



# Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia: An Introduction to its Thoughts and Activities

Claudia Seise

SÜDOSTASIEN Working Papers

ISSN: 1432-2811

published by the Department of Southeast Asian Studies

Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

Unter den Linden 6

10999 Berlin, Germany

Tel. +49-30-2093 66031

Fax +49-30-2093 66049

Email: [hiwi-soa@rz.hu-berlin.de](mailto:hiwi-soa@rz.hu-berlin.de)

The Working Papers do not necessarily express the views of the editors or the Institute of Asian and African Studies. Although the editors are responsible for their selection, responsibility for the opinions expressed in the Papers rests with the authors.

**Any kind of reproduction without permission is prohibited.**

Claudia Seise

**Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia:  
An Introduction to its Thoughts and Activities**

Südostasien Working Papers No. 44

Berlin 2011



# Table of Contents

1. Introduction .....	5
2. Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia.....	7
3. Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia and its Themes.....	10
3.1 Women, Gender and Family.....	11
3.1.1 Gender.....	12
3.1.2 Family.....	14
3.2 Education.....	16
4. Conclusion .....	18
5. Bibliography.....	19



# 1. Introduction

Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (in the following abbreviated with HTI) was founded in 1982 as an Indonesian outpost of the transnational political Islamic party Hizbut Tahrir (Liberation Front<sup>1</sup>). Hizbut Tahrir was founded in Jerusalem in 1953 by the Palestinian Islamic leader Taqiyyuddin An-Nabhani with its central objective to re-establish the caliphate – the Islamic state<sup>2</sup>. According to HTI, the existence of political parties fulfills one of the duties assigned to humans by Allah<sup>3</sup>.

While in many countries across the world, among them Germany, central Asian countries and other European countries, Hizbut Tahrir has been illegal and its followers partly persecuted, the organization has been free to operate since the end of the *Orde Baru* Regime<sup>4</sup> in Indonesia. Nevertheless, besides its peaceful character and activities in Indonesia, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia is often named in line with radical Islam and organizations like Front Pembela Islam, Laskar Jihad and Jemaah Islamiyah, the organization blamed for several bomb attacks on the island of Bali and in the capital city of Jakarta. Manneke Budiman (2008:77) for example, describes Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia together with the above mentioned organizations as militant, even though HTI has never had a military wing or proclaims to use military force or any other violence as can be derived from its manifest.

Nevertheless, its anti-secular attitude and argumentation line, which includes notions against manmade rules, laws and government systems and its deep affiliation with pure Muslim traditions, including teachings from the Holy Qur'an, traditions from the Prophet Muhammad and his *sahabat* – disciples, are often seen as a threat by western observers. Until today, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia has been rarely analyzed, except for individual academic papers. However, a monograph that aims at providing a detailed analysis on HTI does not exist at present. While some research has been done about HTI, the women's wing Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (in the following abbreviated with MHTI) has until today not been discussed in academic works by western researchers with the exception of a short general introduction by Mohamed Nawab Mohamed Osman (2009:21-23). The main reason, I assume, is the access to MHTI, which is basically inaccessible to male researchers because of HTI's strict policy to separate most of its activities among gender lines. As a female researcher and being a Muslim myself, I had the possibility to interact with female members and join MHTI activities that are offered to Muslim women exclusively.

The following analysis aims to offer an insight into HTI's politics and activities by looking at the women's wing of HTI, Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia. The central question that will be discussed

---

<sup>1</sup> Also known as Liberation Party.

<sup>2</sup> Manifesto Hizbut Tahrir untuk Indonesia (2009:7): "Sistem sekuler yang saat ini diterapkan di Indonesia, juga di negeri-negeri Muslim lainnya, tidak akan pernah bisa menghasilkan kebaikan dan kemajuan, karena sistem itu adalah sistem yang rusak dan bertentangan dengan akidah Islam. Sistem ini telah nyata-nyata menjauhkan umat Islam dari harta miliknya yang paling berharga, yaitu kecintaan kepada agama Allah SWT. Karenanya, sistem ini tidak pernah sungguh-sungguh mendapatkan dukungan dari umat. Bagaimana akan tercipta kebaikan dan kemajuan dalam sebuah masyarakat, bila sistem yang diterapkan tidak sepenuhnya mendapat dukungan dari rakyatnya?"

Manifest for Indonesia by Hizbut Tahrir (2009:7): "The secular system, which is applied in Indonesia and other Muslim countries today, will never bear fruit to development, advantage and goodness, because this system is damaged and opposes the Islamic faith and believe. This system has been drawing the Muslim *umma* – community from the property most valuable: the love to the religion of Allah SWT. That is why this system [the secular system] will never truly gain the support of the [Muslim] *umma*. So how can there be goodness and development in a society, if the system applied does not gain the full support of the people?"

<sup>3</sup> Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia: Kiprah Politik Perempuan: "Keberadaan partai politik merupakan pemenuhan kewajiban dari Allah Swt, sebagaimana Allah berfirman dalam surat 'Ali Imran ayat 104 [...]" (2007:33f.)

<sup>4</sup> According to Mohamed Nawab Mohamed Osman, Hizbut Tahrir is also able to operate legally in over forty-five countries in Europe, the Middle East, Africa and Asia.

is: How does Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia contribute to the achievement of the overall goal of Hizbut Tahrir to establish the caliphate?

The following paper is mainly based on primary sources in Indonesian published by Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia or groups or individuals affiliated with Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia. Empirical data obtained during participatory observation of conferences, seminars or workshops by Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir between December 2008 and September 2009 in Yogyakarta and structured interviews in form of questionnaires form a second major source of my paper. Additionally, secondary literature is used to give a short overview of the state of the arts on Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia.

The first part of the paper focuses on the state of the arts concerning Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia and its development in Indonesia especially since *reformasi*. Since secondary literature is scarce, this part relies mainly on three papers by Burhanuddin Muhtadi (2009), Ken Ward (2009) and Mohamed Nawab Mohamed Osman (2009). I will not provide an extensive historical analysis on HT nor HTI, since my focus is directed on activities and thoughts of MHTI; the reader is encouraged to refer to the three articles mentioned above.

The second part of the paper is based on my personal research between December 2008 and September 2009 as well as empirical data and primary sources I obtained during this time. The focus here shifts to the women's wing of HTI and analyses thoughts and rhetoric concerning the themes of women, gender and family, as well as education. A conclusion with an outlook on the possible continuation of the theme discussed will end this paper.

## 2. Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia

Current analysis about Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia often only reaches as far as to condemn or discredit HTI's argumentation line and goals, searching for proof that confirms existing classifications of HTI as radical and fundamentalist Islamists<sup>5</sup>. Greg Fealy and Virginia Hooker (2006) consider HTI as radical, while stress is put on its peaceful character. The term 'radical' to characterize HTI is probably used because of their goal to establish an Islamic state, which in today's world is seen as a huge threat to the western establishment. Connected to that, Muhtadi (2009:624) argues that some Western analysts who use a security approach to analyze Hizbut Tahrir tend to conclude that HTI is a terrorist organization or a 'conveyor belt for terrorists' (Zeyno Baran 2005 in: Muhtadi 2009:624). But according to Fealy (2005), "those accusers of HT [Hizbut Tahrir] have not provided evidence to support their claims adequately" (In: Muhtadi 2009:624).

Ward (2009:149) describes HTI as a radical Muslim organization that is bitterly anti-Western and rejects capitalism, democracy, liberalism and pluralism, while strictly eschewing violence. Ahnaf (2006) depicts HTI's anti-Western attitude as the imagining of the Other as enemy. But while Ahnaf looks at the construction of the image of the Other as enemy only from the Islamic point of view, I argue that both sides, HTI as well as 'the other side' see one another as enemy. Interestingly, Nawab (2009) refrains from judging HTI from a political perspective but rather aims at presenting empirical data on HTI because according to him, "little is known about this organisation in the English-speaking world" (Nawab 2009:1).

Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia draws mostly tertiary students and young intellectuals from different parts of Indonesia to its agenda, as also stated by Greg Fealy (2006: 236). Fealy, together with Hooker and White, even counts HTI as one representational group of 'campus Islam', a form of cultural Islam (Fealy 2006:48), next to organizations such as Gerakan Tarbiyah and Jemaah Tabligh. It is interesting to note that while Fealy and Hooker consider Hizbut Tahrir as a radical grouping, they do not count their campus activities to political, but cultural Islam. Even though it is clear that, deriving from the Palestinian political party Hizbut Tahrir, HTI has surely a political agenda and interest.

During my research about Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia I also noticed that members of HTI are mainly young intellectuals that seem to have the understanding that the society and political system they live in today needs change. In the city of Yogyakarta in central Java for example, we can find members of HTI on most campuses. Especially in well known and bigger universities, like Universitas Gadjah Mada, Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta, Universitas Indonesia or even the art university Institut Seni Indonesia, active groups of HTI members can be found. Even more interesting is the fact that many young employed lecturers<sup>6</sup> at those universities as well as some newly employed school teachers are also members of HTI, many of them women.

Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia has been active in Indonesia since around 1982. But until the fall of Suharto in 1997 and the beginning of the *reformasi* era, HTI was limited in its activities due to major restrictions on freedom of expression, especially, but not foremost directed towards political Islam<sup>7</sup>. Nevertheless, HTI started to form its organization and recruit members<sup>8</sup> through general religious classes (*pengajian umum*) in local mosques. From the beginning, the transfer of Hizbut Tahrir's ideas was open to both Muslim men and women alike as described by Ummu Latifah, who was one of the first women to join HTI:

---

<sup>5</sup> See for example Fritz Schulze: "Pluralismus und Demokratie im radikal-islamischen Diskurs am Beispiel der Hizbut Tahrir" (2008)

<sup>6</sup> Lecturers at universities as well as teachers at all school levels are government employees.

<sup>7</sup> For further details see Muhtadi (2009:637)

<sup>8</sup> On the process of joining and the process of recruitment see Bainbridge (1997).

“I met with a religious teacher from Lebanon, who eventually stayed in Indonesia and married and had a family with a Muslim woman from Bogor in Westjava. I met him in 1986 and studied the ideas of Hizbut Tahrir. After that I and other Muslim women passed on the ideas of Hizbut Tahrir to other Muslim women, so that eventually the ideas of Hizbut Tahrir spread in all of Indonesia.”<sup>9</sup>

Since *reformasi*, HTI has been able to recruit huge numbers of new members and sympathizers. While the actual number of HTI members is unknown because of HTI’s policy not to reveal member information, it is astonishing to witness that already in 2007 during the “*Konferensi Khilafah Internasional Tahun 2007*” HTI was able to fill the Gelora Bung Karno Main Stadium in Jakarta with its supporters<sup>10</sup>.

Muhtadi explains the rise in HTI’s activities and membership with the collapse of Suharto’s New Order regime and democratic changes and a multi-dimensional crisis that followed since<sup>11</sup>. Social transformation also forms the source of religious resistance movements according to Paul Stange (2004), who further argues that religion offers a language of discontent and a social form of mobilization. HTI provides both and can therefore be described as a religious resistance movement that forms a “source of powerful critique of Indonesia’s status quo” (Ward, 2009:162).

In Muhtadi’s opinion, “HTI has exploited the open democratic space under post-Suharto regimes to develop and express its views” (Muhtadi 2009:624). Furthermore, Muhtadi describes HTI as a hindrance for the democratic consolidation in Indonesia because the final aim of HTI is to topple the current Indonesian government. This western centered perspective of democracy being the only valid choice for Indonesia can also be found in Schulze’s argumentation who concludes that individual rights for freedom and, connected to that, pluralism and democracy, can not find positive response in the radical Islamic discourse [of Hizbut Tahrir]<sup>12</sup>.

Hizbut Tahrir’s global ideology is to return to the global and universal caliphate (*khilafah*) and the implementation of shari’a law. In order to achieve its main aim of an ‘Islamic peace revolution’ (An-Nabhani, 2001:33 in: Muhtadi, 2009:630), Hizbut Tahrir proposes a three step process. The first is the ideological stage (*marhalah al-tathqif*) or what Muhtadi describes as the culturing stage in which HTI activists educate a large section of Muslim society by various means. I observed that this can include seminaries, conferences, workshops, religious classes or even public protests. The main focus of this stage is on training and guardianship for HTI cadres (Muhtadi, 2009:630). Nawab argues that during this stage, the main aim of HTI is “to influence the masses to accept its [HTI’s] goals but it does not necessarily mean that they must become members of HTI” (Nawab 2009:10). During Nawab’s interview with HTI spokesperson Ismail Yusanto in 2008, the later one remarked that “It is not important for us to recruit every single person. Only a few chosen people would be enough to effect change. However, the masses must be educated about the Caliphate so that when the time comes, they will support it” (Nawab 2009:10). I observed Yusanto’s remark during my participatory observation of MHTI’s seminaries and forums where names of only a few key speakers always reappeared. The second stage (*marhalah tafa’ul ma’a al-naas*) is focused on interaction in which according to Muhtadi (2009) HTI advocates infiltrate the military, security offices, key political institutions and the like. The third step to achieve the overall aim is the actual revolution or *istislam al-hukmi* when the existing regime is overthrown.

---

<sup>9</sup> “Saya bertemu dengan seorang ustadz dari Libanon yang kemudian tinggal di Indonesia dan menikah dan berkeluarga dengan seorang Muslimah di Bogor, Jawa Barat. Saya bertemu pada tahun 1986 dan mengkaji ide-ide Hizbut Tahrir. Bersama Muslimah-muslimah yang lain kemudian mentransfer ide-ide HT kepada Muslimah-muslimah yang lain sehingga ide-ide HT bersebar ke seluruh Indonesia.” (Structured interview with Ummu Latifah, August 2009).

<sup>10</sup> The author acquired a copy of the video material of this conference. It is interesting to note that the head of the Muslim organization Muhammadiyah, Din Syamsuddin, was one of the key speakers. Furthermore, international guest speakers from Japan and Sudan, as well as mass media were present.

<sup>11</sup> At this point Muhtadi refers to Mc Adam’s (1996:10) Political Opportunity Structure. The theory claims that the more a political system is opened, the more opportunities are available for the emergence of a movement. In turn, the more a political system is closed, the less opportunities a movement has to emerge.

<sup>12</sup> „[...] individuelle Freiheitsrechte und daran anknüpfend auch Pluralismus und Demokratie [können] im radikal-islamischen Diskurs keinen positiven Platz finden [...]“ (Schulze 2008:39)

During my research in Yogyakarta, I could witness activities that can be defined as ideological education and training. It is difficult to know whether HTI has begun to focus on the implementation of the second stage because HTI does not release information on its internal procedures to enact each stage. But certain interactions with local government officials who were invited for and joined HTI activities could be observed as will be discussed in the following chapter.

Ward foretells that HTI will continue to grow if it has patience to continue to win public support (2009:162). Ward further argues that HTI will likely continue to benefit from government tolerance as long as it adheres to its non-violent strategy (2009:162). This prediction is reason enough to look further into HTI's agenda and activities.

The most important way for HTI to spread its ideas and goals is through publications; for example the weekly bulletin *Al-Islam*, which is disseminated to the Indonesian people, mainly men, during every obligatory Friday prayer in mosques<sup>13</sup>. Another regular publication is the monthly magazine *al-wa'ie*<sup>14</sup>. Both publications also confer about issues that relate to women and therefore form a source of this paper as well. The official website of HTI, including a special section for Muslim women, as well as Facebook, is of growing significance for the dissemination of HTI and MHTI's ideology. However, due to the focus on personal interaction during my research, this paper mainly analyzes print publications. It is planned to include online articles and Facebook commentaries in a follow up study.

HTI is structured hierarchical and forms cadres. In this it follows Hizbut Tahrir in other countries. As described by Nawab (2009:8), the country leadership is the *wilayah* (area; province) committee, which is headed by a *Mu'tamad*. Under the supervision of the *wilayah* are the local level urban centers that are managed by a local committee. The head of the local committee is known as *Naqib*. Since the current paper focuses on the women's wing of HTI, the functioning of HTI's hierarchy is not discussed in further detail here. However, it is interesting to note that membership is structured hierarchically as well, depending on the commitment to the party and the passion for the revival of the Caliphate, as stated by Nawab (2009:9).

