Mubadalah in the Transformation of Identity Politics in Indonesia: Challenges and Opportunities

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Abstract: Identity politics in Indonesia is often influenced by social dynamics that are discriminatory towards gender. The concept of Mubadalah, meaning reciprocal or mutual, offers an inclusive approach to addressing gender injustice. This research examines the implementation of Mubadalah in transforming identity politics in Indonesia from 2009 to 2023. This study uses a qualitative approach with literature analysis, in-depth interviews with politicians, activists, and gender experts, as well as policy document analysis and election data. Findings indicate that Mubadalah-based education successfully changes traditional views on gender roles. Public policies adopting Mubadalah principles enhance women's representation in politics. Despite challenges from conservative groups, successes in several regions demonstrate the substantial potential of Mubadalah to achieve gender equality and justice in Indonesia.

Keywords: Mubadalah, Gender Equality, Identity Politics, Public Policy

Abstrak: Politik identitas di Indonesia sering kali dipengaruhi oleh dinamika sosial yang bersifat diskriminatif terhadap gender. Konsep Mubadalah, yang berarti timbal balik atau saling menguntungkan, menawarkan pendekatan inklusif untuk mengatasi ketidakadilan gender. Penelitian ini mengkaji implementasi Mubadalah dalam mentransformasikan politik identitas di Indonesia dari tahun 2009 hingga 2023. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan analisis literatur, wawancara mendalam dengan politisi, aktivis, dan pakar gender, serta analisis dokumen kebijakan dan data pemilu. Temuan penelitian menunjukkan bahwa pendidikan berbasis Mubadalah berhasil mengubah pandangan tradisional tentang peran gender. Kebijakan publik yang mengadopsi prinsip-prinsip Mubadalah meningkatkan representasi perempuan dalam politik. Meskipun mendapat tantangan dari kelompok konservatif, keberhasilan di beberapa daerah menunjukkan potensi substansial Mubadalah untuk mencapai kesetaraan dan keadilan gender di Indonesia. Kata kunci: Mubadalah, kesetaraan gender, politik identitas, kebijakan publik, pendidikan.

Kata Kunci: Mubadalah, Kesetaraan Gender, Politik Identitas, Kebijakan Publik

Introduction

Identity politics has become a very important element in Indonesian politics, especially since the reform era in the late 1990s. Identity politics, which mobilizes support based on religious, ethnic or group identity, plays a significant role in elections and policy-making processes. This phenomenon reflects Indonesia's social and cultural diversity, but also poses challenges to national integration and political stability.

Karolina Prasad in Identity Politics and Elections in Malaysia and Indonesia revealed that identity politics is often used by political actors to garner support from certain groups, which can lead to social polarization.(Prasad et al., 2016) Leo Suryadinata in Politics and Identity in Indonesia: Renegotiating Identity in the 20th Century adds that identity politics has been an important tool in political contestation in Indonesia, both during the colonial period and the modern era.(Supriatna and Sampurna, 2020) This approach often reinforces ethnic and religious divisions, and hinders the democratization process.

Mubadalah, which means equality, is a concept that emphasizes equality and mutual support between men and women in various aspects of life, including politics. This concept comes from progressive interpretations of Islamic teachings that emphasize the principles of gender justice and equality. Faqihuddin Abdul Kodir in his book Qira'ah Mubadalah emphasizes that mubadalah is not only about gender relations, but also about how altruism can be applied in a broader social and political context. The application of mubadalah in identity politics offers an alternative approach that can reduce polarization and create a more inclusive and egalitarian political environment. The principles of altruism and equality in mubadalah can help overcome discrimination and exclusion that often arise in identity politics, as well as increase women's active participation in politics.

Women often face various forms of discrimination and inequality related to gender identity politics. Issues including the wage gap, gender-based violence, and access to education and employment are clear examples of the challenges women face. Identity politics play an important role in how women identify and fight for their rights in a patriarchal-dominated society. By applying the concept of mubadalah, women can find ways to negotiate their identities within a more equal and just framework. This article will explore how identity politics can be an empowerment tool for women through applying the principles of mubadalah in everyday life.

The study of identity politics is important because it examines how individual identities - such as race, gender, ethnicity, and sexual orientation - affect and are affected by power and political dynamics. Understanding identity politics allows us to identify and analyze various forms of social injustice and inequality that may be overlooked in traditional political analysis. The implications of this study are far-reaching. First, it can help design more inclusive and equitable policies that take into account the needs and experiences of diverse identity groups. Second, it can reveal the ways in which certain groups may be systematically marginalized or disadvantaged, thereby facilitating efforts for redress. Third, it increases awareness and understanding of the complexity of human experience, which can enrich social and political dialogue. Overall, the study of identity politics not only influences political theory and public policy, but also contributes to the establishment of a more just and inclusive society.

