STUDIA ISLAMIKA

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Book Review

Document

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Revisiting Women's Piety Movements
in the Indonesian Context

Abstract: *The current Islamic studies literature focusing on women's expression in Indonesia remains understudied. It still presents a scholarly challenge for current Islamic studies to address the issue of ideal expressed space for women. This mainly includes women's positions and roles in society and their concerns about public issues. Addressing this puzzle, this paper aims to analyse how Islam affirmatively can address women's expression as individuals and members of social groups. This paper employs critical discourse analysis by cultivating theoretical frameworks such as the debate between feminism and Islamic understandings of women. The findings of this study show that the need for inclusive public space for women to express their concerns while keeping their Islamic faith is imminent. This paper also further investigates how three women movements build up their expressed spaces and their impact on society.*

Keywords: Islam, Feminism, Piety Movement, Women's Space, Advocacy.

Abstrak: *Berbagai kajian studi Islam yang berfokus pada ekspresi perempuan di Indonesia masih belum banyak diteliti. Hal ini menghadirkan tantangan ilmiah bagi studi Islam saat ini untuk mengatasi masalah ruang berekspresi yang ideal bagi perempuan. Hal tersebut mencakup pada posisi dan peran perempuan dalam masyarakat serta wawasan mereka terhadap isu-isu publik. Untuk menjawab permasalahan ini, studi ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis bagaimana Islam secara afirmatif mampu menyikapi ekspresi perempuan sebagai individu dan anggota kelompok sosial. Tulisan ini kemudian menggunakan analisis wacana kritis dengan mengelaborasi kerangka teoritis seperti perdebatan antara feminisme dan pemahaman Islam tentang perempuan. Temuan penelitian menunjukkan bahwa kebutuhan akan ruang publik yang inklusif bagi perempuan untuk mengungkapkan keberpihakannya sambil tetap menjaga keimanan Islam menjadi sangat relevan. Tulisan ini juga menyelidiki lebih jauh bagaimana tiga gerakan perempuan membangun ruang ekspresi mereka dan dampaknya terhadap masyarakat.*

Kata kunci: Islam, Feminisme, Gerakan Kesalehan, Ruang Ekspresi Perempuan, Advokasi.

ملخص: لم يتم بعد إجراء أبحاث واسعة النطاق حول الدراسات الإسلامية التي تركز على تعبير المرأة في إندونيسيا. وهذا يمثل تحديًا علميًا للدراسات الإسلامية الحالية لمعالجة مسألة وجود مساحة مثالية للتعبير للمرأة. وهذا يشمل مكانة المرأة ودورها في المجتمع بالإضافة إلى رؤيتها للقضايا العامة. وللإجابة على هذه الإشكالية، تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى تحليل مدى قدرة الإسلام على التعامل بشكل إيجابي مع تعبير المرأة كأفراد وأعضاء في فئات مجتمعية. ثم تستخدم هذه المقالة التحليل النقدي للخطاب من خلال التوسع في الأطر النظرية مثل الجدل بين الحركة النسوية والفهم الإسلامي للمرأة. يأخذ هذا البحث أيضًا بيانات من العمل الميداني، وإجراء مقابلات متعمقة مع الناشطات والأكاديميات. تظهر نتائج الأبحاث أن الحاجة إلى مساحة عامة شاملة للنساء للتعبير عن آرائهن مع الحفاظ على عقيدتهن الإسلامية أمر مهم للغاية. تبحث هذه المقالة أيضًا بشكل أكبر في كيفية قيام ثلاث حركات نسائية ببناء مساحة للتعبير وتأثيرها على المجتمع.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الإسلام والنسوية، حركة التقوى، مساحة للتعبير النسائي، الدعوة.

The current Islamic revivalism has prompted most Indonesians to be more engaged with the Islamic agenda. It has been widely discussed in recent literature that this agenda includes religious considerations in assessing candidates during elections, advocating sharia-inspired rules in public spheres, and strengthening the role of ulama (Afdillah 2020; Fealy dan Ricci 2019; Hadiz 2018). These three primary activities basically show how Islam has transformed to become a common norm in public space. In other words, piousness has become a main consideration among Muslims in Indonesia. Despite the fact that Islamic revivalism is still underway in Indonesia, the role of women in that wave remains understudied (Afrianty 2015; Hasyim 2006; Ida 2023).

The few studies on women's roles within the current Islamic wave have been interesting to analyze. More importantly, it attracts both feminist and Islamist perspectives. The former believes that the strong textual religious endorsement has favored men over women. Meanwhile, the latter reveals that Islam highly regards women as partners of men and members of society. This latter reason also depends on textual interpretation, which may cause different expressions of women's roles according to their schools of thought. Surely, this raises a problem in understanding the ideal position and expression for women that should align with Islamic norms. These research puzzles will be discussed in this paper.

In line with the gap mentioned above, a critical analysis of women's roles in Islamic studies needs special attention. Especially in addressing women's problems and their existence in society, as feminism always does, this issue will fill the gap within recent Islamic studies. There are several reasons the role of women in the current Islamic wave is rarely discussed. First, the strong patriarchal roots ingrained within Indonesian society. Certain religious teachings also endorse it. Consequently, it results in the minor role of women in public spaces. Second, most of the Islamic teachings still favor male leadership. This subsequently affects the minimal women's involvement in social and political affairs (Kloos 2016; Srimulyani 2012). Third, there is an ongoing debate between feminism and Islam in Indonesia (Anwar 2018; Blackburn 2010; Parvanova 2012). Some ulama reluctantly accept feminism because it would harm Islamic values. Owing to feminism derives from western thoughts, it would contradict with religion, especially gender equality, in public roles.

