimpin tertutup sepenuhnya. Tulisan ini menggunakan perspektif *Qira'ah Mubadalah* yang berfokus pada nilai kesetaraan dan keadilan gender perempuan, sehingga peran kesetaraan perempuan terhadap laki-laki dapat menjadi nyata. Jenis penelitian ini termasuk dalam kategori kualitatif dengan menggunakan pendekatan empiris-sosiologis. Sumber data primer diperoleh dari hasil wawancara di lapangan, sedangkan data sekunder bersumber dari jurnal akademik, pedoman pelaksanaan Program Keluarga Harapan, dan undang-undang. Teknik pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui wawancara mendalam, dengan proses pengumpulan data yang dilakukan secara langsung di lapangan. Data hasil wawancara kemudian dianalisis menggunakan pendekatan *Qira'ah Mubadalah*. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa gender perempuan memiliki peran yang vital dalam program pemerintah PKH. Hal ini dapat dilihat dari peran kesetaraan perempuan atau kesalingan dalam keluarga penerima manfaat PKH, keadilan gender perempuan dalam mendukung pembagian tugas rumah tangga, serta memperkuat relasi kesetaraan antara laki-laki dan perempuan di arena publik. Selain itu, penelitian ini juga memberikan wawasan kepada masyarakat dan pembuat kebijakan serta memperkuat literasi hukum keluarga. Pengembangan dari tulisan ini salah satunya dapat mengeksplorasi peran kesetaraan perempuan dalam program strategis pemerintah lainnya.

Kata Kunci: Peran Kesetaraan Perempuan; Program Keluarga Harapan; *Qira'ah Mubadalah*.



Introduction

The issue of gender equality remains deeply entrenched in patriarchal societies. Within social contexts, women are frequently marginalised as a community that lacks the recognition they deserve, particularly in societies that uphold patriarchal values. Patriarchal culture constitutes a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress, and exploit women.¹ Within familial settings, women are often perceived as sources of unpaid domestic labour, sustaining male labour (their husbands) and bearing and raising children who will constitute the next generation of workers.² The social construction, character, and identity of men and women are distinct, and their needs are contingent upon societal perceptions of gender.³ In comparison to men, women experience inequality across various domains, both in social contexts and governmental structures. The prevailing social phenomena and developments within patriarchal societies are shaped by negative views and assumptions regarding women, as they are frequently perceived as weak, limited, and burdened by various negative stigmas. This situation exemplifies the injustice present in gender relations between women and men. Why should women endure such treatment? Are they not human beings equal to men? Furthermore, women possess the same potential as men, including the capacity to fulfil equal roles within the public sphere. This assertion does not imply that women's opportunities to assume leadership positions are entirely closed or unavailable.

Leadership is no longer predicated solely on talent, experience, and gender, but also on planned readiness. All programmes are conducted through systematic planning, analysis, and development to cultivate leadership qualities that align with Islamic law, thereby ensuring success in their duties.⁴ Every leader within an organisation must possess the managerial attributes requisite for effective leadership.⁵ Rasdiyanah posits that the quality of a leader is often regarded as the most significant factor in determining the success or failure of an organisation.⁶

Gender bias in Islamic boarding schools is manifest in numerous instances, resulting in significant challenges to the development of female leadership within these institutions.⁷ This observation is not intended to create distinctions that imply women's inferiority to men; rather, it acknowledges that both genders are equal, with men as husbands and women as wives serving as the foundational pillars of life. Neither can exist independently of the other; both complement the husband's leadership within the household, guiding their wives, rather than assuming the role of ruler or dictator.⁸

¹ Sylvia Walby, *Theorising Patriarchy*, First (Oxford, United Kingdom: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1990).

² Pip Jones, Liz Bradbury, and Shaun Le Boutillier, *Pengantar Teori-Teori Sosial—Dari Teori Fungsionalisme Hingga Post Modernisme*, ed. Achmad Fedyani Saifuddin, Edisi Revi (Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, 2016).

³ Vina Salviana Darvina Soedarwo, "Pengertian Gender Dan Sosialisasi Gender," *Sosiologi Gender* 1, no. 1 (2016).

⁴ Raihan Putry, "Kepemimpinan Perempuan Dalam Perspektif Islam," *Jurnal Mudarrisuna: Media Kajian Pendidikan Agama Islam* 5, no. 2 (2015), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.22373/jm.v5i2.627>.

⁵ Hasan Baharun, Adi Wibowo, and Siti Nur Hasanah, "Kepemimpinan Perempuan Dalam Menciptakan Sekolah Ramah Anak," *Quality: Journal of Empirical Research in Islamic Education* 9, no. 1 (2021), <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.21043/quality.v9i1.10109>.

⁶ Annisa Fitriani, "Gaya Kepemimpinan Perempuan," *Jurnal Tapis: Jurnal Teropong Aspirasi Politik Islam* 11, no. 2 (2015), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.24042/tps.v11i2.845>.

⁷ Ahmad Yusuf Prasetyawan and Safitri Lis, "Kepemimpinan Perempuan Dalam Pesantren," *Yinyang: Jurnal Studi Islam Gender Dan Anak* 14, no. 1 (2019), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.24090/yinyang.v14i1.2874>.

⁸ Huzaemah Tahido Yanggo, "Kepemimpinan Perempuan Dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam," *Misykat: Jurnal-Ilmu-Ilmu Al-Quran, Hadits, Syariah Dan Tarbiyah* 1, no. 1 (2016), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.33511/misykat.v1n1.1-18>.

