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Negotiating Identity of Muslim Women in Bajawa Cafe: Gender and Islamic Perspective

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Abstract

This research investigates how Muslim women perform at Bajawa Cafe, influenced by the construction of Islamic teachings and gender roles. The study aims to illustrate how Muslim women are shaped by societal production and regulation, employing qualitative methods through ethnographic and netnographic approaches. It examines the interplay of Islamic teachings and gender norms to analyze the construction of Muslim women's identities within the context of Bajawa Cafe. Data was collected through observations of Hijabi Muslim women's performances at Bajawa Cafe in Kemang, in-depth interviews, data visualizations, and social media analysis. The findings reveal that these women, through activities such as halal parties, challenge the traditional Islamic teachings and gender expectations imposed on them. Bajawa Cafe serves as a space where they navigate and negotiate these societal constructs. The results suggest that Muslim women at Bajawa Cafe resist the societal and religious constraints shaped by Islamic teachings and gender roles. Their performances reflect an ongoing process of negotiation, demonstrating agency in redefining their identities. In conclusion, Bajawa Cafe has emerged as a significant space for Muslim women to express and reconcile their interpretations of Islamic teachings and gender norms.

Keywords: Bajawa Cafe; Gender Perspectives; Islamic Perspectives; Muslim Women.

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Introduction

The existence of cafes in Indonesia is very diverse and varied. Cafes spread across Indonesia sell a variety of beverage products, both non-alcoholic and alcoholic, heavy meals, snacks, and many more. According to Musfialdy and Lusrivirga (2021), a cafe is where people drink coffee or other non-alcoholic drinks. Cafes are places where food and beverage products are sold, and people relax, have conversations, spend time alone, or seek entertainment. However, the cafe owner offers more than just food and beverages; it also creates a unique ambience



for those who visit (Cristo & Saerang, 2017). Each cafe often displays its attractiveness to visitors, be it from a beautiful environment, maintained cleanliness, a comfortable place to gather, live music, a strategic location, unique food and drinks, as a consumer attraction. Also, cafes are a particular eatery that puts customers' comfort, enjoyment, and comfortable vibe first (Musfialdy & Lusrivirga, 2021). That is the reason why most cafes include comfy chairs and music. One of the cafes that provide the services mentioned is Kopi Bajawa Flores cafe or Bajawa Cafe. Bajawa Cafe offers a new experience and breakthrough by featuring live music and DJ performance. One of the Bajawa Cafes that the researcher visited is in Kemang, South Jakarta.

According to the official website (Our Story | Kopi Bajawa, 2022), the Bajawa Cafe is a cafe that sells food and beverages from Jakarta. It was founded by two men in September 2021. Visitors visit this cafe because of live music, live karaoke, and live DJs like watching a concert with songs that are listened to themed about romance, happiness, relaxation, and even islamic song during ramadan. The Bajawa Cafe is also quite spacious because of the size of the cafe, so visitors can come to sing, dance, and relax in their seats with eight outlet stores in total, at Bekasi, Sunter, Kemang, Tebet, Depok, Tangerang Kota, Bogor, and Bandung. The food varies, from coffee and non-coffee drinks, heavy meals, and snacks to desserts such as cakes and pastries. With the theme "party asik, pakai kopi", Bajawa Cafe is an attraction for visitors who want to come, both men and women of any religion, who want to party without alcoholic drinks. Coffee drinks served by Bajawa Cafe are coffee originating from natural beans in Flores, East Nusa Tenggara, which is famous for its delicious taste, aroma, and intense flavour so that it is often recognized as one of the best coffee in Indonesia (Gumilar, 2022). Bajawa Cafe also donates its proceeds to help educational facilities in Flores. The atmosphere, the comfortable place, the new experience of live music and DJ performance, and the party offer with coffee at the cafe provided by Bajawa Cafe make Muslim women want to come to Bajawa Cafe which then makes the focus of research in this study. From the situation generated by Bajawa Cafe, researchers can see the phenomenon within the scope of the Islamic and gender perspective. The Islamic and gender perspectives are used to understand the meaning and represent the process of constructing meaning within cultures by combining both of the elements to investigate cultural phenomena.