In line with the above-mentioned reasons from the literature debates, we will focus on only one of them: the women's piety movement in Indonesia. This kind of movement is interesting to elaborate on because it aims to redefine the ideal type of women's expressions based on their own understanding. This stance basically follows the ongoing debate between feminism and Islamism. While the former regards gender equality as universal for women, the latter believes that submission to Islamic law enables women to gain acknowledgment in both domestic and social interactions (Blackburn 2010; Nurmila 2011, 2021). Instead of following this debate, this paper wants to offer an expressed for women and her movement. Furthermore, this stance particularly to find common ground between Islam and feminism.

Inspired by study of Saba Mahmood's on women piety movements in Egypt, this study aims to to scrutinise whether this concept will work out in Indonesian context (Mahmood 2005). In line with prior debates, this research paper asks: how does the women piety movement manifest in Indonesia? Is it similar or different with existing literatures? While most movement members still embrace religious values, they are also concerned with feminist issues and open-minded with wide issues. This unique position enables the women's piety movement to be accepted in current Islamic revivalism (Chaplin 2015; Rinaldo 2013).

This study observes three current women's piety movements in Indonesia. More precisely, this study aims to further investigate how these three women's movements are defining the "space" for empowerment and advocacy for women. It will then explore how these three women's movements have their own definitions of space. These two arguments subsequently lead us to understand how these three women's movements express piousness in public spaces. These three movements have a strong religious background and concurrently adopt feminist principles to some degree. Moreover, this research seeks to raise the question of how these three women's movements negotiate with religious teachings while advocating for preferred issues, such as interfaith dialogue and peacebuilding. It reveals that each women's movement has its own understanding of feminism that aligns with religious teachings. Principally, they maintain an orthodox religious identity, but socially, feminist thoughts have inspired the members to be open-minded and concerned with social issues.

Islam and Feminism: Revisiting Women's Piety Movement in Global Discourse

Islam and feminism have a complex relationship. Both of them have two different perspectives, especially concerning the position of women in religion. For Islam, the way Muslims perceive women depends on various Islamic schools of thought. Some argue that women and men are equal. However, others argue that women must adhere to men as their patrons. Feminism, on the other hand, believes that women are independent entities who have self-control and are free to express themselves in public spaces. This debate has been ongoing between classical and contemporary ulamas.

 The source of the debate still remains on the position and role of women themselves. Feminism has influenced the reinterpretation of religious texts to support women's rights. For example, the mandatory wearing of the hijab for women should be revisited since it symbolizes the subjugation of women by men. This stance is commonly known as Islamic feminism, which advocates for Islamic reinterpretation. The problem here is that this stance is unable to capture the complexities of women's problems. It merely focuses on orthodox religious views that might hamper women. Furthermore, feminism seems to generalize women's problems, especially those living in third-world countries who have been victimized due to religious teachings.

In line with the above debates, Salafism might be the main point to discuss in order to bridge Islam and feminism. More precisely, the emergence of women's piety movements, which mostly have a Salafi background, is an example of the interplay between Islam and feminism in scholarly works. This has inspired many scholars to delve into it, investigating the unique connections and challenges that should be addressed by Islam and feminism. Notable scholars Lila Abu-Lughod and Saba Mahmood offered new interpretations to understand Islam and feminism through their studies of women's piety movements in Egypt and Afghanistan. More importantly, they underlined the need for careful reading to not solely use feminism to frame the condition of Muslim women. They also opposed the binary opposition between Islam and feminism. Instead, they presented the relationship between Islam and women in more complex situations influenced by economic, domestic, and global inequality factors. Interestingly, Salafi ideology provides an underlying foundation to set up women's piety movements,

as both scholars focused on it. Lughod herself even stressed the failure of feminism by saying "*how might we recognize instances of women's resistance without "misattributing to them forms of consciousness or politics that are not part of their experience— something like a feminist consciousness or feminist politics"* (Lughod 1990).

This scholarly stance may direct a new approach, namely Islam and feminism. This underscores that feminism could not correctly capture the problems of Muslim women, but it does not mean that the spirit of feminism could not be influential within Muslim women's movements. One notable women's movement is the act of veiling. Here, this action is a liberatory means for women to express piousness and concerns. This action is also equal to the act of unveiling, depending on the context in which such an act is carried out, or more precisely, on how and where women see dominance (Trinh 1988). The bottom line within this debate is that the women's piety movement serves as the theoretical framework to find an equal position between Islam and feminism.

Following up on the line of thought above, Saba Mahmood introduced the Women's Piety Movement as a way to frame Muslim women's movements. The most important meaning of the movement is an effort to negotiate the relationship between women and religion, which have often been seen as opposites. Unlike feminism, which focuses on the struggle for authority, this women's movement emphasizes the need for expressed space. This shows that what women actually need is a different expressed space than men. In addition, the need for space is also a form of expression of women's religiosity. These two things set up the basis for viewing the context of the women's movement and religion. Saba specifically focused on a women's religious assembly that fought against the domination of secularism in Egyptian society, which perceived religion as just a tradition, not a way of life (Mahmood 2005).

This encouraged women activists to break the stigma often referred to as orthodox Islamic practices. For example, these women took part in public spaces: studying the Al Qur'an, joining literary clubs, and participating in Islamic studies, but still in spaces that are assumed to be 'Islamic Orthodoxy' by some people. They do this exclusively, only with other women. This follows the general view of Islamists that the space between women and men should not be the same. Moreover, they aim to reverse feminist critical views, such as women's subordination to men's authority and not being able to mingle with men in the name

of decency, by using these views in Muslim women's empowerment movements. In fact, Muslim women activists in Egypt were able to empower fellow women, especially through mosques. They show that the mosque is not a male-dominated space but also a space for empowerment for Muslim women.