Through various legislative, political, and cultural channels, the advancement of the women's movement is directed towards a singular objective: the domestication of women, which entails positioning women within the household as wives accompanying their husbands and mothers to their children. This policy renders women apolitical or cultivates low political awareness among them.⁹ Astuti elucidates that a principal factor hindering women's opportunities to engage in the political arena is the stereotypical notion that politics is a harsh domain, demanding rationality, rife with debate, and requiring intelligent thought—all characteristics presumed to belong exclusively to men.¹⁰

The Qur'an accords an esteemed status to all individuals, irrespective of gender, as biological differences do not inherently engender inequality in life.¹¹ Leadership is not a monopoly of men; women can also occupy and hold leadership positions. A capable woman who meets the requisite criteria may ascend to roles such as judge or top leader (prime minister or head of state).¹² The objective of enhancing the role and status of women is to elevate women's education, improve the quality of women's resources in relation to scientific knowledge, enhance the health of women and their families, and promote women's dual role in family development alongside their active participation in society in a harmonious and balanced manner, thereby augmenting women's dignity and status.¹³

Nevertheless, it is evident that public space is not the exclusive domain of men;¹⁴ both genders share an equal standing, and legally, women are positioned on par with men without discrimination. Their rights and obligations are enshrined in law, thus valid and binding. In Indonesia, Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections has accommodated the representation of women as leaders through several provisions, including a 30% quota for female candidates on legislative candidate lists. This quota aims to bolster women's participation in politics and governance.¹⁵ Consequently, women are afforded the same opportunities as men to assume leadership roles, whether as president and/or vice president, governor and/or deputy governor, mayor/regent and/or deputy mayor/regent, or members of the House of Representatives, at both central and regional levels. All these opportunities are legally guaranteed by applicable law.

Effective leadership does not solely depend on specific traits; rather, it is contingent upon the alignment of those traits with the needs and contexts at hand.¹⁶ Women have been granted political rights that reflect their dignified, honourable, and noble status in Islam.¹⁷

⁹ Husain Hamka, "Kepemimpinan Perempuan Dalam Era Modern," *Al-Qalam* 19, no. 1 (2013), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.31969/alq.v19i1.222>.

¹⁰ Hilmiati, Ernita Dewi, and Zuherni, "Persepsi Masyarakat Atas Kepemimpinan Perempuan Di Kecamatan Darussalam Aceh Besar," *Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 2, no. 1 (2022), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.22373/jpi.v2i1.13140>.

¹¹ Ida Novianti, "Dilema Kepemimpinan Perempuan Dalam Islam," *Yinyang: Jurnal Studi Islam Gender Dan Anak* 3, no. 2 (2008).

¹² Rizki Nur Amaliah and Siti Munawaroh, "Kepemimpinan Perempuan Dalam Al-Qur'an: Analisis Tafsir Al-Qurtubī Dan Pemikiran Husein Muhammad," *Revelatia: Jurnal Ilmu Al-Qur'an and Tafsir* 4, no. 1 (2023), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.19105/revelatia.v4i1.7860>.

¹³ Abdul Rahim, "Peran Kepemimpinan Perempuan Dalam Perspektif Gender," *Al-Maiyyah* 19, no. 2 (2016).

¹⁴ Pemerintah Indonesia, "Undang-Undang Nomor 7 Tahun 2017 Tentang Pemilihan Umum," Pub. L. No. No. 7 Tahun 2017 (2017) p. 4.

¹⁵ Indonesia p. 27.

¹⁶ Khairin Nizomi, "Gaya Kepemimpinan Perempuan Dalam Budaya Organisasi," *JIPi: Jurnal Ilmu Perpustakaan Dan Informasi* 4, no. 2 (2019), <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.30829/jipi.v4i2.3885>.

¹⁷ Liky Faizal, "Perempuan Dalam Politik (Kepemimpinan Perempuan Perspektif Al-Qur'an)," *Jurnal Tapis : Jurnal Teropong Aspirasi Politik Islam* 12, no. 1 (2016), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.24042/tps.v12i1.830>: p. 106.

Progressive interpretations of religion, free from the interests of particular groups, should be grounded in the historical context of Islam's emergence on Earth, with its noble objective of advocating for equality between men and women.¹⁸ The historical record concerning the emergence of women's roles in the public sphere, alongside women's leadership within the cultural framework of *piring ka purusa*, is intrinsically linked to the values of equality between women and men.¹⁹ According to Quraish Shihab, from an Islamic legal perspective, women must submit to male leadership within the household as long as a husband and wife bond exists. Conversely, outside the household, women may hold leadership positions even in the presence of men.²⁰

The influence of educational factors is substantial, significantly determining women's active engagement in their roles as political party administrators, as all tasks assigned to women are facilitated by their education. This implies a pertinent relationship between responsibilities and educational attainment.²¹ Strong and decisive leadership, which upholds the principle of sovereignty, particularly in public institutions, is not exclusive to male leaders.²² The discourse surrounding women's leadership remains a contentious topic, prompting scholars to categorise their perspectives into three distinct groups. The first perspective posits that women are prohibited from holding public office in any capacity, concluding that even at a familial level, women should be guided by men, particularly regarding broader public affairs that encompass greater responsibilities. Ar-Razi concurs, asserting that men possess superiority over women in various respects, some of which are based on factual attributes and others on Sharia law, including the Imamate of the *kubro*, the Imamate of the *sugthro*, jihad, and the call to prayer.²³ In contrast, Abu Hanifah contends that women are permitted to adjudicate in matters concerning property, while At-Tabari further asserts that women are allowed to judge in all matters unequivocally.²⁴ The second perspective permits women to occupy certain public offices, provided they do not serve as heads of state, an argument based on QS. 9:71.²⁵ The third perspective advocates for women's unrestricted access to any public office, contingent upon their qualifications and ability to maintain their honour.

Women encounter developmental challenges across all sectors that frequently place them at a disadvantage. However, a positive development is that the Indonesian government has established a medium-term national development agenda from 2020 to 2024, aimed at achieving targets related to gender equality. The objective is to foster a just, prosperous,

¹⁸ Munawir Haris, "Kepemimpinan Perempuan Dalam Islam," *Analisis: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 15, no. 1 (2015), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.24042/ajsk.v15i1.714>: p. 94.