As the majority of Indonesians are Muslims, based on the available demographic statistics, it can be said that the majority of Indonesians, or 229.62 million individuals, are Muslims. This represents around 87.2% of the country's 269.6 million overall population. If the Muslim population of the world is taken into account, it is predicted to reach 2.2 billion by 2030, accounting for 23% of the global population (Matsuki, 2020). It goes without saying that they must conform to Islamic law, or sharia, which includes things like praying and covering up an aurat. While there are other prohibitions that Muslims must abstain from, such as not committing adultery, abstaining from alcohol, and not socializing with non-mahram, Bajawa Cafe continues to remain popular, particularly in Indonesia. Muslim women frequently find fun at Bajawa Cafe. They picked Bajawa Cafe for several reasons, one is because it has mushola facilities, which let Muslim women pray and worship openly, even Bajawa Cafe also pauses its activities during prayer time. Most Muslim women choose Bajawa Cafe as halal place to hang out in public places because it is a gathering place for young people and even adults who want to socialize without alcohol.

According to Global Muslim Travel Index (in Razali, 2021), a place can be categorized as halal if the place has religious based services which can increase the comfort without forgetting the obligations of religion. Bajawa Cafe represents the idea of a halal party, which relieves worry for customers, particularly Muslim women, while they are having fun and unwinding. The halal party concept itself is a concept labeled by visitors who come to



and seen from social media comments about Bajawa Cafe, one of those are content on @ ninarosmaya2 tiktok account (2024) said "pertama kalinya party halal di Bajawa flores". They argue that the halal concept of what they understand is only limited to parties without alcohol, even though the party activity is not allowed in religion. Therefore, it can be said that Bajawa Cafe obeys several Islamic laws because it has a clean prayer room or place for prayer, food and drinks that are all halal (does not provide alcoholic drinks), and respects prayer times, on the other hand, there are also Islamic laws that are violated, for example the prohibition of dancing and also the law of interaction with non-mahrams. We selected Muslim women as the subject of our study due to their odd behaviours, which we believe are taboo or improper for Muslim women, such as dancing in public, going out to parties with males, and engaging in various forms of entertainment.

Related to how Muslim women perform in Bajawa, the Islamic perspective leads this research. Islamic perspective is the concept or idea from the thinker or scholar of Islam that derives from the Qu'ran and Sunnah and becomes the answer to human and societal problems that occur (Romadhon & Asari, 2023). Accordingly, the source of the Islamic perspective comes from two primary laws: the Qur'an and Sunnah. These two sources become a guide for Muslims. They rely on the Qur'an and Prophet Muhammad's life, actions, and statements (Sunnah) that guide their lives (Saritoprak & Abu-Raiya, 2023). This guidance has to be followed by Muslims. Muslims have a depiction of what is considered right and wrong, as monumentalised in the Quran and Sunnah (Chamsi-Pasha et al., 2022). In addition, the Islamic perspectives are combined with ethics. Ethics in Islam or Islamic ethics can be said to be the system brought from the Islamic view with the primary sources of Shariah law that become the foundation and constitute the moral judgment parameters (Ahmed, 2020). Still, it leads to the individual and society virtues, duties, and attitudes (Ahmed, 2020). Furthermore, the aim of ethics in Islam is not too different from ethics in general because it is just the idea of the direction of human life in the world and preparation for the afterlife (Rahmaniyah, 2020). From this, Islamic perspectives become the concept that leads Muslims to follow the rule based on Islamic law, Qu'ran, and Hadith, which guides their life.