While there are activities that include both men and women; HTI is generally separated along gender lines. This allows a specialization and concentration on different topics and adapted approaches to themes that concerns the whole *umma* – Muslim community. According to HTI, women are active members of society and have the right to become representatives of the community<sup>15</sup> and just as men, are obliged to implement the Islamic law together with a political party<sup>16</sup>. From these statements I assume that hierarchy and membership structure is applied to the whole of HTI, not differentiating between MHTI and HTI, but further research needs to be conducted for reassurance.

---

<sup>13</sup> *Al-Islam* mainly discusses contemporary issues affecting Muslims in Indonesia and other parts of the world. It also informs about upcoming events organized by HTI. *Al-Islam* is easy to read and therefore accessible to a wider public.

<sup>14</sup> According to Mohamed Nawab (2009:12), *al-wa'ie* was first published in 2000 and "has a more intellectual content [...] It is obvious that the journal is meant for the more intellectual groups within Indonesian society primarily young professionals and students". Nawab further claims that about a hundred thousand copies of *al-wa'ie* were sold during his time of research before 2009.

<sup>15</sup> Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia: *Kiprah Politik Perempuan*: "[...] , artinya ada hak yang sama dalam masalah ini bagi laki-laki dan perempuan untuk menjadi wakil rakyat." (2007:31)

<sup>16</sup> Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia: *Kiprah Politik Perempuan*: "Sehingga kewajiban menegakkan Syari'at Islam bersama sebuah partai, masih tetap menjadi tanggungjawab seluruh kaum muslim, termasuk para muslimah". (2007:34)

### 3. Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia

Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia forms the women wing of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, following the general goal of HTI with its own agenda, speaking mainly to Indonesian Muslim women. According to the overall strategy of HTI, MHTI is hierarchically organized, allowing for activities at basically all levels of society and in different areas of the public, political and private sphere where women are found active in Indonesian society. Nawab (2009:21) states that according to HTI spokesperson Ismail Yusanto, the creation of the women's division has occurred due to a strong demand by female members to actively participate and carry out special activities targeted at women.

Due to the strong involvement of Muslim women in political and social activities and the themes addressed by them, superficially MHTI might be regarded as what Badran (2006; 2009) terms 'Islamic feminists'. But as I have shown in my essay "Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia: Islamic Feminists" (Seise 2010, unpublished), this is not the case. Though MHTI follows an agenda that includes problems, issues and interests of Muslim women, as will be illustrated in the following chapters, MHTI stresses the importance of following God given nature and individual rights and responsibilities for men and women laid down by Allah, instead of wanting to see women equal to men. On the other hand, as already mentioned above, MHTI emphasizes the importance of equal responsibility, regardless of a person's sex, to practice *dakwah*<sup>17</sup> and to be politically active in the public sphere while always bearing in mind the regulations set by Allah.

Members of MHTI are often Muslim women, who are either professionals in the education sector, students or housewives. Many of them are married and have children. They are not only active in their working environment and household, but also enrich mosque activities and of course practice *dakwah* as members of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia. They fight vigorously for what they believe is the right way: life according to Islam as revealed by Allah.

One woman asked by me, if she never becomes exhausted with all her activities, answered: "Yes, I do. But if we don't do it [*dakwah*], who will do it?"<sup>18</sup> This answer can be applied to basically all women active for MHTI. They are driven by their conviction, the longing for a better world, for a brighter future for their children and the desire to please Allah. Asked why they are interested in MHTI, members answered:

"MHTI aims at bringing back the Islamic life as has been done by the Prophet Muhammad saw. when he built Islam in Medina."<sup>19</sup>

"Because [I want to] struggle to implement the Islamic shari'a and continue the Islamic life, because it is our obligation as a servant of Allah to fight for the implementation of Islamic law and the caliphate."<sup>20</sup>

"Because of the rational, clear, profound and bright thinking that is based on the Al-Qur'an and As-Sunnah.[...] I want to become one of the people that contributes to the continuation of Islamic life in the Islamic caliphate, so that I can become honorable in front of Allah SWT and his Prophet."<sup>21</sup>

---

<sup>17</sup> *Dakwah* can be described as the activity of inviting people to practice (the right form of) Islam.

<sup>18</sup> Conversation with Mbak H. in June 2009 in Yogyakarta.

<sup>19</sup> Ummu Latifah: "MHTI bertujuan untuk mengembalikan kehidupan Islam seperti apa yang pernah dilakukan oleh Nabi Muhammad saw berupaya membangun Islam di Medinah." (Structured Interview, August 2009).

<sup>20</sup> Ibu Imro: "Karena memperjuangkan tegaknya syariah Islam dan ingin melanjutkan kehidupan Islam. Karena kewajiban kita sebagai hamba Allah untuk memperjuangkan tegaknya syariah dan khilafah." (Structured Interview, August 2009).

<sup>21</sup> Ibu Irna: "Karena pemikirannya rasional, jernih, mendalam dan cemerlang, yang digali dari Al-Qur'an dan As-Sunnah. [...] Saya ingin menjadi salah satu orang yang berkontribusi untuk melangsungkan kehidupan Islam dalam Khilafah Islamiyah. Sehingga saya bisa menjadi mulia di hadapan Allah SWT dan Rasul-Nya.

Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, besides working within the agenda of HTI, focuses on themes especially designed to target Muslim women and their interests in Indonesian society. Nevertheless, the overall goal of eventually establishing a caliphate in the Indonesian territory always plays a significant role in MHTI's approaches to their themes. Themes always emerging are connected to building a healthy society by starting with the smallest component, the nuclear family. "*Membangun Keluarga Sakinah*" ("Building a *sakinah*<sup>22</sup> family") is one of the slogans used by MHTI to stress the importance of following and using Islamic values in family relations. This is based on the belief that Allah has given the right rules and guidelines for men and women to achieve a happy, fulfilled and pious family life with rights and responsibilities both for husband and wife according to their nature.

Other themes include education and healthcare with the aim to raise awareness for the need for free and qualitative high education and healthcare. Only through both of these objectives, so MHTI, can the building of a *saleh*<sup>23</sup> future generation that is able to contribute to the advancement of society and the nation be guaranteed.

Since MHTI is a women's organization, attention is also focused on the discussion of women's role in Islam, in the family and society. International issues and discourses concerning women such as gender are raised as well and conversed about critically. The following chapters analyze some of the themes mentioned above with the help of empirical data obtained during participatory observation and exemplary articles, quotes and handouts obtained during seminars and forums by MHTI.

### 3.1 Women, Gender and Family

As already mentioned above, according to HTI, women have the right and are obliged to be politically active to join the endeavors for the establishment of the caliphate and the implementation of shari'a law. Besides their role as politically active members of society, HTI assigns Muslim women the responsibilities and duties mentioned in the Al-Qur'an and As-Sunna as a servant of Allah, mother, wife and child of her parents<sup>24</sup>. HTI argues that as an active member of society, women as well as men carry the responsibility to lead their nation to become the best *umma* in this world<sup>25</sup>.

Besides being wife and mother, MHTI stresses the importance of the Muslim woman as the first teacher to her children. El-Diina Center: *Kelompok Peduli Ibu dan Generasi*<sup>26</sup>, affiliated with MHTI and run by MHTI members remarks that the mother plays a vital role in the education process of her child because she is the first person to interact with the child, the first one to give a feeling of safety and the first person to be trusted and who's words are listened to by the child. That is why, El-Diina concludes, the mother is considered to be the first school for her child and through this role determines the quality of future generations and shapes the future of the community and the state. Hence, El-Diina argues, women and especially mothers can be compared to the pillars of the state<sup>27</sup>. The women's

---

<sup>22</sup> The word *sakinah* includes characteristics like pious, happy, obedient towards Allah, friendly and welcoming towards guests and always concerned to please Allah.