¹⁹ I Wayan Budiarta, "Kepemimpinan Perempuan Dalam Sistem Kekerabatan Purusa: Legitimasi Sejarah Atas Kepemimpinan Politik Perempuan," *Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Sosial* 8, no. 1 (2022), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.23887/jiis.v8i1.40982>: p. 31.

²⁰ Fahmi Ibnu Khoer, Syarifah Gustiawati, and Yono, "Kepemimpinan Perempuan Dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam Studi Analisis M. Quraish Shihab," *As-Syar'i: Jurnal Bimbingan & Konseling Keluarga* 4, no. 1 (2022), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.47467/as.v4i1.536>: p. 49.

²¹ Rahim, "Peran Kepemimpinan Perempuan Dalam Perspektif Gender" p. 293.

²² Aulia Hanadita Balkis, "Gaya Kepemimpinan Perempuan Dalam Instansi Publik: Studi Kasus Susi Pudjiastuti," *Jurnal Ilmu Administrasi Negara (JUAN)* 8, no. 1 (2020), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.31629/juan.v8i1.2271>: p. 85.

²³ Al-Imam Abu al-Fida al-Hafizh ibn Katsir, *Tafsir Al-Qur'an Al-'Azhim*, Juz 1 (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 2011) p. 445.

²⁴ Abu al-Walid Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Rusyd, *Bidayah Al Mujtahid Wa Nihayah Al-Muqtashid* (Cairo: Dar Al-Kutub Al-Islamiy, 2012): p. 444.

²⁵ Departemen Agama Republik Indonesia, *Al-Qur'an Dan Terjemahnya* (Jakarta: Pustaka Agung Harapan, 2016): p. 47.

independent, and progressive society through development initiatives across various sectors, including gender equality programmes, with the aim of realising this equality by 2030.²⁶ Both the goals and targets within the social sector are closely connected to the attainment of concrete actions addressing poverty and existing social issues. The government has initiated tangible actions by providing the Family Hope Program social assistance to underprivileged and vulnerable families, in alignment with development objectives. One effort made by the Indonesian government to tackle the issue of gender relations, particularly regarding the consistent marginalisation of women, is through the Family Hope Program. The beneficiary families are predominantly mothers.²⁷ In the context of Family Hope Program, women are positioned as subjects of development rather than objects, playing a pivotal role in the grassroots implementation of business process targets, thus making this programme significantly capable of contributing to women's gender equality.

The existing literature on gender inequality issues within organisations, both generally and in governmental contexts, is limited. Gender represents an ongoing interaction between individuals and their social structures, exhibiting significant variations in the lives of men and women both individually and historically.²⁸ Gender denotes the distinctions between men and women in their roles, functions, rights, responsibilities, and behaviours, shaped by the social, cultural, and customary values of a community, which can evolve over time and within specific local contexts.²⁹ Gender is a socio-cultural construct that highlights the social relationship between men and women, where women are systematically subordinated to men.³⁰ The concept of gender primarily reflects society's perceptions of the differing functions and responsibilities of men and women, as a social and cultural process that has developed over time.³¹ Gender equality is defined as the notion that men and women have the freedom to develop their personal capacities and make choices without being constrained by stereotypes, prejudices, and rigid gender roles.³² Issues of gender equality are crucial in promoting women's participation in the labour market and significantly influence policy-making processes in European countries.³³

Ideally, the relationship between men and women, both generally and within government, should be equal, allowing for the development of their respective personal abilities without distinctions or limitations imposed by stereotypes, prejudices, and closed gender roles. However, the reality in practice often contradicts this ideal, as women's gender equality is frequently reduced to mere rhetoric within leadership predominantly occupied by men. Consequently, the purpose of this study is to illuminate the role of women's equality within the government's Family Hope programme, as in the implementation of Family Hope

²⁶ Yulianto Kadji, "Kemiskinan Dan Konsep Teoritisnya" (Gorontalo, 2013), <https://repository.ung.ac.id/hasilriset/show/1/318/kemiskinan-dan-konsep-teoritisnya.html>: p. 123.

²⁷ Kementerian Sosial Republik Indonesia, *Pedoman Pelaksanaan Program Keluarga Harapan Tahun 2021*, First (Jakarta: Kemensos RI, 2021): p. 57.

²⁸ Herienq Puspitawati, *Gender Dan Keluarga: Konsep Dan Realita Di Indonesia* (Bandung: IPB Press, 2010).

²⁹ Puspitawati.

³⁰ UNESCO, *Gender Equality in Basic Education* (France: UNESCO, 2002).

³¹ Siti Rofi'ah, "Membangun Pola Relasi Keluarga Berbasis Kesetaraan Dan Keadilan Gender," *Muwazah: Jurnal Kajian Gender* 7, no. 2 (2015), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.28918/muwazah.v7i2.9066>: p. 93-107.

³² Rofi'ah.

³³ Almudena Moreno Minguez and Isabella Crespi, "Gender Equality and Family Changes in the Work-Family Culture in Southern Europe1," *International Review of Sociology* 27, no. 3 (2017): 394-420, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03906701.2017.1377406>; Patricia C Salinas and Claudia Bagni, "Gender Equality from a European Perspective: Myth and Reality," *Neuron* 96, no. 4 (November 15, 2017): 721-29, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.neuron.2017.10.002>.

Program, women serve as the leaders of social assistance managers, rather than men. This positioning enables women to assert their equal role, transforming them from objects of development to subjects of development. Therefore, it is justifiable to employ *Qira'ah Mubadalah* as an analytical framework for this study, as it accommodates women's gender equality and justice in relation to men leading Family Hope Program groups within society. The theory of *Qira'ah Mubadalah* encompasses two principles relevant to the object of analysis: firstly, the principle of mutuality (*mubadalah*) between men and women, and secondly, the principle of mutual assistance (*ta'āwun*) between men and women.