Besides the Islamic perspective, the concept of gender perspectives explores how women are in society. In this case, women are often limited in carrying out activities. Women who are free to carry out activities in the domestic area are considered disobedient women. The social construction given to women by society makes them inequality in society with men. The social construction given by society is characterized by women who can only stay at home or, in other words, in the private space, obedient to their husbands and male figures in the family and society, can only be in the domestic area to take care of the house, cook, wash clothes, also take care of children, and other activities at home (Pulungan et al., 2024). Such social construction also occurs when women leave the house without male figures or in the public sphere, especially at night. The result of the existing social construction of women is labelled as bad women and rumoured to be bad things; such social construction also occurs when women go out of the house or in the public sphere, especially at night. As a result of the existing social construction, women are labelled bad women and rumoured to do bad things. Non-compliance and non-conformity with existing social construction, this view of women becomes permanent and rooted in tradition and social life that cannot be separated.

In analyzing studies on women in Bajawa Cafe, researchers need the viewpoints of other researchers about how they do comparable research. This paper highlights three studies that are relevant to this research. First, Rosida's research, *YouTube as a New Culture in Indonesia: The Construction of Gender Role in the Lens of the Circuit of Culture*, was released in 2021. Ida Rosida (Rosida, 2021) examined how gender roles are produced, consumed, regulated, and represented to understand how Indonesian women's identities are

constructed. It also demonstrates how religion controls gender roles, with Islamic precepts being implemented in day-to-day life and social constructions based on patriarchal ideology. In conclusion, because YouTube's material mainly targets Muslim women and features a variety of religious imagery, customs, and beliefs, it has grown as a new cultural force in Indonesia and given rise to an industry dedicated to Islamic culture.

Second, Burton's research, Identity Negotiation and Resistance in Dungeons & Dragons Liveshow Critical Role, was released in 2021. Adrianna Burton (Burton, 2021) examined how participants of the tabletop roleplaying game Dungeons & Dragons negotiate their identities constantly through their characters. Their real-life personalities, the personalities of their characters, and the roles they perform in the game all need to be constantly balanced during this negotiation. Burton also examines how the players fight some aspects of their identity through their personas. This resistance can manifest itself in various ways, including the development of characters that have no connection to the players' real-world characteristics or the use of characters to express emotions or experiences that the players may be unable to express in real life. Burton's exploration of different types of resistance emphasizes how players use their characters to challenge and undermine society's conventions and expectations.

Third, the research conducted by Mawardi Siregar titled Women and Coffee Shops: Negotiation of The Identity of Modernity and Piety in the Sharia Public Space, was published in 2023. Mawardi Siregar's journal article "Women and Coffee Shops: Negotiation of The Identity of Modernity and Piety in the Sharia Public Space" (Siregar, 2023) examines how Muslim women in Aceh, Indonesia, navigate and negotiate their identities while complying with Islamic sharia law in public coffee shop spaces. The study focuses on the experiences of young women who participate in modern, religious, and lifestyle-blending social behaviours at coffee shops in Langsa, Aceh. According to the study, Muslim women in Aceh have come up with creative ways to blend with modernity, lifestyle, and religion in coffee shop public areas. They dress in a way regarded as fashionable but not in violation of Islamic sharia, and they choose coffee places carefully to support their principles. Their ability to negotiate their identity enables them to fend against the marginalization of their autonomy and social identity, a phenomenon that is frequently linked to the rise in public religious performances. The study challenges the claims made by certain feminists that Muslim women's social identity and autonomy are being marginalized as a result of the increased practice of religion in public settings. According to previous work, the research did not examine the cultural perspective, and no one has talked about the cultural cycle surrounding how Muslim women are portrayed in public spaces. In this research, researchers focused on the reasons behind Muslim women's attendance in public areas, specifically the Bajawa Cafe. The researchers attempt to examine how Muslim women define the process of negotiation identity through the regulation in Bajawa Cafe. Bajawa presents a unique notion and uses it as a platform for performing cultural behaviours that have hidden meanings connected to religious imagery. Cultural studies tackles all contemporary cultural practices. Islamic law sets obligations on Muslim women, and researchers attempt to investigate how Muslim women's activity at Bajawa Cafe blends with the local way of life using these regulations.