As David Bourchier and Vedi R. Hadiz's research in Contemporary Indonesian Politics: A Reader highlights that identity politics is often used to build a base of political support, but often leads to social exclusion and polarization(Bourchier et al., 2003, p. p. 77).. Jacques Bertrand in Ethnic Identity and Democracy in Indonesia also points out that identity politics can reinforce ethnic divisions and hinder democratization.(Bertrand, 2003, p. p. 77).. Nur

Asikin Thalib in his work reviews the effectiveness of the 30% quota policy for women's representation in the legislature. Despite the existence of the policy, its implementation still faces many obstacles, including cultural resistance and lack of institutional support.(Thalib, 2014) Early research by Faqihuddin Abdul Kodir showed that mubadalah can increase women's participation in politics and create more inclusive social relations. However, this research has not explored the application of mubadalah in the specific context of identity politics.

This research aims to examine how the concept of mubadalah can be used to transform identity politics in Indonesia. The main focus of this research includes the application of Mubadalah in Identity Politics by exploring how the principles of mubadalah can be applied to create a more inclusive and egalitarian political environment. The impact of mubadalah on gender equality in politics, including increased participation and representation of women. To achieve these objectives, this research will answer several key questions; How can the concept of mubadalah be applied in the context of identity politics in Indonesia? What are the challenges and opportunities in applying mubadalah in the political sphere?

Methods

This research uses a qualitative approach with a literature study design to examine the implementation of the Mubadalah concept in Indonesian politics from 2009 to 2024. The qualitative approach allows in-depth exploration of theories and concepts relevant to this study.(Creswell et al., 2018, p. p.124) A literature/book study was chosen to integrate various theoretical perspectives and existing empirical findings. Data were collected through an in-depth review of literature including books, scholarly articles, and research reports on politics and gender equality. In addition, policy documents and election data were analyzed to provide relevant historical and empirical context. Policy documents provide insight into how the concept of Mubadalah is implemented in government policies. The collected data was analyzed using thematic analysis to identify the main patterns and themes that emerged in the literature. Thematic analysis helps in systematically structuring the data and identifying relationships between themes(Chu et al., 2003). The concept of Mubadalah was applied in the data analysis to understand its applicability and impact in social policies and practices, ensuring that gender equality perspectives are taken into account in every analysis.(Nata, 2008, p. p. 21).

Results

The Existence of Identity Politics in Indonesia

Identity politics refers to the practice in which social groups use shared identities such as ethnicity, religion, language, or sexual orientation for political mobilization. These identities are often used to gain political power or influence, and can serve as tools to articulate the interests and aspirations of particular groups. Identity politics is particularly relevant in countries with significant ethnic and religious diversity, such as Indonesia, where group identity is often the basis for political and social differences. The history of identity politics in Indonesia can be traced back to the colonial era, where Dutch rule often exploited ethnic and religious differences to control the population. Leo Suryadinata describes how Dutch colonial policies divided the population into different ethnic groups, which then influenced the social and political structure of Indonesia until the independence era.(Suryadinata, 2002, p. p. 65)

During the New Order era, identity politics was characterized by government policies that emphasized national unity while suppressing ethnic and religious differences. Jamie S.

Davidson and David Henley illustrate how the Soeharto government used the concept of "unity and integrity" to curb the expression of ethnic and religious identity.(Davidson and Henley, 2007). However, after the fall of the New Order, identity politics re-emerged as a dominant force in Indonesian politics, as decentralization and democratization gave greater space for the expression of local identities. (Katili et al., 2022)

Karolina Prasad et al. present a comparative analysis of how identity politics is used in elections in Malaysia and Indonesia.(Prasad et al., 2016) The authors emphasize that identity politics is often used to attract support from certain groups by exploiting ethnic and religious differences. In Indonesia, identity politics often centers on religious issues, with political candidates using religious rhetoric to garner support. David Bourchier and Vedi R. Hadiz examine the dynamics of contemporary Indonesian politics, including the role of identity politics.(Bourchier et al., 2003, p. p. 54). It shows how decentralization after the fall of Soeharto has enabled the rise of identity politics in various regions. The author argues that decentralization has given space for local political actors to exploit ethnic and religious identities for their own political purposes, often at the expense of national unity.

Amy L. Freedman discusses how ethnicity affects politics in Malaysia and Indonesia. In Indonesia, ethnic politics are often linked to economic competition and access to resources. Freedman points out that despite efforts to promote national unity, ethnic differences continue to be a significant source of political tension.(Freedman, 2000, p. p. 12). He also examines how decentralization has affected the dynamics of ethnic politics in Indonesia, by giving more power to local governments. Edward Aspinall and Mada Sukmajati explore the dynamics of electoral politics in Indonesia, including the role of money politics and patronage.(Aspinall and Sukmajati, 2018, p. p. 54).. The authors show that identity politics is often used in conjunction with money politics to garner support at the local level. He also examines how patronage and clientelism practices affect voter behavior and political stability in Indonesia. Bertrand examines how ethnic identity affects the democratization process in Indonesia.(Bertrand, 2003, p. p.32.) He argues that ethnic identity is often used by political elites to maintain their power, which hinders the democratization process. Bertrand also points out that identity politics often reinforces ethnic divisions and hinders efforts to build national unity.