The government's social policy, which positions women as equals within the Family Hope Program, specifically as leaders of beneficiary families' administrators and/or group leaders, presents a compelling and significant contemporary phenomenon worthy of scholarly investigation. This novelty is particularly noteworthy given that previous studies have primarily utilised *Qira'ah Mubadalah* as an analytical tool for gender interpretation; this marks the first instance of its application as a perspective in examining government social policies within the Family Hope Program framework. Additionally, the author aims to contribute to the discourse by addressing the role of women's equality in managing Family Hope Program social assistance, intending to reveal the realities of women's gender equality amid leadership predominantly held by men, and to highlight women's role in government programmes, where they are increasingly recognised as primary subjects of development rather than merely objects.

Method

This research falls within the realm of qualitative research, employing an empirical-sociological approach. Primary data were collected through field interviews, while secondary data were obtained from academic journals, guidelines for the implementation of the Family Hope Program, and Law Number 7 of 2017. The data collection techniques involved conducting in-depth interviews with a sample of 11 respondents from the Negla village area in the Losari sub-district of Brebes district. This process entailed direct engagement with the community, including meetings with and involvement of beneficiary families' administrators and group leaders. The interview data were subsequently analysed using qualitative data analysis techniques to elucidate the role of women's equality in the implementation of the Family Hope programme, the relationship between beneficiary families' administrators and/or Family Hope programme group leaders and their husbands within the household, and their equal roles outside the household. The *Qira'ah Mubadalah* theory was employed to ascertain the presence of principles of mutuality, equality, and justice in the interactions between men and women in both domestic and public spheres.

The role of women in the family hope programme in Indonesia

Women, particularly mothers, play a pivotal role in the Family Hope Program (PKH). In addition to being key participants in development initiatives, they also serve as administrators of family beneficiary (KPM).³⁴ As development agents, they are instrumental in implementing grassroots business process objectives, thereby enabling this programme to make significant contributions to gender equality among women. Moreover, throughout the duration of the programme, PKH prioritises and emphasises the role of women, as the majority of recipients, who are referred to as KPM administrators, are women. PKH's commitment to gender equity

³⁴ Indonesia, *Pedoman Pelaksanaan Program Keluarga Harapan Tahun 2021*: p. 57.

is evident in its institutional endorsement of women as KPM administrators, as opposed to men. Furthermore, women serve as leaders within PKH groups, acting as equal leaders in guiding their members, who are also KPM administrators.

Mother administrators have defined roles, duties, and responsibilities in managing PKH assistance. The programme positions women as recipients of assistance while simultaneously ensuring their equality in the management of such support. As conditional social assistance aimed at poverty alleviation, PKH provides a platform for women to emerge and engage in the public sphere. Furthermore, within PKH, women are regarded as subjects of development rather than objects; they become the vanguard of the initiative and are empowered in the execution of grassroots business process targets, thus significantly contributing to advancements in gender equality. Their equal footing as leaders becomes apparent when PKH assistance is disbursed, at which point the caretaker receives the assistance according to the By Name By Address (BNBA) system from the payment institution—either the state bank association (HIMBARA) distributing bank or the distributing post office, both of which are partners of the Ministry of Social Affairs in distributing PKH assistance. KPM administrators receive social assistance funds, manage these funds, and allocate them to meet the fundamental needs of three components: social welfare, health, and education within their families.

A significant issue associated with the PKH is the prioritisation of women over men. Human beings, irrespective of gender, possess equal reasoning capabilities. Any disparities that exist pertain to the effective functioning of that reasoning. A well-functioning intellect will yield accomplishments for its possessor, while a poorly functioning intellect will produce no results. Consequently, through the application of reason, human value becomes more pronounced, distinguishing between the competent and the incompetent. The designation of women as leaders, rather than men, is a stipulation outlined in the PKH implementation guidelines. Within the family structure of PKH social assistance recipients, the manager is invariably the mother. As a woman, the mother assumes the role of manager, leading her family in the administration of PKH social assistance funds. In the absence of a mother, the eldest daughter of the recipient family assumes this managerial role. The emergence of female leaders in KPM management can be understood as a social response to the needs of nearly all families, with women (mothers) serving as primary actors rather than men (fathers). PKH recipients are a select group, as not everyone qualifies as a recipient or participant. The distinctiveness of PKH social assistance recipients, when viewed from a social perspective, is evident, particularly in the social group of women who represent the largest segment of PKH assistance recipients compared to men and are deemed more effective in managing family finances to ensure the health and education of KPM members—roles that men are less likely to fulfil.³⁵ Women hold an essential position within the PKH government programme. A critical requirement of PKH is the presence of KPM administrators, which reflects the reality of women's equal roles. Given that PKH is specifically designed to assist women, it is exclusively allocated to mothers or adult daughters/older sisters, and, if necessary, may also include aunts or grandmothers. All of these individuals are women who oversee PKH financial assistance within their respective families.³⁶ Furthermore, mothers, as the individuals

³⁵ Evi Fitriah, "Implementasi Program Keluarga Harapan (PKH) Dalam Pengentasan Kemiskinan Di Kecamatan Padarincang Kabupaten Serang" (Universitas Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa, 2010); Hasrul Hanif et al., "Mewujudkan Program Keluarga Harapan (PKH) Yang Lebih Bermakna: Analisa Gender Terhadap Implementasi PKH Di Kabupaten Sidoarjo (Jawa Timur) Dan Kabupaten Bima (Nusa Tenggara Barat)" (Jakarta, 2015).

