

Titel der Arbeit

**The Dakwah Media in Post Suharto Indonesia:
From Politics of Identity to Popular Culture
(The Case of Ummi)**

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Abstract

The growth of media in the Post Suharto era has been the result of press freedom established by president B.J Habibie in 1999. Freed from the past constraints of state censorship and propaganda, all segments of the media community including Islamic media have moved rapidly towards diversity and plurality. With regard to the diversity of Islamic media, the term of 'the dakwah media' hence is not only about labeling 'Islam' but also on 'constructing' dakwah. Dakwah itself literally means 'proselytization of Islam', 'issuing a summons' or 'making an invitation'.

My PhD project hence aims to provide a brief analysis of the shift of the dakwah media which used to be political vehicles of establishing constituencies especially for the 'tarbiyah movement' in the Suharto era to the current tendency of popularizing the Tarbiyah identity as a new life style. The tarbiyah movement in Indonesia is a social and political movement among Indonesian Muslim students especially activists in the Suharto period. The word tarbiyah itself is taken from Arabic which literary means 'education'. The dakwah method introduced by the tarbiyah movement refers to the 'tarbiyah method' of Ikhwanul Muslimin.

My PhD research on the dakwah media has been conducted through three methods. First is through framing and content analysis of the journals of Ummi from 1989 to 2009 (almost 20 years of publications). The aim of this first method is to capture the main themes of the magazine so it is possible to identify its ideological compositions. Second is based on reader receptions in order to acquire readers' perceptions toward the content of the journals. The last method is ethnography through some interviews I conducted in Jakarta in early 2010 with some Ummi editorial staffs.

My focus on Ummi's tendency of popularizing Ikwani teachings is developed through two major research questions. I have noticed that there has been dynamics in the dakwah media following the impacts of September 11 and the Bali Bombings of 2002. Ummi of course has echoed such dynamics and has been through a so-called transformation which marked its current journal appeals. My first question is, how has the transformation of Ummi made in post Suharto era and what reasons lie behind such transformation? Second, what are the implications of such transformation on the female readership? Or what are the roles of the readers as active agents in shaping such transformation made by Ummi? Hence it is important to underline the fact that Ummi is no longer underground circulated among the dakwah activists like in the Suharto period, since a decade it has been publicly accessible anywhere in Indonesia. This leads me to further contest how such transformation may affect its readership due to a growing number of new readers. This means, whether Ummi as a dakwah media is still perceived by its readers deploying ideological impositions or simply providing alternatives for life style or consumption where religious self-help is the major feature of the magazine.

Zusammenfassung

Dakwah bedeutet in etwa soviel wie islamische Mission. Die islamischen Medien sind von zentraler Bedeutung für die Artikulierung von Visionen, welche die politischen Interessen von Wählerinnen und Wählern ansprechen sollen. Das Wachstum der Medien in der Post-Suharto-Ära war ein Ergebnis der Pressefreiheit, die durch Präsident BJ Habibie im Jahr 1999 eingeleitet wurde. Befreit von den Zwängen der früheren staatlichen Zensur und Propaganda, hat sich die gesamte Medienlandschaft, einschließlich der islamischen Pressemedien schnell in Richtung Meinungsvielfalt und Pluralität entwickelt.

In der frühen Reform-Ära erlebten die islamischen Medien ein rasantes Wachstum. Eine islamistische Ausrichtung gewann an Popularität. Trotzdem überlebten nur wenige dieser Medien. Die Zeitschrift *Ummi* ist eines der *Dakwah*-Medien, die aufgrund verschiedener Umstände seit dem Ende des Suharto-Regimes in den späten 90er Jahren bis heute überleben konnten.

Schwerpunkt meiner Forschung ist die Analyse des Wandels der *Ummi* von einem Vehikel zur Bildung und Festigung einer Wählerschaft, die sich in der Suharto-Ära insbesondere aus der *Tarbiyah*-Bewegung generierte, hin zur aktuellen Tendenz der Popularisierung der Tarbiyah Identität als ein neues Lebensstil. *Tarbiyah* ist ein Wort aus dem Arabischen und bedeutet soviel wie „Bildung“. Längst ist unter dem Namen *Tarbiyah* eine soziale und politische Bewegung bekannt. Die dakwah Verfahren wurde durch den Tarbiyah Bewegung eingeführt und bezieht sich auf die "Tarbiyah Methode" von Ikhwanul Muslimin.

Meine Doktorarbeit auf dem dakwah Medien wurde durch drei Methoden durchgeführt. Erstens ist durch Gestaltung und Inhaltsanalyse der Fachzeitschriften des Ummi 1989-2009 (fast 20 Jahren von Veröffentlichungen). Das Ziel dieses ersten Verfahrens ist es, die wichtigsten Themen des Magazins zu erfassen und ihre ideologischen Kompositionen zu identifizieren. Zweitens basiert auf die Wahrnehmungen der Lesern auf den Inhalt der Zeitschriften zu erwerben. Die letzte Methode ist Ethnographie durch einige Interviews, die ich mit einigen Ummi Redaktionen in Jakarta im Frühjahr 2010 durchgeführt.

Mein Schwerpunkt auf Ummi Tendenz der Popularisierung Ikwani Lehren wurde durch zwei wichtige Forschungsfragen entwickelt. Ich habe bemerkt, dass es Dynamik im dakwah Medien nach den Auswirkungen des 11. September und den Bombenanschlägen auf Bali 2002 gab. Deswegen hat Ummi eine so genannte Transformation in der aktuellen Zeitschrift. Meine erste Frage ist, wie hat sich die Transformation von Ummi in der Post Suharto-Ära gemacht und welche Gründen für diese Transformation liegen? Zweitens, was sind die Auswirkungen einer solchen Transformation auf die weibliche Leserschaft? Oder was sind die Rollen von den Lesern an solcher Transformation auf Ummi? Daher ist es wichtig, die Tatsache, dass Ummi nicht mehr als Untergrundbewegungen der dakwah Aktivisten wie in der Suharto Periode und es hat über Jahrzehnte überall in Indonesien veröffentlicht. Dies führt mich weiter zu prüfen, ob die wachsende Zahlen von neuen Lesern das Transformation seine Leserschaft beeinflussen können. Das heißt, ob Ummi als dakwah Medien immer noch von seinen Lesern den Einsatz ideologischen Zumutungen oder nur als die Alternativen zum Lebensstil des religiösen Selbsthilfe anbietet.

Keywords / Schlagwörter

Islamic Media / Islamische Medien

Dakwah (Da'wa)

Women Magazine / Frauenzeitschrift

Post Suharto Era / Post Suharto Ära

Indonesia / Indonesien

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Glossary

Abangan	: Javanese Muslims who practice syncretic Islam with variations of Javanese beliefs rooted in Hinduism, Buddhism, and Animism
Akhwat	: a sister; a title for a female member of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood and or the Tarbiyah movement in Indonesia
Al zaujah muthi'ah	: a loyal housewife
Anak Shaleh	: pious children
Annanda	: my children
Annida	: the daughter (my daughter); the first Muslim teen's magazine in Indonesia since 1990s influenced by the Tarbiyah movement
Amanah	: a trust; the first popular Muslim women's magazine in Indonesia in 1980s-1990s
Amr ma'ruf nahi munkar	: enjoining good and forbidding wrong
Aqida	: the <i>Sunni</i> theological interpretation of fundamental branches of Islamic belief namely: (1) tawhid, belief in one God (Allah) and the only ultimate one to be worshipped; (2) belief in the <i>Malaika</i> (the Angels); (3) Belief in the <i>Kitabs</i> (God's books such as the Torah, the Bible, and the Qur'an); (4) Belief in the Rasul (God's messengers); (5) Belief in the Resurrection's day and the Final Judgment's day; (6) Belief in the Qada (the divine decree) and the Qadar (predestination)
Aurat (Aurah)	: genitalia or parts of the body (both men and women) to be clothed according to the Shari'a (Islamic law)
Bid'a	: syncretic innovation
Dakwah	: a proselytization of Islam; an Islamic activism for Muslim active politics, or Muslim contentious politics, or piety movement
Daulah islamiyah	: Islamic state
DDII	: Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia - the Indonesian Islamic Propagation Council
DPR	: Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat - the Lower House of Parliamentary
Digest size of magazine	: a magazine which is printed with thin papers and looks similar to a paperback journal but in a larger size
Eulogism	: an expression of praise or blessing
Femina	: a famous popular women's magazine in Indonesia since 1980s
Fitnah	: a slander, a defamation, a denigration, or a vilification

Fitrah	: a natural attraction
FLP	: Forum Lingkar Pena - The Circle of Pens Forum, an associated Tarbiyah Movement's organization for an Islamic genre of literature
GDP	: Gross Domestic Product
Generasi Rabbani (the Rabbani Generation)	: the Godly generation whose morals are in obedience to God
Hadith	: the sayings of the prophet Muhammad
Halaqah	: a religious mentoring class that is practiced by the members of the Tarbiyah movement and was introduced by the Egyptian Ikhwanul Muslimin (the Muslim Brotherhood)
Hijab	: a concern to protect modesty according to the Quran such as men or women's gaze, and genitalia; it is also simply understood as the practice of veiling among Muslim women
Hijab Syar'i	: the practice of veiling that is more than just covering women's head, but also the shapes of women's breasts, hips, and waist
Hijrah	: a journey to (embrace) Islam
Hikayat	: a prose
HMI	: Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam - the Association of Islamic Students
HTI	: Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia
IAIN	: Institut Agama Islam Negeri - Islamic Teacher Training College
ICMI	: Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia - the Indonesian Muslim Scholars Association
IDI	: Ikatan Dokter Indonesia - the Indonesian Medical Association
Ikhwan	: Muslim boys
Ikhwani doctrines/contemporary ikhwani teachings	: the basic doctrines or principles for the Dakwah strategy (Marhalah) and the Dakwah Method (Manhaj) developed by the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, Hasan Al Banna; contemporary ikhwani teachings are the reinterpretations of Hasan Al Banna's doctrines developed by Al Banna's latest followers such as Sayyid Qutb, Sayyid Hawwa, Yusuf al Qaradawi, etc
Ikhwanul Muslimin	: the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood
Ikhtilat	: free mixing between genders especially in public life
Ikwanul Muslimin	: Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood
IPB	: Institute Pertanian Bogor - Institute of Agriculture Bogor

Islami	: a state of being determined by Islamic norms (both mental state and attitudes)
ITB	: Institut Teknologi Bandung - Bandung Institute of Technology
ITS	: Institute of Technology Sepuluh-November Surabaya
Jahilliya / Jahilli	: an ignorant, or a non-Islamic system of belief or ideology that does not acknowledge the existence of God or does not accept Oneness in God, or an ignorance towards the primacy of God's Almighty in all aspects of human lives/ the actor(s) that uphold the Jahilliya
Jihad	: an Islamic struggle; necessarily means to struggle against malicious intent in man, or a struggle against an unjust or unlawful system, but the term is problematically also interpreted as a physical struggle against Muslim's oppressors, or the enemy of Islam
Jihadist Narratives	: the narratives that suggest or evoke Muslims to conduct a Jihad in terms of physical struggles or with violent fights
Jilbab	: a cover of women's body consists of a headscarf or veil and a long dress for Muslim women
JSIT	: Jaringan Sekolah Islam Terpadu - the Network for Integrated Islamic Schools
Ka'afah	: a total submission to Islam
KAMMI	: Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia - The Union of Indonesian Muslim Student Action
Kartini	: a popular women's magazine in Indonesia since 1980s which name was taken from a leading figure in women's emancipation during the colonial era, R.A. Kartini
KCB	: Ketika Cinta Bertasbih or 'When Love is praised to God', is a title of a film in which the story was based on a novel by Habbirurahman El Shirazy, a member of the FLP
KDRT	: Kekerasan dalam Rumah Tangga -domestic violence
Kebaya	: a traditional Javanese blouse combined with batik or sarong
Kerudung	: a loose scarf which covers women's head but the neck and part of the upper hairs are still visible
Khilafah Islamiyah	: Islamic Caliphate
Khuluq	: a Muslim women's plea for divorcing a husband
Kitab	: the Islamic religious texts
Kufu	: shared moral values
LDK	: Lembaga Dakwah Kampus – the Dakwah Campus

	Organizations
LGBTI	: the LGBTI – Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals, and Transgenders Indonesia
LIPIA	: Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Islam dan Arab - the Institute for Islamic and Arab Studies
NooR	: a famous Muslim women's lifestyle magazine since earlier 2000s
Nusyuz	: the disobedient wife; the law in Islam that allow a husband to discipline his wife by beating
Mahram	: persons which on is forbidden to marry or having a sexual relationship, for example, a person of the same sex (men to men, or women to women are 'mahram'), or a blood lineage relation, for instance, a father to his daughter, a mother to her son, a brother to a sister, an uncle to his niece, etc.
Makar	: an attempt to overthrow the power of a legitimate government
Malari	: (incident) Limabelas Januari 1974 (The student's incident on the Fifteenth January in 1974- a student movement against foreign investment in Indonesia in mid 1970s)
Manhaj	: a combination of preaching and movement (the Dakwah methods)
MPR	: Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat - the Upper House
Maratus shalihat	: pious women
Marhalah Dakwah	: the Dakwah Strategy
Masyumi	: Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia
Ma'rifah	: closeness to God
MTP	: Masyarakat Tolak Pornografi - The Society for Against Pornography
Mufti	: an Islamic legal expert who has capacity to advise or impose Islamic legal matters to be exercised in Muslim society
Mujjahid	: Muslims who are committed to jihad
Mujjahid generation	: a generation who are willing to glorify Islam by being committed to the call of jihad
Murrabi	: a mentor or a teacher of the halaqah (the Tarbiyah religious mentoring class)
Muslimah	: Muslim women; to some extents the word is labelled by particular <i>Dakwah</i> media to distinguish ' <i>Muslimah</i> magazine' as <i>pious women's magazine</i> – with other Muslim women's magazines
Muttarabbi	: pupils of the halaqah (the Tarbiyah mentoring class)

NGO	: non-government organizations
PDA	: Public Displays of Affections
PBB	: Partai Bulan Bintang – The Crescent Moon Party
PERSIS	: Persatuan Islam – Islam United, a puritan Islamic organization established in Bandung, West Java
Pesantren	: traditional Islamic school
PK	: Partai Keadilan - Justice Party
PKS	: Partai Keadilan Sejahtera or the Prosperous Justice Party
Pornoaksi (Pornoaction)	: cultural expressions of explicit sensuality or eroticism especially in live performance, and public displays of un-Islamic sexuality
Qonitah	: a new Muslim women’s magazine published by the Salafi Dakwah movement since 2013
Qanun	: the local regulation based on the Shari’a applied in the province of Aceh Nangroedarussalam
Salaf al Shalih	: the first generation of the Prophet companions
Salimah	: Persaudaraan Muslimah or the <i>Muslimah</i> Sisterhood; the Female Tarbiyah activists’ NGO associated with the PKS
Salafism	: Salafiyya or the Salafi movement
Salafi or Salafis	: people who seek to emulate the practice of the pious ancestors (the Salaf al Salih).
Selendang or tudung	: a loose-scarf, similar to Kerudung
Shalat (Salat)	: the Islamic obligatory worship
Shari’a	: Islamic law
STIKOM - LSPR	: Sekolah Tinggi Komunikasi – College for Communication Studies, London School for Public Relations, Jakarta
Sunnah	: Islamic norms based on the teachings and practices of Prophet Muhammad as well as the interpretations of the Qur’an
Syair	: poetry
SIUPP	: Surat Ijin Usaha Penerbitan Press – License for Press and Publishing
Syahwat	: Lust
Syumul religion	: a complete religion that regulates all aspects of life
Tamadun Society	: a society that confronts moral corrupt and thus reinforces moral transformation
Tarbiyah movement	: a social and political movement which is influenced by the Ikhwanul Muslimin (the Egyptian Muslim

	Brotherhood)
UIN	: Universitas Islam Negeri - State University for Islamic Studies
UGM	: Universitas Gadjah Mada - Gadjah Mada University
Umma	: Islamic polity
Ummi	: mother (my mother), a Muslim women's magazine since late 1980s which labelled itself as the first ' <i>Muslimah</i> ' magazine
Ummu madrasah	: mother of education
Ummu Shalihah	: the pious women of the <i>Salaf al Shaleh</i> generation
Usrah	: informal mentoring activities where religious lessons are taken within a circle; an informal religious mentoring session of the Salafi Dakwah movement
Ustadzah	: female religious teachers

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1. Background

"Why do you want to study Ummi? We are not one of the big media corporations like some others which affect millions of Indonesians!" asked Meutia Gemala, the chief editor of Ummi. Her question was addressed to me as a response to my request to conduct ethnographic research by doing a one-month internship at Ummi's office in Jakarta in January 2010. My reply to her question that I was interested in finding the reasons why the magazine changed from being an underground radical Islamic magazine into a popular Muslim women's magazine. I told her that in 1993 as a young student at UGM (Gadjah Mada University) in Yogyakarta, I read an edition of Ummi which was shown to me by my flatmate, a member of the Tarbiyah movement who was also a student at the UGM. On the cover of it stated that Ummi is *a Muslimah¹ magazine with a different view of Islam, not just an Islamic magazine for Muslim women.*

In that 1993 edition, there were no depictions of women at all on the cover and the cover of the magazine showed only a plain photograph of a bunch of flowers. However, inside the magazine there was a photograph of woman's dead body and it was claimed (in the photo's caption) to be a Bosnian Muslim woman who had been brutally raped, tortured and slaughtered by the Serb militias. My first encounter with Ummi was actually not impressive given my knowledge of the Bosnian war – which was informed by other media and which had already provoked my sympathy towards the Bosnian Muslims. Nevertheless seeing an image of a tortured dead woman's body portrayed in a Muslim women's magazine was still disturbing.

Fourteen years later in early 2007 I saw an edition of Ummi displayed in the well-known bookstore Gramedia² in Yogyakarta – in a section alongside other

¹ Muslimah is Muslim women.

² Gramedia is a famous name of big bookshops with many branches in major cities throughout Indonesia and owned by the media corporation Kompas-Gramedia. The group Kompas Gramedia was established by two famous Catholic journalists PK Oyong and Jakob Oetama in 1965 initially by

women's magazines. Not only was I surprised to see Ummi again, but it now was in a fancy style showing a beautiful woman wearing a *jilbab*³ on its cover. Ummi's new look as a popular women's magazine then reminded me of a popular *Muslimah*⁴ magazine in the 1980s-1990s my mother used to subscribe to called *Amanah*.⁵ My second encounter with Ummi after a long period of time was also quite surprising, because Ummi at a glance seemed to meet my innocent imagination in the past about how a Muslimah magazine was supposedly seen. It should be seen like a women's magazine. Thus my imagination about a women's magazine was that there should be a face of a woman on the cover and women's lives inside the magazine.