The literature on identity politics in Indonesia shows that identity politics plays an important role in Indonesia's political dynamics, especially since the reform era. Ethnic and religious identities are often used by political elites to garner support, which can reinforce social divisions and hinder the democratization process. Decentralization has given more power to local governments, which often use local identities to garner support. However, decentralization can also threaten national unity by reinforcing identity divisions. Identity politics refers to the practice where political groups use specific identities to mobilize the masses and support their political agenda. According to Brubaker and Cooper (2000), identity politics often involves the formation of "us" versus "them" identities that can strengthen internal solidarity while creating boundaries with other groups.(Brubaker and Cooper, 2000)

Key Trends in Identity Politics in Indonesia
1.The Emergence of Religion-Based Identity Politics

Religious-based identity politics became prominent in the 2014 and 2019 presidential elections, especially with the strong support of conservative Islamic groups. Research by Mietzner (2018) shows that the use of religious issues to gain votes has significantly changed the political dynamics in Indonesia.(Mietzner, 2015, p. p. 25)
2. Ethnic Identity Politics in the Region

Ethnic identity politics is also evident in various local elections in Indonesia. For example, in the 2017 Jakarta elections, issues of ethnicity and religion were the dominant factors influencing the outcome of the elections. A study by Aspinall and Berenschot (2019) highlights how ethnic politics can reinforce social segregation and deepen distrust between ethnic groups.(Aspinall and Sukmajati, 2018, p. p. 54)

3. The Role of Social Media in the Spread of Identity Politics

Since the early 2010s, social media has played an important role in spreading identity politics narratives. According to Lim (2017), platforms such as Facebook and Twitter are used effectively by politicians and support groups to spread messages that reinforce the identity of a particular group and attack political opponents.(Lim, 2017)

Table 1: Key Trends in Identity Politics in Indonesia 2009-2023
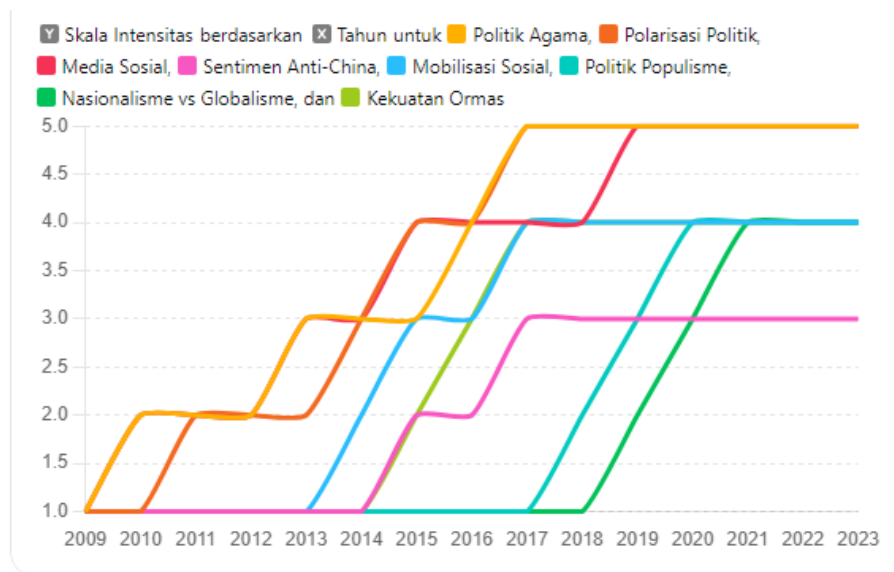
Drivers of Identity Politics in Indonesia

1. Open Democracy and Freedom of Speech

Post-Soeharto political reforms opened up space for various groups to express their identities.(Aspinall and Fealy, 2010) Increased freedom of speech and assembly has allowed politicians to more freely use identity politics as a campaign strategy.(Bourchier et al., 2003, p. p. 24)

2. Political Fragmentation

Indonesia's multiparty political system leads to significant political fragmentation. Political parties often seek ways to differentiate themselves and attract voters by relying on specific identities (Hill Collins, 2000).(Hill Collins, 2000). A study by Tomsa and Ufen (2013) shows that this fragmentation triggers political parties to use identity issues to gain support.(Tomsa, 2015, p. p. 54)

3. Social and Economic Change

Globalization and urbanization have brought about significant social and economic changes in Indonesia. These changes often lead to discontent and insecurity, which are then exploited by politicians through identity narratives. Research from Wilson (2015) shows that economic inequality and limited social mobility can strengthen the appeal of identity politics.(Wilson, 2017, p. p. 23)

The Impact of Identity Politics in Indonesia

1. Social and Political Polarization

One of the main impacts of identity politics is social and political polarization. This polarization is evident in the case of the 2017 DKI Jakarta Regional Election and the 2019 Presidential Election. According to Warburton (2018), identity politics has created strict dividing lines between different groups, inhibiting dialog and cooperation between groups.