³⁶ Indonesia, *Pedoman Pelaksanaan Program Keluarga Harapan Tahun 2021*: p. 24.

entrusted with this role, exemplify gender equality, positively impacting KPM families by supporting husbands who may be less capable of providing for the family. Wives are empowered to enhance family income through the PKH programme, ensuring the household economy remains stable. Women can apply their skills across various domains on a household scale and gain the confidence to compete within their communities as KPM administrators and/or as leaders of PKH groups.³⁷

In society, it is frequently observed that women are more adept at harnessing their intellect to compete in the public sphere, such as leading a Family Hope Program (PKH) group. Of course, alongside their public roles, women also bear responsibilities within the domestic sphere of the family. Thus, the principle of mutuality between husband and wife within PKH beneficiary families is essential. The *Qira'ah Mubadalah* regards such differences as primarily biological. While intellect and spirit can be similar, gender differences should be minimised. Instead, husbands and wives within PKH beneficiary families should mutually reinforce one another according to the principle of mutual assistance (*ta'āwun*). This ensures that women's roles within PKH do not impede their respective duties and responsibilities within the family. By employing the *Qira'ah Mubadalah* framework, women leaders in PKH operate within both the domestic and public spheres, in parallel and on equal footing with their husbands.

Women group leaders are capable of fulfilling PKH responsibilities physically, mentally, and spiritually. Physical strength, for instance, is demonstrated in the ability of female leaders to mobilise and manage the needs of their members. The mental fortitude of these leaders is evidenced by their capacity to address challenges in fulfilling member data when requested. Furthermore, the spiritual strength of female leaders within their groups is comparable to that of male leaders in terms of leadership capability. The maternal role, when endowed with authority over family finances, fosters a stable and resilient environment. For example, many household shopping activities are conducted by mothers, who oversee family financial matters. It is therefore unsurprising that many families acknowledge the critical role of mothers in managing financial affairs, a trend that has become commonplace among KPM administrators, demonstrating that women can exhibit leadership within their households. Numerous female leaders successfully validate their leadership roles, thereby achieving quality and status equivalent to those of men.

Mothers are often perceived as more meticulous and discerning than fathers. This is particularly evident when a mother oversees the family's finances, displaying extreme care in the allocation of resources for various needs. A mother's attentiveness is reflected in her avoidance of unnecessary purchases, eschewing wasteful spending on non-essential items, and preventing extravagant expenditures. Female administrators have proven to be trustworthy, more functional, and less likely to misappropriate funds for unintended expenses than their male counterparts. This is exemplified by women being more appropriately tasked with managing health-related expenditures, such as child health check-ups, medical consultations for pregnant women, and addressing the nutritional needs of all family members. Additionally, PKH social assistance funds are allocated to procure educational materials for children, including pencils, books, crayons, bags, and shoes. Furthermore, these funds are utilised for social welfare needs; some women have even succeeded in using PKH assistance as a means to develop productive enterprises. Conversely, if men were to manage PKH social assistance funds, the intended objectives may not be met. For instance, due to a

³⁷ Hanif et al., "Mewujudkan Program Keluarga Harapan (PKH) Yang Lebih Bermakna: Analisa Gender Terhadap Implementasi PKH Di Kabupaten Sidoarjo (Jawa Timur) Dan Kabupaten Bima (Nusa Tenggara Barat)."

propensity for consumption and a lack of diligence, men may misallocate PKH funds to undesirable purchases such as cigarettes, coffee, fishing gear, and even illegal alcohol.

A study on gender equality in *Qira'ah Mubadalah*

The *Qira'ah Mubadalah*, pioneered by Faqihuddin Abdul Kodir, seeks to establish equitable relationships between men and women in Islamic texts.³⁸ Current interpretations of these texts are predominantly male-dominated, often rendering women subordinate, particularly in leadership roles. From the perspective of *Qira'ah Mubadalah*, women's leadership is conceived as a model that does not compromise women's status relative to men in both domestic and public spheres.³⁹ This approach asserts that women's roles in the workplace, society, and government are afforded equal standing to those of men. According to *Qira'ah Mubadalah*, women participating as leaders in the public sphere of the Family Hope Program (PKH) are aligned with this principle.

Qira'ah Mubadalah strives to accommodate women's equal roles, fostering mutual understanding and shared responsibilities between women and men, both within and outside the household. It aims to position women on an equal footing with men in all aspects of domestic and public life, including women's equal involvement in the management of PKH social assistance. The imperative to advocate for gender equality for women, particularly within the context of the government's PKH programme, must be prioritised to ensure that gender equality is realised in accordance with the tenets of *Qira'ah Mubadalah*.

The concept of *Qira'ah Mubadalah* can be effectively applied to women's leadership in the Family Hope Program. Employing the *Qira'ah Mubadalah* perspective, which centres on the issue of gender equality for women, to analyse women's leadership may be interpreted as the embodiment of gender equality for women themselves. Gender equality encompasses the equitable granting of rights and opportunities to both women and men.⁴⁰ The practical implementation of this framework consists of three key components: first, a perspective that humanises all individuals (*minzhar*); second, a method of reading (*qirā'ah*) texts that recognises both men and women as subjects and complete human beings; and third, a method of categorisation (*qā'idah*) that emphasises experiences, mutuality, and cooperation between men and women.⁴¹

As a perspective, *Qira'ah Mubadalah* entails two dimensions in its application to the subject under analysis: first, the principle of mutuality (*mubadalah*) between men and women, and second, the principle of mutual assistance (*ta'āwun*) between the genders. *Qira'ah Mubadalah*, interpreted as the principle of mutual assistance (*mubadalah*), posits that individuals seek to be positioned equally, without exceptions or distinctions, applying to all genders, thus enabling *Qira'ah Mubadalah* to effectively promote gender equality for women in a mutually inclusive manner. This interpretation asserts that leadership roles in the public sphere should not be exclusive to men; rather, women are equally entitled to such positions.⁴² Conversely, *Qira'ah Mubadalah*, understood as the principle of mutual cooperation (*ta'āwun*)

³⁸ Faqihuddin Abdul Kodir, *Qira'ah Mubadalah Tafsir Progresif Untuk Keadilan Gender Dalam Islam*, ed. Rusdianto (Yogyakarta: IRCiSoD, 2021): p. 59.