Although seemingly a superficial cosmetic change in the magazine, the difference in covers reflects a broader transformation in Ummi. This study explores the transformation of Ummi as a Muslim women's magazine and because it tells something more about the transformation of a society. Following the end of the Suharto's New Order in 1998, there has been a notable increase in the diversity and amount of new media including those promoting Islamic agenda or lifestyles. In this introduction chapter, I explore the origins of the rise Islamic media by looking beyond the movement of 1998 as a turning point to trace the historical roots of a *Dakwah* magazine like Ummi. Ummi is one of the prominent *Dakwah* publications in the Reform era which has its root in the Tarbiyah movement during the Suharto's period. With its focus on Muslim women's issues Ummi represents a unique example of propagating *Dakwah* prior to the 1998 and afterwards. This

launching *Kompas* as a national newspaper. During the Suharto's period, *Kompas* grew as a mainstream newspaper in Indonesia and had a link with the CSIS (the Center for Strategic and International Studies) the so-called Suharto's thinktank. Due to the relationship with CSIS *Kompas* was seen by Islamic groups as the Christian group's political vehicle whose influences had impacts on the regime's policy making that affected Muslims (including Suharto's suppression to political Islam). There was a stigma that *Kompas* was also a tool to serve Christianization in Indonesia. Further reading see: Mujiburrahman. 2006. *Feeling Threatened: Muslim-Christian Relations in Indonesia's New Order*. Leiden/Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

³ Jilbab is the cover of a woman's body consists of a veil that fully covers the head and a long dressed - that only allows the face and hand to be visibly seen.

⁴ It was *Amanah* which first labelled its motto as "Majalah Populer Muslimah yang Pertama di Indonesia" (The first Muslim women's popular magazine in Indonesia) – identified itself not just an Islamic magazine, but a magazine addressed Muslim women's lives.

⁵ *Amanah* literally means 'trust' – but it could also a name of an Indonesian (presumed Muslim) woman.

includes a shift from previously representing a radical view on Dakwah (and its implications to Muslim women) to a more moderate view of propagating Dakwah in fashionable ways.

Although in the Suharto period *Ummi* only circulated among members of the Tarbiyah movement, they introduced it to other Muslim students. The Tarbiyah movement is a social and political movement inspired and influenced by the *Ikhwanul Muslimin* (the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood) that gained sympathy among many students especially those on the leading secular state campuses in the mid 1980s. Based on my personal experience of encountering *Ummi* as a part of the Tarbiyah movement's propagation and the fact that *Ummi*'s is today sold in public bookstores, I developed the study of *Ummi* by initially questioning what reasons motivated *Ummi* to go through a transformation. In dealing with this question I did a preliminary research and I bought some editions of *Ummi* in 2007 and began to explore their content by comparing them with my mother's old collection of *Amanah* magazine.

My preliminary conclusion after reading the 'new look' editions of *Ummi* (2007 editions) and the 'old' *Amanah*⁶ (1993 editions) is that both magazines share a common emphasis on the importance of *Dakwah*.⁷ By *Dakwah*, Muslims are required to proselytize Islam, namely by reinforcing Islamic values and practices in public. However, the 'new' *Ummi* does not imitate *Amanah* because both magazines provide different images of the significance of *Dakwah* especially to Muslim women.⁸ The 'new' *Ummi*, still represents itself obviously as a part of the Tarbiyah movement that continues until today; meanwhile *Amanah* does not belong to any particular Islamic movement. From this point of view, *Dakwah* constitutes different meanings according to who propagates it, and to whom it is propagated to (and thus practiced by). Nevertheless, among other 'Dakwah

⁶ Despite its popularity during 1980s-1990s, *Amanah* collapsed in post Suharto era, due to mismanagement and its declining popularity among other new Islamic magazines published in a large scale especially in the earlier period of the Reform era.

⁷ *Dakwah* is the proselytization of Islam.

⁸ I include my observation of *Amanah* and *Ummi* in the Suharto's era as a comparison in this study (Chapter 3) in order to trace *Ummi*'s persistent messages on *Dakwah* that continue in post Suharto's era.

magazines' that circulate in the public bookstores today, Ummi is considered less radical.

Ummi definitely does not belong to a major media group⁹ in Indonesia. Despite the fact that Ummi is not a big media corporation, Ummi contributes to how the mainstream media represent the current apparel of Dakwah as a cultural commodity. This is because in the post-Suharto era, Ummi has generated a broader cultural movement managed by some female Tarbiyah activists whose cultural works and influences are prominent in the mainstream media. Despite its religious emphasis and humble beginnings, it is useful to think of Ummi in terms of popular culture. In general the study of popular culture focuses on 'mass culture' and the process of making particular objects of art, entertainment or leisure (indulgence) into commodities to be consumed by the general population.¹⁰ On the other hand, popular culture is not always a product generated by an industry, elites or dominant groups, it may arise from subordinate groups. As a result, popular culture is the terrain of struggle between dominant, emergent and subordinate groups. Different groups and subcultures are continually struggling for space and audiences to articulate their ideas and agendas, often in opposition to the dominant or mainstream culture.

The concept of cultural domination by industry, elites (ruling class), or dominant groups over particular beliefs, values and customs to be accepted as a common norm is developed by Antonio Gramsci in his concept of 'hegemony'. According to Gramsci, hegemony is not a given, but a process of negotiation by which competing interests and aspirations are brought into 'an equilibrium' through strategies that essentially work to articulate the interests of subordinate

⁹ A recent study by Merlyna Lim identifies the major ownership of mainstream media in post Suharto Indonesia. The study includes twelve media corporations that have controlled the shares over ten commercial TV stations which operate nationwide (aside the only one public TV station the TVRI – Televisi Republik Indonesia owned by the government), six major leading newspapers, four most popular online news media, news and entertainment radio networks, and some local area TV networks which operate locally in several provinces.

See: Lim, Merlyna. 2011. @Crosroads: Democratization and Corporatization of Media in Indonesia. Participatory Media Lab at University of Arizona and the Ford Foundation. Online Article. http://participatorymedia.lab.asu.edu/files/Lim_Media_Ford_2011.pdf
Accessed on 30th October 2013.

¹⁰ Strinati, Dominic. 2004 (1995). An Introduction to Theories of Popular Culture (2nd Edition). London/New York: Routledge. Pp.120-121

groups to those of the dominant groups.¹¹ Stuart Hall re-conceptualizes a Gramscian approach to provide a broader understanding of popular culture as an on going process that is determined by dynamic relations of control and subordination in which cultural forms gain or loose for being accommodated by institutions. On that account, Hall argues that upgraded cultural forms are not fixed but reside on a constant movement and interchange of power relations.¹² Using a Gramscian approach in cultural studies John Storey further argues that popular culture is “*neither an authentic subordinate culture nor a culture imposed by dominant culture (the culture industries) but results from a compromise equilibrium that mixes the interests of the two*”.¹³ As a consequence, Storey suggests that studying popular culture within a framework of compromise equilibrium is to look at the way cultural commodities are appropriated and made meaningful in acts of consumption.¹⁴

The practices and symbols of Islam in post Suharto era are very much represented in both electronic and print mass mediated forms. This phenomenon has shaped the cultural landscape of Indonesia in a more Islamic direction. Islamic values and symbols are reinforced in the public sphere much more than before, made more visible, and thus more gendered. Simultaneously, Islamic values and symbols are commodified and consumed on a massive scale – making Islam as a new icon in Indonesia’s popular culture. Amidst other Islamic commodified mass mediated forms, Ummi is an example of a *Muslimah* magazine that continues to seek for ‘a compromise equilibrium’ – in order to reinforce Islamic values and practices, particularly by disseminating and popularizing the *Ikhwani* (or the *Tarbiyah*) teachings¹⁵ in public. Therefore, in my view, Ummi’s significance to the representation of Islam in the Indonesian contemporary media is very influential.

¹¹ Gramsci, Antonio. 1992 (1971). *Selection from the Prison Notebooks* (transl. Hoare and Smith). New York: International Publisher. P. 161.

¹² Hall, Stuart. 1997 (1981). ‘Notes on Deconstructing the Popular’. In Storey, John (ed). 1997. *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: A Reader*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. Pp. 442-453.

¹³ Storey, John. 2010. *Culture and Power in Cultural Studies: The Politics of Signification*. Edinburg: Edinburg University Press. P.50

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ The Tarbiyah movement’s ideas of practicing a ‘true Islam’ based on the educational principles formulated by the founder of the Ikhwanul Muslimin (the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood) – that

1. 2. The Growth of Media and Islamic Militancy in the Post Suharto Era

According to Noorhaidi Hassan (2009), a prominent scholar of Islam in Indonesia, the recent rise of Islamic militancy in Indonesia coincides with the increasing prominence of religious symbols and the proliferation of Islamic institutions. A new lifestyle based on the assiduous performance of religiosity is increasingly a visible urban phenomenon of everyday life in contemporary Indonesia. Typical Muslim fashion, for instance, such as jilbab (headscarf) for women with trendy and colorful styles have flourished in the cultural landscape of the country. Islamic piety is also increasingly an object of commodification in examples from tele-preachers to Islamic-themed feature films.¹⁶ Fealy (2008) argues that the increasing commodification of Islam is due in large measure to the socio-economic, technological and cultural changes that have taken place in recent decades, driving the pursuit of moral certainty, spiritual enrichment, and piety as identity.¹⁷

Although rising Islamic militancy in post Suharto Indonesia has been studied widely by many scholars, only a few of them pay attention to Islamic media representation. Prior to the reform era, there have only been three major studies on Islamic media conducted by William Liddle (1993), Robert Hefner (1997), and James T Siegel (2000). Liddle specifically focused on the Islamic magazine called 'Media Dakwah' in order to trace the scripturalist tradition among Islamic activists. Hefner focused on the national Islamic newspaper *Republika* to examine Islam as a rival political ideology against the Suharto regime. Siegel – influenced by Liddle's study – examined the discourse of anti Judaeo-Christianity in the Islamic magazine *Media Dakwah*. Media Dakwah was a regular journal published since 1967 by Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia (DDII) or the Indonesian Islamic Propagation Council. DDII was established in 1967 by Muhammad Natsir (1908-1993) the

also shaped by other Ikhwanul Muslimins' leading figures such as Sayyid Qutb and recently, by Yusuf al Qaradawi

¹⁶ Hasan, Norhaidi. 2009. "The Making of Public Islam: Piety, Agency and Commodification on the Landscape of the Indonesia Public Sphere", *Journal of Contemporary Islam* Vol.3. p.230.

¹⁷ Fealy, Greg, 2008. "Consuming Islam: Commodified Religion and Aspirational Pietism in Contemporary Indonesia", in Fealy and White (eds), *Expressing Islam: Religious Life and Politics in Indonesia*. Singapore: ISEAS. pp. 15-29.

former head of Masyumi. Masyumi were a prominent Islamic Party in post-independence Indonesia that gained significant votes in the 1955 election, but who were accused by President Sukarno in 1960 for attempting a coup d'état against the supremacy of the Republic of Indonesia and subsequently banned.

During the Suharto period, Media Dakwah was distributed 'legally' for public consumption since the DDII had been co-opted by the military in order to channel political intelligence (Liddle, 1993). The DDII played an important role in transmitting radical Islamic ideas in Indonesia, especially through the work of its publications. However, William Liddle (1993) argues that the dissemination of radical Islamic perspectives may not have resulted in 'radical' political movements due to their ambivalent attitudes towards the regime. Unlike in the years prior to the Suharto era, during the Suharto era the Dakwah movement published a large amount of radical Islamic books, including translated books from scholars and activists of the Egyptian Ikhwanul Muslimin (the Muslim Brotherhood). There thus began to circulate underground journals based on Ikhwani teachings among the Dakwah activists in Indonesia.

According to a recent study by Syamsul Rizal (2005), in Islamic media in the post Suharto era there is an emphasis on a specific Dakwah, namely the unification of the Islamic community into a political community of Umma and to some extent promoting '*Daulah Islamiyah*' or an Islamic State. He identified at least four major Dakwah media that have gained popularity in the earlier years of the reform era. Those Dakwah media share a similar ideological agenda or worldview:

1. *Sabili* – was first published in the early 1980s and only survived for one edition due to political oppression, but it survived as a community magazine as it was republished in the early 1990s. *Sabili* is considered to be the first Islamic political magazine in Indonesia which promoted the need for global Jihad. According to a media survey in 2004 conducted by AC Nielsen, *Sabili* reached at least 80,000 subscribers with its monthly publication. This circulation figure placed *Sabili* amongst the top ten most

famous national monthly magazines in Indonesia along with other more 'secular' magazines.

2. *Ummi* – was first published in 1989 and similar to *Sabili*, used to be a community magazine embracing the ideology of 'Salafism' and addressed to be consumed by women. Although the main coverage of this publication seems to echo *Sabili*, it is considered to have a more subtle approach in narrating the need for jihad.
3. *Annida* – was first published in 1991, under the same ownership as *Ummi*; however this monthly publication targets young Muslims or teenagers. The main coverage of *Annida* stressed the need for an Islamic identity with ethics based on *Shari'a* perceptions.
4. *Tarbawi* – published soon after the birth of the Islamic political party Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS, Prosperous Justice Party) in 1999, *Tarbawi* promotes the 'Tarbiyah movement', an educational training for Muslim activists that shares a similar ideological stance as *Sabili*, *Ummi*, and *Annida*. Although it is published for public consumption, its readership mainly comes from a limited circle of Muslim activists.
5. *Saksi* - is a political magazine with a strong emphasis on the political views of PKS. In general, it shares similarities with *Sabili*, *Ummi*, *Annida*, and *Tarbawi* and promotes the need for implementing Islamic shari'a, and advocates for using Islamic rules to solve Indonesia's economic and social problems.

Syamsul Rizal suggests that these above-mentioned 'Islamist' magazines indicate three tendencies. First, the issues and the arguments raised by these magazines are concomitant with the 'Tarbiyah' ideology. Second, many writers and Muslim

figures covered within these magazines are from a Tarbiyah and/or PKS-affiliated background. Third, the magazines are closely linked to each other.¹⁹

The Tarbiyah movement is a social and political movement which emphasizes the *marhalah Dakwah* or the Dakwah strategies for establishing the Daulah Islamiyah in the late 1970s influenced by the Ikwanul Muslimin based on the thoughts and writing of Hasan al-Banna (1906-1949). In Indonesia, the Tarbiyah movement began to gain followers in the 1980s and 1990s, drawing sympathy and support from student activists on some of the leading university campuses due to the New Order policy of campus depoliticization in the late 1970s. In the late 1970s, the DDII initiated the Tarbiyah movement by conducting training for Dakwah activists especially student activists who came from major leading campus backgrounds.²⁰ At this point the DDII specifically targeted Muslim youth and introduced them to Ikhwani teachings, by translating an influential Ikhwani book from Sayyid Qutb '*Ma'alim fi Al Tariq* (Petunjuk Jalan 1980). The ikhwani books seem to have become more publicly accessible in the post-Suharto period, some publications have been available prior to 1998, including my case study, which is the monthly magazine *Ummi*. During the Suharto period, *Ummi* was a simple journal, which was stenciled from prints and circulated regularly only among the Dakwah activists on some leading campuses in Indonesia. As the media in Indonesia play a significant role in shaping identity, whether that be a national or sectarian identity, magazines such as *Ummi* play a central role in clarifying and promoting a particular vision or political agenda. The growth of media in the post-Suharto era is the result of laws passed by President B.J. Habibie in 1999 guaranteeing press freedom. Freed from the past constraints of state censorship and propaganda, all segments of the media including Islamic media have proliferated, expanding rapidly towards diversity and plurality.²¹

With regard to the diversity of Islamic media, 'Dakwah media' do not only define 'Islam' but also 'constructing' Dakwah. In a particular case, the Dakwah

¹⁹ Rizal, 2005. 'Media and Islamism in Post-New Order Indonesia: The Case of Sabili', *Studia Islamika*, Vol.12. No. 3. p. 431.

²⁰ Bubbalo and Fealy, 2005; Hefner 2000.

²¹ Rizal, Syamsul. 2005. Op Cit p. 428.

media emphasize its political agenda for the unity of Islamic community into a political community of '*Umma*' and to some extent in favor of the idea of '*Daulah Islamiyah*' or Islamic State or the return to the Islamic Caliphate (*Khilafah Islamiyah*). This is propagated by radical Islamic media that promote global jihad on a national scale (e.g.: Sabili, Ar-Rahmah, Voice of al Islam, etc). Despite the rapid growth of Islamic media in the early reform era, only a few of them survived.²² *Ummi* is one of the examples of the 'Dakwah media' that have survived the tumultuous and unstable political circumstances of the post-Suharto era.

Budi Irawanto (2011) points out that the diversity of Islamic media publications in post Suharto Indonesia are a reflection of the variety of Islamic organizations in Indonesia. Therefore, it is important to locate the various interests (in political, economic, as well as cultural sense) of the Islamic media and these organizations within Indonesian Islam as a whole, particularly with regard to their entanglements with the State.²³ Unlike in the Suharto period, embracing the ideology of 'Tarbiyah' is now widespread in a popular or trendy version of Islamic representation. The most recent study on contemporary Islam and popular culture by Najib Kailani (2008) describes the case of an Islamic cultural movement in Indonesia through an organization called 'Forum Lingkar Pena' – FLP (The Circle of Pens Forum) established in 1997 by former activists of the Tarbiyah movement. Some of the members are actively involved in the production of *Ummi* and *Annida*. FLP aims to educate young writers to become part of the Tarbiyah movement influenced by the Ikhwanul Muslimin ideology in the global era. They disseminate 'new' Islamic popular values by publishing short stories, essays, and comics especially in *Annida*²⁴ intended to be consumed by teenagers (Muslim youth). An example of labeling 'Islam' in popular culture is the growing trend of following Islamic dress codes, including wearing long loose dresses (jilbab). Najib Kailani also finds that the contemporary Tarbiyah movement through the FLP publications have introduced 'new' terms for popular writings, such as using the term '*ikhwan*'

²² Irawanto, Budi. 2011. "Riding Waves of Change: Islamic Press in Post Authoritarian Indonesia", in Krishna Sen and David T Hill (eds), *Politics and the Media in 21st Century Indonesia-Decade of Democracy*. London: Routledge, pp-67-69.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ *Annida* is the monthly Muslim teen magazine maintained under the *Ummi* group management.

instead of 'cowok' (boys), 'akhwat' instead of 'cewek' (girls). This labeling is used to differentiate 'their cultural references' from other youth-orientated secular popular magazines. If the terms 'cowok' and 'cewek' are very familiar in Indonesian slang and in 'secular' popular culture, such terms are perceived negatively by the Tarbiyah groups including the FLP. Therefore, the terms 'ikhwan' and 'akhwat' are constructed as 'faithfully – good' boys and girls.²⁵

The growing popularity of Annida, especially due to the publications of popular culture made by FLP, has seen a change in Umami's outlook since the mid-2000s. Umami began to incorporate fashionable popular culture similar to what had successfully increased the popularity of Annida following the publications by FLP members. Unlike Annida which targets Muslim youth, Umami addresses not only domesticated women (housewives) but also independent career women. The representation of independent career women, or women who are both performing domestic tasks and pursuing professional careers, is something that had never been displayed in this magazine before.