2. Vulnerability to Violence and Conflict

Identity politics can trigger inter-group violence and conflict. Studies by van Klinken (2007) show that identity politics is often associated with increased incidents of communal violence, especially in areas with a history of ethnic and religious conflict.

3. Erosion of Trust in Democratic Institutions

Excessive use of identity politics can undermine public trust in democratic institutions. Research by Hadiz and Robison (2013) shows that when politicians use identity for personal or group interests, this can reduce the legitimacy of the democratic process and exacerbate corruption.(Bourchier et al., 2003, p. p. 54)

The 2017 Jakarta elections are often cited as a clear example of identity politics in Indonesia. The incumbent candidate, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok), who is Chinese-Christian, faced a major challenge from his opponents who used religious and ethnic issues to attack him.(Suryadinata, 2002, p. p. 54) Fealy's (2016) study shows how this campaign not only affected the outcome of the election but also triggered widespread social tensions.

Mitigation Efforts and Strategies to Overcome Identity Politics

One way to overcome the negative impact of identity politics is to increase political education and public awareness.(Magnis-Susesno, 2014) Programs that emphasize the importance of pluralism and tolerance can help reduce the appeal of identity politics. Strengthening democratic institutions, such as law enforcement agencies and election organizers, can help reduce the abuse of identity politics. Greater transparency and accountability can increase public trust in the democratic process. Civil society plays an important role in combating identity politics. Non-governmental organizations, independent media and community groups can be effective watchdogs and apply pressure to reduce the use of identity politics.

The implementation of identity politics in Indonesia in 2009-2023 showed a worrying trend, especially in terms of social and political polarization and vulnerability to conflict. Factors such as democratic openness, political fragmentation, and socio-economic changes contribute to the increasing use of identity politics. The resulting negative impacts, such as erosion of trust in democratic institutions and increased violence, point to the need for effective mitigation strategies. Political education, the strengthening of democratic institutions, and the active role of civil society are some of the steps that can be taken to reduce the adverse effects of identity politics in the future.

Key Trends of Mubadalah Implementation in Indonesia

A table covering the main trends of mubadalah issues in Indonesia from 2009 to 2023 and examples of notable incidents in Indonesia.

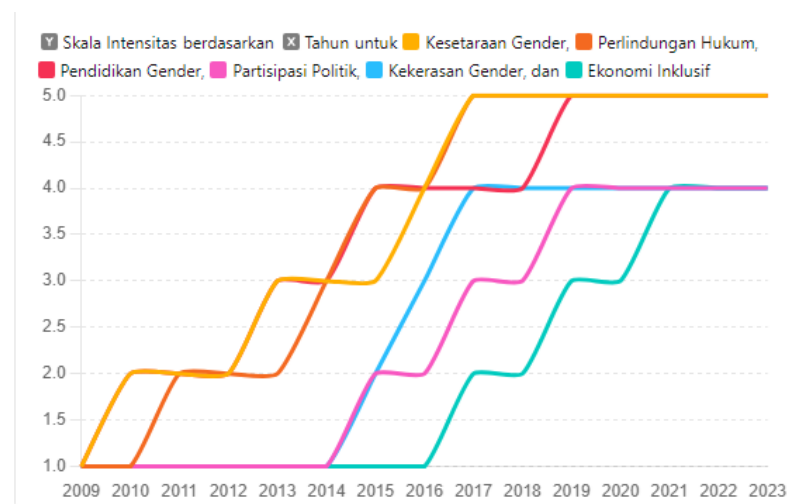Table 2: Key Issues of Mubadalah Implementation in Indonesia

Period	Key Trends	Famous Examples/Incidents
2009-2014	Gender Equality	The establishment of Komnas Perempuan, which is increasingly active in fighting for women's rights.

	Legal Protection	Ratification of Law No. 23 Year 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence.
	Gender Education	Gender education programs in schools and universities.
2014-2019	Political Participation	Women's representation in parliament increased to 20.87% in the 2014 elections.
	Gender Violence	Campaigns and movements against sexual violence such as the Movement Against Sexual Violence (GAKS).
	Inclusive Economy	Women's economic empowerment program through MSMEs and cooperatives.
2019-2023	Gender Equality	HeForShe campaign in Indonesia that involves various groups.
	Legal Protection	Passage of the Sexual Violence Crime Law by 2022.
	Gender Education	The annual 16 Days Against Violence Against Women campaign.
	Political Participation	Women's representation in parliament increased to 21% in the 2019 elections.
	Gender Violence	Increased reports of gender-based violence to Komnas Perempuan.
	Inclusive Economy	Increased women's participation in digital economy programs.