According to Mahmood, there are three elements to understanding the women's piety movement. First, agency. It means the inherited social practices that keep women in a pious lifestyle. Therefore, ongoing social practices cannot be seen and assessed from the outside but must be explained from the point of view of the subject itself. Teaching activities in the mosque women's movement are attempts by adherents of Islam to live according to the procedures known in Islam, to be pious (Mahmood 2005).

Second, pious self-cultivation is a habit that develops through diligent practice until it finally takes root and becomes an unshakable character. Third, embodiment means religious adherence that has already united with one's self, norms, and principles. These three concepts basically create an expressed space for women that is more exclusive to women. However, it depends on how this piousness can be addressed. It could be a collective or social piety. The latter means the participation of these women's groups in issues related to the interests of the wider community, for example, issues of social inequality, poverty, mastery of natural resources, and including tolerance issues. Neither Mahmood nor Abu-Lughod paid much attention to this in the women they studied. This remains a theoretical gap that shows the limits of piety as demonstrated by the Muslim woman in her position as an individual and a member of society.

Finding Women's Piety Movements within Indonesian Contexts: Critical Analysis

In line with the above debates, it is important to place the framework of women's movements within the Salafi ideology, which would encompass two of the women's movements discussed above. It seems that there is a need to revisit the piety movement in Egypt, particularly testing the applicability of this concept in the Indonesian context. It is worth noting that the analysis of Saba Mahmood and Abu-Lughod to frame the Salafi women's piety movement cannot be taken for granted within the Indonesian context. More importantly, there is a

slight difference in Salafi expression among Muslim women in finding expressed space between Indonesia and Egypt. In brief, the Egyptian case still emphasizes the mosque as the basis of the movement, whereas the Indonesian case shows various places for expressions.

Abu-Lughod's analysis provides space to examine the women's movement in Indonesia more contextually and look at the problem in a multifactorial way. At the same time, Mahmood's analysis helps to see trends in the movement of Islamic women's groups in Indonesia. There are similarities between Mahmood's study of the Islamist women's group in Egypt and one of the Islamist women's groups studied in this article, namely Muslim Women Wahdah Islamiyah (MWI). The subject researched by Mahmood was a women's religious study assembly fighting against the dominance of secularism in Egyptian society, which places religion as just a tradition, not a comprehensive way of life. The same is found in the MWI, which also fights against secularism, which is also the pattern of the feminist movement. They took a different path from feminism to aspire for women's emancipation in order to adhere to Islam, which argued that men and women should not share the same expression in public space. Alternatively, through women's space, those Muslim women can emancipate their fellows.

However, Saba Mahmood's and Abu-Lughod's analyses cannot immediately frame the Islamic women's movement in Indonesia. The differences between the Indonesian Muslim women's movement and the Muslim women's movements in which they were both researched (Egypt and Afghanistan) are largely determined by the context of each country. In this article, three cases of the women's movement are highlighted, namely Muslimat Wahdah Islamiyah (MWI), Cadar Garis Lucu, and Srikandi Lintas Iman (SRILI). These three groups have quite different movement characteristics. MWI and Cadar Garis Lucu are women's groups of Salafi origin. If we look at their background, these two groups have similarities with the women observed by Saba Mahmood and Abu-Lughod, particularly in that they have a Salafi-Islamist background and attach importance to wearing the veil in everyday life. But Mahmood and Abu-Lughod alone are not enough because MWI, for example, aims for the movement they carry out not only for personal piety but also to be active in preaching and influencing public space.

Following the line of thought above, the Salafi ideology framework for the women's piety movement should be revisited. Especially how to make balanced views on women's public space, which becomes a signature point to bridge Islam and feminism. The critical point that marks the difference between the women's piety movement in Egypt and Indonesia is that while the Egyptian case focuses on the personal piety movement, the Indonesian counterpart shows that the Muslim women's movement also actively preaches and influences public space. More particularly, the Muslim women who wear cadar/cadari tend to fight back against Western feminism's perspective in framing the Indonesian Muslim women's movement. This perspective tends to place an essentialist view on the Islamic women's movement, which is considered subordinate to patriarchy and religious orthodoxy (Nisa 2021). Eva F. Nisa, who has previously researched Salafi women (one of whom is also MWI), mention this as the penetration of Salafi women in public spaces (Nisa 2022). For this reason, the veil is not only used as a form of piety, but is also packaged into popular culture. Nisa also introduces an interesting concept that the Salafi women's movement does not only aim to form piety but is also part of obedience. Obedience to organizational leaders, ulama, Islamic teachings, and ultimately, obedience to Allah. Thus, their attitudes, behavior, and movements are intended as part of an Islamic woman's desire to obey Allah, not because of the confines of orthodox teachings that are gender-biased (Akmaliah 2023; Nisa 2022)

However, Saba Mahmood and Nisa left one gap in the concept of agency and social piety, not showing the limit of piety displayed by Muslim women in their position as an agency and which were precisely due to patriarchal authority. In other words, both scholars could not clearly show whether Muslim women are part of the piety movement due to self-awareness as autonomous subjects or due to false consciousness. Apart from that, two other women's groups, namely Cadar Garis Lucu and SRILI, have different movements. Even though Cadar Garis Lucu has a Salafi background, in the development of its movement it has adopted many of the Islamic Feminism movements. They started the movement by criticizing religious texts and teachings which they considered to be shackles. Likewise with SRILI, they criticize a lot of religious dogma and policies that are considered discriminatory against women.

Therefore, this study offers different alternative views on women's piety movement scholarly works. More particularly, Indonesian women's piety movements seem not only to stick to religious values as a means of emancipation and advocacy for Muslim women. Instead, they also attempt to engage with various issues related to women's issues (Rinaldo 2013).