This research aims to explore the negotiation of Muslim women at Bajawa Cafe from their construction of Islamic teaching and gender perspective. This study provides an answer to the research question: How do Muslim women negotiate their identity by visiting Bajawa Cafe? How does the regulation and production play roles in shaping the Muslim women identity that performed in Bajawa Cafe?





This research used a descriptive qualitative methodology since it relies on non-numeric data by exploring the Muslim women's mobility in Bajawa Cafe. The qualitative research method often refers to a natural setting and condition research and research of a cultural practice is counted in it (Sugiyono, 2016). Ethnography and netnography were used by the researcher to collect the necessary data to cope with the problems through direct and visual observation by visiting one of Bajawa Cafe's branches, specifically Bajawa Cafe Kemang and watching Bajawa Cafe related videos in online media to seek deeper Muslim women's cultural practices in it. The data generated from direct observation, interviews, and online observation are verbal, textual, and visual data that are useful for researchers to draw conclusions on Muslim woman activities that occur in Bajawa. The key informants in the interviews conducted ranged from teenage Muslim women to adult Muslim women, especially those wearing hijab. Interviews are conducted by raising questions that focus on the activities of Muslim women who wear hijab in Bajawa Cafe, to the views of informants regarding the permissibility of activities in the cafe. Through netnography, researchers can see the activities of Muslim women in Bajawa Cafe in a visual form and how the public assesses it in textual form on Tiktok online media. From the data collected, researchers analyze by drawing conclusions based on Islamic perspectives and gender perspectives.

To construct the meaning that are trying to create in the cultural practices, the Islamic perspective analyzes it by looking at the Islamic teaching towards Muslim women including on how they dressed up and behave in society. The food and beverage regulations and the process of creating the occurrences of cultural practice also has been taken to look up to Islamic consideration in this case of phenomena. The Islamic perspective towards women is analyzed by the law of Quran and Hadith. According to Syed (2004), It was made clearly understood by the Quran and the Hadiths that the Quran was the ultimate authority in all issues and that it should serve as a guide for all Muslims. On other hand, Gender studies of women exist to address the problem of a monolithic model of women that must exclude and affirm inequalities (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004).

Results and Discussions

In this section, the issue related to the performance of Muslim women at Bajawa Cafe is analyzed from the view of Islamic perspectives and gender studies. From the Islamic perspective, the issue will be analyzed from how the regulation of Islam sets Muslim women how they are obligated to follow Islamic rule that organizes their obligations and prohibitions. In this case, it comes from how prohibition must be followed, but they negotiate it through their performance at Bajawa Cafe. Besides that, through the view of gender studies, the analysis of how Muslim women perform at Bajawa Cafe can be done through the idea of gender roles and gender construction that places women in domestic areas and the rules they have to follow. In addition, gender studies are supported by how women in public spaces can be seen due to their negotiation of the set given to them, which should be in domestic areas.

Islamic Perspective

Islamic perspective is the basis for Muslims to consider things that happen in the world so as not to get out of the limits in Islam. Through Islamic perspective, Islamic law plays a role as formal controls that regulate Muslim women coming from Islam religion. First, Islamic law about wearing the hijab comes from the Quranic Surah Al-Ahzab verse 59 and An-Nur verse 31. In Surah Al-Azhab verse 59, the control comes from how the Prophet of Muhammad, peace be upon him, got the obligation to command his wives, daughters, and believing women to cover their bodies. Then, An-Nur verse 31 regulates women in

some ways, such as protecting their gaze and privates, not showing jewelry, covering hijab to their upper body, and not stomping. Besides that, the second Islamic law is related to alcohol consumption. This rule exists in the Quranic Surah Al-Baqarah verse 219 and Surah Al-Maidah verses 90 and 91. Surah Al-Baqarah verse 219 tells that intoxicants (*khamr* or alcohol) contain sin and Surah Al-Maidah verses 90 and 91 states that intoxicants, gambling, idols, and drawing are the work of Satan. Lastly, the third Islamic law talks about doing parties that relate to dancing with men. It comes from the Hadith Muslim number 2742 that reflects women as the temptation of the world. In this case, it is about how women dance in front of men as part of the party.