³⁹ Siti Alfi Aliyah and Raihan Safira Aulia, "Metode Qira'ah Mubadalah Pada Kasus Kepemimpinan Perempuan," *An-Nida* 46, no. 2 (2022), <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.24014/an-nida.v46i2.20860>.

⁴⁰ Kusmawaty Matara et al., *Kesetaraan Gender Dalam Pembangunan Daerah*, ed. Hijrah Lahaling, First (Gorontalo: CV. Cahaya Arsh Publisher & Printing, 2023): p. 31.

⁴¹ Kodir, *Qira'ah Mubadalah Tafsir Progresif Untuk Keadilan Gender Dalam Islam*: p. 104.

⁴² Kodir: p. 59.

between men and women, reflects an intention to position the genders as complementary to one another, emphasising the desire to share roles and responsibilities. This approach underlines the necessity of cooperation from both genders for *Qira'ah Mubadalah* to achieve its aim of fostering a holistic relationship between men and women.⁴³

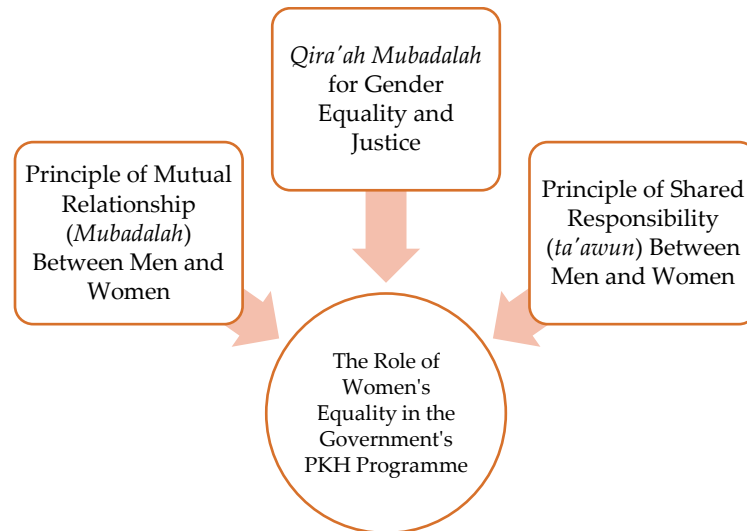


Figure 1. The role of women's equality from the perspective of *Qira'ah Mubadalah*

Qira'ah Mubadalah is particularly suitable for analysing women's leadership in relation to men within society. Women who take the lead in managing the PKH social assistance initiative, both within and outside the beneficiary family, exemplify practical reciprocal relationships between men (husbands) and women (wives). These dynamic fosters gender equality both within the family unit and in the broader community, while also promoting gender equality and justice for women in the equitable distribution of household responsibilities, as well as reinforcing values of reciprocity between husbands and wives in PKH beneficiary families. The commitment to championing gender justice within PKH can be realised, as beneficiaries possess the leadership qualities necessary to manage the assistance effectively and in accordance with its intended purpose. *Qira'ah Mubadalah* perceives the allocation of funds to women as family administrators as gender-equitable, given that women play an equal role in managing these financial resources, thereby encouraging women's leadership.

The principle of *mubadalah* thus applies to women's leadership in matters of family finance, ensuring both their effectiveness and efficiency. This observation reveals a system of women's leadership within the domestic sphere, as evidenced by the experiences of beneficiary families. Within the community of PKH social assistance recipients, women's leadership extends beyond the domestic sphere to encompass the public domain. Notably, this public leadership manifests in the form of women who lead PKH groups within specific areas, such as neighbourhood units or community units, and even in certain hamlets, based on the proximity of the KPM locations. These women are organised into PKH recipient groups, typically chaired by a female leader. Consequently, leadership is also embodied by a female figure who addresses the interests and needs of the group members, facilitating the management of assistance and enabling access to information, handling complaints, accommodating suggestions, proposals, and providing services to the community they lead.

⁴³ Kodir: p. 59.

Qira'ah Mubadalah is capable of offering novel scholarly contributions to the development of theory, as evidenced in three key areas. First, *Qira'ah Mubadalah* functions not merely as a means of rereading existing texts and references, but serves as an analytical tool within the context of the PKH government programme. Second, it plays a critical role in positioning women's gender as the subject of interpretative work, addressing the historical lack of awareness in various disciplines regarding the importance of centring women's gender in scholarly efforts. Third, the application of *Qira'ah Mubadalah* extends beyond the interpretation of gender roles, as it is employed to examine women's leadership in social programmes. Through the lens of *Qira'ah Mubadalah*, which advocates for women's gender equality, the role of women in relation to men within the PKH framework is rendered genuinely equitable. Therefore, *Qira'ah Mubadalah* is highly appropriate as a tool for analysing women's equality in the management of PKH social assistance.