1.3. The Social and Political Roots of the Dakwah (Tarbiyah) Movement

The Dakwah movements are social and political movements formed in the 1970s which then took shape in the 1980s. There are three main streams of the Middle Eastern Dakwah movements which have influenced movements in Indonesia: Ikhwanul Muslimin that later generated the Tarbiyah movement, Hizbut Tahrir that gave a birth to the HTI (Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia), and Salafi groups that influenced the birth of Laskar Jihad Ahlul Sunnah wal Jama'ah.²⁶ It was the Ikhwanul Muslimin of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood that was first to have

²⁵ Kailani, Najib. 2008. 'Budaya Populer Islam di Indonesia: Jaringan Dakwah Forum Lingkar Pena' – 'Islamic Popular Culture in Indonesia: the Dakwah Networks of FLP', *Sosiologi Reflektif* - the Indonesian journal of Reflective Sociology, Vol.2. No.3

²⁶ See: Bruinessen, van. 2002. Genealogies of Islamic Radicalism in Post Suharto Indonesia, *South East Asia Research*, 10,2; and, Rahmat, Imdadun (2005). *Arus Baru Islam Radikal: Transmisi Revivalisme Islam Timur Tengah ke Indonesia*. Surabaya: Erlangga

an influence in Indonesia, generating the Tarbiyah movement that have since shaped the social, political, and cultural landscape of current day Indonesia.

The Ikhwani ideas were mainly introduced to student activists in the 70s mainly through literature with the support of the Dewan Dakwah Islam Indonesia (DDII, Indonesian Dakwah-Propagation Council). Martin van Bruinessen (2002) says that unlike Hizbut Tahrir and Laskar Jihad that seemed to build up and maintain personal contacts with their counterparts in the Middle East, the Tarbiyah movement despite the fact that was inspired by the Ikhwanul Muslimin seems to be a more autonomous movement. Although those three mainstream Dakwah movements in Indonesia shared similar core ideology, especially in purifying the practices of Islam in Indonesia, their orientations and missionary practices have resulted in different forms and actions especially in engaging with political Islam. With regard to the diverse dimensions of the Dakwah movements in Indonesia, this research limits the scope only to the Dakwah movement that generates the Tarbiyah generation due to its specific characters besides its pervasive influences on Indonesian Muslims today compared to the other two Dakwah movements.

The word Tarbiyah itself is taken from Arabic which meaning 'education'. The Tarbiyah movement began to achieve more followers in the 1980s and 1990s gaining sympathy especially from student activists on leading campuses. Suharto's policy of depoliticization of the campuses from any political affiliations in the late 1970s meant that students had to direct their political energies into other forms of activism. In the late 1970s the DDII introduced the Ikhwani Tarbiyah method by conducting training and workshops for Dakwah activists who then took the methods and teachings onto the campuses.²⁷ At this point, the DDII specifically targeted young Muslims and introduced them to Ikhwani thoughts, for instance by translating some of the influential Ikhwani publications such as *Ma'alim fi Al Tariq (Petunjuk Jalan – Milestones)* by Sayyid Qutb in 1980. Student activists who led the Tarbiyah movement in its earlier years had a background in extra campus student organizations, for instance Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam (HMI, the Association of

²⁷ Bubbalo and Fealy, 2005; Hefner 2000

Islamic Students). After establishing themselves on university campuses, the Tarbiyah movement became institutionalized as part of the student movement in 1988 through the establishment of the LDK (Lembaga Dakwah Kampus, the Dakwah Campus Organizations) in several leading state universities in Indonesia.

Martin van Bruinessen (2002) suggests that the Tarbiyah movement is more akin to a social movement that combines 'education' and 'indoctrination' that came into existence to replace political activism in the campuses in the late 1970s. The movement initially began in early 1980s anywhere in the state leading campuses in especially in Java by referring to group discussions and mental training sessions organized by some Dakwah activists in the Salman mosque at Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB-Institut Teknologi Bandung).²⁸ The LDK is a formal entity Muslim students organization that acknowledges the Tarbiyah movement and was officially established in 1988 at the University of Indonesia in Jakarta. It was soon followed by some other Muslim student activists at the Institute of Technology Bandung (ITB), the Institute of Agriculture Bogor (IPB), Gadjah Mada University (UGM) in Yogyakarta, and the Institute of Technology Sepuluh-November (ITS) in Surabaya. The emergence of the LDK in the 1980s was a response to the New Order political oppression of student political activism. Student activities affiliated with political interests under the Suharto government were totally banned, especially after the Malari incident in 1974 when a student's demonstration against Suharto's policy for foreign investment ended in riots. The birth of the LDK was also an initial signal of political dissidence among student activists, especially Muslims who refused to embrace Pancasila as the sole ideology for political activism. It was through the role of the LDK that the *Ikhwan Tarbiyah* mentoring became an extracurricular activity for many Muslim students in the 'secular' state campuses. At the same time, LDK was also the representation of Tarbiyah movement, which employed a discreet political disobedience against Suharto regime.

Just a few months before the fall of Suharto, some of the Tarbiyah activists established a formal student organization called KAMMI (Kesatuan Aksi

²⁸ Bruinessen, Martin van. 2002. Opcit. pp 132-133.

Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia) or the Union of Indonesian Muslim Student Action. This organization also joined the demonstrations in May 1998 against the Suharto regime. A few months after the fall of Suharto, in August 1998, the Tarbiyah activists established the first *Dakwah* political party, Partai Keadilan (Justice Party) that gained only 7 seats at the Lower House of Parliamentary (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat-DPR) in 1999 national election. Because the Justice Party (PK) only gained a few votes in 1999, their viability as a political party was in doubt since they did not meet the electoral threshold to compete in the 2004 election. In order to join the 2004 election, the PK changed its name to PKS (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera or the Justice and Prosperous Party). In the 2004 election, PKS gained significant votes (7.34% for 45 seats in the Lower House of Parliamentary). Party head Hidayat Nurwahid became the head of the Upper House (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat –MPR) from 2004 to 2009.

Despite the numerous studies on the Indonesian Tarbiyah movements, those studies have mostly focused on political Islam and their influence on electoral and parliamentary politics.²⁹ Those views particularly in generating ‘Islamic Activism’ unintentionally draw on male perspectives, by only observing the roles of the prominent Tarbiyah activists who are predominantly men. Within such frames of study, the Tarbiyah movement becomes the arena of contestation for political Islam in Indonesia, especially in the post Suharto era where many possibilities in democratic processes opened up the social and political structures. This is particularly because the Tarbiyah movement has given birth to the first ‘*Dakwah*’ political party of the democratic era in the PKS. The tendency to see the *Dakwah* movement as a politicized movement driven by its desire to create an Islamic society (Umma) through the formal political process is useful in explaining the dynamics of Islamic struggles to govern based on its interpretation of proper Islamic values. However, Islamic struggles, as Wiktorowicz (2004) argues, are mostly waged through society and cultural discourses rather than efforts to assert political interests within the state institutions or government agencies. Such

²⁹ There have been several studies on the Tarbiyah movement that explains its orientation to political Islam in post Suharto, e.g: Van Bruinessen (2002), Fealy and Hooker (2006), Machmudi (2006), and Noor Permata (2010).

efforts not only challenge the dominant cultural codes. Moreover, they create networks of shared meanings about the proper functions of society, groups, and individuals.³⁰

What remains less understood in the study of the Dakwah (Tarbiyah) movement in post Suharto Indonesia is the role of gender in mobilizing collectivity and how it shapes the repertoire of action, including applied strategies and the means necessary to strengthen *Tarbiyah* as a social movement. Islamic activism, according to Wiktorowicz (2004), is the mobilization of contention to support Muslim causes, or all of those causes that accommodate various contentions that specificity Islam as a system of meaning and identity, and thus become the basis of collective action.³¹ Those include explicit political movements seeking to establish an Islamic state (*Daulah*); propagation movements of collective actions that utilize Islamic symbols and identity; and religious movements to promote piety. In this context, religion becomes a major mobilizing force in terms of ideology and organizational resources, especially to impede cultural imperialism and global injustice that has been identified by Islamic activists as being Western in origin.

In order to mobilize participation and support, signifying agents articulate and disseminate frameworks of understanding that attract potential participants and the wider public to provoke collective action. Collective action frames are a dialogical phenomenon, and the understanding of the action frameworks is the product of inter-individual and inter-actional.³² In order to capture such dynamics within an Islamic movement, a study may focus on parts of society or groups that represent everyday-life phenomena that challenge previous or existed cultural codes and thus produce new meaning according to Islam. The social construction of everyday-life as a movement relies on restructuring identity, beliefs, and values that involve intimate personal interactions as an effort to create 'networks of shared meanings' based on alternative cultural codes and ways of living. In other

³⁰ Wiktorowicz, Quintan. 2004. Islamic Activism and Social Movement Theory, in Wiktorowicz (ed), *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, p.16

³¹ *ibid* pp.2-5.

³² Snow, David and Benford, Robert. 2000. Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment. *Annual Review Sociology*, 26. Pp.611-39.

words, the connection within the network of shared meanings will generate communities of agents connected through a common understanding of everyday-life values and norms. Social movements, therefore, are composed of multiple actors, disagreement and contestation over meanings are inevitable. In other words, although a social movement may share a common understanding about responsibility to a problem, the particular solutions offered through strategies and tactics are diverse. This is what has been identified as intra-movement dynamics or a competition that takes places within the movement itself (Snow and Benford, 2000, p. 626-7).³³

In the case of the Tarbiyah movement in Indonesia and its internal dynamics, such divisions have occurred amongst the Tarbiyah activists themselves particularly in the post-Suharto era. To capture these dynamics, the study of the Tarbiyah movement can be captured within the frame of political ambition as it seeks for a solid form of political Islam, but the study of everyday-life of the movement can also elucidate it. In the case of the Tarbiyah movement for instance, from its early existence until now, it has been intended as a struggle of the individual through belief transformation. On that account, the focus of the propagation (Dakwah) is on the construction of individual attitudes in line with proper Islamic practices. Consequently, the individuals involved in the Dakwah movement are expected to promote proper Islamic practices among their collectivities (families, friends, neighbors, local community).

When the Tarbiyah movement gave rise to the PKS (the Justice and Prosperous party), tensions were seen to emerge within the political arm of the party. Although the PKS in 2004 election gained significant increased votes from new constituents, there is a current tendency for the party to slightly gained decreased votes from their constituents especially after the 2009 election. Norma Permata (2010) argues that the declining popularity of the PKS in the 2009 Election was partly due to fragmented visions among the PKS elites on whether to take up populist and pragmatic ways or stick by devotion to the Tarbiyah movement principles. One example of the populist way that has been practiced by

³³ *ibid.* pp.626-627

the PKS was by launching its new image as a so-called 'partai terbuka' (open party) embracing a more multicultural constituency.³⁴ Recent study for example by Woodward et.al (2011) shows that intramovement occurred particularly in the case of the *Dakwah* party of PKS (the Justice and Prosperous Party) after the election of 2009 that has resulted in friction and thus generated two so-called mainstreams groups. The first is the 'Justice group' that strives to return the party to core Tarbiyah principles in order to maintain the loyal constituents of the Tarbiyah movement. The second is the 'Prosperous group' that insists on expanding the party's political bargaining position through more pragmatic practices in order to boost popular support.³⁵

Despite the varied fortunes of the Tarbiyah movement in its political aspirations, the social movement continues its work outside the political realm. Arguably the real triumph of the Tarbiyah movement in post Suharto era has been in developing new social movements, for instance through education and by utilizing media as a space to fabricate everyday-life norms and thus create Islamic identity as a shared meaning among its participants and networks. One of the implications arising from the new social movement generated by the *Dakwah* movement on the cultural landscape of post Suharto Indonesia era is the visibility of Islamization in the everyday life of Indonesian Muslims.

By looking at the historical background of the Tarbiyah movement and how the movement gained its shape, not only as a political movement but also as a new social movement, a picture of Islamic activism may result in the pluralization of expressions of self and identity within the Tarbiyah movement itself. Therefore, when the Tarbiyah movement incorporated women to be its active agents in Islamic activism, its prime objective aimed at social transformation through education as women play a key role in social reproduction especially in transmitting basic norms and moral values within their family or at the basic social

³⁴ Norma Permata, Ahmad. 2010. 'The Prosperous Justice Party and the Decline of Political Islam in the 2009 Election in Indonesia', in Medinier Remy, 2010(ed), *Islam and the 2009 Indonesians Election*, Political and Cultural Issues: the Case of Prosperous Justice Party (PKS). Bangkok: IRASEC.

³⁵ Woodward, et.al (2011). New Cultural Movement for Indonesia Islamist Party, PKS? Consortium for Strategic Communication Report #1102, Arizona State University. Available online at, <http://comops.org>. Accessed on: Saturday, 15th December 2012.

core of the household. The magazine, *Ummi* in my case study - which literally means 'mother' - is then relevant to the Tarbiyah movement schema because it is a vehicle for activism and the dissemination of meaning, identity, and cultural codes.

1.4. The Roles of Female Dakwah Activists in the Tarbiyah Movement

The Dakwah method introduced by the Tarbiyah movement refers to the 'Tarbiyah method' of Ikhwanul Muslimin. This method employs informal mentoring activities where religious lessons are taken within a circle called 'usrah' to prepare young Muslims for the call to 'Islam yang ka'afah' (total Islam). This mentoring is also differentiated according to gender within a small circle or '*halaqah*' which in Arabic literally means 'the circle'. Normally the mentoring consists of one 'murrabi' (the mentor or the teacher) and five to ten 'muttarabbi' (pupils). The murrabi is expected to be highly knowledgeable in Islamic teaching, the history of the Prophet Muhammad and the Salaf al Saleh or the companions of the prophets, and the history of Islamic movements in the Muslim World.³⁶

When every pupil has finished his/her lessons, they are expected to create another halaqoh and are thus appointed the status of a new muttarabi. Yon Machmudi (2006) further explains that members of halaqah are obliged to cultivate their religious capacities and devotion by calling other people including friends and families to observe all religious obligations.³⁷ The materials for the lessons mostly refer to the Ikwanul Muslimin (Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood) materials in particular those from Hasan al Banna that emphasize personal morality, piety, and discipline. In addition to these materials, extra commentary rejecting 'Pancasila' as the Indonesian national based identity and other un-Islamic practices in modern Indonesia are included.³⁸

³⁶ Bruinessen, van (2002), Kailani (2010).

³⁷ Machmudi, Yon. (2006). Islamizing Indonesia: The Rise of Jamaah tarbiyah and the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS). Canberra, Australian National University. PhD Thesis. p.67.

³⁸ Bruinessen, van (2002). Op.cit. p.133

Yon Machmudi (2006) says that the mentoring not only teaches students a more purified Islam, it also serves to recruit new cadres for the Tarbiyah movement. The recruitment of the new cadres is conducted according to the main principles derived from Hasan al Banna's teaching called *Arkan al bayah* (The Principles of Allegiance). Members (or cadres) are examined through several processes of mentoring so that they gain the required qualifications, which include following uncontaminated faith (*salim al a'qidah*), right worship (*salim al 'ibadah*), perfect morality (*matin al khulq*), an ability to work (*qadirun 'ala-al kasb*), wide knowledge (*muthaqqafah al fikr*), a strong and healthy body (*qawiyy al jism*), tenacity (*mujahidun li nafsih*), the capacity to demonstrate good management in all affairs (*munazzam fi shu'nih*), punctuality (*harisun 'ala waqtih*), and self-usefulness for others (*nafi'un li ghayrih*).³⁹ Thus, the influence of the Ikhwani teachings are undeniable, although the Tarbiyah movement in Indonesia does not directly resemble the movement of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood (Ikwanul Muslimin) that historically used violence to legitimize its movement.⁴⁰ Within the 'Tarbiyah' frame, individual conversion to more proper Islam means not only accepting unequivocally the moral values of Islamic teaching but also adopting a new identity that distinctively distinguishes themselves from others (so-called secular modern and traditional Muslims).

The adoption of new identity among the members of the Tarbiyah movement was very much apparent in the female subjugation of practicing hijab. The most visible form of hijab among female Dakwah activists is the wearing of the jilbab (headscarf/veil) and covering of the body. Suzanne Brenner (1996) argues that the practice of veiling especially in Java symbolizes a new historical consciousness that deliberately dissociates itself from the local past. By the local past she means the combination of Javanese culture with previous existing

³⁹ Machmudi, Yon (2006). Op.cit. p. 63

⁴⁰ Bruinessen, van (2002) and Machmudi (2006) both argue that the tarbiyah movement in Indonesia has a distinct characteristic that emphasizes more on the self - moral building and encouraging public piety rather than building an international network or allegiance with Muslim Brotherhood. However, it is Yusuf Qaradawi who claims that the PKS - which was generated by the tarbiyah movement itself - has a relationship with the Egyptian Ikhwanul Muslimin (see: Qaradawi, Yusuf. 2001. *Umat Islam Menyongsong Abad ke-21*. Solo: Era Intermedia. P.92.)

cultures that also include Islamic influences which many of the Tarbiyah activists found inappropriate in their concept of a purified Islam.

In addition, Brenner concludes that by diverging from the past through veiling for Dakwah activists constitutes a rebirth of the self in line with their awareness of Islamic doctrine that has given them a sense of new life (a conscious remaking of self through devotion and discipline). Finding a 'modern identity' in the practice of veiling according to Brenner happens because the veil was a symbol of the modern Islamic movement which for Javanese Muslims signals both a self-reconstruction and a reconstruction of society through individual and collective self-discipline.⁴¹ To the extent that the Tarbiyah movement first began in Java (although it has since spread throughout Indonesia) and was represented more by educated middle class Indonesians rather than by lower class Indonesians, it made the adoption of new identities through practices such as veiling not only distinctive, it envisioned an alternative identity to secular modernity.

Although Brenner supports the Foucauldian argument that veiling is a form of disciplining that confines women from expressing sexuality, she admits that the motivations to wear the jilbab especially among female Tarbiyah activists (in the Suharto period) were more likely autonomous and voluntarily, rather than compulsory, decisions.⁴² In the Suharto period, wearing jilbab was somewhat problematic in public spaces such as at school or at work. The ban on wearing jilbab at public schools by the government in 1990 provoked strong protests against the Suharto government throughout Indonesia. Although the ban was eventually lifted, Brenner found that the norm to restrain the wearing of veil remained effective in public at that time.⁴⁴ Hefner (1993) argues that the Suharto regime viewed 'veiling' as a form of adopting a 'radical Islamic identity'. Thus, wearing the jilbab was also a mode of resistance and a source for grievance that

⁴¹ Brenner, Suzanne, 1996. *Reconstructing self and society: Javanese Muslim Women and the Veil*. *American Ethnologist* 23 (4). P.259-266

⁴² *ibid.* pp 673-97.