Furthermore, all of the official controls are negotiated by Muslim women when they are in Bajawa Cafe. In this case, Muslim women negotiate rules of Islam in some ways. The islamic perspective related to hijab is constructed by Muslim women. It can be seen from how they still wear the hijab while in the cafe.



Figure 1. @SZFavorite Video of Muslim Women Presence in Bajawa Cafe.

The picture above shows Muslim women still negotiating the obligation of wearing hijab while in Bajawa Cafe. They follow the rules of Islam by wearing hijab and covering their upper body parts. In addition, it indicates that Muslim women still construct their religious identity as a Muslim by wearing hijab.

Besides that, other forms of negotiation process can be seen from the Islamic law about drinking alcohol. From this, the negotiation process occurs when Muslim women construct the rule by drinking coffee or other beverages in Bajawa Cafe instead of alcohol.





Figure 2. Drink in Bajawa Cafe



Figure 3. @Tiar티아르 non-Alcohol Party at Bajawa

From the pictures above, coffee and other drinks are the substitutions for alcohol that are prohibited in Islam. These drinks are not intoxicating because they do not contain alcohol. In addition, it shows that Muslim women in Bajwa construct the control given to them as they party without alcohol and take coffee or other kinds of drink. One of the interviewed visitors said that the DJ performance in Bajawa Cafe is like halal clubbing because, in terms of drinks, there are no alcoholic beverages and indecent behavior as in clubbing in general. The last form of the negotiation process relates to the prohibition of having parties or dancing in front of men. In this case, Muslim women break the control given to them, which can be seen from how Muslim women in Bajawa still party even in front of men.



Figure 4. @maulida186 Show Muslim Women Having Party at Bajawa Cafe

In the picture above, Muslim women show their form of breaking the rule. They are still having a party in Bajawa, and they do it in front of men. In addition, they gather in a crowd. This indicates that Muslim women do not follow or break the rule of prohibition to party or dance in front of men. Then, the negotiation process happens with the breaking of rules.

The Islamic perspective towards women shows that Islamic law constructs Muslim women according to how they have to wear hijabs, how they are prohibited from consuming alcohol, and are not allowed to dance or party in front of men. In addition, they show the negotiation process for maintaining the construction. However, they are still breaking the control. In conclusion, Muslim women in Bajawa Cafe construct and break the formal religious rules in Islam given to them.

Besides the Islamic perspective towards Muslim women, the economic processes which create the provider of a place that accommodates of Muslim women cultural practice in the cafe is also a concern in this study. The economic producer in this case is Bajawa Cafe while Muslim women also impact the processes. The non-alcoholic party, as an entertaining mode created by Bajawa Cafe, considered as the cultural practice in this study, is actively practiced by Muslim women as the need for entertainment and leisure activity. Human beings do not escape from entertainment in filling their spare time outside of activities that are counted as productive activities, as well as for Muslim women. On the basis of existing needs in society, Bajawa Cafe as a conventional economic actor applies a normative vision to its entertainment products. According to Chapra (2016), the normative vision of conventional economics is considered indispensable for realizing human welfare and is expressed in the form of universally desirable socio-economic goals such as fulfillment of needs, full employment, optimal economic growth rates, equitable distribution of income and wealth.