There are three kinds of movement agency offered in this paper. First, women's groups as 'pious critical agents,' characterized by 'activism for women's rights and equality' and 'critical public engagement with the interpretation of religious texts' for the purposes of gender activism. The group embodies 'expressive religiosity and respect for religious and cultural differences' along with an egalitarian social vision 'where Islam is a force for social justice but not part of the state.' The SRILI group and "Cadar Garis Lucu" can be seen from this optic. Fatayat is included in this group of critical agents and Fatayat itself is part of SRILI. Second, the Muslim women's movement as an 'agent of active piety.' This can be seen in PKS and Salafi women who actively push for policies and carry out movements related to women's piety, for example, Muslim clothing policies, but without a critical attitude towards conservative dogma that arises from religion (W. Jati and Bachtiar 2024; Raharjo Jati 2022)"plainCitation":"(W. Jati and Bachtiar 2024; Raharjo Jati 2022. Third, inclusive feminist agency represented by Women's Solidarity (SP). This last model shows a more open form of secular women's movement without being fixated on the desire to realize certain pieties.

In order to delve into three mentioned women movement, this study primarily used qualitative methods to further investigate the understanding and practices of piousness expression within each observed Muslim women's organization. More importantly, this study aimed to cover different kinds of expressed women's spaces and their challenges within each movement. The data was collected through in-depth interviews and documentary analysis by taking case studies in Makassar and Yogyakarta during 2022-2023. The selected informants, mainly Muslim women activists and academics, were chosen as primary informants. We conducted 20 interviews. Meanwhile, the documentary analysis was based on relevant publications from both popular and scientific works.

The Emergence of Women Wing Organisation within Wahdah Islamiyah

Wahdah Islamiyah (WI) is a Muslim organization that was established in Makassar on June 18, 1988. This foundation-shaped organization was originally named the Fathul Muin Foundation. The name was taken by the founders from a teacher whom they respected because of his firmness in religious matters, namely Fathul Muin Dg Maggading. According to Mujahidudin, the activities of this organization include: Firstly, the formation of the Dinul Islam Study Forum (Forum Studi Dinul Islam, FOSIDI), which functioned as a medium where students at Hasanuddin University (UNHAS) could discuss Islam. FOSIDI has been centered in the Faculty of Agriculture at UNHAS, as its founders were students from that faculty. Secondly, the foundation also formed a campus-based da'wa institution named Ashabul Kahfi in 1998 at the Indonesian Muslim University (UMI). Both campuses are in Makassar (Mujahiduddin 2019).

On February 19, 1998, this foundation changed its name to Wahdah Islamiyah. Furthermore, on April 14, 2002, it became a community organization with the permanent name Wahdah Islamiyah (WI). Since its inception until today, the organization's head office remains in Makassar, South Sulawesi. Now, it has branches spread across every district in South Sulawesi and even exists in various places in Indonesia, especially in Eastern Indonesia. Since the beginning, this organization has been based on Islam, although this was not stated in the notarial deed. As mentioned by Muh. Ikhwan, one of the leaders of WI, they adhere to Salafi Islam, Ahlusunnah wal Jamaah. Salafi, in the understanding of Muh. Ikhwan, are followers of the Salaf scholars. According to him, the definition of Salafi is actually a general understanding, while in the map of the Islamic movement itself, Salafi has its own characteristics. Those who call themselves Salafi are not just followers of Salaf scholars, but as Al-Ayubi has mentioned, have distinctive characteristics; dogmatic, doctrinal, scripturalist, and consider that their way of religion is based on authentic Islam (Ayubi 1991). Another feature that stands out is that, like other Islamist groups, WI rejects ideas considered to originate from the West (democracy, liberalism, secularism, and feminism).

Salafi ideology is quite strong within WI because this organization emphasizes the purification of Islam. Teachers who teach at WI also come from Salafi development centers in the Middle East, such as

Mecca and Medina (Marhaeni 2018). In later developments, there was indeed a change in WI's Salafi style. It used to be very exclusive, but now they are starting to be more open-minded about differences. This includes starting to openly dialogue with ideas that came from outside Salafism. If in the past they strongly opposed the idea of tolerance, now they are starting to get involved in the movement, though it should be in line with their ideas. Likewise, in the women's movement, initially, the women's wing of Wahdah Islamiyah was not involved in organizations and only followed men's movements. Now, women have become an important element in the movements of this organization. This change in WI shows purification within the organization. As Robert de Lee called it, it is no longer anti-change or completely rejecting ideas from outside; instead, they adapt these changes to Islamic teachings (Lee 2000). If ideas from outside are in accordance with the Islamic values they understand, they will be accepted. If they are not in harmony, then counter-ideas based on Islamic teachings will be developed.

The women's movement within WI can be traced back to the 90s. In that period, an Akhwat Deliberation Council (MMA) was formed. This assembly serves as a means of discussion as well as training for WI women. Through MMA, women members also gained preaching skills and, of course, Islamic recitations in a program they call tarbiah (Mujahiduddin 2019). But the position of women through MMA is nothing more than fostering cadres. While the mentors themselves are men, adhering to the pious principles believed by the Salafi groups, the issue of men having to lead women, especially in public space, remains their stance. During the mentorship process, the space between male teachers and female cadres is separated by a long curtain. Over time, more and more women have become active in Wahdah Islamiyah. In 2005, a women's organization called Lembaga Muslim Women (LM) was formed. Until now, women in WI are active in urban mosques. Several residential mosques managed by WI have become places for MWI activists to develop da'wah and accompany Muslim women in the complex. In the mosque, they opened a recitation course for women in the compound. They went to one house after another in the housing complex and listed the women who could not recite or had just learned to recite the Qur'an. After that, the women were invited to the mosque every week and given lessons to read the Quran. According to Ummu Saidah, the study of the Qur'an is carried out in stages: basic, intermediate, and advanced stages.