The role of women in the family hope programme in *Qira'ah Mubadalah*

Qira'ah Mubadalah serves as a discourse of reciprocity, specifically regarding the role of women's equality in the management of the Family Hope Program (PKH) social assistance initiative. The results of interviews align with the principles of *Qira'ah Mubadalah*, as the leadership role of women within the government's PKH programme enhances the relationship between men and women in beneficiary households, with women emerging as supportive figures for their husbands. Consequently, the role of women's equality in government programmes, particularly in the implementation of PKH business processes in the field, has been effectively realised, providing opportunities for women to engage in the public sphere alongside their domestic responsibilities, in conjunction with men. This represents a concrete effort to achieve gender equality and justice for women, in accordance with the tenets of *Qira'ah Mubadalah*. Furthermore, this research offers valuable insights to the broader community and policymakers, facilitating a deeper understanding of the concept of reciprocity between spouses, promoting mutual support in the equitable and fair division of household duties, and enhancing family law literacy. One avenue for further development of this paper could involve exploring the role of women's equality in other strategic government initiatives, such as integrated service posts, Family Welfare Development, stunting management and mitigation programmes, and others.

Based on the responses of three interview respondents, including KPM administrators and/or PKH group leaders,⁴⁴ it can be analysed that women play a vital role in the implementation of the government's PKH programme in the field. This is evidenced by at least two arguments. First, government policy designates women, specifically mothers or the eldest female members of targeted families, as KPM administrators for their households, thereby positioning them as key figures in the administration of the social assistance programme. Second, in comparison to men, women are deemed more suitable as KPM administrators and/or PKH group leaders due to their meticulous nature, which ensures that social assistance is allocated appropriately, particularly in meeting the three components of education, health, and social welfare for their households.

Furthermore, when analysed through the lens of the *Qira'ah Mubadalah* perspective, it becomes evident that women play a crucial role within the family unit. This underscores women's capability to manage social assistance funds effectively to meet household needs

⁴⁴ Turnengsih, "Interview with Administrator of KPM" (2024); Masitoh, "Interview with Administrator of KPM" (2024); Ukhrowiyah, "Interview with Administrator of KPM" (2024).

without interference from their husbands, thereby fostering a sense of reciprocity between men (husbands) and women (mothers) within the family. In this context, *Qira'ah Mubadalah* is interpreted as the principle of reciprocity (*mubadalah*) between men and women, highlighting the government's designation of women as mothers or the eldest women in the targeted families of the programme. Consequently, a robust foundation is established for women's equality, as the government endorses their equal status with men, without exception or differentiation. The leadership of the PKH social assistance programme is applicable to all genders, thus reinforcing the notion that *Qira'ah Mubadalah* can play a pivotal role in advancing gender equality for women and enabling reciprocal (*mubadalah*) relationships with men. This suggests that leadership in the public sphere is not solely the domain of men; rather, women are justified in seeking and occupying such positions, in alignment with the principles of *mubadalah*.

Meanwhile, *Qira'ah Mubadalah*, interpreted as the principle of mutual cooperation (*ta'āwun*) between men and women, is evident in the clause stating that "compared to men, women are more suitable as KPM administrators and/or PKH group leaders, because women possess a more meticulous nature." This indicates that the government aims to position men and women in complementary roles, emphasising a desire to share responsibilities and collaborate, thereby ensuring that the implementation of the PKH programme aligns with *Qira'ah Mubadalah*. In this framework, women can serve as facilitators of the relationship between genders, fostering a cohesive partnership reliant on mutual cooperation within the family unit.

The responses from participants align with the principle of *Qira'ah Mubadalah*,⁴⁵ which is understood as mutual assistance (*mubadalah*) between men and women. This principle accommodates and reinforces the notions of equality and justice, enabling both genders to engage actively in the public sphere. Consequently, a robust foundation for leadership within the PKH social assistance programme emerges, which supports and empowers individuals of all genders. *Qira'ah Mubadalah* thus plays a crucial role in promoting gender equality for women and facilitates reciprocal relationships with men. It highlights that leadership roles in the public domain are not exclusively reserved for men; rather, women are equally entitled to these positions. Furthermore, *Qira'ah Mubadalah*, as the principle of mutual cooperation between genders, underscores the importance of shared roles and responsibilities, aiming for a harmonious collaboration that ensures the effective implementation of the PKH programme. In this context, women are pivotal in enhancing the relationship between genders, achieving a holistic approach that necessitates cooperation from both parties within the family.

Referring to the responses of five participants who interviewed KPM administrators and/or PKH group leaders,⁴⁶ it was acknowledged that during the implementation of PKH activities at the household level, the values of equality and gender justice for women were recognised. At least two reasons underpin this observation. Firstly, in households receiving PKH social assistance, both the husband and wife are positioned as equal partners, with each being responsible for the utilisation of social assistance funds to enhance their household's prosperity. Secondly, both parties are required to uphold the principles of gender justice, particularly in relation to the allocation of funds. Consequently, the husband must adhere to

⁴⁵ Tia Widiyana, "Interview with Coordinator of the Family Hope Programme" (2024); Pia, "Interview with Coordinator of the Family Hope Programme" (2024).

⁴⁶ Siti Nurjanah, "Interview with Administrator of KPM" (2024); Reni Usnani, "Interview with Administrator of KPM" (2024); Siti Khodijah, "Interview with Administrator of KPM" (2024); Winani, "Interview with Administrator of KPM" (2024); Wasih, "Interview with Administrator of KPM" (2024).

the stipulations regarding the use of PKH social assistance funds, ensuring they are directed exclusively towards the family's economic needs rather than fulfilling personal desires, such as purchasing cigarettes or mobile phone credit for individual use. Similarly, the wife is responsible for using PKH assistance solely for household necessities and the educational requirements of their children.

Subsequently, an analysis from the perspective of *Qira'ah Mubadalah* reveals that women's rights and the values of equality and gender justice are acknowledged within the family context. Evidence of this is found in the recognition of women's rights to utilise PKH social assistance funds, coupled with the husbands' willingness to acknowledge their wives' involvement in the management of social assistance for their households. As a result, the principles of gender equality and justice are experienced by wives within the household, independent of their husbands' interference, thus fostering a reciprocal relationship between men (husbands) and women (mothers) in the family.