<sup>23</sup> Pious, virtuous, godly.

<sup>24</sup> Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia: *Kiprah Politik Perempuan*: "Sebagaimana telah kita pahami bersama bahwa perempuan – disamping sebagai hamba Allah, ibu dari anak-anaknya, istri dari seorang suami, serta anak dari ayah-bundanya – adalah bagian dari masyarakat seperti halnya laki-laki." (2007:4)

<sup>25</sup> Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia: *Kiprah Politik Perempuan*: "Keduanya bertanggung jawab mengantarkan bangsanya untuk menjadi umat terbaik di dunia ini" (2007:4)

<sup>26</sup> *Kelompok Peduli Ibu dan Generasi*: Group that cares about mothers and the generation.

<sup>27</sup> El-Diina Center: „Seorang ibu memiliki peran yang sangat vital dalam proses pendidikan anak sejak dini, sebab ibulah sosok yang pertama kali berinteraksi dengan anak, sosok pertama yang memberi rasa aman, dan sosok pertama yang dipercaya dan didengar omongannya. Karenanya ibu menjadi sekolah pertama bagi anak-anaknya. Peran itu sangat menentukan

magazine 'Female readers'<sup>28</sup> also states that the first school (*madrasah*) of a human child is his/her mother. Because of that a mother is a child's genuine companion, including guarding the child's *fitrah*<sup>29</sup> and religion<sup>30</sup>.

Observing MHTI's argumentation line through the writings mentioned above, it becomes clear that MHTI regards Muslim women as playing an essential part in building Muslim society and eventually the Islamic state. Thus, including Muslim women in the overall political party and building an agenda that is especially designed to target Muslim women is inherent in HTI's view on the role of Muslim women. Because women as future mothers and teachers form such a valuable asset to the achievement of the overall goal of HTI to establish the caliphate, it is obvious that this asset has to be protected from non-Muslim influences. According to MHTI, the first important step towards protecting Muslim women from non-Muslim influences is by educating them, because mothers in turn have the responsibility to educate their children and therefore are obliged to always pursue the study of Islam ('Female Readers' 2007:20). Informing Muslim women about the putative danger of gender ideology as promoted by western agencies such as the United Nations forms an essential part of MHTI's attempt to protect women from non-Muslim influences<sup>31</sup>.

### 3.1.1 Gender

MHTI perceives Gender (*Keadilan dan Kesetaraan Gender: KKG*) and connected to that the global movement to establish gender equality in all spheres of life as a non-Muslim influence and a genuine threat to Muslim women, the institution of the Muslim family and the Muslim civilization in general. Since Hizbut Tahrir considers women as the pillar of Muslim society and the Islamic state, MHTI dedicates a huge part of its agenda on informing Muslim women about what it calls the dangers of KKG. Through its magazines, bulletins, seminars and conferences, MHTI propagates its ideology on opposing the promotion of gender equality as promoted by what it calls the West. Ummu Fathimah NJL in Hizbut Tahrir's magazine *al-wa'ie* for example, describes the attempt to establish gender equality in Muslim countries as a conspiracy that forms a repercussion of the effort to hinder Islam's resurgence by destroying the Muslim family (In: *al-wa'ie* No.75, VII, 2006:10). In the same edition of *al-wa'ie* Ustadzah Ishmah Khalil was interviewed; the heading reads "*Ide Gender: 'Racun Berbalut Madu'*" ("Gender: Poison wrapped in honey").

Husnul Khotimah's article "*Kebohongan-kebohongan di balik isu jender*" ("Lies behind the gender issue") published 2005 in an *al-wa'ie* edition, provides a valuable insight into the rhetoric of MHTI concerning the gender matter. In her article she introduces four central claims, which she identifies as lies, made by gender experts around the world.

The first lie of the gender ideology, according to Husnul Khotimah, is the affirmation that men and women are equal. She strongly criticizes this idea and questions the logic behind it: "So what logic can be used to explain why there have to be men and women with their different 'forms' and 'gender' on

---

kualitas generasi mendatang, termasuk kualitas masyarakat dan negaranya. Sedemikian penting peran ibu dalam menentukan masa depan masyarakat dan negaranya, sampai kaum perempuan (ibu) tersebut diibaratkan bagai tiang negara." (2008:15)

<sup>28</sup> 'Female readers' was a magazine from and for women, produced by members of MHTI. Currently it is out of print.

<sup>29</sup> *Fitrah*: Natural, God given tendency to be able to distinguish from good and evil.

<sup>30</sup> „Mama ..., Allah Tinggal Di Bulan, Ya?“ In: *Female readers* Edisi I/Vol.II, 2007: "Realita menunjukkan bahwa madrasah (sekolah) pertama seorang anak manusia adalah ibunya. Maka, sesungguhnya seorang ibu adalah pendamping sejati bagi anak-anaknya" (pg.20).

<sup>31</sup> see for example Siti Muslikhati: "Skenario Penghancuran Umat Islam melalui Liberalisasi Keluarga".

this earth, if they do not have different roles and functions?”<sup>32</sup>. This question leads Khotimah to the explanation Islam provides of why men and women exist. Muslims believe that the only reason Allah created human beings is the fact that He wants to be worshiped. Since humans are created with only a limited life span, He created men and women in order to perpetuate future generations. In this context, so Khotimah, Islam views men and women as equal because as human beings they inherit the same potential for intellect, instinct and physical needs, but from the perspective of their respective genders men and women are viewed different and therefore are equipped with different rules (In: al-wa’ie, No.54, 2005:23).

The second lie identified by Khotimah is the claim that gender inequality damages and harms women. She states that this idea is influenced by the principle of individualism, which in turn is inherent in democracy. The principle of individualism regards society as a group of independent individuals with men on one side and women on the other side. Following up on this thought, she argues that economical, political, social and even women’s issues like childbearing and breastfeeding can not be viewed only from one perspective but have to be looked at as issues concerning society and mankind.

Further, the third lie of the gender ideology, as identified by Khotima, is the assertion that liberalization will advance or improve women’s case and support women in taking up similar positions in society and the workforce as men. In her opinion, this only leads to the destruction of family structure, higher divorce rates, free sex, higher abortion rates, and exploitation of women, sexual abuse and many other unwelcome side effects<sup>33</sup>.

The fourth and last untruth mentioned in Khotima’s article is the assertion that Islamic law in form of the shari’a humiliates women. This claim is rejected by Khotima. Instead she argues that injustice and destruction, including towards women, can be observed due to the implementation of a wrong and broken system, which she names the capitalistic system, among the Muslim community<sup>34</sup>.

Looking at Khotima’s arguments it becomes clear that what is initially described as the main problem, here gender, is in the course of the article portrayed as only one part of the democratic, capitalistic, secular Western system that Hizbut Tahrir as a global political Islamic party not only criticizes but rejects. It rejects it because it is manmade and therefore can never be perfect because according to Islam humans are weak and limited in their thoughts and activities. In contrast, the system propagated by Hizbut Tahrir – the caliphate and the implementation of shari’a –, comes from the Creator, Who is not limited in any way. And it is this system, so Khotima in her article that is able to guarantee justice and true prosperity for all human beings without exception<sup>35</sup>.

The discussion forum “*Diskusi Tokoh Muslimah*” (“Discussion of Muslim women personage”) with the theme “*Ramadhan: Moment Pembentengan Keluarga Muslim dari Arus Liberalisasi dengan Syari’ah dan Khilafah*” (“Ramadan: The Moment to protect the Muslim family from the current of liberalization with Shari’a and Caliphate”) also raised the issue of gender and its dangers for the Muslim family and the whole Muslim *umma*.

Siti Muslikhati’s “*Skenario Penghancuran Umat Islam melalui Liberalisasi Keluarga*” (“The scenario of the destruction of the Muslim *umma* through the liberalization of the family”) presented during the forum, gives another interesting insight into the thoughts of MHTI towards the issue of gender. Her

---

<sup>32</sup> Husnul Khotimah: “Kebohongan-kobohongan di balik isu jender”: “Lalu logika apa yang bisa dipakai untuk menjelaskan mengapa di dunia harus ada laki-laki dan perempuan dengan ‘bentuk’ dan ‘jenis’ yang berbeda, jika bukan karena keduanya memang memiliki peran dan fungsi yang berbeda?” In: al-wa’ie, No.54, 2005, pg.22.