In addition to teaching recitation in mosques, MWI held Islamic studies or ta'lim assemblies to discuss religious issues. The resource persons came from MWI women themselves. The themes of the study include 'Worship Procedures', 'Islam and Women', and 'Husband and Wife Relations according to Islam'. They often also held the practice of bathing the corpse and several other activities. This religious study activity is also often carried out from house to house in one complex. Nevertheless, the center of their activities remained in the mosque. Meanwhile, students who join MWI are usually assigned to be active in the Lembaga Dakwah Kampus (LDI) and Rohis in schools. On campus and in schools, the center of their activities is also carried out in mosques. It can be said that these MWIs control mosque activities, especially for women.

At the mosque, mothers and children are usually taught to read the holy book. They target mothers and children in city housing complexes. In cities, there are usually many children and mothers who cannot read the Qur'an. The mothers themselves have varying degrees of proficiency in reading the Quran: some are new to spelling, some are already fluent, and some are learning the Quran for the first time. Each person studies twice a week. The activity itself has morning, afternoon, and evening classes. Usually, at the end of the week, they gather to do recitations, not to learn to read the Quran, but to study religious issues. Apart from learning the Quran, the women are also given courses on handling corpses and skills that could improve the household economy. This movement makes the mosque the center of their activities, both for religious studies, studying the scriptures, and studying literature. Mahmood found this model of the Muslim women's movement to be part of the Islamic Awakening (al-Sahwa al-Islamiyya) or Islamic awakening movement. Muslim women are usually gathered in Islamic organizations or Salafi groups. MWI itself in South Sulawesi has made housing complex mosques, as well as mosques and prayer rooms on campus, the center of its activities.

At one of the campuses in Makassar, MWI women have a SAINS (Intensive Al-Qur'an Study) program. MWI activists specifically deal with Muslim female students, teaching the Quran, providing Islamic studies, and assisting with the various needs of these students related to religion. These MWI activists have tiered programs starting from learning to read the Al-Quran alphabet to religious studies presented

by senior MWI members. All these activities are centered in faculty mosques and campus mosques (Syamsurijal 2018).

Even though the mosque is the center of their activities, in housing estates, activities often move from house to house. Their family rooms are used for preaching and various empowerment activities for women. The activities of mothers related to the household are one of the priorities in these various activities. Discussions with themes like "Parenting according to Islam" or "Being a good mother according to Islam" are the most frequently held discussions. The house, which has traditionally been considered a private space, has become a place to carry out these various activities. These MWI activists do not necessarily push women into the public sphere; instead, they teach them to be good women in the household and educate their children in an Islamic way. They use this private space as a place to strengthen the values of piety for Muslim women. However, if women want to take part in a wider environment, not just within the family, the opportunity is still given. In fact, according to one of the MWI officials, they encouraged female cadres who wanted to pursue higher education, to become bachelors, masters, and even doctors. These members include lecturers, teachers, doctors, and female preachers. Of course, those who work outside the household must pay attention to the values of piety taught in Islam.

In this case, it seems that MWI does not consider public space more important than domestic space, or they do not clearly differentiate between them. Ahmad Baso, an NU intellectual, as quoted in Syamsurijal, once gave different terms regarding this public and domestic space (Syamsurijal 2021). According to him, the two terms should simply be called closed and open public spaces. This means that both are public spaces; it's just that the closed public space is more about empowerment, accompaniment, or regeneration, while the open public space places more emphasis on the social and political role of a woman in society. But it could also be that MWI and WI, in general, see public space as something problematic. MWI sees that the current public space is a space that is actually controlled by the power of capitalism or the interests of the market and the state. MWI's views are actually similar to mainstream views among other Islamists, such as the Muslim Brotherhood, Hizbut Tahrir, and Salafi groups. In the public space, there is no place for religion anymore because religion itself has been privatized. At the same time, public space is controlled by the market

with its principles of liberalism and is dominated by the state. This has actually been questioned by Habermas for a long time by stating that the public space has lost its autonomy as a result of market and state intervention. There has been a kind of structural transformation in the public space, which was previously an autonomous space and a common space for the wider community to exchange ideas, but is now fully controlled by capitalism and the state (Habermas 1991). Meanwhile society, especially women in such public spaces, according to Hardiman, are nothing more than consumers and objects that the state and capitalism are constantly proposing ideas (Hardiman 2010).

Islamist groups usually challenge the public space controlled by these two forces by trying to take it over. Religion, which had previously been removed from the liberal public space, is forced back into and controls this public space. However, the method adopted by MWI, especially in the women's movement, is not entirely the same as other Islamic groups. They do not directly seek to seize public space but instead form new spaces and fill them with ideas based on the pious principles they adhere to. The new space formed is a private or domestic space, which is shaped into a kind of new public space. By visiting homes, teaching the Quran, and imparting religious knowledge from one family to another, then holding religious studies that rotate from house to house, they are forming a new public space. This is similar to Franz Fanon's call in Gandhi, who invites women into the domestic space because that is the only place free from the intervention of market forces and the state (Ghandi 1998).

The difference is that for Fanon, domestic space remains domestic space and is not converted into an alternative public space. On the contrary, MWI transforms it into an alternative public space, outside of the public space that has been dominated by the market or the state.

Cadar Garis Lucu

Cadar Garis Lucu was formed by Ainun Jamilah and several of her fellow niqab-wearing Muslim women on February 3, 2021. They held various dialogues with themes ranging from feminism and pluralism to tolerance. The name Cadar Garis Lucu (Funny Path Niqab Women) was chosen after much consideration. Their initial initiative was to call themselves Muslim Women Feminists, but they changed it to make it sound more relaxed and to attract young people to get involved within the community.

