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Review of Literature

Political Ideology in this research starts with a simple, yet general, and non-textbook definition. As suggested by Erikson & Tedin (2003) a “set of beliefs about the proper order of society and how it can be achieved (RS Erikson 2003)”, ideologies are the shared beliefs and values of a group of people. They can provide an understanding of the world and help people make decisions about how to live their lives. Ideologies attempt to describe the world as it is by making assertions about human nature, historical events, present realities, and future possibilities (Napier 2009). Andrew Heywood (2003), put one step forward talks about ideology in politics, according to him political ideas and ideologies are “propaganda” and form slogans designed to win votes, and simply “ideas and ideologies are therefore simply (window dressing) (Heywood 2003).”

There are different types of ideologies, such as “conservative”, “liberal”, “socialist”, “communist”, “fascist”, and “patriarchy”, since the scope of this paper is limited, we are not covering all of those, except two ideologies, which are conservative and patriarchy gender ideology. In the next sections, we would see these two ideologies from a different perspective and different other ideologies, such as feminists, liberals, and so on. To make it clear, this literature review is split into different parts, the first part discusses patriarchal gender ideology, while the second part talks about conservative gender ideology.

“When you say patriarchy”, the vast audience would say “its known what you mean – me!” patriarchy “so that criticism of gender oppression (Johnson 2004)”. “Patriarchy is a form of mental, social, spiritual, economic, and political organization/structuring of society produced by the gradual institutionalization of sex-based political relations created, maintained, and reinforced by different institutions linked closely together to achieve consensus on the lesser value of women and their roles (Facio 2013)." These institutions work together to keep a system where men control women and discriminate against others based on their differences. This results in governments that are only interested in the interests of a few wealthy individuals. By "gradual institutionalization" This means that patriarchy becomes more sophisticated, and more women of specific groups are allowed access to certain institutions, but they are almost never the most powerful people within those institutions.

Patriarchy is composed of six structures, “the patriarchal mode of production, patriarchal relations in paid work, patriarchal relations in the state, male violence, patriarchal relations in sexuality, and patriarchal relations in culture institutions (Walby 1990).” Walby also argues that two distinct forms of patriarchy exist in the social realm: public patriarchy and private patriarchy. Private patriarchy: This type of patriarchy is found within the home. This is when one patriarch (the dominant male) rules over and oppresses the subjugated woman. Walby believes that this is an exclusionary tactic, as women are not allowed to participate in public discourse. Public patriarchy: This patriarchy is found in the public realm, as you can see from its name. Public patriarchy is often associated with the work world. It refers to the existence of oppressive elements that continue to function. Walby asserts that women are more isolated from power, wealth, and influence in public life than men. Walby believes that, where private patriarchy used to be more common than its public counterparts, women are now more likely to be dominated by a male-orientated world.

While Holly M. Hapke (2013) categorizes patriarchy into two different types, “classic patriarchy and neopatriarchy”. Classic patriarchy is based on the patrilocal/patrilineal extended family household, in which property, residence, and descent are passed through the male line. The older males are more dominant than the younger ones. There are distinct forms of control and subordination over women through reproduction, peasantry, and the division of labor where childbearing is the main labor. Neopatriarchy results from the interaction between modernity, tradition, and dependent capitalism. Outward forms of modern society, family, and state are still rooted in patriarchal social relations and patriarchal values (Hapke 2013 ). Meanwhile, Ume Habiba (2016) brings a different idea regarding neopatriarchy, neopatriarchy refers to a new way of governing women in the home. It uses different forms of violence to suppress their identity and create dependence in the household (Habiba 2016).

The feminist theory does not just focus on women, even though it is so. It also addresses the whole world through critical intersectional perspectives. As Alexander (M. Jacqui Alexander 1997) noted, a "deeply collective" practice that reflects a shared "politics for engagement." My view is that feminist theory thrives through scholarly practices that can reach across disciplines, think inter-relational and find alliances with other people who are both critical and creative about the collective possibilities for justice, freedom, and joy. Feminist thinking tends to be more fluid and open to emergence than static entities that are subject to one-way cause-and-effect relationships. Since patriarchal thinking has affirmed that women are born with fixed and universal essences, feminist theory generally follows Beauvoir's view that women do not become women. Essentialism, like hierarchies, tends to naturalize power arrangements that are familiar by attributing them more to timeless essences than to historical processes. Process thinking, on the other hand, questions how things came to be. It requires that we historical our thinking and recognize dynamic, changing relationships instead of static entities. Third, feminist theory can be considered both a political and an intellectual enterprise. It is responsible for movements for equality, freedom, and justice. Although there are many disagreements about the meaning of these ideas and how to pursue them, it is generally agreed that feminist theory seeks "both/and" instead of "either/or thinking. It focuses on becoming and not beings and works to change and understand the world (Ferguson 2017).