<sup>33</sup> Husnul Khotimah: “Kebohongan-kobohongan di balik isu jender”: “Runtuhnya struktur keluarga, meningkatnya angka perceraian, [...], merebaknya free sex, meningkatnya kasus-kasus aborsi, [...], eksploitasi perempuan, pelecehan seksual, [...] menjadi efek langsung dari isu ‘kebebasan perempuan’”. In: al-wa’ie, No.54, 2005, pg.25.

<sup>34</sup> Husnul Khotimah: “Kebohongan-kobohongan di balik isu jender”: “Justru berbagai kerusakan dan ketidakadilan yang terjadi saat ini – termasuk diantaranya yang menimpas perempuan – adalah akibat diterapkannya sistem yang salah dan rusak di tengah-tengah kaum Muslimin. In: al-wa’ie, No.54, 2005, pg.27.

<sup>35</sup> Husnul Khotimah: “Kebohongan-kobohongan di balik isu jender” “[...] sebuah system yang bisa memberikan jaminan keadilan dan kesejahteraan hakiki bagi semua manusia tanpa kecuali. Sistem seperti ini tidak mungkin berasal dari manusia yang nyata lemah dan terbatas, melainkan harus bersumber dari Zat Pencipta manusia [...]. Sistem yang dimaksud tidak lain adalah system Islam [...]” In: al-wa’ie, No.54, 2005, pg.27.

arguments reflect well how MHTI converses issues concerning Indonesian Muslim women and related to that the urgent need to establish the caliphate in order to save the Muslim *umma* and the future Muslim generation.

In her article, Siti Muslikhati demonstrates the proposed danger of gender on concrete examples from the Indonesian legislative. She argues that, what she describes as “*Skenario Amandemen UU Perkawinan dan [CLD] KHP*”<sup>36</sup> supports the destruction of the Indonesian nation with its Muslim majority population through the liberalization of the family. According to Muslikhati, this liberalization is equivalent to the destruction of the family. The concept of gender is the underlying problem, so Muslikhati. Polygamy and *nikah siri*<sup>37</sup> form the main issues of gender activists, who claim that laws and amendments that still support polygamy and *nikah siri*, like the *Kompilasi Hukum Islam*<sup>38</sup>, are gender bias and side with the husband or men in general.

According to Muslikhati, the phenomena of the suppression of women, nowadays usually referred to as a phenomenon familiar to Islam, begun in capitalistic societies. Only with the adaption of capitalism, which opposes Islam, did Muslim women feel suppression<sup>39</sup>. Muslikhati sees the reason for western intervention in form of gender ideology in Indonesian society in the western consciousness that the Muslim community still has the potential in its smallest institution – the family, to return to Islamic principles and to turn ritual Islam into political Islam, which in turn is strengthened by the desire to return to Islamic law. That is the reason to liberalize the family by liberalizing religion (Islam) first<sup>40</sup>. Muslikhati concludes that only the return to true Islamic teachings and the caliphate can be the solution to the danger of gender for Muslim women, the family and society as a whole: “Only with the caliphate will the Muslim *umma* be rescued and lifted up from the chasm of humiliation and destruction”<sup>41</sup>. The parallels to Khotima’s article by blaming the democratic and capitalistic system for the current situation of Muslim women demonstrate MHTI’s general rhetoric. Interesting in Muslikhati’s paper is also the reference to what might be called conspiracy theories; the belief that there exists a worldwide conspiracy to destroy Islam – a thesis often found in HTI’s arguments.

### 3.1.2 Family

It is apparent that according to MHTI’s argumentation line, women’s role, gender issue and family are inseparable. As already mentioned above, MHTI considers the smallest unit of society the very base of the later and a healthy family the foundation of a healthy society and nation. This raises the question of what strategies are applied by MHTI to protect the institution of the Muslim family.

The term *keluarga sakinah*<sup>42</sup> (*Sakinah Family*), as already explained shortly above, forms a central element in MHTI’s rhetoric. The discussion forum “*Sarasehan Muslimah se-Kabupaten Bantul*” with

---

<sup>36</sup> „Marriage law amendment scenario and [Counter Legal Draft] of the compilation of Islamic law”.

<sup>37</sup> Islamic marriage without official registration with the Indonesian authorities.

<sup>38</sup> Compilation of Islamic law.

<sup>39</sup> Siti Muslikhati: “Skenario Penghancuran Umat Islam melalui Liberalisasi Keluarga”: “Fenomena ketertindasan perempuan yang sebenarnya bermula dari masyarakat Kapitalis, diputarbalikkan seolah itu terjadi di tengah-tengah masyarakat Muslim. Padahal Muslimah baru merasakan ketertindasan, ketika kaum Muslim mengadopsi system Kapitalisme yang bertentang dengan Islam dalam kehidupan mereka.”

<sup>40</sup> Siti Muslikhati: “Skenario Penghancuran Umat Islam melalui Liberalisasi Keluarga”: „Barat sadar bahwa kaum muslimin masih memiliki potensi untuk kembali kepada nilai-nilai Islam dan potensi itu ada pada institusi terkecil yang ada di masyarakat yaitu keluarga. [...] Inilah yang menjadi ketakutan bagi barat ketika Islam ritual berkembang menjadi Islam politik, apalagi diperkuat oleh gejolak masyarakat untuk kembali kepada syariat Islam [...]. Dari sinilah muncul upaya melakukan liberalisasi keluarga yang diawali dengan liberalisasi agama (Islam).”

<sup>41</sup> Siti Muslikhati: “Skenario Penghancuran Umat Islam melalui Liberalisasi Keluarga”: „Hanya khilafah yang akan menyelamatkan umat Islam dan mengangkatnya dari jurang kehinaan dan kehancuran”

<sup>42</sup> The word *sakinah* includes characteristics like pious, happy, obedient towards Allah, friendly and welcoming towards guests and always concerned to please Allah.

the theme “*Keluarga Sakinah dan Tantangannya*” (“*Sakinah Family and its Challenges*”) held in the regency of Bantul in August 2009 invited around fifty women to converse about this theme.

The invitation to the event, as usual professionally designed, introduced the theme with the following words: “The Muslim family is the hope to be the place where Islam naturally grows. In the era of globalization it is not easy at all to form a *sakinah* [...] Muslim family. There are many challenges that have to be faced by father and mother to form a *sakinah* family [...].<sup>43</sup>” It is noticeable that again outside influences, here globalization, are seen as a threat to the Muslim family and, to continue MHTI’s rhetoric, to the nation and to Islam. In order to counteract this influence, MHTI uses Hizbut Tahrir’s ideological stage, where HTI activists educate a large section of Muslim society by various means (Muhtadi, 2009). The forum started with a multimedia presentation that visualized the situation Indonesia’s society finds itself in. The videos illustrated what Husnul Khotima (2005) already mentioned in her article about the gender lies: high divorce and abortion rates, teenagers who have free sex, exploitation of women, sexual abuse and the like. I have observed this kind of ‘shocking introduction’ in other HTI videos as well; it seems to be part of HTI’s rhetoric to illustrate the defects of Indonesian society before presenting HTI’s ideology and its proposed solutions to the miseries illustrated in the video.

After this introduction, several small lectures about the challenges for the realization and existence of a *sakinah* family were given. Maya Fitria (2009) for example discussed the five purposes of a marriage, the four centers a Muslim family should become and the nine functions a family has according to Islam. She continued to speak about the principle of fairness while building a *sakinah* family and stressed that husband and wife should always try to complement each other’s shortages. Another important point that was mentioned during the forum was the need for control from inside the family or inside the Muslim community. Additionally, it was stressed by Lies Arifah that a Muslim family has internal as well as external responsibilities. In order to fulfill those responsibilities it is necessary that both husband and wife are educated according to Islam. Furthermore it is essential that the relationship between husband and wife forms a friendship and that both are patient, *qonaah* (accepting) and *ridho* (willing) to Allahs decisions and resolutions in order to be able to fulfill the internal responsibilities towards their immediate family and the external responsibilities towards society, which include the spreading of Islamic ideas and teachings to society and correcting the wrongs and mistakes of this society, so Lies Arifah (2009).