⁴⁴ Brenner (1996). *Op.cit.* p. 685.

mobilized sympathy for the female Tarbiyah activists as victims of state repression.⁴⁵

Unlike in the Suharto period (where expressions of new identity associated under the label of 'radical Islam' such as the practice of veiling were strictly restrained), the cultural landscape of everyday life is now expanded through the tremendous use of religious symbols. A new lifestyle based on the obedience of performing religiosity is now an urban phenomenon of everyday life in Indonesia. Typical Muslim fashions such jilbab (headscarf/veil) for women with trendy colorful style have turned into a preferential consumer item and is legitimized as an emerging symbol of modernity. Later in my analysis on the transformation of Ummi magazine in post-Suharto era, I show that within veiling practices, femininity is no longer negated but negotiated through a variety of modes including colors and styles.

As an example of using media as a means to collectively mobilize a social movement, the case of Ummi shows how women were initially integrated as an inseparable part of the Tarbiyah movement, especially since the early 1990s. As I have briefly described in this introduction, Ummi was established in 1989 during the Suharto period and was the first monthly magazine to become a basis of support for the Tarbiyah movement in Indonesia. In its early publication, the magazine was only a stencil-print that was operated underground and reached their readerships particularly because it was also promoted during the female *halaqah* (mentoring sessions) by the *murrabi* as a supplementary reading to attract the *mutarabbi* (pupils).

I still remember when I was an undergraduate student at Gadjah Mada University in 1993, when my flatmate showed me an edition of Ummi and the very tiny bookshop that sold the magazine near the campus. I found the content of Ummi very striking partly because it suggested that women should comply with polygamy, an unpopular and explicit provocative idea at the time for me as a young university student studying sociology. Later, in the next chapter I discuss such

⁴⁵ Hefner, Robert. 1993. Islam, State and Civil Society: ICMI and the Struggle of Indonesian Middle Class. Indonesia 56. Pp.1-35.

phenomenon brought by *Ummi* as a comparative study with other popular Muslim female magazine of Amanah that also appeared in the late Suharto era. It was through *Ummi* that I found that Muslim female students were incorporated strategically first as the spectators of Tarbiyah movement and then it was through the halaqah mentoring that some female Muslims were eventually recruited as Tarbiyah activists cadres.

In the context of Islamic activism after the New Order, former female Dakwah activists from the Suharto era who had mobilized collective identity found its peak moment when they eventually began to enter public domain not only through politics but also through media representation. In the earlier years of Reformasi (few years after the fall of Suharto), leading female Tarbiyah activists were also recruited by PKS and contested in the elections. Some of these female Tarbiyah activists were elected as members of parliament and thus began to enter politics, often concerned with improving the quality of life for women and to some extent also advocating public morality. The general manager of *Ummi* for example, Ms. Dwi Septiawati, is also the head of the Department for the Empowerment of Women, Central Board of Justice and Prosperous Party (Ketua Departemen Pemberdayaan Perempuan, Dewan Pimpinan Pusat PKS). However, not all of the former female Tarbiyah activists from the Suharto era found politics to be suitable to meet their *Dakwah* fulfillment. Rather, they have opted to remain active outside politics by educating the public, especially those who have were not involved in the Dakwah movement during the Suharto era.

Another successful story on the incorporation of female Dakwah activists into the movement is the phenomenon of JSIT (Jaringan Sekolah Islam Terpadu or the Network for Integrated Islamic Schools) that is linked to the PKS (Justice and Prosperous Party). The JSIT constitutes 550 primary and secondary schools with students mostly coming from middle class backgrounds.⁴⁶ In line with the primary aim of the Tarbiyah movement, students in the schools are expected to internalize their Islamic values which mean a transformation of individuals to be pious and

⁴⁶ Karen Bryner. 2011. 'A New Educational Movement: A Market for Islamic Schools has opened up among Indonesia's middle class'. *Inside Indonesia* (105)

committed Muslims. Bryner (2011) argues that the educational philosophy of the schools is the combination of secular subjects that are taught within an Islamic framework and the Qur'an as the ultimate source of knowledge. What makes JSIT an educational preference for some emerging middle class Muslim parents is the fact that unlike other primary and secondary schools in Indonesia, it is a day care school where schooling and day care are provided. Bryner also found that teachers who work for the JSIT mostly gained their degrees in secular subjects from universities without particular degrees in Islamic studies, those who are also very keen attached with the Tarbiyah ideology. Parents who send their children to JSIT are also motivated by the idea that by spending more time at schools, their children would have been better growing up piously rather than spending time playing games or watching television that are filled with uneducated information.

Another example of propagating the Tarbiyah ideology to gain more public attention is the successful story of the writer community FLP (Forum Lingkar Pena – the circle pens forum). Even though FLP is an independent community that is not associated with Umami in terms of business, some leading figures of the FLP were trained at Umami or worked for Annida – a female Muslim youth magazine that was used to be supplementary of Umami and thus later appeared separately as a female teen magazine (also owned by the *Umami's* media group of PT Insan Media Pratama). FLP writers Helvy Tiana Rosa and her sister Asma Nadia were both trained at Annida despite Helvy's formal educational background in literature. Helvy herself was a chief editor at *Annida* when she and her sister established FLP in 1997. Later, Helvy and Asma chose to pursue independent careers, following the success of FLP and due to their independent publishing house that made them more flexible in dealing with larger networks in production. Both Helvy and Asma, gained popularity in Indonesia through their publications that use storytelling in a popular style (collections of short stories, novels, chick-lit or serial stories for female teenagers, and essays on motivating young women to be pious and tenacious while still actively seeking self-fulfillment or self-achievements). *Emak ingin Naik Haji* or 'Mama wants to pilgrimage' (2009) for instance was a famous and successful film based on the novel written by Asma Nadia. Another famous author who is also generated by the FLP is Habbiburrahman el Shirazy whose

novel *Ayat-Ayat Cinta* or The Verses of Love was made into a film and the film hit the Indonesian movie box office. The film of *Ayat-Ayat Cinta* is a controversial movie due to its content on the appropriation of the practice of polygamy.

Within a new space of opportunity that utilizes education and the media, the roles of female Tarbiyah activists is shaping the Tarbiyah movement to have more influence on public. Education and media function not only as a vehicle for recruiting potential participants of the movement but also for fabricating a widespread alternative Islamic identity to public. An alternative identity of proper Islam addresses the freedom to embrace a new future guided by Islamic moral values. The voluntary awareness to adopt proper Islamic identity and internalized its values in everyday-life now is no longer constructed through conventional modes to generate a social movement, it also generates through the work of education, media and market. The public now constitutes religiously oriented individuals who negotiate their identity by uplifting what Suzanne Brenner (1996) calls their 'past identity' into 'modern identity' that takes place in the practices of consumption. By becoming consumers of these 'proper Islamic identity' and consolidating the moral values through the transformation of personal attitudes, the new public is also in the domain of 'shared meanings' of the Tarbiyah movement. This marks the shift of the Tarbiyah movement from its conventional ways of recruiting participants to a more popular style.

Chapter. 2

Religious Media, Identity Politics and Popular Culture: Theoretical Framework and Methodology

2.1. Linking Media, Religion and Popular Culture

To address the basic question of what are ‘Dakwah media’, this chapter explores the connection between religious media and popular culture. Dakwah common sense might lead us to label all Islamic media as ‘Dakwah media’ due to the fact that they differentiate themselves from other ‘secular media’ or ‘non-Muslim media’ by highlighting ‘Islam’ as their major point of appeal. This common sense interpretation can be contested, especially because both producers and consumers (audiences) as media participants are engaged in discursive practices to define the meanings of ‘Dakwah’. Indeed, the meaning of ‘Dakwah’ is not fixed, but rather socially constructed.

In identifying ‘Dakwah’ as a constructed concept media practice, I identify two important moments that are located both in media production as well as in media reception. In order to do this, I apply three different methods to connect the texts and narratives: firstly as media representation; second, an ethnographic observation on the creative process within the editorial board of *Ummi*, and third, the readers’ receptions. The analyses of the production of Dakwah media and its subsequent reception will provide a broader meaning of ‘Dakwah’ that is not only about labeling Islam but also about ‘constructing Dakwah’ – to form subjective understandings of Dakwah as a religious mission. In my case study of *Ummi*, Dakwah media is deliberately used by social activists (Tarbiyah activists) to educate Muslims and to propagate Islam.

From this perspective the analysis of media production is intended to explore the construction of ‘Dakwah’ portrayed in media representation and how media forms influence and embody everyday religious life. Moreover, I show how pious Islamic discourse is contested and articulated in the Dakwah media in order to gain an authentic sense of Islamic piety. Conversely, in investigating media reception I show how readers construct their own myths, rituals and meanings of what they have consumed from the reading. By considering ‘readers

as active agents', readers may develop particular senses of what they read, that they play and negotiate with meanings, or even perform resistance.

The contemporary relationships between media sphere and religion are filled with religious symbols, interests, and meanings. Religions globally are incorporating modes of media and pop culture into their worships. Religion retreats the realm of popular culture and made it into its own realm, as argued by Stewart Hoover (2002):

When for example, icons of popular music openly express their religious faiths, but in ways that are consciously and deeply embedded in contemporary, mediated, musical, visual, and performative genres, the lines between 'religion' and 'the media' become blurred.¹

For many religious groups and organizations, religion is being reimagined and rearticulated into a more publicly commodified form with self-healing and personalized forms of worship and practice. In this commodified form, the media (print, broadcasting, electronic) become important tools in the project of the religious self.

Media are social practices in both production and consumption that entail consequences in the form of social changes. The pervasive effects of media culture in mass-production society have shifted the nature of the audience from what it was in the past. Prior to the nineteenth century, print-media (newspapers or books) were only available for consumption by the middle classes and up. The technological invention of printing industries transformed media content by enabling a huge array of visual material (such as photographs) to be easily reproduced. These once restricted forms of media are now available for mass consumption. Such a shift in media production shows the distinct character of modern media culture especially since advertisements have replaced the major source of income of media production rather than simply relying on the cover-price only. Stewart Hoover further suggests that the study

¹ Stewart M Hoover, 2002. 'The Cultural Construction of Religion in the Media Age', in Hoover and Clarks (eds), 2002, *Practicing Religion in the Age of Media*, Columbia University Press, NY, p.14.

of media and religion should go beyond the effectiveness of the medium in disseminating (or broadcasting) religious messages. This is because the media do not only serve in the transmission of the message itself, but at the same time cultural symbolic projects also take place. For that reason, research of media and religion should pay attention to the interconnections between layers of the audience and the larger social context of meanings and symbols, and the relations of power and ideology in modernity.²

Birgit Meyer (2009) argues that the study of religion remains vital due to its propensity to transform society by incorporating new media that interconnect the spheres of imagination and virtues. Both spheres are located in religion and media.³ By applying Benedict Anderson's perspective on 'imagined communities', Meyer argues that the focus of linking media and new audiences is in fact a study of the creation of a community. While Anderson is interested in the implications of these imaginations as shared fictions or concepts that bind a community especially in the context of nation building (nationalism), Meyer argues that such a concept might still be applicable in contexts where the nation-state and/or the demise of nationalism are challenged by the rise of religion and religious communities especially in regard to defining 'religious identities'.⁴

In order to investigate how media operates to form religious identity constructs and how religious communities share meanings and symbols through the application of media, Meyer proposes the concept of 'aesthetic formation'. In defining 'formation', Meyer refers to its double meaning; pointing toward both a social entity and a process of forming. Particular subjects, such as members of a religious community, are formed through imagination which can be found in aesthetic forms. The important role of media hence particularly addresses the bodily impacts and the power of a 'shared aesthetic style'. Consequently, a process of subjectification is experienced by audiences through the adoption of a 'shared style' which involves particular techniques of the self and the body that

² Ibid, pp.26-33.

³ Birgit Meyer, 2009. 'Introduction'. In Birgit Meyer (ed), *Aesthetic Formations: Media, Religion and the Senses*, Palgrave MacMillan, New York, pp. 3-29.

⁴ Ibid.p.4

refine people into a socio-religious formation.⁵ In addition, Meyer also suggests going beyond researching the material dimension of forming subjects and communities that merely connect religion and style, and recommends further ethnographic studies on identity politics and the new publics (audience, readers, spectators, etc). In his reading of this connection, Talal Asad warns that in the search for identity constructs there is a distinction between modern 'dualism of outward forms and inner-self' in which form is 'inferior' to substance and meanings.⁶ Stewart Hoover also urges that the analysis and interpretation of contemporary religion depends more and more on accounting for both the practices of individuals and their own definitions of the engaged objects in cultural meanings.⁷ It is true that in media and cultural studies researchers have turned to the study of selected groups often according to their own political priorities. This is why the study of new publics of different audiences like readers, listeners, or spectators is also imperative to media research.⁸

It is important to recognize the limits of conducting empirical reception studies of selected audiences. Within audience or reception research what most likely matters are not the self-understandings of the audiences as a collective of 'knowing subjects' but their responses to questions generated by the epistemological agenda of the researcher. This is also a major critique of the 'constructive' approach that links media with identity constructs. In response to the issue of avoiding politically-motivated interests in audience reception studies, Kellner (1995) underlines the scope of media culture as a contested terrain across which key social groups and competing political ideologies struggle for dominance and that individuals live these struggles through images, discourses, myths and spectacles of media culture.⁹ Thus, according to Kellner audiences are not purely innocent or passive actors, because the culture of modern media production involves highly participatory activities, in which

⁵ Ibid, pp 7-11.

⁶ Ibid (as cited in Meyer, 2009, p.9).

⁷ Stewart M. Hoover (2006), op.cit, p. 36

⁸ Ien Ang, 1996. 'Media Audiences, Postmodernity and Cultural Contradictions', in Ien Ang, *Living Room Wars: Rethinking Media Audiences for a Postmodern World*, Routledge, London, pp. 3-5.

⁹ Douglas Kellner, 1995. 'Media Culture', in Kellner, *Cultural Studies, Identities and Politics between the Modern and Postmodern*, Routledge, London, pp.2-3.

people create their societies and identities. He believes that audiences may resist the dominant meanings and messages by creating their own appropriations of mass-produced culture and use 'their own culture' as resources to empower themselves and to invent 'their own meanings, identities and forms of life'.¹⁰

Since audiences are also active participants in forming identity constructs, it can be said that the new publics of religious media for instance do not totally surrender to the dominant perspectives of the media itself. This complex relationship between media and new publics in forming identity cannot simply be understood in binary terms juxtaposing those who confirm and those who disagree or resist media content; rather they are multiple, dynamic, fluid, and sometimes ambiguous. In the history of popular culture, for instance, modes of resistance made by particular audiences are often adopted by media producers to create newly fabricated meanings for further consumption. Consumers at this point have the power to alter popular culture. Popular culture is thus not just simply a representation of aesthetic commercial spaces for marketing or profit making. It is a cultural display of contested meanings and social values.

Popular culture suggests that we have a true self, namely an identity that we possess and that can become known to us. Such a notion assumes that identity has a timeless core, or an essence of the self, that is expressed as representations recognizable by ourselves and others and thus signifiable through beliefs, attitudes, tastes and lifestyles. Yet, identity is not a fixed category capable of describing the self as a stable entity. Barker and Galasinski (2001) argue that 'identity is best understood as an emotionally charged description of ourselves.'¹¹ Identity is therefore fluid and dynamic in response to particular social and cultural circumstances. Media cultural texts, for instance, are neither a vehicle of a dominant ideology, nor solely innocent entertainment. Kellner adds that in popular culture, media texts are complex artifacts that embody social and political discourses which are produced, circulated, and received within

¹⁰ Ibid, p.3.

¹¹ Chris Barker and Darius Galasinski, 2001. *Cultural Studies and Discourse Analysis, a dialogue on language and Identity*, Sage Publication, London, pp. 28-29.

particular political environments.¹² Media discourse emphasizes the importance of textual production and the way the audiences or readers are repositioned in the discourse.¹³ It is because texts produce 'meanings' that different audiences (readers) perceive them in various interpretive ways. In other words, it is also important to locate the textual aspects of the readers' positioning by focusing on examining 'preferred readings' offered for readers' consumption.¹⁴

With regard to media representation, Sara Dickey (1997) suggests we conduct ethnographic study on media by posing the major question how representations may comply with or contest ideologies embedded in the texts in order to create identities and/or imagine alternative realities. Dickey further argues that because media are also culturally performative, the production also constitutes a creative process where at a certain point producers can be distinctively differentiated from audiences. What is almost forgotten is that producers also consume media. Hence, she proposes the concept of 'media participants' – referring to both producers and consumers of media. As the audiences are active interpreters of the material they consume, they associate themselves by interpreting the messages from the perspective of the many subjectivities they have encountered in the discursive practices within their life courses. In other words, media help to form a subject, but at the same time the ground which each medium covers is also contested. In order to find where 'the message' is, Dickey suggests conducting a comprehensive study by looking at the texts and visual materials, the creation process of the producers, and the role of consumers in constructing meanings.¹⁵

¹² Kellner, 1995, Op.cit, p.4

¹³ Mary Talbot, 2007. *Media Discourse, Representation and Interaction*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, pp.3-12.

¹⁴ *ibid*, p. 46.

¹⁵ Sara Dickey, 1997. 'Anthropology and its Contribution to Studies of Mass Media', *International Social Sciences Journal* Vol.153, pp. 414-427.

2.2. Religious Media and Identity Politics Construct

Most scholars who work on the politics of identity tend to relate identity with categories of gender and ethnicity on the ground that it manufactures nationalism. Only relatively few scholars pay attention to how identity politics are fabricated in post-national contexts. It is true that defining 'identity politics' is always uneasy due to the fact that the sources of identity are more 'subjectively' imagined and its forms are not easily derived from particular social actions. Concerns about the construction of 'identity' that focuses on the 'self' as a coherent entity are widely provided through a post-structuralist approach. A post-structuralist approach to identity construction for instance, initiated by Michel Foucault, underscores identities as embedded within discourse. For Foucault, people's understanding of the world are shaped by culturally-available sense-making frameworks and that these frameworks or discourses constitute constraints on various identities.¹⁶

When speaking about 'identity construct' in its simplest way, it draws a boundary based on a binary category: similarities that we share and differences that make us distinct from 'others'. Identity construct therefore implies a category of 'otherness' as a medium of fabricating cultural senses. In other words, the process of identity categorization provides the framework for interpreting and presenting collective behaviors that distinguishes people. However, according to Judith Butler (1992), identity categories constitute multiple competing possible 'identities' in which particular groups define themselves in a distinctive sense of belonging. She argues that identities are never outside the established meanings or discursive practices within a culture, but rather are determined by 'subject positions' that particular discourses make available. Therefore, identities are never solely descriptive but normative.¹⁷

¹⁶ Michel Foucault, 1981. 'The Order of Discourse', in Robert Young, *'Untying Texts: A Post-structuralist Reader'*, 1981. Routledge and Keagen Paul, London. pp-52-61.