On the other hand, positioning Muslim women to seek entertainment and leisure time, Islamic norms play a significant role, which is categorizing Muslim women with more stringency not to do liberal things that are considered *haram* or prohibited in the religion. It



is considered an obedient Muslim woman when she does not go out at night, does not dance, does not gather with men who are not her relatives and does not eat and drink prohibited foods and beverages in Islam.



Figure 5. Bajawa Cafe's cup branding

By looking at the Islamic perspective on the economic and entertainment offer of Bajawa Cafe in harmony, the Bajawa Cafe company is determined to produce economically successful products as the cafe is rapidly developing into the most profitable business today. By following where the money is going and seeing how opportunities for money come following personal interest in an experience, a cultural production can be successfully achieved (Wita & Apip, 2020). The Bajawa Cafe's efforts to achieve economic success in this convention can be seen from the branding on their cup screen printing evidenced in the figure 6, "party asik pakai kopi," which means "fun party with coffee" in English translated version. The use of other slogans by this business is also seen through social media platforms. They chose the slogan in the hashtag "#drinkcoffeemakeimpact," which creates a positive image to attract public attention in promoting their products.

"It is a great way to have a good time with friends and family! Consider having a great Bass Drop from DJ and also karaoke night, with full of joy and consciousness. You can also have delicious mocktails and great food to keep everyone satisfied. Have fun!" (Our Story | Kopi Bajawa, 2022).

The reputation built by economic actors through discourses representing the image of entertainment provided by Bajawa Cafe includes consideration of Islamic norms, beliefs, and culture. The bidding behavior towards the entertainment enjoyment of DJ performances and karaoke with the consciousness of not being under the alcohol influence while the highlight of non-alcoholic food and beverage offerings is noticeable as an economic practice. Economic processes involve the objectification and involvement of people and the meaning of value represented through culture, making this production process considered a cultural economy (Leve, 2012). This process includes a positive outcome for the economic actor regarding the consumer's satisfaction with the sense of security provided by the Islamic norms and values that they maintain.

The term of economic processes that Bajawa Cafe perform categorize as a production. Production is argued to exist when public relations departments and corporations identify the public and craft messages targeted to the public; for example, producers encode their products with meanings (Hall, 1980). The production of Bajawa Cafe's non-alcoholic parties occurred due to the opportunity to meet the massive market demand in Indonesia. Continuous

with public relations, the social environment in Indonesia, which has a Muslim majority, does not deny the existence of entertainment activities that violate the rules of Islam, such as alcoholic entertainment venues. Bajawa Cafe comes with a concept that is friendly to Islamic regulations, especially the comfort of Muslim women visitors.

From the interview conducted to the Muslim Women visitors in Bajawa Cafe Kemang, April, 4, 2024, it can be inferred that they are comfortable and feel secure about facing discrimination and rejecting harmful assumptions directed at women who wear hijab in enjoying Dj performance as the part of the non-alcoholic party. This enjoyment and feeling of security lead them to feel free to build the cultural practices broader. Furthermore, although it is breaking Islamic regulations, the imitative activity of Muslim women in performing dances that enjoy DJ songs has also become a habit in this cultural practice. This behavior has resulted in the production of non-alcoholic parties created by Bajawa, creating a specific economic cultural practice that is referred to by society as "clubbing for *ukhty*", as it is exposed in figure 7, which *ukhty* refers to the cultural word calling Muslim women. After all, the production of economic phenomena within this cultural practice is realized and recognized by society, drawn from evidence through social media related to public approval in labeling this phenomenon. Finally, from the discussion above, Bajawa as the economic actor of the cultural practice has a significant role in accommodating Muslim women's cultural practice that negotiates and breaks Islamic regulations in some ways.