Women from different walks of life were present; Maya Fitria, the daughter of a famous *kyai* from Yogyakarta, local government employees, teachers, housewives and students. It is this mix of different backgrounds present at forums like “*Keluarga Sakinah dan Tantangannya*” that proves that the issues addressed by MHTI are of interest to a broad public.

A *sakinah* family is something every Muslim woman wants to have. By addressing this wish and the fears of failing to have a *sakinah* family, MHTI is able to generate support among Muslim women for their overall goal to establish the caliphate and implement the shari’a. Only through this achievement, so MHTI, can the Muslim family and future generations be save (d). This might explain why Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, as already mentioned by Ward (2009:162), is gaining popularity also among Indonesia’s Muslim women.

---

<sup>43</sup> „Keluarga muslim adalah harapan tempat bersemainya kembali Islam. Di era globalisasi saat ini, untuk membentuk keluarga muslim yang *sakinah* [...], sangatlah tidak mudah. Banyak sekali tantangan yang harus dihadapi oleh ayah dan ibu dalam pembentukan keluarga yang *sakinah*.”

### 3.2 Education

In a broader sense, education belongs to the functioning and well-being of the family and according to MHTI is indispensable to the functioning of society. Education, here especially formal education is a theme also concerning Muslim women because HTI views them as the first person to teach a child as has already been described above.

During my time of research, MHTI has conducted several events that addressed the issue of education. The biggest event during my time of research was dedicated to education and health<sup>44</sup>. The national Muslimah conference “*Selamatkan Indonesia dari Kapitalisasi Pendidikan dan Kesehatan dengan Khilafah*” (“Save Indonesia from the capitalization of education and health care with the caliphate”) held at the Multi Purpose Building of the Universitas Islam Negeri in Yogyakarta on December 13<sup>th</sup> 2008, again addressed an issue concerning many people and especially women in Indonesia. More than 500 women were present, the atmosphere was jubilant, the walls echoed with *takbir* calls of “Al-lah u Akbar”<sup>45</sup> in between speeches. The typical flags of Hizbut Tahrir, white with black calligraphy or black with white calligraphy of the Islamic profession of faith were waved. Some women wore flags as bandanas above their headscarves. Everything seemed well organized.

The main arguments concerning education that were presented during this conference can also be found in the Al-Islam bulletin number 453/XV. According to HTI, expensive education is the fruit of a country that is becoming more and more capitalistic. In a capitalistic society, so HTI, natural resources are not owned by the state, but mostly privatized, which leads to a deficit of financial resources in the state’s budget. Consequently, the people are burdened with paying taxes and finance education and health care. Eventually, education becomes a luxury and poor people, so HTI, have to throw away their dreams to enjoy a high education and to improve their family’s lot; higher education becomes a privilege for the rich<sup>46</sup>.

HTI states that the solution to the problem described above is, as with other themes addressed by HTI, Islam, and the true teachings of Islam, the disposal of the capitalistic system and the implementation of shari’a in the institution of the caliphate. The teachings of Islam determine the state to be fully responsible to care for its citizens and to provide free, qualitative high education to Muslims and non-Muslims, so HTI<sup>47</sup>.

As already observed by Nawab (2009), the rhetoric of the Al-Islam bulletin is very readable. By addressing issues that concern a majority of the Muslim population in Indonesia, it seems to me that HTI speaks from the hearts of the people because it describes the dilemma through the eyes of those who are affected by it. By providing an explanation and a solution to the issues addressed, as illustrated on the example of education, HTI is able to generate new sympathizers among the Indonesian people and especially among Muslim women.

But not only the issue of financing education and the commercialization of the same are of concern to HTI and MHTI. The worries that were addressed during the national Muslimah conference, that a

---

<sup>44</sup> Similar to education, health forms an important theme addressed by MHTI. Especially health concerning reproduction is a major theme in its discussions.

<sup>45</sup> Recitation of laudation „God is Greater“

<sup>46</sup> Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia: Pendidikan Mahal Buah Pemerintahan Kapitalis, Buletin Dakwah Al-Islam, 453/XV: “Pasalnya, Kapitalisme menetapkan sumber-sumber kekayaan tidak boleh dikelola negara, tetapi harus diserahkan kepada swasta [...] Pasalnya, negara/ pemerintah tidak memiliki sumberdana yang cukup [...] Akibatnya, untuk membiayai semua urusannya, negara harus membebani rakyat dalam bentuk pungutan pajak [...] Pada akhirnya, anak-anak dari keluarga kurang mampu harus [...] membuang mimpi untuk menikmati pendidikan tinggi. [...] Pendidikan tinggi akhirnya menjadi “hak khusus” kalangan kaya.”

<sup>47</sup> Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia: Pendidikan Mahal Buah Pemerintahan Kapitalis, Buletin Dakwah Al-Islam, 453/XV: “[...] untuk mengakhiri masalah mahal biaya sekolah secara tuntas, ideologi dan sistem Kapitalisme harus segera dicampakkan, kemudian diganti dengan ideologi dan sistem Islam. [...] ideologi Islam justru menetapkan negara sebagai pihak yang bertanggungjawab penuh atas pemeliharaan urusan-urusan masyarakat [...] Jadi, dalam Islam negara berkewajiban memelihara urusan pendidikan rakyatnya. [...] Negara wajib menyediakan pendidikan berkualitas bagi rakyat secara gratis. [...] baik Muslim maupun non-Muslim.”

capitalistic and commercialized education will create capitalistic and commercial human beings and corrupt Muslims<sup>48</sup>, lead to the discussion of the curriculum necessary to educate children.

The forum “*Semiloka Guru Muslimah Se-DIY: ‘Selamatkan Yogya sebagai Kota Pelajar dengan Budaya Islam (Kurikulum BAI sebagai Solusi Alternatif Membentuk Generasi Unggul)’*”<sup>49</sup> held in the premises of the Universitas Islam Negeri on July 26<sup>th</sup> 2009 and organized by MHTI, focused on the need to apply a school curriculum that is based on the teachings of Islam. Around fifty female Muslim teachers from the region of Yogyakarta were invited. What joined them together was not the membership of HTI but their concern about the current curriculum in schools and the aspiration to implement the *BAI (Berbasis Akidah Islam)* curriculum (curriculum based on the Islamic faith). The main argument in the discussion around the *BAI* curriculum is that it should not be separated from the concept of education in Islam (Eksi Insania 2009), which includes two main aims: firstly, the focus on an Islamic personality (*syakhshiyah Islamiyah*) and secondly the preparation of the young generation in the fields of Islamic knowledge (*tsaqofah*) and natural and technological sciences (Eksi Insania 2009). Culture and languages are not mentioned at this point.

Interestingly, the head of the education department of the province of Yogyakarta, Prof. Suwarsih Mady Ph.D, was invited to introduce a curriculum model that included building basic good character in students<sup>50</sup>. Besides Prof. Suwarsih, one of MHTI’s key speakers, Lies Arifah, provided an overview on the reality of the education curriculum in Indonesia, which she blamed to be partly responsible for society’s problems like corruption, free sex, pornography, cheating and neglecting basic *ibadah* practices because of the secular education system that does not educate children the Islamic way<sup>51</sup>. Here again it can be observed that MHTI blames the system currently applied in Indonesia for the problems Indonesian society faces.

Inviting non-MHTI members also illustrates HT’s ideology to educate the masses, as stated by Yusanto (Nawab 2009:10). Addressing themes that concern a broad Muslim public forms the key for (future) support of HTI’s cause. Working together with key figures in public life such as school teachers and decision takers like Prof. Suwarsih Mady Ph.D, head of the education department, forms an important step towards a general acceptance of HTI and its targets that it hopes to implement in Indonesian society.

---

<sup>48</sup> Participatory observation during the national Muslimah conference, December 12th 2008.