¹⁷ Judith Butler, 1992. *Feminists Theorize the Political*, Routledge, London. Pp.15-16.

If identity is a normative characterization of the self, Linda Martin Alcoff (2006) argues that it must then resonate with the subject's own daily reality.¹⁸ Citing the works of other scholars such as Dingwaney and Needham, Alcoff agrees that identity is gained through social narratives, paradigms, and even ideologies in intuitive ways so subjects may signify ways of beings or inhabiting specific cultures.¹⁹ At this point, the process of inhabiting specific cultures is 'mediated' by media which provide narratives, persuades via ideologies, employs symbols and thus communicates with its audience in the singular or even in mutual or interactive ways. It is undeniable that media culture has helped to shape political views and social behaviors in every society. Through the use of narratives, and especially supported by visual representations, media have occupied our everyday reality. Contemporary media studies have shown how media have become an effective tool for identity construction and how media mobilizes identity as political interests and/or aspirations.

With regard to the role of Islamic media in forming identity construct, Eickelman and Anderson (2003) also describe an emergence of a 'Muslim public sphere' that meets religious, social and political lives. Accordingly, a new sense of the public in Muslim-majority communities is shaped by open contests over the authoritative use of the symbolic language of Islam. A rapid access to contemporary forms of communication makes it possible for Muslims to build contacts, and thus sustain connections with constituencies. In this sense, media forms link religious identity and civic action into daily life. New technological forms of communication also open up a modern sense of religious and political identity that is systematized on a trans-local horizon. At this point, new media refigure 'audience' as 'communities' because 'senders' and 'receivers' have something in common, not only in terms of interests, but also in their cultural style and social position.²⁰ The phenomenon of a 'Muslim public sphere' consequently results in a re-intellectualization of Islamic discourses, which the

¹⁸ Linda Martin Alcoff, 2006. *Visible Identity: Race, Gender, and the Self*, Oxford University Press, Oxford. Pp.42-43.

¹⁹ *ibid.*

²⁰ Eickelman and Anderson.2003. "Redefining Muslim Publics". In Eickelmann and Anderson (eds), *New Media in the Muslim World: The Emerging of Public Sphere*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press. Pp.2-9.

senders (authors) define themselves as ‘presenting authentic Islamic doctrines and discourses’, meanwhile the interpretation rests in experiences of the receivers (believers).²¹

My purpose in linking the use of media (especially Islamic media) to form identity politics is to analyze how media may work to promote identity-based movements as a contested ‘Muslim public sphere’. In this vein, this thesis looks specifically at how identity constructs are represented and conceived in the Dakwah media by the monthly Muslim women’s magazine, *Ummi*. Manuel Castells (2009) for instance, describes identities as a generative source for meaning that works for collective actions rather than individually. Accordingly, it is exercised in a meaningful way through the use of narratives and thus become a powerful means of organizing agency. With regard to the construction of identity as a social-based movement, Castells introduces three types of identity constructs. First is the ‘legitimizing identity’ imposed by the dominant political structure as commonly found in the theories of nationalism. Second is the ‘resistance identity’ generated by actors who are devalued or disadvantaged by the dominant power, and who thus build-up resistance, and or opposition to permeate social institutions. Third, is the ‘project identity’ created by social actors on the basis of particular cultural materials that redefines their social positions in society as an attempt to transform larger social structures.²²

Castells’s description on the ‘project identity’ in my case study of the Dakwah media seems fit for further elaboration, given the fact that the Dakwah media (exemplified by the case of *Ummi*) was historically rooted in a particular social movement and has introduced ‘new’ identities especially for Indonesian Muslim women (*Muslimah*) for more than a decade. The relationship between *Ummi* and its readers in the post-Suharto era transcends an old fashioned relationship between the producer of so-called ‘knowledge’ in Islam for its readers, in which readers were perceived as being only passive. By altering other activities beyond reading activities such as creating real events and managing

²¹ Ibid, pp.12-13.

²² Manuel Castells, 2009. *The Power of Identity: The Information Age, Economy, Society and Culture – Vol.II*, 2nd edition, Wiley-Blackwell, Malden.

fandom, and combining the print magazine by utilizing new social media such as Facebook and Twitter, Ummi in the post-Suharto era seems to manage its readers as another 'Tarbiyah community' in fashionable ways of communication rather than the usual traditional way of mobilizing Tarbiyah members in previous decades.

2.3. Popular Culture and Islamic Mass Mediated Forms

John Storey (2009) identifies six definitions of popular culture as a result of industrialization process and the emergence of middle class. The first definition takes popular as a description of quantity, such that popular culture is defined as culture that is liked and favored by a lot of people. In his second definition popular culture is a residual category, namely texts and practices that fail to meet the required standard to be classified as high culture. This definition relates to the work of Pierre Bourdieu in which cultural taste functions as a marker of distinction between social classes. Indeed this definition claims that popular culture is mass produced commercial culture whereas high culture is a product of an individual act of creation. The third definition of popular culture claims that cultural products produced intentionally for mass consumption. To some extent, mass culture is also identified as 'American culture' due to the powerful homogenizing influence of American culture worldwide. Storey's fourth definition of popular culture coincides with what has been identified as folk culture which is an authentic culture of the people. The fifth defines it as culture that is negotiated within a terrain of ideological struggles between dominant and subordinate classes. This is a term derived from Gramsci's theory of hegemony and informs the work of Stuart Hall amongst others. Within this theoretical framework, popular culture is a contested site in everyday life where power relations are examined to reveal the configuration of interests its construction serves. The sixth definition on popular culture derives from postmodernism in which there is no longer a distinction between high and popular culture. Although the six definitions have their own emphasis, according

to Storey, all of these definitions share similarities in common that popular culture only emerged during the time of industrialization and urbanization.²³

Industrialization transformed individual relationships from being based on mutual obligations into forms of demand or the 'cash nexus' between the employers and employees. At the same time urbanization produced a residential separation of classes.²⁴ This is why critical debates on popular cultural mostly refer to differentiation based on social class. Within class differentiation, everyday life becomes a pivotal site of observation in the advanced study of popular culture. On that account, according to John Storey, popular culture is also a political concept, as he quotes Bryan S Turner's argument as follow:

Popular culture is a site where the construction of everyday life may be examined. The point of doing this is not only academic – that is an attempt to understand a process or practice – it is also political, to examine the power relations that constitute this form of everyday life and thus reveal the configurations of interests its construction serves.

(Turner, Bryan S. 1996.p. 6, as quoted in Storey.2009.p.12)

Meanwhile according to Walter Armbrust (2000), the term popular culture is problematic due to its context that mainly refers to European historical roots that were attributed to industrialization and urbanization. These major social forces may have quite different historical and cultural trajectories in other parts of the world. In studying popular culture in non-European cultural contexts, Ambrust criticizes the concept of 'public culture' as offered by Arjun Appadurai and Carol Breckenridge.²⁵ The idea of public culture emphasizes the flows of people, objects, and cultural practices in a pluralized modernity but as an

²³ Storey, John. 2009. *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: An Introduction* (5th Edition). Harlow: Pearson Longman. Pp.5-12.

²⁴ Ibid.p.13

²⁵ Appadurai and Breckenridge.1998. "Why Public Culture". *Public Culture*, Vol.1/1, pp. 5-9.

analytical concept is derived from a European context and disseminated worldwide.²⁶

The idea of public culture places focus on the local production and reception of transnational forms of culture. Ambrust critiques the concept of public culture because the metaphor of 'the global produces the local' is just an orthodoxy that functions merely as a cultural analysis for many observers rather than a framework that helps to think in ways the observers otherwise might not have.²⁷ Therefore, he suggests that there should be a new approach to popular culture that should also arise from ethnography and not from preconceived theoretical frame.

Based on his ethnography on popular media, Armbrust further suggests that popular culture could also be described as art and or entertainment in which mass mediated forms refer to everyday life because 'the popular' is an integral part of wide cultural spectrum, and not just a set of practices in opposition to an elitist culture. In his study of Middle-Eastern popular culture which is in general identified as oral vernacular culture, popular culture can be seen as 'populist culture'. However, with regard to the significance of modern popular culture on mass mediated forms, Armbrust still agrees that any commercial printed press should also be identified as popular culture. This is because the influences of modern popular culture on mass mediated forms create new scales of communication and consequently new dimensions of modern identity.²⁸

For many decades, there was a division in studying Islam and its significance to mass mediated forms, as the two topics have been treated with distinct approaches. Until only very recently, with the integration of religious groups into consumer culture such as seen in modern Christianity, researchers and observers have sought new approaches to conceptualize this phenomenon. A new approach linking Islam, media and popular culture also intends to provide an understanding of complexities in modern identity of contemporary Islam and

²⁶ Armbrust, Walter.2000. "Introduction", in Armbrust (ed), *Mass Mediations: New Approaches to Popular Culture in the Middle East and Beyond*. Berkeley: University California Press, pp.20-21.

²⁷ Ibid.p.21

²⁸ Ibid.p21

Muslim societies. This is because on the one hand, religion (including Islam) has a universal dimension to be believed as transcendental, divine or sacred; on the other hand, popular culture has material dimension that is commercial, self-indulgent, and secular. The integration of Islam and popular culture can be obviously seen from the eminent commodification of Islamic symbols in everyday life of Muslim societies. This includes increasingly accessible forms of communication regarding the symbolic languages of Islam facilitated and mediated in a more fragmented production of texts, generating new and diverse styles of interpretation.²⁹

According to Andrew Weintraub (2011) mass mediated forms of Islam have a key role in the Islamization process in contemporary Indonesia. Yet, it does not necessarily mean that people have no profound sense of their Islamic identities prior to the mass media, nor does it mean that Islam has existed outside of the 'populist' ordinary people lives. This is because Islam as a practical religion refers to ordinary people and their common everyday activities of Muslim life as prescribed by the Qur'an.³⁰ A study by Robert Hefner (1997), and cited by Weintraub (2011: 4), shows that since the late 1970s "mosques have proliferated in towns and villages; religious schools and devotional programs have expanded; a vast market in Islamic books, magazines, and newspaper has developed."

With the recent emergence of Islamic popular culture in contemporary Indonesia, Ariel Heryanto (2011) also argues that the current rapid growth of Islamic popular culture is an extension of the success of Islamic politics in post authoritarian Indonesia. According to Heryanto, until the mid-1980s Islam in Indonesia had not usually been accorded with wealth, icons of modernity, urban lifestyles, or popular culture. For the past two decades, Islam in Indonesia has been at the forefront of the production and consumption of popular culture. Contemporary forms of Islamic pop culture mobilize a sense of nostalgia since Islam was very much marginalized especially during the authoritarian regimes in

²⁹ Op.Cit. Eickelman and Anderson, 2003. p.14.

³⁰ Weintraub, Andrew. 2011. "Introduction: The Study of Islam and Popular Culture in Indonesia and Malaysia", in Weintraub (ed), *Islam and Popular Culture in Indonesia and Malaysia*. London: Routledge. p.4

post-colonial Indonesia. This rediscovery of Islam not only benefits political Islam activities, it induces a greater need to explore new activities in the cultural, aesthetic, legal and intellectual realms to justify and celebrate newly acquired privileges, and to express new identities and aspiration, and to expand politico-economic positions.³¹ Thus, Ariel Heryanto (2011) concludes that the gentrification of Islamic symbols in contemporary Indonesia appears to rise from the legacy of Islamic moral themes of justice and equality and finds its opportunities to be triumphantly celebrated and expressed due to a considerable freedom of expression provided by the practice of neo-capitalism in the liberal democracy of the Reform era.

By linking popular culture and Islamic mass mediated forms, it is evident that 'Islamic identity' is objectified by evoking Islamic symbols and images. To understand how this objectification occurs, requires an inquiry into not only the production of cultural texts and practices, but, as suggested by Walter Ambrust, by identifying cultural process of objectifying identities obtained from an ethnographic observation. An important concern not to be excluded in this process is also a concern triggered by Ariel Heryanto (2011), that many researchers or even theorists in critical and cultural studies are very reluctant to take religious based movement discourses for their critical analysis in the configuration of a complex modern identity formation especially in the (majority) Muslim world. This reluctance arises from a perpetual debate on what constitutes political Islam or what used to be labeled as 'Islamism'.

Olivier Roy (2004) argues that the rise of political Islam (Islamism) finds creative expression by adopting a so-called global hybrid culture, which interacts with the reformulation of an imaginary Umma (Islamic polity) which is not institutionalized on the territorial base of the Nation-State. It also indicates the crisis of religious authority, which used to be socially rooted and culturally grounded in the multicultural Muslim societies. He further asserts that the obvious manifestations of Islamism in personal behaviors and a growth in

³¹ Heryanto, Ariel. 2011. "Upgraded Piety and Pleasure: The New Middle Class and Islam in Indonesian Popular Culture", in Weintraub (ed), *Islam and Popular Culture in Indonesia and Malaysia*. London: Routledge. Pp.60-62

religious practices are by contrast accompanied by a process of Westernization. The Islamist movements mark out an important line between what is 'Islam' and what is not. Therefore, a Muslim society in a sociological and cultural sense is not always seen to be compatible with the way the Islamists perceive as an 'Islamic society'³² However, the use of 'Islamism' is somewhat problematic especially when its denotation refers merely on radical Islamic movement and or simply associated with media stereotype of 'Islamic fundamentalism'. The most controversial analysis on Islamism asserted by Daniel Pipes follows:

Islamism is an ideology that demands man's complete adherence to the sacred law of Islam and rejects as much as possible outside influence, with some exceptions (such as access to military and medical technology).³³

In brief, Pipes argues that Islamism is an effort to turn Islam as a religion and civilization into an ideology that promotes hostility against modernity and the West. In response to the problematic term of Islamism, Peter Demant (2006) warns us not to easily label the cultural turn of some Muslims to radical Islam, especially those who refer to textual-based interpretations of Islam. It may simply be a new devotion to Islamism.³⁴ He further argues that we need first to decouple the terms 'Islam' and 'Muslim' from their association with Islamism. While 'Islam' and 'Islamic' refer to religion and its created culture, 'Muslim' refers to the sociological phenomenon where the believer identifies with the culture. Although Islam defines geographical and civilizational areas where Islam is the predominant religion, it does not necessarily mean that Muslims of these areas accept political Islam in its fundamental form, which is characterized by

³² Roy, Olivier, 2004. *Globalized Islam: The Search for a new Ummah*. London: C.Hurst. Pp.10-15.

³³ Pipes, Daniel, 1998. Distinguishing between Islam and Islamism, Center for Strategic and International Studies, 30 Juni 1998. Available electronically at: <http://www.danielpipes.org/954/distinguishing-between-Islam-&-Islamism>. Access on 30th October 2012.

³⁴ Demant, Peter, R., 2006. *Islam VS Islamism: The Dilemma of the Muslim World*. Westport: Praeger Publisher.

the presence of an Islamic State.³⁵ Thus, the appropriateness of the concepts of 'Islamism' and 'Islamist' is very subjective if they are employed in critical analysis.

Nevertheless, the objectification of Islamic identity is pivotal, particularly in mobilizing Islamic activism. Instead of being 'trapped' within debating 'Islamism' and or 'Islamist', however, I will still apply these problematic concepts in my efforts for identifying and distinguishing what constitutes 'Dakwah media' with some considerations. My argument is that despite its subjective meanings of defining 'Islamism' and/or 'Islamist' to Islamic activism, these terms are still negotiable in identifying the process of the objectification of Islamic symbols and the discourse of Islamic identity that are mediated and facilitated through mass mediated forms. With this regard, my use of 'Islamism' refers to the definition proposed by Richard C Martin and Abbas Barzegar (2010. p.17):

"Regardless of semantic preferences, Islamism is an eulogism³⁶ that has come into popular and pervasive use. It usually refers to those Muslim social movements and attitudes that advocate the search for purely Islamic solutions (however ambiguous this may be) to the political, economic, and cultural stresses of contemporary life."

Martin and Barzegar (2010) also put forward an argument that 'Islamists' share the label 'Muslim' with more traditional, liberal, modernist, mystical, and secular Muslims with whom they may agree on many theological points but with whom they are also often in indispensable disagreements or disputes on others. For that reason, accordingly, there is a need to understand Islam as a diverse living religious tradition not just about naming doctrines and practices that depict its normative, moral and ethical practices.³⁷ In addition to the understanding of diverse Islamic traditions, Martin and Barzegar moreover warn that 'Islamist

³⁵ Ibid, Introduction, p.xxii.

³⁶ Eulogism is an expression of praise or blessing as used in an eulogy (Oxford Dictionary of English)

³⁷ Martin, Richard, and Barzegar, Abbas. 2010. "Introduction: The Debates about Islamism in the Public Sphere", in Martin and Barzegar (eds), *Islamism: Contested Perspectives on Political Islam*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. p.23.

social movements' cannot be confined exclusively in terms of contention with non-Muslims and the West, anti-modern angst, or the nostalgia of past tradition.³⁸

On the account of the objectification of Islamic identity, therefore it is instructive to explore the current tendency in Indonesian Islamic popular culture as found in mass mediated form, which corresponds to Islamic based movement (in my case study is the relationship between *Ummi* – the Muslimah magazine and the Tarbiyah movement). Islamist movements tend to be perceived as scripturalist movements that advocate as a solution the dramatic or strict return to the fundamentals of the religion and reject any behavior that is specifically not supported by the Prophet Muhammad. Whereas scripturalist Islam is often stigmatized as being opposed to modernity, popular culture, on the other hand, tends to be conceived of having ability to breakdown stereotypes. Thus, when religious needs and obligations are transformed into modern commodities, the implication hence is the 're-stylization' in pious Islamic discourses.

2.4. Ummi as the Case Study

The monthly Muslim women's magazine, *Ummi*, exemplifies a Dakwah media linking Islam, media, and popular culture in contemporary Indonesia. *Ummi* was the first Islamic popular magazine rooted in the Tarbiyah movement, and thus has a stable market drawn from the adherents of the Tarbiyah movement. Nevertheless, *Ummi* nowadays is not only subscribed by members of the Tarbiyah movement. Indeed, a survey by AC Nielsen in 2009 shows that it has a growing number of new readers *Ummi*- presumably those who did not belong to the Tarbiyah movement or participate in its activities during the authoritarian Suharto era. This suggests that both *Ummi* (as producer) and its readers (as consumers) are engaged in constructing a newly acquired meaning of 'Dakwah' (proselytization of Islam). In its simplest way to say is what Dakwah means to *Ummi* and its readers.