Figure 6. @noctuuleknc comments the labeling of the Non-alcoholic party as clubbing for "ukhty"

Gender Perspective

The study on the inequality of women's positions in social and cultural aspects is shared. Women are frequently mistreated in a variety of social contexts and by their preferences, including limitations on their conduct, goals, accomplishments, pursuits, occupations, and ability to make decisions. as compared to males, who can accomplish everything they choose. The role of women is thus forced to be emphasized and limit themselves in order to fulfill the position of men in a context where the role of males is dominant. This frequently begins in the woman's closest surroundings, including her family and even her nearest sibling or spouse (Ajizah & Khomisah, 2021). As a result, views on gender roles, such as the role of women in the family and society, are always characterized by their role as householders. In Antrobus' view (in Ajizah & Khomisah, 2021), since women naturally have uteruses or are as absolute as males who have sperm for fertilization, their role and status as housewives appears to be definite. Therefore, the idea that women are the carriers of domestic duties was born, leading many to assume that Allah SWT has predetermined women's destiny or essence.

While there are distinctions between the roles that men and women play, these differences serve to complete each other, support, and help each other rather than establish



superiority or inferiority between the two. Hence, this demonstrates how the growth of selfpotential in thought and dependency on one another in the home and public areas have the same rights. Thus, the biological affirmation of being born as a male or a woman is a permanent, disputed, and absolute destiny (Khomisah, 2017). Furthermore, there is a tradition that claims the term pingitan tradition, also known as "Java tradition," refers to a custom that is practiced in several Indonesian cultural communities and requires that a girl which before puberty must stay in the home or a tiny room until she marries (Wiyatmi, 2010). Perhaps this tradition has also already ceased to be a tradition, but it has continued as a way of determining that never ends. This is not very encouraging to young people because they cannot enjoyably play with their peers due to the existing traditions. In this regard, Muslim women, in this case, want to play and do activities outside the home without having to be accompanied by one of their families or mahrams, such as hanging out or going to the cafe, which is often done to make friends, chat or strengthen the relationship. However, women who often have activities outside of their home besides taking care of the house are considered or often hanging out, sometimes labeled as unrighteous women, mainly supported by going out late at night and also with men who are not their family. With this stereotype, women often feel that they are not considered social beings. This is based on the views of a society that adheres to a patriarchal system. Society's conformity with the patriarchal system, wherein women are only considered domestic workers who must stay at home and perform unimportant work (Asri & Hayati, 2019). It is not uncommon for them to often go to cafes with friends to hang out at night, which can cause worries about both their safety and the intended temptation for women.

Because Allah created the night as a time for sleep, being outside at night differs from being outside during the day. Therefore, unless it is okay to leave the house at night for an emergency, women should not be out at night, even if it is only to attend to needs. This is because, in addition to dealing with the sin of gossip, it also has to do with honor, which may not be good in the eyes of society (Hanafiyah, 2022). Crimes often occur at night and are directed at women because they are often portrayed as weak and helpless. Sides dan Self (in Hubbard & Colosi, 2015) states that it has been commonly stated that men's desire for sexual pleasure, when divorced from the "moral discipline" of family and religion, has the potential to result in violent crimes against women. Men as abusers often target women who appear weak, so women's movements become more limited due to feelings of fear and concern for their freedom in public space. While women are more likely to experience sexual assault and harassment, it is young men who are most likely to commit violent crimes in public places at night. Women's fear of being attacked prevents them from controlling or entering nighttime areas (Pain, 2001). However, with the passage of time and the development of technology, the prevention and enforcement of crimes against women has become significant so that women have a little more courage to go out at night. Moreover, there are several easy ways that Muslim women can do that at least prevent sexual crimes from happening to them, such as sharing their live location, not going alone, and having assertive behaviour to have the courage to fight or report sexual crimes (Noviani et al., 2018).