<sup>49</sup> “Seminar of female Muslim teachers from all of Yogyakarta province: Save Yogya as the city of students with the culture of Islam (*BAI* curriculum as an alternative solution to create an excellent generation)”

<sup>50</sup> „Model Kurikulum untuk membangun Karakter Dasar Peserta Didik“

<sup>51</sup> Participatory observation during the forum “*Semiloka Guru Muslimah Se-DIY: ‘Selamatkan Yogya sebagai Kota Pelajar dengan Budaya Islam (Kurikulum BAI sebagai Solusi Alternatif Membentuk Generasi Unggul)’*”, July 26th 2009.

## 4. Conclusion

The analysis of activities, thoughts and rhetoric of MHTI showed that Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia views Muslim women as an essential and vital part in the achievement of the overall goal to establish the caliphate. Furthermore, MHTI's approach to the themes of women, gender, family and education showed that MHTI currently tries to mobilize Muslim women from different parts of Indonesian society to join HTI's struggle for the establishment of the caliphate and the implementation of shari'a law through *dakwah* activities and addressing themes especially of interest to Muslim women's needs.

HTI sees the role of Muslim women especially in their obligation towards the state. Women as well as men are obliged to join the struggle to establish the caliphate and to implement shari'a law. Women's obligation towards their family, especially towards their children as the first educator is of profound importance to HTI's view of Muslim women as well. The responsibility for the next generation and consequently the improvement of society and the political system belongs to HTI's ideal picture of a Muslim woman.

HTI and MHTI see the role and responsibilities of women as mothers and educators for the future generation threatened by outside influences broadly referred to as Western ideology. Especially important to MHTI's rhetoric is the fundamental critique on the Western concept of gender and gender equality, which it considers a threat to Muslim women, the institution of the Muslim family and consequently the Muslim *umma*. The aim of MHTI is to protect Muslim women from gender ideology as propagated in the West and in Indonesia as well.

The *sakinah* family is a theme always emerging in MHTI's discussions. It forms the wish of basically all Muslim women to be able to have and keep a *sakinah* family. By addressing this essential wish and the underlying fear of failing to have a *sakinah* family, MHTI is successful in promoting the *only* solution to achieve that wish; the Caliphate and the implementation of the shari'a.

Education, the last theme discussed, forms an essential issue in HTI's struggle to establish the Caliphate. On the one hand, Muslim women are seen as the first teacher for their children. On the other hand, education is used by HTI and MHTI to educate the masses about their cause, as stated by HTI spokesperson Yusanto. Additionally, for MHTI, education serves as a tool to target female teachers and draw supporters and sympathizers from this group of society.

Through the analysis of MHTI's themes and activities, we can observe that the first two steps of the three stage process to achieve HTI's overall goal as described by Muhtadi (2009) are currently applied in Indonesian society. Key public figures like teachers and decision takers from the political arena, as well as Muslim women from all walks of life are being invited to seminars, workshops and discussion groups and introduced to MHTI and HTI's ideology through themes connected to their professions or personal wishes and fears.

An extensive follow-up study is necessary to profoundly understand MHTI's activities, ideas and rhetoric and its impact on Indonesian society and especially Muslim women. This study should include substantial field study in Indonesia, containing participatory observation and interviews, as well as research of its online sources in form of official websites, facebook commentaries and MHTI member blogs. This future study should comprise an analysis of visual media like posters, flyers and digital collages published by HTI members in order to illustrate HTI's visual language. Themes raised by MHTI that did not find entrance in the current paper, for example health care related issues and polygamy, will be analyzed. The topics discussed in the current paper will be investigated from different angles and with the help of a wider pool of primary sources.

## 5. Bibliography

**Ahnaf, Muhammad Iqbal:** *The Image of the Other as Enemy: Radical Discourse in Indonesia*. Bangkok. 2006.

**Badran, Margot:** *Feminism in Islam: Secular and Religious Convergences*. Oxford. 2009

**Badran, Margot:** *Feminism beyond East and West: New Gender Talk and Practice in Global Islam*. 2006.

**Bainbridge, William Sims:** *The Sociology of Religious Movements*. New York. 1997.

**Budiman, Manneke:** *Treading the Path of the Shari'a: Indonesian Feminism at the Crossroads of Western Modernity and Islamism*. In: *Journal of Indonesian Social Sciences and Humanities*, Vol. 1, 2008, pp. 73–93. URL: <http://www.kitlv-journals.nl/index.php/jissh/index>

**Eksi Insania:** *Mengenal Kurikulum Pendidikan dalam Islam*. Paper presented during the discussion forum “Semiloka Guru Muslimah Se-DIY: Selamatkan Yogya sebagai Kota Pelajar dengan Budaya Islam” by Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia. July 2009.

**el-Diina Center:** *Home Schooling Group Usia Dini: Berbasis Aqidah Islam*. Indonesia. 2008.

**Fealy, Greg & Hooker, Virginia (Eds.):** *Voices of Islam in Southeast Asia: A Contemporary Sourcebook*. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. Singapore. 2006.

**female readers**, Edisi I/Vol.II. 2007. Indonesia.

**Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia:** *Dakwah Islam Tanpa Kekerasan*. Indonesia. 2003.

**Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia:** *Kiprah Politik Perempuan*. Indonesia. 2007.

**Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia:** *Pendidikan Mahal: Buah Pemerintah Kapitalis*. In: *Buletin Dakwah Al Islam*, 453/XV. Indonesia. 2009.

**Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia:** *Cengkeram Asing Lewat Lembaga Kesehatan*. In: *Buletin Dakwah Al Islam*, 403/XV. Indonesia. 2009.

**Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia:** *Memakai Jilbab Hukumnya Wajib. Mengapa dipersoalkan?* In: *Buletin Dakwah Al Islam*, 430/XV. Indonesia. 2009.

**Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia:** Menyoal RUU Kesehatan dan Isu ‘Kesehatan Reproduksi’. In: *Buletin Dakwah Al Islam*, 467/XV. Indonesia. 2009.

**Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia:** Manifesto untuk Indonesia. 2009.

<http://hizbut-tahrir.or.id/wp-content/uploads/2009/07/manifesto-ht-untuk-indonesia.pdf>

**Husnul Khotimah:** Kebohongan-kebohongan Di Balik Isu Jender. In: *al-wa’ie* No. 54, V. Februar 2005. Indonesien.

**Lies Arifah:** Realita Kurikulum Pendidikan di Indonesia. Paper presented during the discussion forum “Semiloka Guru Muslimah Se-DIY: Selamatkan Yogya sebagai Kota Pelajar dengan Budaya Islam” by Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia. July 2009.

**Lies Arifah:** Tantangan Keluarga Sakinah dan Solusinya. Paper presented during conference by Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia. August 2009.

**Maya Fitria:** Membangun Keluarga Sakinah. Paper presented during conference by Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia. August 2009.

**Muhtadi, Burhanuddin:** The Quest for Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia. In: *Asian Journal of Social Science* 37 (2009). 623-645. Leiden.

**Muslikhati, Siti:** Skenario Penghancuran Umat Islam Melalui Liberalisasi Keluarga. Paper presented during conference by Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia. August 2009.

**Muslikhati, Siti:** Reduksi Pelayanan Publik oleh Negara di Indonesia. Paper presented during the conference “Konferensi Muslimah Nasional: Selamatkan Indonesia dari Kapitalisasi Pendidikan dan Kesehatan dengan Khilafah” by Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia. December 2008.

**Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia:** Ramadhan: Momentum Pembentangan Keluarga Muslim dari Arus Liberalisasi dengan Syari’ah dan Khilafah. Paper presented during the discussion forum “Diskusi Tokoh Muslimah” by MHTI. 2009.

**Nawab, Mohamed Mohamed Osman:** Reviving the Caliphate in the Nusantara: Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia’s Mobilization Strategy and Its Impact in Indonesia. Working Paper, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies. 2009.