Many theories explain why women have greater empowerment in certain countries than in others. Cultural theories (e.g., Islam, Arab culture, and economic modernization theories) (Sharabi 1988) (which view the Arab world as monolithic, draw upon Islam and fail or stall modernization to explain poor outcomes. Others include the theory of tapping oil (Ross 2008), militaries, and tribes (Beck 2003). Many research studies only focus on one dimension of gender equality, like the number of women who are elected to parliament. They don't appreciate the multidimensional concept of patriarchy. Ross's article about women and Islam identifies patriarchy in terms of the percentage of women represented in parliament. Kang's reply to this article shows how the link between oil & patriarchy declines when quotas are taken into account. Quotas can be easily implemented, especially by authoritarian governments, and are an effective way to increase women’s formal representation (Benstead 2020).

Alexander (2011), Norris (2011), and Welzel (2011) have extensively written about attitudes toward gender equality. They tended to scale the three items on politics and education and the labor force. These questions have a high Cronbach’s alpha of.65, which is why they are justified in scaling them. As surveys are expanded into the Arab world and include more questions about women, gender, and private rights, there is a greater risk of aggregating indicators from multiple dimensions into one, unreliable scale. It is crucial to distinguish these dimensions to understand the causes of support for equality (Benstead 2020). Hisham Sharabi (1988) in his book highlights, “Modernity, in one of its most vital aspects, should help both the individual and society realize their greatest potential.” He is optimistic that Arab society can still be modernized, overcome neopatriarchy, and create an independent, progressive, humane Arab world. The main obstacle to women's progress and development is patriarchy. The basic principles of patriarchy, regardless of differences in levels and domination, remain the same. Men are in control. This control can be different. It is important to understand how the system keeps women subordinate and dominated and to decode its workings to help women develop systematically.

This section discusses conservatives. Conservatism is a political ideology that believes in the creation and preservation of stable societies. It is founded on a hierarchy of power, which is held by a particular class of leaders. This also includes a deep respect for institutions and traditional values. Conservatism doesn't question the power of government and does not seek to limit it. Respect for traditional institutions such as religion and government, along with traditional values, is a must. Conservatism is therefore suspicious of change and seeks to evolve rather than be revolutionary. The most influential political ideologies and philosophies of the post-Enlightenment most influential political ideologies and philosophies of the post-Enlightenment period are conservatism and its modernizing, anti-traditionalist rivals, socialism, and liberalism. Conservatives criticize the utopian exaggeration by their opponents of the power and human perfection of theoretical reasoning. Conservative prescriptions are based more on experience than reason. For them, the ideal is inseparable from the practical. Many commentators view conservatism as a modern political philosophy even though it displays the viewpoint of paternalism, authority, and not freedom. John Gray writes that liberalism is the predominant political theory in the modern age (Gray 1995:78).

Meanwhile, Joseph and Bottum (2004) introduce types of conservatism, which are; 1) classical conservatism; 2) traditionalist conservative; 3) social conservative; 4) modern conservatism, and 5) neoconservatism. In this part, each of the above-mentioned types would be discussed in detail, it would be described based on the paper’s requirement, like social conservatism. Social conservatism is more common in western countries as well as in the United States, and Canada, better explanations are those that consider parties to be bodies whose institutional structure influences their actions within a context defined by competitive and sociological constraints. These empirical chapters show that the differences in norms regarding what topics are legitimately political play an important role in the divergent conservative reactions to the emerging social issues within the two countries (Farney 2009). Because social conservatism is a sensible choice for most people, it should be balanced by a positive outlook on society. One that unites people and brings them together rather than dividing them. It is not defined by harsh condemnation or rigid prejudices. Nor can it be reduced to a small group of views that do little to address the structural voicelessness and shattered places of the working class in society.

Further, modern conservatism can be described as a combination of ideas. The following ideas are shared by modern conservatives: An abhorrence for violent revolution; a dislike of a priori theory about government forms, which often takes the form of imprecations against Enlightenment, philosophers, and "rationalisms in politics; a tendency towards linking the affairs, suspicion, and rejection of industrialism; anti-urbanism, and a commitment to monarchy & aristocracy. Countries where they exist, or at least strong advocacy for social hierarchy and a "natural aristocracy". They also tend to value such "aristocratic” virtues as temperance and self-sacrifice (Allen 1981). These ideas make up a true configuration. A conservative may not have just one or two ideas but many or all of them. These ideas are available to many other non-conservative thinkers.