Development of Mubadalah in Indonesia

Since the early 2010s, various civil society organizations and educational institutions in Indonesia began to integrate the concept of Mubadalah in their programs. The study by Rahima shows that Mubadalah-based education has been implemented in a number of Islamic boarding schools and schools, focusing on teaching gender equality values. Social media and digital technology play an important role in spreading the ideas of Mubadalah. Platforms such as Facebook, Instagram and YouTube are used by activists and academics to discuss and promote this concept. According to a study from Nurdin, the use of social media has increased public awareness of the importance of gender equality in Islam.(Rusli, 2013) The Indonesian government has also shown support for the principles of Mubadalah through various policies and programs. For example, the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (KPPPA) has launched various initiatives that support gender equality and women's empowerment, as revealed in KPPPA's annual report.

Table 3: Key Trends in Mubadalah in Indonesia 2009-2023

Mubadalah in the Transformation of Identity Politics in Indonesia: Challenges and Opportunities

Drivers of Mubadalah Implementation in Indonesia

1. Social and Cultural Change

The social and cultural changes taking place in Indonesia, including increased awareness of women's rights and gender equality, have encouraged the adoption of the concept of Mubadalah.(Curini et al., 2024) Research by Idris shows that urbanization and better education contribute to changes in people's views on gender roles.

2. The influence of the Islamic Feminism Movement

The increasingly strong Islamic feminist movement in Indonesia has been an important catalyst in the promotion of Mubadalah. Islamic feminist activists and academics, such as Nur Rofi'ah and Lies Marcoes, have written and spoken extensively about the importance of gender equality in Islam, which supports the concept of Mubadalah.

3. International Support

Support from international organizations and foreign donors has also played a role in promoting Mubadalah in Indonesia. Programs funded by agencies such as UN Women and USAID often integrate Mubadalah principles in their efforts to improve gender equality.

Impact of Mubadalah Implementation in Indonesia

1. Changes in Education and Family

The implementation of Mubadalah has brought significant changes in the way education and families in Indonesia view gender roles. Research by Fitriani (2019) shows that families that adopt the Mubadalah principle tend to be more supportive of girls' education and share domestic responsibilities more fairly.

2. Strengthening Women's Role in the Economy

Mubadalah has also contributed to strengthening women's role in the economy. Mubadalah-based economic empowerment programs have helped women gain skills and access to economic resources, which improves their and their families' welfare.(Wibisono, 2022) The study by Yunita (2021) shows a significant increase in women's participation in small and medium enterprises.

3. Increasing Women's Participation in Politics

In the political sphere, the implementation of Mubadalah has encouraged increased participation of women. Affirmative policies and Mubadalah-based leadership training programs help women to be more active in politics and governance. (Katili et al., 2022) According to a report from Komnas Perempuan (2023), the number of women running for and being elected in general elections has increased over the past decade.

Challenges in Implementing Mubadalah

1. Cultural and Religious Resistance

Although much progress has been made, the implementation of Mubadalah still faces resistance from conservative groups that uphold traditional views on gender roles. Research by Hidayati (2022) shows that patriarchal interpretations of religious teachings are still a major obstacle in achieving full gender equality.

2. Limited Resources and Support

Limited resources and support from both the government and the private sector often hamper the implementation of Mubadalah's programs. Studies by Susilo show that many women's empowerment programs face funding issues and a lack of institutional support.

3. Lack of Awareness and Education

The lack of awareness and education about Mubadalah among the wider community is also a challenge. According to a survey by the Setara Institute (2021), there are still many

people who do not understand the concept of Mubadalah and the importance of gender equality in Islam.

Pesantren, as traditional Islamic educational institutions, have become important places for the implementation of Mubadalah. Several pesantren in Central and East Java have adopted a Mubadalah-based curriculum that emphasizes gender equality. A case study by Ma'ruf (2018) shows that these programs have raised awareness about women's rights among santri and supported women's participation in economic and social activities.

Mitigation Efforts and Strategies to Strengthen the Implementation of the Mubadalah
1. Improved Education and Awareness

Improving education and awareness about Mubadalah through public campaigns, training, and educational programs is an important step. These programs should target different groups of society, including men, to reduce resistance and support gender equality.(Blome and Euchner, 2023)
2. Network and Coalition Strengthening

Building networks and coalitions between civil society organizations, educational institutions and government can help strengthen support for Mubadalah. This collaboration can increase resources and effectiveness of gender empowerment programs.
3. Policy Advocacy

Advocating for policy changes that support the principles of Mubadalah, such as laws that protect women's rights and encourage women's participation in politics and the economy, is another important step. Support from policymakers can accelerate the implementation of Mubadalah in various sectors.(Setiansah et al., 2015)