In Islamic law, there are conditions that women must achieve. The conditions for women leaving the house at night are covering the *aurat*, getting permission, and avoiding gossip (Muhibuddin, 2018). From the interview sessions that the researcher conducted with several informants, they fulfilled these requirements before hanging out of the house; for example, they went there wearing a veil as a symbol of their identity, asked permission before going to their parents, and also went to play with their female peers. It shows that nowadays, women can obey their wishes without being oppressed by men or only in the domestic area. The location of the Bajawa Cafe they go to also presents a place that is

relatively light and open so that they can be kept away from temptation and gossip directed at Muslim women. With these fulfilled requirements, many Muslim women are seen as visitors to Bajawa Cafe. When Muslim women come to Bajawa Cafe and other cafes, the distinction between men and women also does not exist. Both men and women are not differentiated, and both get the same rights as consumers and visitors to the cafe. Muslim women who come to seek entertainment, chat and play with their friends are not underestimated by men also in the same place, and vice versa felt by men. Muslim women are seen doing the liberal feminism movement unconsciously in public places. The liberal feminism movement argues that women can participate in organizations and community associations and have the same rights and opportunities as men in all sectors of life, including the public and private areas (Asri & Hayati, 2019). The results indicate that there is a reduction in the understanding of gender stereotypes directed at women where women can only be in the domestic area. The results of interviews with informants who come to Bajawa Cafe at night argue that they prefer to come at night to find entertainment after their busy day. Their worries are diminished when they go out at night because they think they have fulfilled the conditions of leaving the house, the advancement of technology that provides a sense of security, and their sense of self-protection.

After all that is mentioned above, it indicates that women negotiate their identity between the perspective of Islamic rules and also gender views. By obeying the rules about covering the aurat and only drinking coffee from Bajawa cafe, which has clubbing cultural activities and a life that is no longer oppressed by men or only in the domestic environment. Their activities at Bajawa Cafe, such as talking, chatting, and entertaining themselves, can strengthen friendships and even form new identities in the cafe where they play. Chitchatting with friends while drinking coffee at the cafe can strengthen emotional bonds and common interests in constructing identity (Jeffrey et al., 2018). The emergence of a similarity of conversation topics, thoughts, and feelings of each individual in the same environment makes them form a new identity. Burke and Stets (in Stets & Serpe, 2013) The new identity of modern Muslim women who go out at night to hang out and not only be in the domestic space but still carry out the rules of Islamic religious regulations. Haryanto (in Putri, 2020) stated that with a fashionable appearance, covering the aurat, following and participating in the latest models, drinking coffee, or hanging out in cafes or public spaces, indicates that Muslim women are still aware of practising the teachings of Islam and their Islamic values without forgetting those.

Conclusion

This research discusses several phenomena of Muslim women in Indonesia, especially those who visit Bajawa Cafe Flores NTT located in Kemang, South Jakarta. There are several new experiences offered in this cafe, such as live music, DJ performances, and halal food and drinks without alcohol. Of course, this makes Bajawa Cafe an attractive place for Muslim women to interact with others without violating Islamic rules. This research applies the concept of Islamic perspective and gender theories, which overall includes how Muslim women's mobility views their halal party activities in Bajawa, how Bajawa as an economic actor creates a place for this mobility by maintaining Islamic values, and how the gender construction that Muslims do on this matter. Bajawa Cafe as an economic actor, certainly influences economic and cultural processes. One of Bajawa Cafe's business strategies is to produce entertainment that does not contain alcohol, and because of this, there is a negotiation of Islamic religious rules given to Muslim women by producing entertainment products that do not contain alcohol, so that they can also enjoy it. Bajawa Cafe creates a safe and comfortable space for Muslim women, including those who wear hijab, to enjoy



entertainment and socialize outside the home without worrying about violating social and religious norms. This research also focuses on how Muslim women respond and negotiate their identities through cultural practices that are governed by social and religious norms. This research explores how Bajawa Cafe facilitates identity transformation through the experience of regulation and new cultural production, resulting in a balance between modern life and religious commitment for Muslim women. For future research, research on phenomena in public places and the like, can be researched by applying other theories, namely, Stuart Hall's circuit of culture, postcolonial feminism, and Cultural Identity.

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