Ainun's reason for establishing Cadar Garis Lucu was initially an expression of her anxiety over social phenomena, most of which involved negative prejudices against Muslim women who wore the niqab. This anxiety then encouraged her to set up this community to provide a new understanding to society. More specifically, Ainun underlines the point that not all Muslim women who wear the niqab are anti-tolerant, radicals, or even labeled as terrorists. This community wants to eradicate the stigma attached to women who wear the niqab. It has been widely believed among members of society that wearing a niqab is perceived to be exclusive, fanatical, and radical (Yilmaz 2023a; Yilmaz and Barton 2021). In response to these views, they attempted to revise this perception by establishing Cadar Garis Lucu, consisting of Muslim women who wear the niqab but have open minds. They also want to show that the niqab is not always linked with intolerance and anti-diversity (W. R. Jati 2024; Yilmaz 2023b).

Cadar Garis Lucu, as an entity and social religious movement, is certainly inseparable from the genealogy of understanding in Islam. According to Ainun, this community adheres to Salafi (*salafunā ṣālih*) ideology, which has been adapted to the current period. Ainun, for example, said that they are part of a series of adherents of typical Salafi understandings such as *tawhīd al-ulūhīyah, rubūbīyah,* and *asmā' wa ṣifāt*, as well as the concept of *al-walā' wa al-barā'*, which are core understandings for Salafi people. She also said that some of the references in Islam they follow tend to be from the book *Majmū' al-Fatāwā* by Ibn Taymiyyah (interview with Ainun).

The modern Salafi movement in this community can also be demonstrated by some of the expressions of its founders in several discussions, where they stated that Muslims who claim to be Salafi have misunderstood the concepts of *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* (enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong) and *jihad*, thus leading to their group (Muslim women who wear the niqab) becoming associated with radical Islam in Indonesia. However, not all women who wear the niqab are like that. Through Cadar Garis Lucu, Ainun Jamilah and her friends want to voice that women who wear the niqab are not terrorists, nor are they women who close themselves off from society. According to her, everyone has an awareness of thinking that influences religious expression. Similarly, for Ainun, veiling was a conscious choice she made six years ago.

Cadar Garis Lucu community have many programs. Several online media then covered the programs and provided their responses, such as *Neswa.id, Talk Muslim women.com, Mojok.Co, KBR.id, JabarNU.or.id* (Mayasari 2021; Wardani 2021; Mardiasih 2021). This online media describes "Cadar Garis Lucu" as a movement of niqab-wearing women who seek to eliminate the negative stigma associated with niqab-wearing women. The negative stigma attached to niqab women surely has basic causes. The many jihadist movements and terrorist cases that have occurred so far, such as suicide bombings featuring women in niqabs, have contributed to this. For example, the recent suicide bombing that occurred at the Makassar Cathedral Church involved a husband and wife, with the wife known to wear a black niqab. Similarly, in the bombing case that occurred in Surabaya, a niqab-wearing woman became the perpetrator in the suicide bombing.

Figure 1: Expressed Space of @cadargarislucu on social media.

These series of terrorist cases and intolerant acts have echoed the adoption of a more pious lifestyle. The stigma of niqab-wearing women is often seen as linked to terrorism, leading to direct or indirect

discrimination. Public stigma towards niqab-wearing Muslim women also varies, including perceptions of exclusivity, unwillingness to socialize, and so on. For these reasons, niqab activists try to break the stigma, asserting that many women who wear the niqab have an open mindset and reject conservative Islamic teachings, which are currently booming under the name of the hijrah trend.

Figure 2: Expressed Space of @cadargarislucu on social media.

There are several inter-religious dialogue programs that they carried out, including "Iftar with Cadar Garis Lucu" and "Ramadhan with Cadar Garis Lucu." They conducted these two programs during the months of Ramadan in 2021 and 2022. In 2021, "Iftar with Cadar Garis Lucu" was held twice a week: Saturday and Sunday, through the IG Live feature @cadargarislucu. In 2022, "HAHAHIHI Ramadhan with Cadar Garis Lucu" was held once a week, on Sundays. In these programs, they discussed serious themes around religious life in a light-hearted manner, such as the theme of fasting from a religious perspective. During these events, they invited non-Muslims, such as Hindus, Catholics, Protestants, Buddhists, and Confucians, to share directly with them.

Currently, Cadar Garis Lucu no longer discusses the contestation of the identity of niqab-wearing women; instead, they have evolved and are more focused on discussing contemporary issues. On their Instagram account, Cadar Garis Lucu often posts posters about how women should respond to discrimination against them. For example, in response to issues of sexual harassment, Cadar Garis Lucu was very swift in addressing them. Even though they do not directly call themselves a feminist movement, the Cadar Garis Lucu community often shares ideas related to gender issues, posting quotes from several members. There is even a tendency for some online news media to associate Cadar Garis Lucu with the feminist women's movement, or at least describe this movement as having a mission similar to the feminist movement.

Srikandi Lintas Iman (SRILI)

The birth of "Srikandi Lintas Iman" (SRILI) in 2015 was derived from a pilot project grant that was received by its founder Wiwin Rohmawati from the KAICIID Dialogue Centre. This grant was basically to advocate for dialogue roles in bridging differences. Wiwin, through SRILI, organized a workshop entitled "Revitalizing the Role of Women in Managing Religious Diversity" in Yogyakarta. The workshop participants came from various religious organizations in Yogyakarta, such as Fatayat (the women's organization branch of Nahdlatul Ulama/NU)[1], Nasyiatul Aisyiyyah (women organisation brach of Muhammadiyah)[2], Indonesian Catholic Woman that belongs to The Bishops' Conference of Indonesia. and Indonesian Confucian Women. It also included Dharma Klaten Hindu College and Duta Wacana Christian University, from Javanese Christian Church and the Vidyasena Vihara. Through these workshop, Srikandi Lintas Iman runs till today.