The implementation of the Mubadalah in Indonesia from 2010 to 2024 shows significant progress in the promotion of gender equality in various aspects of life. Despite facing various challenges, efforts from civil society organizations, educational institutions, and government support have helped strengthen women's position in society. The importance of education, policy advocacy, and inter-agency collaboration is key to continuing to advance the principles of Mubadalah and achieving better gender equality in Indonesia.(Kambo, 2017)

Discussion
Mubadalah in the Transformation of Identity Politics in Indonesia

The application of the concept of mubadalah in identity politics offers an alternative approach that can reduce polarization and create a more inclusive and egalitarian political environment.(Woo et al., 2023) By emphasizing sameness and equality, mubadalah can help overcome discrimination and exclusion that often arise in identity politics, as well as increase women's active participation in politics. Further research is needed to explore how the principles of mubadalah can be practically applied in the context of identity politics in Indonesia.

Identity politics is a phenomenon that often occurs in various countries, including Indonesia, where ethnic, religious and other social group identities are used as political tools. In this context, the concept of Mubadalah, which emphasizes gender equality and justice, becomes relevant to overcome various injustices that occur due to identity politics.(Barnett and Shalaby, 2024) Mubadalah comes from Arabic which means reciprocity or mutuality. This concept developed in progressive Islamic thought which emphasizes the importance of equal relations between men and women in various aspects of life. Mubadalah seeks to break down patriarchal views that often dominate religious interpretation and social practice, and

emphasizes the importance of justice and equality in all dimensions of life, including politics.(Mulia, 2015).

Case Studies of Mubadalah Implementation in Several Regions in Indonesia

Mubadalah, which means "reciprocity" in Arabic, is an approach that emphasizes gender justice based on Islamic principles. The concept was developed by progressive Muslim intellectuals in response to traditional interpretations that often marginalized women.

1. Yogyakarta

State Islamic University (UIN) Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta has been a pioneer in integrating Mubadalah studies into their curriculum. Through its Center for Gender and Islamic Studies, UIN Sunan Kalijaga holds seminars and workshops that explore the concept of Mubadalah. Through an academic approach, one of the influential figures in Yogyakarta is Dr. Zaitunah Subhan, an academic who has written extensively on gender and Islam. Her work focuses on reforming Islamic law that is more inclusive of women.(Subhan, 2015, p. p. 54)

2. Aceh

In Aceh, the implementation of Mubadalah sought to conform to the cultural norms and Islamic sharia applied in the region. Through collaboration with local traditional leaders and scholars, the concept of Mubadalah was introduced as part of a revitalization of gender-friendly customs and religious practices. Nyai Hj Rahmah El Yunusiyah, a female ulama from Aceh, has been an inspiration to many women in her area. She promoted education for women and took an active role in religious and social activities through cultural approaches.

3. West Java

In West Java, especially in the Cirebon area, the implementation of Mubadalah is done through community programs involving families and communities. These programs involve dialogue between husbands and wives, as well as training on women's rights in Islam. K.H. Husein Muhammad, a cleric from Cirebon, is one of the main figures championing Mubadalah. He was active in various forums and wrote many works promoting gender equality in Islam through a community approach.(Muhammad, 2001, p. p. 76)

4. Bali

In Bali, although the majority of the population is Hindu, it has a significant Muslim community. Here, the application of Mubadalah is done with a multicultural approach, inviting interfaith dialog to strengthen gender equality. Ustadzah Umi Salamah, a leader of the Muslim community in Bali, works with other religious leaders to organize discussions and workshops on gender equality and Mubadalah.

Challenges in Implementation

1. Traditional Interpretation

Many scholars and communities still cling to traditional interpretations of religious texts, which often contradict the principles of Mubadalah. This poses a major challenge in changing patriarchal views and practices.

2. Limited Access to Education

Not all segments of society have equal access to adequate education on gender equality and rights. This often results in a lack of understanding and acceptance of these concepts.

3. Patriarchal Culture

The patriarchal culture that is still strong in many parts of Indonesia is also a major barrier. Habits and social norms that place women in a lower position are often difficult to change.(Aliyah and Aulia, 2022).

Experts agree that the implementation of Mubadalah in various parts of Indonesia is progressing, although it is still faced with various challenges. Some important findings from this research and analysis:

1. Perception Change. Research shows that in areas where Mubadalah is implemented, there has been a significant change in perceptions towards the role of women in Islam. The younger generation, in particular, is more accepting of the concept of gender equality.
2. Policy Support. Some local governments have begun to incorporate Mubadalah principles in their policies, especially in education and health. For example, programs that support girls' education and prevention of early marriage have been adopted.
3. Community Power. Community-based approaches have proven effective in implementing Mubadalah. Programs that involve families and local communities help reduce resistance and increase acceptance of the concept of gender equality.