**Schulze, Fritz:** Pluralismus und Demokratie im radikal-islamischen Diskurs am Beispiel der Hizbut Tahrir. In: *Religion und Identität. Muslime und Nicht-Muslime in Südostasien*. Fritz Schulze & Holger Waruk (Hrsg.), 2008. (S. 23-42)

**Seise, Claudia:** Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia: Islamic Feminists? Thesenpapier. 2010 (unpublished)

**Stange, Paul:** Religious Change in Contemporary Southeast Asia. In: The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia Vol. 2. Nicholas Tarling (ed.). Cambridge. 2004. pg. 542-584.

**Ummu Fathimah NJL:** Keadilan dan Kesetaraan Gender (KKG): Gagasan yang Harus Diwaspadai. In: *al-wa'ie* No.75, VII. November 2006. Indonesia.

**Ustadzah Ishmah Khalil:** Ide Gender: Racun Berbalut Madu. In: *al-wa'ie* No.75, VII. November 2006. Indonesia.

**Ward, Ken:** Non-violent extremists? Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia. In: *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 63/2 (June 2009) 149-164. Australia.

**Whine, Michael:**

Is Hizbut Tahrir Changing Strategy or Tactics?

[http://www.thecst.org.uk/docs/EurasianPaper\\_Aug42006.pdf](http://www.thecst.org.uk/docs/EurasianPaper_Aug42006.pdf)

**Yasin, Abu:** Strategi Pendidikan Negara Khilafah. Jakarta. 2004.

### **Field Data**

Answers of structured interviews of nine members of Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia. Conducted August/ September 2009.

## SÜDOSTASIEN Working Papers

1. **Hans-Dieter Kubitscheck** (1996) Das Südostasien-Institut an der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Zur Geschichte der Südostasienwissenschaften.
2. **Andreas Schneider** (1996) Reintegration. Untersuchungen am Beispiel laotischer Absolventendeutscher Bildungseinrichtungen.
3. **Ingrid Wessel** (1996) State and Islam in Indonesia. On the interpretation of ICMI.
4. **Nguyen Minh Hà** (1996) Die Ergänzungsglieder im vietnamesischen Satz.
5. **Ursula Lies** (1996) Vietnamese Studies in Australia.
6. **Martin Klein** (1997) Javanismus und Herrschaft in Indonesien. Zum Zusammenhang von Kulturinterpretation und Ideologie. Vorstudien zu einer Kritik der politischen Praxis der Neuen Ordnung Indonesiens.
7. **Thomas Engelbert** (1997) Staatskapitalismus unter der Führung einer nationalistischen Partei. Zur gegenwärtigen Diskussion des Zusammenhanges zwischen ökonomischem Pragmatismus und politischer Legitimierung der Kommunistischen Partei in Vietnam.
8. **Nguyen Minh Hà** (1997) Zur Entwicklung der vietnamesischen Sprache und Schrift.
9. **Jean-Dominique Giacometti** (1998) La Bataille de la Piastre 1918-1928. Réalités économiques et perceptions politiques dans l'Empire colonial Français.
10. **Georgia Wimhöfer** (1998) Wissenschaft und Religiosität im Werk von Y.B. Mangunwijaya.
11. **Uta Gärtner**, Myanmar verstehen: Sprachlehrbuch. (11/1&2). Glossar und Schlüssel (11/3). 2. Auflage.
12. **Nguyen Minh Hà** (2003) Einführung in die Phonetik der vietnamesischen Sprache. 4. Auflage.
13. **Kristina Chhim** (1998) Die 2. Parlamentswahlen Kambodschas. Hoffnung oder Farce?
14. **Stefan Hell** (1998) Siam und der Völkerbund, 1920-1946.
15. **Claudia Götze-Sam** (2002) Welche grammatischen Relationen verbergen sich hinter den sog. Passivkonstruktionen im Khmer? 2. Auflage.

16. **Nguyen Minh Hà** (1999) Vietnamesisch zum Anfassen. Konversation, Teil 1.
17. **Nguyen Minh Hà** (2000) Vietnamesisch zum Anfassen. Konversation, Teil 2.
18. **Nguyen Minh Hà** (2000) Vietnamesisch zum Anfassen. Konversation, Teil 3.
19. **Michael Steinmetz** (2000) Siam im Jahr 2475 (1932): Das Ende der absoluten Monarchie.
20. **Johannes Herrmann** (2000) Staat und Menschenrechte im Demokratisierungsprozess in Indonesien.
21. **Andreas Schneider** (2001) Laos im 20. Jahrhundert: Kolonie und Königreich, Befreite Zone und Volksrepublik.
22. **Heinz Schütte** (2003) Hundred Flowers in Vietnam, 1955-1957.
23. **Thomas Engelbert and Jana Raendchen**, eds. (2003) Colloquium and Round-Table Discussion on Ethnic Minorities and Politics in Southeast Asia.
24. **Verena Beittinger** (2004) Zwietracht in der Vielfalt: Indonesiens chinesische Minderheit, das Masalah Cina und die Maiunruhen 1998.
25. **Dirk Heidersbach** (2004) Widerstand, Assimilation & die Frage nach der Legitimität: Die Rolle der religiösen Traditionen Nordthailands zwischen 1874 und 1892.
26. **Anja Herbst** (2004) Das Konfliktfeld Aceh im Rahmen der Dezentralisierungspolitik in Indonesien.
27. **Nguyen Thanh Duc** (2005) Privatisierung in Ostdeutschland und einige Schlussfolgerungen für Vietnam.
28. **Gunnar Stange** (2005) Islamistischer Terrorismus vor dem Hintergrund der Demokratisierung in Indonesien.
29. **Antje Mißbach, Eva Streifeneder, Ragnar K. Willer**, Hrsg. (2006) Indonesia – sedang mengapa? Neuste Forschungsbeiträge des Doktoranden Netzwerk Indonesien.
30. **Johann Friedrich Herling** (2006) Staudämme in der Oberen Mekong-Region. Analyse der Auswirkungen auf die Anrainerstaaten des Mekongs.
31. **Sindy Herrmann und Frederik Holst**, Hrsg. (2007) Gesellschaft und Politik in Südostasien. Eine studentische Festschrift zu Ehren von Prof. Dr. Ingrid Wessel.
32. **Frederik Holst und Eva Streifeneder**, Hrsg. (2007) Myanmar. Eine studentische Festschrift zu Ehren von Dr. Uta Gärtner.

33. **Serhat Ünaldi** (2008) *Reconstructing Angkor. Images of the Past and Their Impact on Thai-Cambodian Relations.*
34. **Barbara Zeus** (2008) *Identities in Exil. De- and Reterritorialising Ethnic Identity and the Case of Burmese Forced Migrants in Thailand.*
35. **Eva Streifeneder und Boryano Rickum**, Hrsg. (2009) *Quo Vadis, Indonesien? Neuste Beiträge des Doktoranden Netzwerk Indonesien.*
36. **Hans-Bernd Zöllner** (2009) *Neither Saffron Nor Revolution. A Commentated and Documented Chronology of the Monks' Demonstrations in Myanmar in 2007 and their Background. PART I .*
37. **Hans-Bernd Zöllner** (2009) *Neither Saffron Nor Revolution. A Commentated and Documented Chronology of the Monks' Demonstrations in Myanmar in 2007 and their Background. PART II: Documents .*
38. **Muhammad Febriansyah** (2009) *Performing Arts and Politics. Compromise and Resistance.*
39. **Frederik Holst** (2010) *Ethnicization and Identity Politics in Malaysia.*
40. **Benjamin Baumann** (2010) *On Centrism and Dualism - A Critical Reassessment of Structural Anthropology's Contribution to the Study of South-east Asian Societies.*
41. **Carola von der Dick und Jörg-Ch. Lanca** (2011) *Re-evaluating research directions In the study of Malaysia: An overview of a workshop held in Berlin in November 2009.*
42. **Ik Tien Ngu** (2011) *Global trade and political continuity: The rise of timber tycoons in Sarawak, 1945-1963.*
43. **Norzarina Mohd-Zaharim** (2011) *Religiosity and Religious Coping among Malaysians.*
44. **Claudia Seise** (2011) *Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia: An Introduction to its Thoughts and Activities.*