³⁸ *ibid.*

Ummi can also be an example of how an identity construct may generate collective action by presenting itself as an authority on Islamic discourses, doctrines, and Islamic symbols. This is also about to say that how such authority can be found in a common feature of shared re-intellectualization of Islamic discourse. On that account, the subject of 'public morality,' addressed by Ummi, is of particular interest. In addition to the theme of public morality, the way *Ummi* has distinguished itself from other 'Islamic media' especially in the post Suharto era is also important. Following the birth of Ummi in 1989, other Dakwah media such as *Sabili*, *Tarbawi* and *Saksi* were also established. These media have consistently presented themselves as radical Islamic media emphasizing the importance of *jihad* including violent actions. Unlike other 'Islamist' media, however, Ummi nowadays seems to be less radical as shown by its fading support for a 'violent jihadist movement' and giving more space for addressing public piety. Thus, it is important to locate how pious Islamic discourse is encoded, framed, and represented by Ummi.

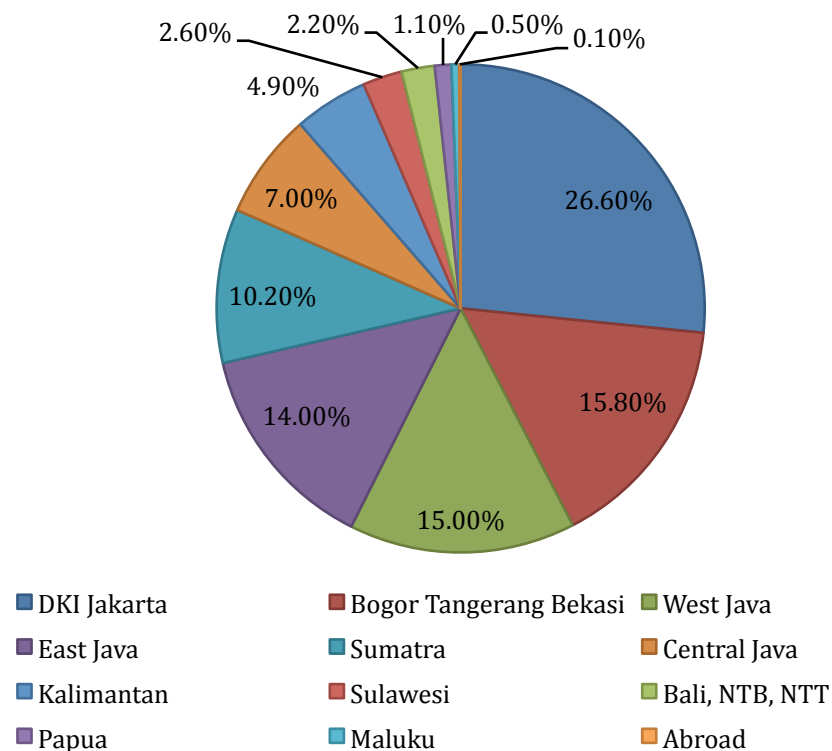
For more than two decades Ummi has helped disseminate the importance of Dakwah and its reach has grown since its readership has increased in the reform era. Prior to 1998, Ummi relied on a constant market made up exclusively of members of the Tarbiyah movement and their families. However, since support for the 'Tarbiyah movement' has been enlarged into social and public realms (e.g., demonstrated by mass publications of the Tarbiyah ideology and the incorporation of the Tarbiyah movement in students' activities at secular universities) Ummi is no longer exclusively consumed by Tarbiyah members. Since the mid-2000s Ummi has been an inclusive monthly popular Muslim women's magazine.

There is no official survey indicating how many Tarbiyah members subscribe to Ummi, but since 2002, the circulation of Ummi is estimated to be between 80,000 and 100,000 copies per month. In 1989, decade prior to the reform era, Ummi's circulation was only about 5,000 copies per month. According to AC Nielsen Research Indonesia, an international news-rating agency, based on its media survey in 2009, Ummi has 300,000 loyal readers concentrated mostly in nine cities across Indonesia (Jakarta, Bogor, Tangerang, Bekasi, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Surabaya, Medan, Makasar). More than 40% of

Ummi's readers reside in Jakarta and its suburbs of Botabek (Bogor, Tangerang, Bekasi). Most importantly according to AC Nielsen, 96% of these readers are women.

Table.1. The Distribution of *Ummi*'s readers in Indonesian regions.

Source: Ummi Media Regular Kit p.9, 2009



The survey of AC Nielsen in 2009 found that 58% of *Ummi* readers are between 31 and 49 years old and mostly come from the middle class, as more than 44% of them spent Rp.5 million per month (+/- \$500/month).³⁹

³⁹ This statistic measure to classify middle class in Indonesia is basically refers to statistical report of per capita Gross Domestic Product (GDP) – a survey method to indicates national income in the domestic scales. According to BPS (Badan Pusat Statistik – The Indonesian Center for Statistics and Surveys) the Indonesian per capita GDP in 2009, was US \$ 2,300 and in 2012

Table.2. The Survey of Ummi readers Income (in Rupiah)

Source: Ummi Media Regular Kit p.9, 2009

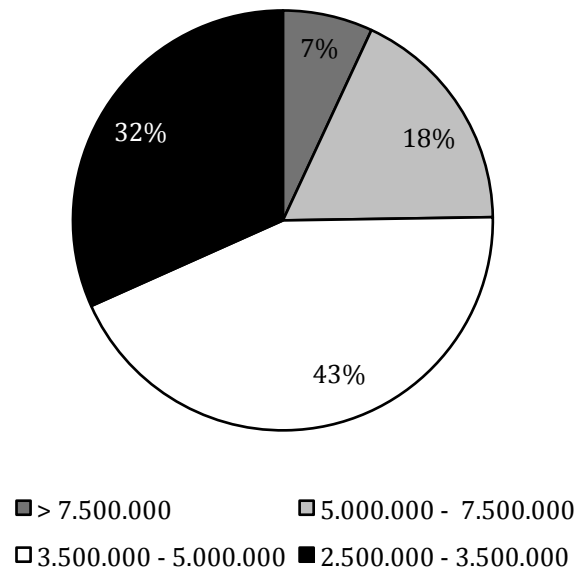
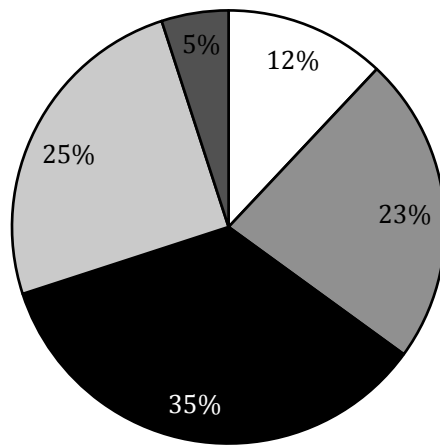


Table.3. The Survey of Ummi Readers Survey by Age.

Source: Ummi Media Regular Kit p.9, 2009

was US \$ 3,300. Further info on Indonesian per capita GDP can be access on this web address:
http://bps.go.id/eng/tab_sub/view/php?table=1&daftar=1&id_subyek=11¬ab=76

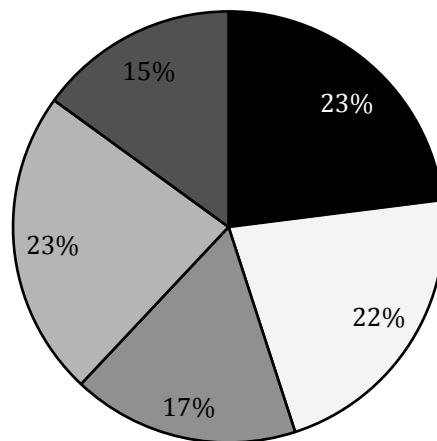


> 50
 40-49
 30-39
 20-29
 < 20

What makes the survey quite surprising is that only 22% of *Ummy* readers are housewives, while 15% of the readers are students, and 63% are 'professional workers'.

Table.4. The Survey of Ummy Readers by Profession.

Source: Ummy Media Regular Kit p.9, 2009



Executive
 Employee
 Entrepreneur
 Housewife
 Student

The survey shows that the growing number of Ummi's readers corresponds to an increasing number middle class urban Muslims. The numbers shown by the survey also confirm a phenomenon of new urban Muslims whose identities are also characterized by symbols of Islamic piety. In other words, the survey seems to justify a consumerist discourse of Islamic piety among middle and upper classes society in Indonesia where the images of cultural taste and lifestyle are also determined by consuming Islamic symbols and identities.

In general it can be seen from the survey that the Ummi readership in the post-Suharto era is predominantly characterized by the middle class women who pursue a public role through professional works. Only a relatively small number of readers are housewives contradicting the presumption that only good and loyal housewives consume Ummi. Although the image and discourse of good and loyal housewives can be attributed to the *Muslimah* world of the Tarbiyah movement, it used to be confined to those women carried tasks on domestic life. Ummi is thus not only an Islamic lifestyle magazine, it is rooted in an ideological movement in which women are also core agents of political and cultural changes through their roles as *maratus shalihat* (pious women). Within this identity construct of maratus shalihat, the Tarbiyah members are expected to push members of their extended families and close friends to the call of becoming loyal and faithful housewives. However, it is difficult to prove empirically if the constant market of Ummi relies solely on Tarbiyah members, as no one has conducted a major large survey asking this question. Nevertheless, the survey from AC Nielsen in 2009 suggest the following questions: who are the loyal readers of *Ummi*; do they come from the Tarbiyah backgrounds or not; and how do they realize their roles as active readers in perceiving Ummi as their everyday religious self-help reference.

Ummi is an example of how popular culture in mass mediated forms may generate new activities to express new identity. Ummi nowadays appears not only in a 'traditional' fashioned way of popular *Muslimah* magazines but shares similarities with other 'secular' women's magazines. In expressing new identity, Ummi has included some new activities beyond reading activities. It has encouraged fandom by creating a community of Ummi members of *Keluarga Sakinah* that introduces a new mode of societal relationship by ordering family

based on Shari'a principles. Another approach adopted by *Ummi* is the use of social media such as Facebook and Twitter due to a massive demand to transform traditional printed materials into a condensed form for digital distribution. This intensifies the means of communication by inviting more participants to engage in discursive practices to define the meaning of 'Dakwah'.

2.5. Research Procedure: Questions, Methods, and Limits of the Study

2.5.1. Research Questions

The driving question of this thesis is to understand what the 'Dakwah media' means to *Ummi* and its readers as the two engage in a discursive practice to define the meaning of Dakwah in mass mediated form of Islam. This thesis seeks to provide an analysis, using *Ummi* as a case study, of the shift in the orientation of the Dakwah media from being used as vehicles for promoting political or ideological interests toward the current tendency to popularize Islamic identity and symbols as a new lifestyle.

In response to this basic inquiry, I focus on the two moments of media production and media reception. In doing so, I develop two key questions addressed at media production and reception. On the question of media production: How has the transformation of *Ummi* been achieved in post Suharto era and what reasons lie behind for such transformation? This first key question aims to provide a description and analysis of how *Ummi* constructs Dakwah and how such a construct is encoded, framed, and narrated within the production of texts and symbols (including visual materials). On the question of media reception: What are the implications of such a transformation of *Ummi* on the female readership? Or, what roles do the readers as active agents play in shaping such transformation made by *Ummi*? This is to ask whether *Ummi* as a Dakwah media is still perceived by its readers as deploying ideological impositions as

guidance for living virtuous lives, or whether it simply provides alternatives for lifestyle or consumption where religious self-help is the major feature of the magazine.

2.5.2. Methods

The first step of this research is a framing analysis of Ummi publications from 1998 to 2009. Framing involves a communication source presenting and defining an issue, where a frame is an emphasis on different salient aspects of a topic. Framing provides guidance on how to investigate media contents and the relationship between media and public opinion (de Vreese, 2005, p. 51). Entmant (1993) noted that frames have several locations, including the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture. According to Entmant (1993), such aspects include: problem identification, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation. Additionally Gamson and Modigliani (1989) identify 'framing devices' in order to identify specific topics within media contents, as follows: (1) metaphors, (2) exemplars, (3) catch-phrases, (4) depictions, and (5) visual images.

The second step of this research used an ethnography of media. Ethnography of media is the ethnographic study of media practices. It brings the idea of anthropology on 'cultural difference' to understand aspects of media practices. The use of ethnography in media studies aims at the relationship between people and media and allows for an examination of knowledge construction. The connections are located in the grounded practices of knowing about people and where media in all their various forms form an inextricable part of the social setting.

The emphasis on particular forms of knowledge production shows how people inhabit media through a specific set of knowledge conventions. Stuart Hall (1981) argues that although media producers shape the future 'decoding' of their text by encoding through what he called 'preferred readings', they hold no ultimate control over their audiences' interpretation. Thus, most audiences actively appropriate media contents by turning them to their own uses, but within the constraints imposed by both medium and message. At this point, anthropological methods and concepts can be employed to interpret media

culture. Anthropological research on media culture is thus also the study of the relationship between 'identified media practices and the implicit mediated aspects of other practices' which accounts for a certain degree of contention.⁴⁰ In other words, the strength of anthropology in studying media culture lies in its concern with people and lived practices, especially with regard to the ways people construct meanings employed in the mediated messages found in texts as well as images, and, or sounds.

The ethnography of media in this study examines the influence of media messages from the publications of *Ummi* on its readers. Media messages are negotiated by readers, however readers also occupy particular social positions that effect how they interpret the media. Therefore the use of reader reception combined with in-depth interviews is important to identify cultural meanings created from the media contents, as readers are active receivers who are in turn also shaping media representation. If media messages circulate versions of a dominant ideology, such messages require construction and are subject to revision.⁴¹

At this point, it is very crucial for me to identify particular readers of *Ummi* in relation to its historical root in the Tarbiyah movement. Therefore, in order to capture both readers' backgrounds (Tarbiyah and non-Tarbiyah backgrounds), I conducted in-depth interviews with twenty *Ummi* female readers in Jakarta and Yogyakarta in order to gain context of their roles as active readers and how they posit *Ummi* as religious references or as religious self-help. Given the fact that *Ummi* has presented itself as an Islamic lifestyle for *Muslimah* magazine, the study of *Ummi* readership will observe how female readers also connect with a wider group of women with whom they share a sense of bonding especially in articulating their religious piety. These informants are an important source of this research and thus their interpretations help to explain how both Tarbiyah members and non-Tarbiyah readers perceive 'Dakwah' and what it means to them. The use of ethnography is used to discover knowledge construction especially the way in which readers perceive the

⁴⁰ Kelly Askew, 2002: p.3

⁴¹ Croteau and Haynes, 2003: p.289.

imposed 'ideological messages' in Ummi publications and the way they locate their social position as a shared culture. Such examinations aim to describe the relation between media construct on identity and the way the readers attain particular knowledge, especially how they articulate and locate themselves in response to such a construct.

Subsequently, the use of ethnography to study readership is used to investigate the relationship between media and its capacity to engage people for articulating particular political interests. Despite the capacity for media to articulate particular desirable political visions or interests, this does not necessarily mean that media representation presupposes conditions for participation. Although the use of ethnography in this research focuses on readers reception, it also includes observation as well as interviews with the Ummi editorial board.

The last step of this research is conducted through the use of discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is usually concerned with the historical and political contexts in which statements are produced and reproduced. According to Philips and Jorgensen (2002. pp.5-6), there are three approaches to discourse analysis, namely: (1) a critical approach to taken-for granted knowledge, (2) concentrating on historical and cultural specificity, and (3) research on the link between knowledge and social process, and/or social action. The first approach involves posing critical questions to established knowledge. At this stage, knowledge should not be treated as an objective truth, but it should be perceived as a product of the ways of categorizing the world or in discursive analytical terms. The second approach attempts to provide an understanding of the historical processes through which the world has been culturally represented. The historical process is assumed to help to comprehend the complexity of different identities whereby people define themselves. Indeed, discourse is a form of social action that may produce knowledge, identity, social relations, and maintain social patterns. This is because the social world is socially constructed, which implies that the way people act is not determined by pre-given or external conditions and that people do not possess 'fixed or authentic' characteristics. The third approach deals with the linkage between knowledge and social process which particularly takes the form of social actions. At this stage, it should be

understood that knowledge is created through social interaction in which we construct common truths and compete about what is true or false.⁴²

The use of discourse analysis allows for critical analysis on the discourse of public morality as a shared popular culture in Indonesia. It enables this study to problematize the construction of identity in media representation and how multiple identities might arise from such constructs, especially those identities which derive from the readers' perspectives based on ethnographic findings. Indeed, discourse analysis is also an appropriate method to examine the way hegemony works in media culture. With regard to the issue of hegemony in media representation, Stuart Hall (1996) defines representation as a product of cultural circuits through contextual processes that may involve disarticulation. Due to the difficulty to differentiate what is reality and representation made by different actors or agents, the use of discourse analysis traces how events and relationships are articulated under particular circumstances. Such an examination also provides a description of the linkage between actors and agencies involved in media practices and the way they act with economic, political, and cultural capital through media.

2.5.3. Limits of the Study

With regard to the study approach to media production, this study limits its scope only on the production of texts and images generated by *Ummi*. Therefore this research does not include an investigation on the economics of *Ummi* as a business. The framing analysis applied in this study limits its scope only on the 'construction of Dakwah' that serves to promote the Ikhwani (Tarbiyah) ideological baselines. My basic argument is that the Ikhwani (Tarbiyah) ideology transgresses national and ethnic identities in the light of Islamic identity that encompassed post national identity construct. However, the construct of Dakwah is also framed within the historical context of the Suharto period (authoritarian regime from 1966 to 1998) and in the reform era (post

⁴² It should also be understood that the social construction of truth would impose different social consequences on the way people choose to act.

authoritarian regime) in order to capture the meaning of Dakwah in relation to the changing social, economic, and political orders in contemporary Indonesia.

Due to the fact that *Ummi* is a Muslim women's magazine, the study of *Ummi* inevitably addresses 'femininity' as a critical characteristic to help explain why the producer of mass mediated forms of Islam targets women as their consumers. However, particular feminist theories are not exclusively examined in the analysis of both media production and reception because the research also collects findings from ethnography and thus opens up possibilities to challenge particular feminist subjects. The study of magazines in media and cultural studies scholarship often sits in an inferior position compared to other studies on media (e.g., electronic, and or digital media), but the study of women's magazines has motivated many scholars especially feminist scholars due to the nature of modern women's magazines that help to explain how patriarchal structures are retained in the capitalist mode of consumption.⁴³ However, there is an exhausting debate on feminist approaches to study women magazines, particularly due to a feminist tendency to treat the position of position as more enlightened than the subjects of related-fields and thus made this visible as a social issue in order to have empowering effects.⁴⁴ Regardless of this critique, I still address the issue of patriarchy as a dominant ideology embedded in the *Tarbiyah (Ikhwanī)* construction on *Dakwah* by posing my position as a researcher in the light of a post-feminist approach. It means I consider not only the discourse of *maratus shalihah* (pious women) employed within the *Tarbiyah* construction on *Dakwah* as a political (Islamic) struggle, but also the meaning of being a pious women in interpretive ways and how it is produced through a discursive formation.