The emergence of "Srikandi Lintas Iman" (SRILI) is a response to various types of intolerance that exist in public spaces. Another issue that motivated its formation is social prejudice against those who are considered "different" in terms of religion and ethnicity. These causes eventually raised questions about the position of women amidst dogmatic religious understandings in Yogyakarta. It also responded to the need for open and inclusive dialogue for women in public spaces. This need inspired women activists to set up "Srikandi Lintas

Iman." Most of the organization's members are midwives, activists, and academic workers. Women are ideally the best option to spread peacebuilding initiatives in both home and public spaces, especially through arisan (social gatherings), recitations, and other forums.

SRILI promotes interfaith dialogue and peace, and this is concrete proof of how piety and social activism can work together. SRILI members use their religious social platform to encourage positive change and build bridges between various religious communities (Wasisto Jati et al. 2022). This organization also highlights how Indonesian Muslim women play an important role in the public sphere, both through religious and social organizations. They are often agents of change in their communities. SRILI's activities focus on empowering women in public spaces through dialogue and social activities, including training activities, workshops, recitations, and interfaith discussions. Thus, SRILI strengthens the role of women as agents of change.

There is also a need to collaborate in order to promote diversity and the well-being of women and children, which is carried out by the organization. The core activities of Srikandi Lintas Iman focus on building good interreligious dialogue through interfaith pilgrimages, social service, and other technical training. More concretely, the commitment to peace and pluralism is nurtured through a series of training and facilitation workshops with the involvement of various groups (Jati and Yilmaz 2023).

Various efforts are made to deepen and understand human beings as social creatures. This understanding also confirms that social piety becomes important in social interaction. Taken together, Table 1 below summarizes the above-mentioned women's piety movements in Indonesia in accordance with Saba Mahmood's conception of agency. By comparing Saba's theory, it would be useful to revisit her theory and its applicability in the Indonesian context. In this sense, each organization/movement has defined distinctive "agency" and "expressed space" for their members and fellows.

Table 1. Typology of Women's Piety Movements in Indonesia

Organizations	Type of Movement	Expressed Space	Type of Agency	Social Context behind Agency
Muslimat Wahdah Islamiyah (MWI)	Pious of Self Cultivation & Embodiment. Da'wah for women's empowerment	Mosque And recitation at members' homes	WI as an active personal piety Agency	Forming one's own subject through internal awareness by obeying teachings that encourage piety.
Cadar Garis Lucu	Women's Empowerment, inclusive veiled women. Niqab as an expression of religion	Public Space that includes cyber space	critical pious agency	Internal awareness that the veil is a form of piety. Awareness to fight public stigma against groups wearing the veil
Srikandi Lintas Iman (SRILI)	Empowerment and the Role of Women in Managing Religious Diversity. Pious of Self Cultivation & Embodiment Internalized values of equality can become a habitus that is embodied in all women	Public Space that includes cyber space	critical pious agency	Intolerant attitudes that affected religious understandings.

Source: Elaborated from fieldwork data.

Positioning The Three Indonesian Muslim Women's Movements into Global Piety Movement Discourse

In line with the above arguments, this study uses Saba Mahmood's concept of agency to frame the women's piety movement within the Indonesian context. The use of agency here is useful to understand the kinds of expressed space and piousness among Muslim women activists. In brief, there are three women's movements that are the subject of this research: Muslimah Wahdah Islamiyah (MWI), "Cadar Garis Lucu," and Srikandi Lintas Iman (SRILI).

Among the three mentioned movement groups, MWI is the most relevant to several concepts by Saba Mahmood. This is because the MWI group has made mosques a space for empowerment, exactly as Mahmood observed with Egyptian women in what she called "The women's mosque movement." Apart from that, MWI is also a women's group under the auspices of the Salafi movement. This group is in some ways included in what Saba Mahmood calls the Islamic Awakening (al-Sahwa al-Islamiyya). This group aims to purify Islam and is heavily influenced by the thoughts of Islamist figures such as Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab, Ibn Taymiyyah, and Abdullah bin Baz. Some pious expressions they implement include not mingling with men in the name of modesty, and some members wear the veil.

In contrast to MWI, "Cadar Garis Lucu" is a movement of niqab-wearing women in Makassar that tries to present the face of veiled women as an inclusive group. They are interested in using feminism explicitly as a term, method, and model in rereading Islam. Additionally, they are actively involved in interfaith dialogue. The background to their emergence is similar to the Salafi women's niqab movement or the women's mosque movement observed by Saba Mahmood—they want to clear up stereotypes of the niqab-wearing group. Wearing the niqab is often considered a symbol of men's oppression and domination of women. As Nisa said, niqab-wearing women are identified with radical groups and terrorism, and they are excluded from the category of moderate Islamic groups in Indonesia. However, instead of challenging the concepts of feminism while maintaining orthodoxy, as happened with MWI women, they have actually become part of the Islamic feminist movement. What they have not changed is their view of the niqab as part of being a pious Muslim woman (Duderija 2020).

They still believe that the veil is their way of maintaining honor

and obeying the commands of Allah and His Messenger. In this case, the veil remains a part of self-pious cultivation and embodiment, as conceptualized by Saba Mahmood.

The last group is Srikandi Lintas Iman (SRILI), which consists of interfaith women's organizations. Within this group, there are several Islamic women's organizations, but there are also members from religions other than Islam. Of course, the focus of observation is on the group of Islamic women who are members of SRILI. These include Fatayat and Muslimat NU as well as Aisyiyah. In the concept of women's expressed space, Mahmood shows how women in the Islamic piety movement often transform private space into significant expressed space through religious practices. SRILI, with activities such as social gatherings, recitations, discussion forums, and workshops/training, transforms private spaces into public platforms for dialogue and social action. This activity allows women to play an active role in promoting peace and harmony between religions, which is in line with Mahmood's concept regarding the transformation of public space by women. Furthermore, Mahmood also revealed that social piety is a matter where individual religious actions have broad social implications. Religious practice focuses not only on the individual's relationship with God but also on social life. SRILI's activities involving social service and interfaith collaboration reflect this social piety. Through interfaith pilgrimage activities and social service, SRILI creates a community that is not only focused on individual piety but also on collective action for the common good. SRILI shows how Saba Mahmood's concept is applied in efforts to create dialogue and peace between religions in Yogyakarta.