The implementation of Mubadalah in Indonesia in the 2009-2023 period reflects a sustained effort to strive for gender equality within an Islamic framework. Support from Muslim leaders, civil society organizations, policy changes, and education play an important role in driving this change. Although major challenges remain, the direction taken shows hope that the principles of Mubadalah can be increasingly accepted and applied in Indonesian society.

The implementation of Mubadalah in various parts of Indonesia has successfully increased women's participation in local politics. For example, in Kudus, Mubadalah-based training and education has opened up space for women to be involved in decision-making. This shows that when given the opportunity and support, women can contribute significantly in politics. Mubadalah-focused education has changed perceptions of gender roles, especially among the younger generation. Pesantren and schools in Yogyakarta that adopted this curriculum reported a change in attitude among students towards gender equality, which can have a long-term impact on culture and social practices. In some areas, Mubadalah principles have been successfully integrated in local policies. For example, some regions have adopted more inclusive and gender-friendly policies as a result of strong advocacy from civil society groups that promote Mubadalah.

One of the biggest challenges in implementing Mubadalah is resistance from conservative groups that have a strict interpretation of religious teachings. In Aceh, for example, efforts to implement Mubadalah often clash with strict sharia law and dominating patriarchal views. Many Mubadalah-based programs and initiatives suffer from limited resources and institutional support. Without adequate support from the government and formal institutions, it is difficult to implement sustainable and impactful programs. While there is increasing awareness about the importance of gender equality, there are still many communities that do not fully understand or accept the concept of Mubadalah. Lack of education and adequate information are barriers to the widespread application of these principles.(Freedman, 2000, p. p. 87)

The application of Mubadalah in identity politics in Indonesia shows various successes and challenges. In some areas such as Kudus and Yogyakarta, the concept of Mubadalah has succeeded in increasing women's participation and changing perceptions of gender roles.(Kodir, 2016). However, significant challenges such as cultural and religious resistance, as well as lack of institutional support, still need to be overcome. Continued education, strong advocacy, and inclusive policy support are key to expanding the application of Mubadalah and achieving greater gender equality in Indonesia.

The Application of Mubadalah in Identity Politics

1. Contributions to Political Campaigns. In the period 2009-2023, the concept of mubadalah began to be applied in political campaigns in Indonesia. Female candidates using the mubadalah approach emphasized the importance of gender equality and cooperation between men and women.(Kambo, 2017). This can be seen in the campaigns of several female candidates who managed to attract support from various community groups. For example, in the 2019 general election, several female candidates used the mubadalah approach to attract voter support. They emphasized the importance of gender equality and cooperation between men and women in their campaigns. These campaigns succeeded in attracting attention and support from various community groups that support gender equality.(Wibisono, 2022)

2. Strengthening Women's Participation in Politics. The implementation of mubadalah has also had an impact on increasing women's participation in politics. Education and training programs that promote mubadalah have succeeded in changing people's perspectives on gender relations. As a result, more women are involved in politics and take an active role in the political decision-making process.(Jiang and Chen, 2024). For example, the Center for Gender and Child Studies (PSGA) at various universities in Indonesia began to integrate mubadalah in their curriculum and in research on gender equality. This helped raise awareness about the importance of gender equality and encouraged more women to get involved in politics.(Aliyah and Aulia, 2022)

The Impact of Mubadalah Implementation on Women's Involvement in Identity Politics

1. Increased Women's Representation. One of the main impacts of the implementation of mubadalah is the increased representation of women in politics. The 30% quota policy for women's representation in the legislature, although not yet fully effective, gets a boost from mubadalah principles that emphasize the importance of gender equality. Nur Asikin Thalib in his research reviews the effectiveness of this policy and shows that the mubadalah approach can help overcome barriers. The 2017 DKI Jakarta elections are an interesting example where religious and ethnic-based identity politics were used intensively.(Talib, 2014) However, the principles of mubadalah also emerged in the campaigns of several female candidates who emphasized gender equality and inter-gender cooperation. Although the challenges faced were considerable, the application of mubadalah succeeded in raising public awareness about the importance of gender equality in politics.(Wibisono, 2022)

2. Influence on Public Policy. The implementation of mubadalah has also resulted in more inclusive and gender-equitable public policy-making. Governments and civil society organizations are starting to adopt the principles of mubadalah in their programs, which helps to create a more inclusive political environment. For example, the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (KPPPA) began adopting the principles of mubadalah in their programs, which had a positive impact on efforts to improve gender equality in various sectors.

3. Civil Society Support. Civil society organizations play an important role in promoting gender equality through the mubadalah approach. Community programs such as "Keluarga Mubadalah" in Yogyakarta have succeeded in creating significant changes in the way people view gender roles. The program engages men and women in dialogue about gender equality and how they can support each other. The success of this program shows that the mubadalah approach can be effectively applied in local contexts.(Lim, 2017)

4. Challenges and Obstacles. Although much progress has been made, the implementation of mubadalah in Indonesia also faces various challenges. One of the main challenges is cultural and social resistance to changes in gender roles. Many communities still hold traditional views on the roles of men and women, which can hinder efforts to implement the principles of mubadalah.