⁴³ See: Fergusson (1983); Winship (1987); Ballaster et.al (1991); Hermes (1995); McRobbie (1996); and Gough Yates (2003)

⁴⁴McRobbie, Angela.1997. "More! New Sexualities in Girls and Women Magazines", in McRobbie (ed), *Back to Reality? Social Experiences and Cultural Studies*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.p.192.

Chapter.3

The Dakwah Media in Pre-Reform Era: A Base for Islamic Revival

3.1. Indonesian Islamic Media under Authoritarian Rules: Struggles for Islamic Revival

This chapter provides a brief illustration that shapes the formation of Islamic Media as inseparable part of the 'Dakwah instrument' that is actually created and rooted in colonial time and thus expanded in post colonial Indonesia under two generations of the Authoritarian rulers: the Old Order regime of Sukarno (in power 1945-1967) and the new Order regime of Suharto (in power 1967-1998). Moreover, this chapter also specifically discusses the historical background to the emergence of modern Islamic media, which was generated by Islamic activism in Indonesia. In the Indonesian context, Islamic activism is not a new issue, because was already in existence during the colonial period, and became a movement that later contributed to the development of contemporary Islam and Muslim cultures throughout the archipelago.¹

My analysis of the historical development of modern Islamic media in contemporary Indonesia demonstrates that media are utilized in accordance with a spirit of revivalist Islam. Islam in this form became a major source generating political activism against authoritarian rules, something that remarkably motivated a sense of nationalism in the colonial period. The use of media as a political vehicle for Islamic struggles against secular authoritarian regimes continued in post-colonial Indonesia particularly due to the regimes' repression of political Islam.

¹ Thomas Gibson (2007) for instance, conducted a large anthropological research project on local narratives and Islamic authority in Indonesia by mapping out their historical roots of the conversion of the Archipelago since 16th century until the development of official Islam in modern post-colonial Indonesia. His research addresses a complex analysis of practical and symbolic knowledge in which Islam is found in a legacy of local customs and tradition, and how transnational Islamic networks operated in the archipelago prior to and during the colonial power that developed Islamic authority in a local context.
(See: Gibson, Thomas.2007. *Islamic Narratives and Authority in Southeast Asia: From the 16th to the 21st Century*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan)

The idea of Islamic revival refers to a context when Islam becomes the manifestation of expansive piety movements that occur along with the adoption of Islamic culture and it takes place not only in the Muslim majority world but also in Muslim minority world.² Islamic revival mostly occurs in the context of pious movements characterized by populist support for Islamic virtues and striking obedience toward Islamic doctrine. Meanwhile, the idea of Islamic revival is also perceived as a moment of awakening for Muslims to adopt Islamic identities and to adapt to a new environment led by Islamic virtues. A further explanation describes Islamic revival as non-monolithic and singular movements; rather it represents diversity and multi-level activism and quests for a new Islamic identity. This not only includes transnational pious movements characterized by passive and apolitical spiritualism, but also recognizes transnational movements that are accentuated with radical and militant spirits in Islam.³

The Islamic media in contemporary Indonesia are actually rooted in the colonial period. Prior to the invention of printing technology, Islamic texts were circulated in a very limited way and thus were rarely accessible. The invention of printing technology that subsequently led to the new mass press era during the early 19th century in the Dutch East Indies (the Indonesian archipelago's name under the Dutch colonial administration) also resulted in the production of Islamic publications. That period therefore signified a time when the Muslim population began to consume religious subjects through print media. Although printing was introduced in the 17th century by the Dutch colonial government to support administrative works, it took almost two centuries before the first mass press flourished in the socio, political and cultural landscape of everyday life in the Dutch East Indies.⁴

² Lapidus, Ira Marvin. 2002. *A History of Islamic Societies (2nd Edition)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.p.823.

³ Hrair, Dekmejian R. 1980. The Anatomy of Islamic Revival: Legitimacy Crisis, Ethnic Conflict, and the Search for Islamic Alternatives. *Middle East Journal*, 34 (Winter), pp.1-5.

⁴ As cited by Feener (2007), according to Ian Proudfoot (1993), who studied the early printed texts in Southeast Asia, the earliest evidence of Muslim printing in Southeast Asia started from 1840s (Michael Feener, 2007. *Muslim Legal Thought in Modern Indonesia*, Cambridge Univ Press, Cambridge.pp.7-8)

While Christian missionaries began to distribute printed texts in the early 19th century, the Islamic religious texts (known in the Malay world as 'kitab') were produced afterward by Malay presses during the second half of that century. More evidence of Muslim publications are noted in a surviving Singapore catalogue from 1893 that shows popular literary texts such as indigenous poetry (syair) and prose (hikayat) genres. According to Michael Feener (2007), the early evidence of Muslim publishing of the 19th century in Southeast Asia might indicate that Islamic values and identities were transmitted through popular forms of publications attempting to facilitate public consumption. This marks a new transformation in the Muslim world especially in the Malay speaking world, including in the East Indies where reading materials which had only available in exclusive circles, became more inclusively accessible and affordable. On account of the proliferation of the printing industry in Southeast Asia during the 19th century, a new era of the reading habits began.

After a change in censorship laws passed by the Netherland Indies government in 1906, an increased number of publications in East Indies appeared. These changes allowed Muslim publications to appear not only as religious texts or 'kitab', but also the publication of texts dealing with more complex issues in comparative law, politics, and social orders. One such publication was *Journal al Munir* (1910-1915) published in Padang West Sumatra by a Muslim modern reformist scholar, Abdullah Ahmad. Michael Feener (2007) describes *Journal al Munir* as an exemplar of 'Ijtihad Journalism' created to serve a call 'to return to the Qur'an and Sunna' by referring to the direct reference of the primary sources of Islam when addressing contemporary questions.⁵ The implication of the modern publishing industry in the Muslim world of Southeast Asia marked a cultural shift towards religious authority. As Feener argues, this new tradition of Muslim publications introduced by the reformist Muslim scholars advocated the creation of a new arena for 'public discussions' on issues previously 'restricted only to the ranks of traditionally trained Ulema.'⁶

⁵ Ibid, pp.10-13

⁶ Ibid, p.12

The underlying reason to utilize print media, as found in the emergence of newly periodicals, was a broader campaign to modernize and mobilize Islam by some Muslim reformist organizations. In 1915 the monthly journal *Medan Moeslimin* (The Muslim Field) was established in Surakarta, Central Java by Haji Muhammad Misbach who later expanded his Islamic print media business by publishing a periodical entitled *Islam Bergerak* (Islam on the Move). According to Feener (2007), Haji Muhammad Misbach was the first Indonesian Muslim scholar who employed commercial connections by linking his Islamic print media business with other complex modern institutions such as an Islamic bookstore, a hotel for traveling activists, and a modern school.

His publishing efforts were directed towards a novel agenda of socializing and politicalizing the mobilization of Islam in the Dutch East Indies in the earlier decades of the 20th century. Budi Irawanto (2011) echoes Feener's argument by emphasizing that the Islamic press in the Indonesian colonial time was not only intended to challenge the modernization of Islam, but also functioned as a means of political resistance against the Dutch colonial power. Due to its past record as a means of political resistance against the colonial rule, according to Irawanto, many Islamic publications were banned during the Japanese occupation (1942-1945). However, a few survived after independence, for example: *Kiblat (the Qibla)*, *Adil (the Justice)*, *Al Muslimun (the Muslim Brothers)*, and *Swara Muhammadiyah (the Muhammadiyah's Voice)*.⁷

During the years following independence in 1950, some Islamic publications prevailed and they were owned by Islamic organizations that had been established during the colonial period. An example is *Madjalah Pembela Islam* (Islamic Defenders Magazine) – a regular magazine published by PERSIS (Persatuan Islam – Islam United) a puritan Islamic organization established in Bandung, West Java in 1923 by Ahmad Hasan a local born Hadrami's shaikh. *Madjalah Pembela Islam* was first published in 1930 and was established by Ahmad Hasan along with his student Mohammad Natsir.⁸ *Madjalah Pembela*

⁷ Irawanto, Budi. 2011. "Riding Waves of Change: Islamic Press in Post Authoritarian Indonesia", in Krishna Sen and David T Hill (eds), *Politics and the Media in 21st Century Indonesia-Decade of Democracy*, Routledge, London. pp-67-69.

⁸ Hakiem, Lukman. 2008. *M.Natsir di Panggung Sejarah Republik*. Jakarta: Republika.pp.97-98

Islam continued to be published after independence and became very popular, especially during the 1950s. Mohammad Natsir went on to establish Masyumi (Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia) an Islamic party whose legacy has had a major influence in shaping contemporary Islamic activism. Masyumi were the first Islamic party in Indonesia and in the 1955 general elections gained a significant number of votes. However, Sukarno's regime denounced this democratic result by issuing a decree to return Indonesia to a presidential system based on the 1945 constitution system rather than the more liberal democratic ministerial system. Indeed, Masyumi was later dismantled in 1960 by the authoritarian rule of President Sukarno who accused Masyumi members of plotting a coup d'état. In 1958 some Masyumi members were accused of plotting a coup d'état along with the PRRI (Pemerintahan Revolusioner Republik Indonesia – Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia) a resurgence group supported by some high ranking military generals and politicians, attempting to address an ultimatum of unfair and unjust politics of the Sukarno's regime. Sukarno viewed this movement as 'makar' – an attempt to overthrow his power as a legitimate government. Later, under Suharto's regime, Masyumi was totally outlawed and the party was dismantled, while some of its activists struggled outside of political realm, some others joined the New Order's exterior Islamic party called PPP (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan) or United Development Party.⁹

Michael Laffan (2003) found that Ahmad Hasan of PERSIS presented Islam in similar ways to the teachings of Hasan al Banna, the founder of Ikhwanul Muslimin, in particular the teachings that promoted *Salafiyya* (Salafism). This Salafist ideology also inspired Mohammad Natsir who was personally trained under Ahmad Hasan of PERSIS during his youth. The fact that PERSIS shared a similar Salafist ideology with Ikhwanul Muslimin was actually not surprising as Laffan argues that 'Cairene Salafism'¹⁰ was first imported to Southeast Asia by

⁹ Ricklefs, M.C. 1991. *A History of Modern Indonesia since C.1200*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.pp.190-191.

¹⁰ The *Cairene Salafism* refers to the idea of 'Islamic Modernism' founded by Egyptian Islamic jurist of Cairo 'Muhammad Abduh' and his followers Rashid Rida. The term 'Salafiyya' or Salafism is also adopted by the 'Wahabiyya' or the Wahabi Movement that was established in Arabia; but

Malays and locally born Hadramis in Singapore who founded the journal *Al Iman* in 1906.¹¹ Thus, according to Laffan, revivalist Islam actually has its roots in the colonial period. Being under colonial rule gave Muslims a space for gravitating the Islamic reformism of the '*Salafiyya*' movement or 'Salafism'. The term 'Salafi' originates in the Arabic 'salaf' which means 'to precede' and refers to the companions of the Prophet Muhammad who learned about Islam directly from him as a God's messenger. Thus, the term 'Salafi' or 'Salafis' applies to those who seek to emulate the practice of the pious ancestors (*Salaf*).

Meanwhile, salaf refers to the pious ancestors: the prophet Muhammad, his companions and their followers of the first three generations, whose era is often regarded as a golden age of the faith. Because of the companions' connection to the Prophet and the divine revelations, Salafis believe that those men enjoyed a pure understanding of Islam. The historical fact that the West became powerful and the Muslim world became weak, especially due to colonization, has positioned Salafism as a remedy for the 'modern problems' in the Muslim world. Salafism argues that the primary reason for Muslim decline rests in the fact that Muslim rulers and subject alike deviated from the model set out for them by their righteous ancestors or the salaf al salih.¹²

In the view of Salafism, deviation occurred due to the incorporation of syncretic innovation (*bid'a*) and the development of schisms in the Muslim community, which pulled them away from the right path of Islam. Therefore, Salafism advocates a dramatic or strict return to the fundamentals of the religion and rejects any behavior not specifically supported or endorsed by the Prophet Muhammad. Despite the shared ideological orientation of Salafism, the social and political movements influenced by Salafism varied widely due to the division within the community over the strategies (*marhalah*) and methods (*manhaj*) of

according to Laffan, in 1900 there was 'no direct' link between the wahabiyya and the cairene reformists. Hasan al Banna (the founder of Ikhwanul Muslimin) was then also inspired by the teaching of 'Rashid Rida', especially those teachings taken from the book 'al Manar' that taught Muslims not to remain passive (i.e: by pointing out practices based on mystical Islam in Muslim traditions) in response to the imperialist West culture.

See: Laffan, Michael. 2003. "The Tangled Roots of Islamic Activism in Southeast Asia". *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 16 (3):pp.397-414.

¹¹ Laffan.2003. Ibid.

¹² Ayoob, Mohammed. 2008. *The Many Faces of Political Islam*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press.p.6

Dakwah in promoting and implementing the Salafi doctrines. Michal Laffan's discovery on the shared ideology of PERSIS (Indonesia) and Ikhwanul Muslimin (Egypt) then marks an important link between religion as practice (Din) and religion as state (Daulah), which subsequently informs Islamic activism in postcolonial Indonesian Muslim societies.

Like other postcolonial countries, growing numbers of the educated middle class in Indonesia facilitated the expansion of print-media, including those exemplified by Muslim publications. One well-known independent Islamic magazine of the post-colonial era entitled *Panji Masyarakat* (the Bannerman Community) was established by Buya Hamka (Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah) in 1959. Buya Hamka (1908-1981) was a famous Muslim reformist who was also an activist for the Islamic political party of Masyumi which took a political position very much in opposition to the government administration under the former first president of Sukarno (1945-1967). When General Suharto took power from Sukarno in 1967, Masyumi was outlawed by the new regime and anything associated with the party's activism was dismantled. Despite being associated with Masyumi, *Panji Masyarakat* survived. It is interesting to note that *Panji Masyarakat* helped promote some liberal Islamic scholars who into prominence in Islamic scholarship in Indonesia (e.g. Nurcholish Madjid, Azyumardi Azra, Kommaruddin Hidayat, Bachtiar Effendi, and many others).¹³ It was also *Panji Masyarakat* that inspired the birth of another famous Islamic studies journal during the middle of Suharto era in the late 1980s named *Ulumul Quran*. However, both *Ulumul Quran* and *Panji Masyarakat* collapsed just a few years after the end of the New Order due to mismanagement.

During the Suharto period, political Islam was under a great deal of scrutiny. As described earlier, the one prominent Islamic political party from the post-independence era, Masyumi, was banned. As a result, some of Masyumi's activists began to invest their mastery through other social or discreet political movements. In 1967, some of the former Masyumi activists established an Islamic foundation called Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia (DDII, Indonesian Dakwah Council) led by Mohammad Natsir. The DDII agenda was to pursue

¹³ Irawanto. 2011. Op.cit p.69.

politics through Dakwah and thus Natsir became aware of the power of media as an instrument of modern politics and social change.¹⁴ When one prominent ex-Masyumi activists Buya Hamka established a moderately liberal Islamic journal like *Panji Masyarakat* in 1959, Mohammad Natsir and some other DDII activists by contrast then established a radical Islamic journal entitled *Media Dakwah* in 1967. Other than monthly journal *Media Dakwah*, DDII also published children magazine *Sahabat (Children's Best Friend)*, the *Abadi Newspaper (the Eternal Newspaper)*, *Serial Khotbah Jum'at (the Friday Sermon Series)*, and *Bulletin Dakwah (the Dakwah Bulletin)*.¹⁵ The DDII monthly journal of *Media Dakwah* was first limited circulated among its activists and supporters, before appeared as a regular Dakwah journal.

Hefner (1997) argues that the main goal of DDII was extending 'Dakwah' as the political vision of religious education. This Dakwah strategy was designed due to the fact that mass support for political Islam especially during the late 1960s was declining. The political vision of DDII in its media representation acknowledges two important features. First, it opposes Christianization. Although some traditional and modern Muslims were disturbed by the work of Christian missionaries especially in the 1960s, it was DDII that first put the issue of 'anti-Christianization' into the media spotlight by condemning the efforts made by Christian missionaries to convert Muslims especially through educational teachings. The theme of anti-Christianization continues in the DDII's later publications, including its periodical *Media Dakwah*.¹⁶ Moreover, the influence of DDII interest in advocating anti-Christianization also expanded during the Suharto era and was widely introduced by the new cadres of the Dakwah activists. The second interest of the DDII's *Media Dakwah* was to establish a global network with other transnational Dakwah organizations especially in the Middle East. In their attempts to attract student activists, *Media Dakwah* also stressed the backward moral attitudes of Indonesian Muslims (e.g.,

¹⁴ Feener, 2007. Op.cit, p.104

¹⁵ Aritonang, Jan. 2004. *Sejarah Perjumpaan Kristen dan Islam di Indonesia (the Encounter History of Christianity and Islam in Indonesia)*. Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, p. 369.

¹⁶ Hefner, 1997. 'Print Islam: Mass Media and Ideological Rivalries Among Indonesian Muslims'. *Indonesia* 64, pp.85-87

the practices of corruption and hedonist lifestyles) as a form of Western neo-imperialism that was in line with the government policies for development in the capitalist framework. In particular the DDII publications tried to acknowledge 'Ikhwani thought' in Indonesia by maintaining a cadre of intellectuals committed to a version of reformist Islam, which was anti-liberal and much closer to the spirit of Islamic brotherhood. Hefner further argues that the reason why the DDII became the first host for 'Ikhwani thought' in Indonesia was because some of the DDII activists were unhappy at the time with the development of liberal Islamic scholarship that took place in some major Indonesian Islamic Universities (Islamic Teacher Training College/IAIN-Institut Agama Islam Negeri). Most of these prominent scholars were trained in Western universities (outside of the Middle East) introducing the Fazlurian neomodernism or Mu'tazillah rationalism, ideas that represent tolerant and pluralistic interpretations of Islamic teaching. However, the Ikhwani influence was mostly mediated through literature with the help of the Dakwah activists who were sent by DDII for further Islamic study in Saudi Arabia. Therefore, Saudi Arabia was the 'site' where Dakwah activists gained knowledge on radical Islam.¹⁷

On the 15th of January 1974 the Malari (Limabelas Januari or the Fifteenth of January) Incident was the first massive protest of the Suharto period. During the official visit of the Japanese prime minister, student activists occupied the streets in Jakarta and staged a fierce rally, protesting the Suharto regime for allowing unfair foreign investments in Indonesia.¹⁸ National press and media outlets that reported on the Malari Incident were restrained by the Suharto regime. As a result of this incident, the Suharto government not only revoked the press licenses of some print media and closed down their publishing, including *Harian Abadi* newspaper owned by ex-Masyumi activists, they also banned any political affiliations in the state campuses.¹⁹ More discussion on the impact of the

¹⁷ Bruinessen (2002) and Machmudi (2006).