Concluding Remarks

In general, this study has offered new insight into women's piety movements, with Indonesia as the main reference. Previously in Mahmood's work, these movements basically consisted of Muslim women fellows who sought to balance religious adherence with women's aspirations. It subsequently set up a space that would entirely serve women's interests. Starting from the mosque, it then spread out through visiting the homes of each female member. This is also a way to create social bonding among Muslim women in order to keep their faith. This concept was then applied to the Indonesian case to see whether the Indonesian women's piety movement had a similar attitude

to its Egyptian counterpart. The findings of this study showed that there are different expressions among women's movements in expressing their piety. Three women's movements became the subject of study. Wahdah Islamiyah is likely similar to the women's piety movement in Mahmood's work. However, the other two movements, Cadar Garis Lucu and Srikandi Lintas Iman, likely expand their piety into social religious movements. Moreover, both organizations are concerned with peacebuilding and interfaith dialogue. These latter intentions are something Saba Mahmood was unable to find in Egypt. This also contributes to the scholarship on women's piety movements.

When it comes to the Indonesian context, the women's piety movement has been adapted into various expressions. The women's wing of Wahdah Islamiyah seems similar to the Egyptian case, as Mahmood observed during her research. Specifically, this women's movement perceives religious principles as non-negotiable. This has led Wahdah Islamiyah's women's wing to elevate their piousness through mosques and drop-in sessions at each member's residence. By focusing on their piousness, they have essentially created a collective space exclusively for Muslim women. In contrast, the other two women's organizations do not emphasize piousness as the central theme of their expressions. These findings challenge Mahmood's conclusion that the emergence of women's piety movements is a way to reject feminism by committing to piousness and religious principles through women's spaces.

The two organizations, "Cadar Garis Lucu" and "Srikandi Lintas Iman," seem to expand the concept of piousness beyond just women's interests. Previously, the space and piousness practices of Wahdah Islamiyah were exclusively focused on their members' concerns. However, these two organizations believe that the expression of piousness should encompass not only internal but also social piousness. By emphasizing social piousness, they aim to expand it into interfaith dialogue. This latter goal has become a signature advocacy for both organizations. While the concerns of women and children remain central, these organizations believe that these issues should not be confined to domestic affairs. Instead, they seek to encourage women to actively engage in social interactions, especially with people from diverse backgrounds.

Overall, this study contributes to the broader understanding of piousness expression within the women's piety movement. This should

not only involve exclusive women's organizations but also engage with current societal issues. As current literature suggests, an inward-looking orientation may be suitable to bridge women's emancipation efforts and Islamism. However, this study suggests that there is a need for outward-looking orientations for the women's movement in responding to recent issues. This approach positions them as front-runners in advocating for grassroots issues in society.

Endnotes

1. Fatayat NU is a women's organization associated with Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), the largest Islamic organization in Indonesia. Fatayat NU was founded in 1950 and aims to develop the role of Muslim women in religious, social and educational activities. They are active in da'wah activities, religious education, as well as economic and social empowerment for women. This organization also seeks to promote gender equality within the framework of Islamic and Indonesian cultural values

2. Nasyiatul Aisyiyah is a women's organization associated with Muhammadiyah, an Islamic reform movement in Indonesia. This organization was founded in 1917 with the aim of improving the quality of life of Muslim women through education, da'wah, health, social and economic issues. Nasyiatul Aisyiyah focuses on developing the potential of Muslim women in various aspects of life, including improving the quality of education, economic empowerment, and advocating for gender equality within the framework of Islamic values. They are also active in social activities to make positive contributions to the wider community

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The journal invites scholars and experts working in all disciplines in the humanities and social sciences pertaining to Islam or Muslim societies. Articles should be original, research-based, unpublished and not under review for possible publication in other journals. All submitted papers are subject to review of the editors, editorial board, and blind reviewers. Submissions that violate our guidelines on formatting or length will be rejected without review.

Articles should be written in American English between approximately 10.000-15.000 words including text, all tables and figures, notes, references, and appendices intended for publication. All submission must include 150 words abstract and 5 keywords. Quotations, passages, and words in local or foreign languages should

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1. Hefner, Robert. 2009a. "Introduction: The Political Cultures of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia," in *Making Modern Muslims: The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia*, ed. Robert Hefner, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
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Arabic romanization should be written as follows:
Letters: ', *b*, *t*, *th*, *j*, *ḥ*, *kh*, *d*, *dh*, *r*, *z*, *s*, *sh*, *ṣ*, *ḍ*, *ṭ*, *ẓ*, ', *gh*, *f*, *q*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *h*, *w*, *y*. Short vowels: *a*, *i*, *u*. long vowels: *ā*, *ī*, *ū*. Diphthongs: *aw*, *ay*. *Tā marbūṭā*: *t*. Article: *al-*. For detail information on Arabic Romanization, please refer the transliteration system of the Library of Congress (LC) Guidelines.

STUDIA ISLAMIKA

Indonesian Image of the Ottoman Caliphate and the New Republic of Türkiye 1918–1925

Mehmet Özay & Nia Deliana

The Rise of Tahfiz Schools in Contemporary Indonesia

Jajang Jahroni

الحراك الصوفي والدعوة الإنسانية في إندونيسيا: حالة الحبيب أبي بكر العطاس الزبيدي

شمس الرجال وموسى الكاظم الحبشي