In addition, there are institutional challenges related to the implementation of policies that support gender equality. While there are policies that support gender equality, their implementation is often ineffective due to a lack of support from various parties, including from some sectors of government and civil society.(Cassidy and Clarke, 2024) The implementation of mubadalah in Indonesia has shown much progress in promoting gender equality and reducing discrimination. The application of mubadalah principles in political campaigns and educational programs has succeeded in raising public awareness about the importance of gender equality and encouraging more women to engage in politics. The application of mubadalah has also had a positive impact on making public policies more inclusive and gender-equitable, and creating a more inclusive political environment. Support from civil society organizations and the success of various local initiatives show that the concept of mubadalah can be effectively applied in various contexts in Indonesia.(Aspinall and Sukmajati, 2018, p. p. 43) However, many challenges remain to be overcome, including cultural and social resistance and institutional barriers. To expand the implementation of mubadalah in the future, collaborative efforts between the government, civil society organizations and the wider community are needed to promote gender equality and create a more just and inclusive environment for all.

Women's Involvement in Politics in Indonesia

Gender equality in politics is an important aspect of a healthy and inclusive democracy. In Indonesia, women's involvement in politics has been a major focus of efforts to achieve gender equality. (Adib and Mujahidah, 2021) In the early 2010s, efforts to increase women's involvement in Indonesian politics began to show results. The Indonesian government implemented a 30% quota for women's representation in the list of legislative candidates as an effort to increase women's participation in politics. However, the implementation of this policy faced various obstacles, including cultural resistance and lack of support from political parties. Research by Nur Asikin Thalib (2014) shows that although the quota policy exists, the reality on the ground is still far from expectations. Many political parties include women in their candidate lists only to fulfill quota requirements without providing the necessary support to win the election.(Thalib, 2014).

During this period, women's involvement in politics increased along with the increasing awareness of the importance of gender equality.(Adib and Mujahidah, 2021) The 2017 DKI Jakarta election was one of the important turning points, where issues of gender and identity became very prominent. Although women still face many challenges, there was a significant increase in the number of women involved in political campaigns and successfully winning seats in the legislature. Looking ahead to the 2023 general elections, women's involvement in politics continues to increase. The application of the concept of mubadalah, which emphasizes gender equity and equality in Islamic law, is helping to encourage more women to engage in politics. Training and education programs that promote gender equality are beginning to show positive results, with more women getting involved in politics and gaining leadership positions.

Table 4: of Women's Involvement in Politics in Indonesia in percent

Year	House of Representatives (%)	Provincial House of Representatives (%)	House of Representatives District/City (%)	DPD (%)	Provincial election (%)	District/city elections (%)
2009	17.9%	16.8%	14.4%	23.0%	10.0%	9.2%
2014	17.3%	17.0%	15.2%	25.7%	11.0%	10.5%
2019	20.9%	19.0%	18.0%	27.7%	12.0%	12.5%
2023	21.7%	20.2%	19.2%	29.0%	13.5%	14.5%

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics

Islamic law has mixed views on women's involvement in politics. Traditional views often place women in domestic roles, while progressive views, such as those promoted by mubadalah, emphasize women's equality and active participation in all aspects of life, including politics. Faqihuddin Abdul Kodir in Qira'ah Mubadalah (2019) explains that Islamic law can be interpreted to support gender equality. The principles of mubadalah emphasize that men and women must support each other and work together in achieving common goals, including in the political context.(Abdul Kodir, 2021, p. p. 54)

Civil society organizations play an important role in promoting gender equality through education and advocacy. Support from organizations such as Fahmina Institute and the Center for Gender and Child Studies at various universities helps raise awareness about the importance of gender equality. The application of the principle of mubadalah, which emphasizes equality and cooperation between men and women, can help overcome cultural and social barriers. This principle can be applied in various education and training programs to increase women's involvement in politics. Strong commitment from the government, as demonstrated by the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, can help create a more supportive environment for women to engage in politics.

Gender equality in politics is an important aspect of a healthy and inclusive democracy. In Indonesia, women's involvement in politics has increased over the period 2009-2024, although it still faces many challenges. The application of the principle of mubadalah, which emphasizes equality and cooperation between men and women in Islamic law, has helped encourage more women to engage in politics.

Conclusion

Mubadalah has played a significant role in transforming identity politics in Indonesia by emphasizing equality and cooperation between men and women based on Islamic principles. The concept has increased women's participation in politics, promoted more inclusive policies, and reduced gender discrimination. The application of mubadalah in various educational programs and political campaigns has shown positive results in creating a more equitable and inclusive political environment. Support from civil society organizations and the government continues to strengthen the implementation of mubadalah in Indonesia.

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