In this context, *Qira'ah Mubadalah* is interpreted as the principle of reciprocity between men and women, wherein husbands and wives are positioned as equal partners, jointly responsible for the use of social assistance funds to ensure the prosperity of their households. This principle establishes a framework in which both parties are genuinely positioned equally, without exceptions or distinctions, applicable to all genders. Thus, *Qira'ah Mubadalah* can effectively contribute to women's gender equality and is mutually beneficial in relation to men.

Furthermore, *Qira'ah Mubadalah* is understood as the principle of mutual cooperation between men and women, or between husband and wife, necessitating the upholding of gender justice, particularly in the allocation of financial resources. In this regard, the husband is obliged to comply with the regulations governing the utilisation of PKH social assistance funds to meet the family's economic needs exclusively, rather than succumbing to personal desires. This framework aims to position both genders in complementary roles, emphasising the importance of shared responsibilities and the potential for mutual enhancement of the relationship between men and women, which can only be realised through cooperative engagement from both parties.

From each interview respondent,⁴⁷ there is supporting evidence that the implementation of the Family Hope Programme (PKH) in the field can realise the values of mutuality between husbands and wives in beneficiary families. This is clearly illustrated by the division of tasks between husbands and wives in striving towards prosperity within KPM PKH households, where the husband is primarily responsible in the public arena, namely earning a living for the family, while the wife is responsible in the domestic arena, managing family finances, including income from the husband's earnings and simultaneously overseeing the utilisation of PKH social assistance funds to realise a prosperous family. *Qira'ah Mubadalah* is interpreted as the principle of mutual assistance between men and women in fostering cooperation, thereby ensuring that the cooperative values between men and women, or husbands and wives, in the households of PKH participants are upheld. This principle aims to place male and female genders in complementary roles, emphasising the desire to share responsibilities and to effectively support one another, thus enabling *Qira'ah Mubadalah* to enhance the relationship between the genders into a cohesive partnership, contingent upon cooperation from both parties.

⁴⁷ Casmirah, "Interview with Beneficiaries of the Family Hope Programme" (2024); Turningsih, "Interview with Administrator of KPM."

This study identified a new role concerning gender equality in the implementation of the PKH government programme through direct and in-depth interviews with KPM PKH administrators and/or PKH group leaders. Firstly, women play a crucial role in the PKH government programme due to the concept of gender being influenced by societal perspectives on the differing functions and responsibilities of men and women, which is shaped by social and cultural processes and has evolved through time.⁴⁸ Therefore, the novelty identified in the context of women's gender issues emerges primarily from the community's perception of these differing roles, whilst it is evident that women hold a vital role in the government's PKH programme.

Third, women's gender equality facilitates the equitable division of household tasks alongside men to achieve synergy. This is predicated on the understanding that gender is a socio-cultural construct that highlights the social relationships between men and women, within which women are often systematically subordinated to men.⁴⁹ Consequently, this perspective advocates for an equitable division of household responsibilities, recognising that women have historically been positioned as subordinate to men in domestic settings.

Fourth, the values of mutual respect between husbands and wives in families benefiting from the Family Hope Programme should serve as the foundation for relationships between men and women. This is particularly pertinent given the gender differences in roles, functions, rights, responsibilities, and behaviours, which are shaped by the social, cultural, and customary values of a community and may evolve over time in accordance with local conditions.⁵⁰ Thus, the principles of mutual respect between husbands and wives in PKH beneficiary families must underpin relationships between men and women, considering the dynamic nature of roles, functions, rights, responsibilities, and behaviours.

The scientific contribution of this research analysis lies in the development of an analytical framework for gender equality and justice for women, particularly within the context of the Family Hope Programme. It establishes broad expectations for women without restricting their participation in any public domain. Furthermore, it offers insights for the public and policymakers in understanding the significance of mutual respect between husbands and wives, advocates for the fair and equitable division of household duties, and enhances family law literacy. This research can also serve as a basis for further exploration of women's equality in other strategic government programmes.

Conclusion

This study concludes that women play a crucial role in the Family Hope Program (PKH) initiated by the government. The role of women's leadership aligns with the principle of mutual *Qira'ah Mubadalah*, which seeks to accommodate and strengthen the relationships of equality and justice between men and women, enabling their participation in the public sphere. This involves advocating for equality and justice for women in the equitable distribution of household responsibilities alongside men, as well as promoting the values of mutuality between spouses in families benefiting from the Family Hope Program.

The issue of gender roles concerning women is often viewed through the lens of societal perceptions regarding differing functions and responsibilities. However, it is evident that women hold a vital position within the government's PKH programme. The principle of

⁴⁸ Rofi'ah, "Membangun Pola Relasi Keluarga Berbasis Kesenjangan Dan Keadilan Gender:" p. 95.

⁴⁹ Minguez and Crespi, "Gender Equality and Family Changes in the Work-Family Culture in Southern Europe1."

⁵⁰ Puspitawati, *Gender Dan Keluarga: Konsep Dan Realita Di Indonesia*.

mutual *Qira'ah Mubadalah* empowers women to engage in the public realm, thereby fostering a concept of gender equality that transcends stereotype limitations and biases concerning gender roles. This allows for a synergistic division of tasks between women and men, despite women traditionally occupying subordinate roles within the household.

Furthermore, the principle of mutuality between husbands and wives in families receiving PKH support should serve as the foundation of their relationship, recognising that roles, functions, rights, responsibilities, and behaviours can evolve in response to changing times and local contexts. This research may provide valuable insights for the community and policymakers, enhancing their understanding of mutuality between spouses, promoting equitable and fair division of household tasks, and strengthening family law literacy.

The development of this paper could further explore the role of women's equality in other strategic government initiatives. From the perspective of *Qira'ah Mubadalah*, when women are compared to men, it becomes apparent that women are equally open to opportunities and possess the same potential to assume leadership roles within any social community.

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