The 1970s saw Islamic governments begin to liberalize or reexamine their dominant conservative position. These investigations led to the conclusion, that including women in all aspects of the political process was compatible with Islam and that strict segregation was a conservative position based on custom rather than Islamic principles. (Ghadbian 1995). In some Muslim countries, women's rights were brought up on the government's agenda. However, most governments only gave lip service to liberation strategies (Haque 2009). A large number of Arab feminists revived earlier plans of pan-Arab feminism in the form of the Arab Women's Solidarity Association, which was established after the “United Nations Decade of Women” (1975-1985). The Association was recognized as an International Arab organization and accepted by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations (Badran 1990).

A few organizations were open to concepts previously considered taboo such as equality, empowerment, and sustainable development with a feminist perspective (Darwiche 2001). These non-governmental organizations were critical of the state because they said the government did not meet the needs of literacy, vocational education, and family planning. Social scientific analyses of religion are centered on the dilemma of this agency: Why do educated women gravitate to conservative religions? (Davidman 1991) And how can they make sense of these religions (Chen 2005). These women are opposed to equality or freedom. These questions are based on a tacit assumption: Religious women are either oppressed or operate with a false mind.

The conservative view was still dominant at the time. Conservative Islamists believed in separate spheres. Women and men were equal in value, but they were made for different work. This meant that women had to always be under the control of a man in the home. Education was intended to help women become better mothers and wives. Syed, Qulb, and Mawdudi were conservative Islamists who saw women's primary role in educating children. Although women could work outside of the home in certain circumstances, it was not prohibited for them to do so if they were forced to. However, conservative Islamists discouraged their entry into the labor force. Conservatives don't consider politics a place for women. Mawdudi, a founder of India's Jam'at-i Islami, 1947 believed that women should be confined to their private lives and not allowed to hold public office (Nasr 1996). Mustafa Siba'i was the founder of the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood. He wrote that women's participation in politics would not only cause them to neglect their motherly and wifely roles but also would lead to too much mixing of the sexes. He wrote in the mid-l950s and pointed out that even Switzerland, the most advanced country on the planet, did not allow women the right. (Ghadbian 1995) to vote. Kuwaiti Islamists opposed women's suffrage in the 1980s. However, they have since been accepted.

In the early years of Islamism, the majority of Islamists remained conservative. It is still possible to find it today, but its parameters have changed. The Muslim Brotherhood does not dispute a woman's vote. This conservative position is also becoming less popular among mainstream Islamists in many other countries. The Islamic movement retains some influence over the conservative gender position. Conservative Islamist views can lead to female dependency, reduced physical mobility, and reduced ability to negotiate her living conditions. All of these things encourage further oppressive practices. Women are vulnerable to abuse of their rights when they feel dependent or deprived of choices. Importantly, the conservative view doesn't prioritize investigating the self-identified concerns and needs of women. This makes critical issues such as domestic violence against women nonissues. It's not that conservative Islamists actively participate in the persecution of women in this regard, they may have a better track record than society overall-but that they don't actively seek justice for all women (Ghadbian 1995). Their women's agenda was reactive, rather than proactive and they have been complicit in the oppressive forces within their societies. This is incompatible with Islamic principles. The abuse of women is wrong. One must stand up against injustice, no matter the victim.

Further, there are a few small and noisy extremist Islamic groups that dot the Middle East landscape, like Egypt's Jihad or al Jama'ah-al-Islmiyah. These groups hold a strict, literalist view of Islamic texts. They see distinct spheres as ordained and ordained by God. These groups also tend to see women in the private sphere while men are in the public. However, they can take this view to extremes. These groups are not intellectual contributors to Islamist causes, but they draw a lot of attention from the media for their radical activities, which include terrorist acts. The government-controlled local media and the international media play them up to exaggeration, which gives them a bad reputation. This third trend could be described as a reformist or liberalizing Islamic position. Some Islamists started a serious review of the dominant conservative position in the 1970s. They found that including women in all aspects of politics was consistent with Islam. Islam doesn't require strict segregation of sexes and a lot of the conservative position was based more on custom than the absolute principles of Islam. This ideological shift opened up some organizations to women, with the first being the Islamists from Sudan and Tunisia. This was a significant step that allowed many Islamists to recognize the need for a break with traditional gender ideology, and begin to articulate a new vision.

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