¹⁸ Hefner (1997) op.cit, p.87.

¹⁹ In Sukarno's era and prior to the Malari incident, some student's organizations affiliated with particular political parties were active in State's campuses. These were for instance, HMI (Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam – the Islamic Student Association) was known for their political support for Masyumi, GMNI (Gabungan Mahasiswa Nasionalis Indonesia – the Indonesian

de-politicization of student activism that triggered the appearance of the tarbiyah movement will be further discussed in the next sub chapter.

Although Ikhwani thought had been introduced to Indonesia mainly through publication of translated Ikhwani books since the 1970s, the dissemination of Ikhwani thought through massive publications gained influence in student movements during the 1980s. Some Indonesian students who studied in Egypt and acknowledged radical Islamic thoughts during the 1980s, motivated by their dissatisfaction toward the Suharto's regime of prohibiting political Islam. Those publications not only borrowed the Ikhwani ideas, but also other radical Islamic scholars who introduced a sense of political Islam such as Sayyid Qutb from Ikwanul Muslimin, Abul A'la Maududi from Pakistan, and even Shiite scholars like Imam Khomeini, and Ali Syari'ati.²⁰

Within this period, the proliferation of Islamic books, periodicals and irregular or limited stencil prints addressed to student activists began to circulate on campuses and amongst students. Translated books were easily found in the secular state campuses, especially during the Ramadan festival, when students attended big events like seminars and discussions. Those books seemed to provide inspiration for student activists who desired to acquire more knowledge of Islam, giving them a sense of connecting Indonesia with the global Muslim world.

The period of the 1980s was also the moment when student activists were consolidating their visions of transnational Islamic connection. Transnational Islamic connections were not new and had already occurred in the colonial time of the Dutch East Indies.²¹ However, the student movements in the

Nationalist Student Association) was known for their political support for Sukarno's party PNI (Partai Nasional Indonesia), etc.

²⁰Rachmat, Imdadun. 2005. *Arus Baru Islam Radikal: Transmisi Revivalisme Islam Timur Tengah ke Indonesia*. Surabaya: Erlangga

²¹ Laffan (2003) that the Islamization through disseminating ideas borrowed from the Middle East, scholars like the Wahabi scholars had been brought by a generation previously studied in Mecca or Cairo during the colonial time of the Netherland East Indies. This generation when they returned home to the East Indies, attempted to 'correct' the practices of Islam in accordance with of what they had experienced in the Middle East (Further see: Laffan, Michael.2003. *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia: The Umma below the Winds*. London: Routledge Curzon).

1980s marked this process of 'Islamizing' Indonesia on a massive scale as a Dakwah movement and thus the ideas and visions borrowed from the Middle East scholars become the source of a post-nation-state 'imagined' shared identity for the new Islamic identity construct.

An example of a successful Islamization facilitated through student movement in Indonesia, is the movement generated by the tarbiyah movement particularly in the 1980s and 1990s. Imdadun Rachmat (2005) found that the dissemination of Ikhwani thought was effectively taking place during the mentoring system that was supported through the establishment of Islamic publishers which acknowledged Ikhwani ideas and thus published a fair amount of book translations from Arabic into Indonesian. Some of these translated volumes were books written by Hasan Al Banna, Sayyid Qutb, Said Hawwa, Muhammad Al Ghazali, Yusuf Qardhawi (known as Yusuf Qaradawi in the West), Syaikh Mustafa Mansyur, Taqiuddin An-Nabhani, and Al Albani. Those translated versions in Indonesian were published from the 1980s and are still republished until today by prominent 'Dakwah publishers', including Al-Ishlahy Press, Gema Insani Press, Pustaka Al Kautsar, Robbani Press, I'tisom, Era Intermedia, and Asy-Syamil.²² Examples of the earlier translated books are: *Ma'alim fi Al Tariq* from Sayyid Qutb translated into Indonesian as *Petunjuk Jalan*²³(1980) published by Media Dakwah DDI, and *Fi' Af'q al Ta'lim* from Sayyid Hawwa translated into Indonesian as *Membina Angkatan Mujahid*²⁴ (1987) published by Al Ishlahy Press.²⁵

Whilst the Dakwah movement publications in Suharto period circulated among the Dakwah activists, the ideas of inclusive Islam began to dominate in the mainstream media. Inclusive ideas were also rooted in the 1970s and were popularized during the 1980s. They were embraced by the Suharto regime in the 1990s especially after the birth of Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia (ICMI, the Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals Association). It is also necessary here to add that the liberal Islamic scholars during the Suharto period were seen by some

²² Rachmat, Imdadun .2005.op.cit.p.123

²³'Milestones'

²⁴ 'How To Cultivate the Mujahid Generation'

²⁵ ibid

pioneers of the Dakwah movement (especially from the DDII activists) as their 'adversaries' in competition to disseminate ideas on the meaning of 'proper Islam' among student activists. Those liberal Islamic scholars were mostly trained at the state sponsored universities of Islamic studies (now known as UIN/Universitas Islam Negeri or State University for Islamic Studies). Some of these scholars were also raised in the 'Santri' culture of those two mainstream Islamic Indonesian organizations like Muhammadiyah and NU (Nahdatul Ulama). By contrast some of the sympathizers of the 'Ikhwanī thought' in the Dakwah movement also came from the same background of 'santri families', either Muhammadiyah and or Nahdatul Ulama.²⁶

Liberal Islamic scholars and their writings published in liberal Islamic journals like *Panji Masyarakat* and *Ulumul Qur'an*, promoted more tolerant Islam and their ideas were far from promoting radical forms of political Islam. Notably liberal Muslim scholars like Nurcholis Madjid (who was raised in the Santri culture of Nahdatul Ulama) perceived the West as an important influence for modernizing Indonesia while at the same time rejecting shallow arguments of the DDII activists' that such liberal ideas simply represented a process of Westernization. The liberal Islamic notions introduced by Nurcholis Madjid for instance made a differentiation between 'public' and 'private' spheres in the

²⁶ Yon Machmudi (2006) for examples found that the pioneers and leaders of the 'Dakwah movement' that generated the Tarbiyah generation inspired by the Ikhwān al Muslimīn were those who previously raised in the Santri culture of NU and Muhammadiyah, rather than those who raised in the culture of 'Abangan'. Machmudi concluded that the turn of these activists into a so-called 'Islamist' community was a conversion of those already born and raised as Muslims into more puritan Muslims. He argues that such a phenomenon is the rebirth of a Muslim into a total submission to Islam (Islam yang ka'afah) according to Ikhwānī's interpretation on proper Islam. However, Kailani (2010) found that in post Suharto era, there is also an increasing tendency of new emerging middle class Muslims previously raised in the 'Abangan' of syncretic Islamic culture to follow the same path by joining the Tarbiyah mentoring community especially when the Dakwah movement opts to undertake popular style for propagation. According to Akh. Muzzaki (2008), the Dakwah activists in Suharto era (the proponents of the political Islam) who came from Santri background were a phenomenon of new urbanized Santri. Those whose Santri parents were most likely came from rural background. Meanwhile, the liberal Muslim scholars who were also had Santri background were actually already enjoyed their familial elitist status in the Pesantren (traditional Islamic school). Although they (the liberal Muslim scholars) were also trained in the traditional Pesantren (especially during Sukarno era), they then transcended their traditional views on Islam to more liberal views on politics particularly by adopting Western academic scholarship. However, Muzakki adds that this phenomenon only represented by few cases and it does not mean to generalize the tendency of Santri background Muslims and their favors for ideological battles between the 'liberal Islam' and the 'Islamist'.

practice of Islam. Madjid insisted that belief in God should remain in private life and should not be dictated by public intervention. He also added that expressions of religiosity could not be totally separated from the public domain because individuals interact with the state as citizens and thus become the public domain in which represented by the state. Thus, according to this liberal Islamic notion, Muslims should negotiate with the state before applying their lifestyles in public.²⁷

Following Madjid's idea, some proponents of liberal Islam who promoted inclusive Islam also began to appear on the regular bases in the columns of mainstream media from the mid-1980s. Mainstream media such as the daily newspapers *Kompas* and *Pelita*, and the monthly magazines *Tempo* and *Mimbar Demokrasi* gave more space to the ideas of liberal Islamic scholars. For the DDII activists their exclusion from the mainstream media to attack the arguments of the liberal Muslim scholars was then compensated by being able to publish in their own publications, such as *Bulan Bintang*, *Penerbit Abadi*, and *Media Dakwah*.²⁸

For mainstream Muslim organizations like NU and Muhammadiyah, publications that served their community members were available to the public due to the fact that every mainstream Muslim organization had their own publishing house. Nevertheless, such publications were not easily accessible outside of their communities. For instance, in the Suharto period, it was hard to find Muhammadiyah's monthly journal *Swara Muhammadiyah* (Voice of Muhammadiyah) in public bookstores. Instead, it had to be found in bookstores run by Muhammadiyah institutions or bookshops located in Muhammadiyah communities.

During the mid-1980s, the Suharto regime began to consolidate political support from Muslim communities by promoting Islamic piety while banning political Islam. Suharto's refurbished relationship with Islam reached its peak in the early 1990s through his support for the establishment of ICMI (Ikatan

²⁷ Muzzaki, Akh. 2008. Contested Islam: Examining the Material base of Islamic Discourse in New Order Indonesia. *Graduate Journal of Asia-Pasific Studies* 6 (2), p.71-88.

²⁸ Ibid.pp 77-78.

Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia). Following the birth of ICMI, one major Islamic press associated with ICMI, the newspaper *Republika* was established and began to gain slightly major readership on a national scale.²⁹ *Republika* is considered to be a non-radical Islamic newspaper and very much in favor of promoting Islamic public piety through, for example, its well-organized social campaign for 'Dompet Dhua'fa' or 'Our Wallets for the Poor People' – a benefaction program soliciting donations from its subscribers based on the Shari'a arrangement to abolish poverty, especially by subsidizing poor Muslim students for better education. The establishment of ICMI marked a turning point in Suharto's support for accommodating Islamic piety in public and thus changed the political landscape of Indonesia. All forms of expressing Islamic piety (eg. the adoption of Islamic financial practices, support for Islamic education, public sermons, and prayers) were now officially sanctioned.³⁰ During the early 1990s, some mainstream Islamic presses (i.e. newspapers *Republika* and *Pelita*) were in line with government support for promoting Islamic piety.

Suharto's period of promoting Islamic piety from the mid-1980s also gave birth to the first Muslim women's popular magazine called *Amanah*. *Amanah* was a prominent Muslim monthly magazine in the quarto format (A4) similar to other popular style magazines that targeted women. An expanding consumer society in Indonesia began in the 1980s evidenced by a growing number of consumer products, advertisements, and pop content such as lifestyle advice in the mass media. It was characterized by the emergence of popular literature found in paperback books, fiction and magazines catered towards a more affluent and educated society.³¹ However, the production of pop culture had already taken place in the earlier period of the New Order regime in the late 1960s. A process of burgeoning 'Western' influences in Indonesian culture accompanied by industrialization in Suharto's era contrasted with the previous

²⁹ Besides *Republika*, there is a first major leading Newspaper in Indonesia, *Kompas*. *Kompas* was first established by two non-Muslim Indonesian journalists, Jacob Utama and PK. Oyong, in the earlier time of Suharto regime (on existence of *Kompas* in the Suharto period, see: Sen and Hill, 2000. *Media, Culture and Politics in Indonesia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.)

³⁰ Houben, Vincent J.H. 2003. Southeast Asia and Islam. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 588 (1).p.158.

³¹ Hartley, Barbara. 1998. 'Cultural Expression', in Hill, Hall (ed), *Indonesia's New Order*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. Pp.258-261.

patriotic national movement pioneered under the Old Order regime of Sukarno that despised the importing of Western culture by mobilizing a propaganda of 'the national revolution' against the imperialist Western culture.³² During the New Order everyday life of Indonesians was to be seen in print and electronic media (e.g. TV shows that furnished entertainment, as well as the availability of Hollywood movies etc).

Amidst this phenomenon of Western style of popular culture during the Suharto period some underground Islamic print media continued the struggle for their Islamic revivalist agenda.³³ This is exemplified in my case study of *Ummi*, a regular Muslimah magazine that used to be limitedly circulated among the Dakwah (Tarbiyah) activists in the Suharto era. Further discussion of *Amanah* in comparison with *Ummi* as my case study will be explored in the next section due to its contrasting vision in representing women and Islam compared to what had been proposed by *Ummi* as the first radical Muslim magazine that also targeted Muslim women as its readers during the Suharto period.

3.2. Examining the Islamist Agenda: The Study of Ummi in the Suharto Period

This sub-chapter presents a case study of *Ummi* as an example of Islamic press that promotes identity-based movement in the Suharto period of authoritarianism. It was *Ummi* that appeared as the first Islamist journal that targeted Muslimah (Muslim women) to follow the path of Dakwah. In order to follow the path of the Tarbiyah movement the topics arranged by *Ummi* were presented through particular narratives of self-transformation in order to

³² See: Hartley (1998), and Fealy (2008).

³³ The propagation of Islam through electronic media (for instance, through radio and television programs) actually initially started during the 1980s. Although television in Indonesia first aired in 1962, Islam has never been proportionally represented on Indonesian television and radio program. (S.K, Ishadi. 2011. 'Negotiating mass media interests and heterogeneous Muslim audiences in the contemporary social-political environment of Indonesia.' In Weintraub (ed), *Islam and Popular Culture in Indonesia and Malaysia*. London: Routledge.pp.21-25.

achieve the virtuous comfort of being pious women. Because of its existence as part of the Tarbiyah movement, Ummi later generated a phenomenon of urban enthusiastic female Tarbiyah activists involved within cultural production in a way that intensified the Tarbiyah (Ikhwani) influences especially in the post-Suharto era.

The process of integrating female Tarbiyah activists into the cultural production of the Tarbiyah movement, however, did not come spontaneously from the female Tarbiyah activists' initiatives. Rather, it was a historical process that eventually required all members of the Tarbiyah movement to multiply its mobilized ideology's influence outside of the political realm.³⁵ This is because the primary actors of mobilizing the Tarbiyah movement reside in masculine characteristics presumed to be the privilege of male *Dakwah* (Tarbiyah) activists, especially in its earlier period, prior to the establishment of the Justice and Prosperous party. Due to the movement's contention against the authoritarian regime of Suharto, female Tarbiyah members were seen mostly just as passive actors in mobilizing the movement. On the other hand, the male Tarbiyah activists were aware that women could contribute weight to the movement because women were perceived to nurture feminine qualities, and thus they were at the forefront of cultural production especially in fabricating social norms and values in everyday life, where Islam becomes an ideological axis of the public sphere. This was the reason why Ummi was first established in 1989, not by female Tarbiyah activists, but by male Tarbiyah activists.

There were two major themes incorporated in the production of Ummi during the Suharto period. Firstly was the theme of engaging women as inseparable factors to elevate the *Dakwah* (Tarbiyah) movement, and secondly was the theme of emphasizing women's primary role as 'pious' persons for accompanying their male spouses to achieve the objectives of *Dakwah*. The first theme of engaging women in the *Dakwah* movement was featured by Ummi through the introduction of '*Marhalah Dakwah*' (the *Dakwah* Strategy), which provided a summary of stages to achieve the *Dakwah* missions. This includes

³⁵ Further analysis on the contribution of female *Dakwah* activists in the cultural production of *Ummi* is explored in chapter.6 (The Murrabi: An Ethnography Study of Ummi Editorship).

practical guidelines for Muslimah in following the paths of Dakwah. Meanwhile, a second theme of emphasizing the moral value of 'pious women' was narrated by *Ummi*. Such narratives were built up through a combination of prophetic texts (that referred to the Qur'an and Hadith or the Prophet's sayings), a basic Ikhwanī doctrine of '*Mar'ah Muslimah*' taught by the founding father Ikhwanul Muslimin Hasan al Banna, and new interpretations of the narratives of the '*Salaf al Shalih*' (the first generation of the Prophet companions) that stressed the roles of '*Ummu Shalihah*' (the pious women of the *Salaf al Shaleh* generation).

In its introduction to Marhalah Dakwah, *Ummi* introduced the very basic core ideology of '*hijab*' as a distinctive identity to be embraced by Muslimah in order to follow the paths of Dakwah. Hijab here applied not only to women, but men as well, and is to be practiced in particular social contexts. The first context refers to the natural status of women as physically attractive to men, and thus in order to prevent the impingement of '*syahwat*' (lust), women are ordered to cover their body especially parts considered sexual appealing. This is practiced through veiling (*jilbab*). The second context of hijab refers to a social separation of men and women in public where women are only allowed appear in public accompanied by their '*Mahram*'.³⁶ The practice of hijab also functioned as a mechanism to differentiate a Muslim polity from other societies identified as the '*Jahilliya*' (ignorance or a life practice that does not acknowledge God's supremacy by separating religion and politics). On the account of following the path of Dakwah, *Ummi* emphasized the qualities of 'pious women' (*Maratus Shalihah*) as a fundamental moral code to be conducted by every Muslimahh and specifically referred to women's eminent role of being loyal housewives (*al zauzah muth'iah wal karimah*). The narratives of pious women here were featured through figural narratives of the ideal type polity (the *Umma*) based on the inspirational stories of the '*Salaf al Shalih*' generation.

³⁶ *Mahram* are persons which on is forbidden to marry or having a sexual relationship, for example, a person of the same sex (men to men, or women to women are 'mahram'), or a blood lineage relation, for instance, a father to his daughter, a mother to her son, a brother to a sister, an uncle to his niece, etc.

In its earlier publications, *Ummi* focused much more on the production of texts rather than visual images. Although there were visual materials included, they were very limited and did not depict women. The following analysis focuses on the textual production of *Ummi* that served to construct an early formation of the acquired new identity of the Tarbiyah community. The data which appears here are taken from textual analysis of *Ummi* from 1991-1995 and earlier editions in 1998 prior to the downfall of Suharto in May 1998. In particular, it also pinpoints *Ummi*'s early narratives on 'constructing Dakwah' as a medium of mobilizing Tarbiyah collective action, for example, by persuading its readers to join the paths of Dakwah. The narratives exemplified in this sub-chapter are frequently used by *Ummi* to justify the meaning of Dakwah for *Muslimah* (Muslim women) manifested in the ideal type of a loyal housewife.

3.2.1. Ummi and the Introduction to Marhalah Dakwah

Marhalah Dakwah: A Brief Illustration

Like the adherents of the Egyptian Ikwanul Muslimin (Muslim Brotherhood), the Tarbiyah adherents perceive Islam as a 'syumul religion' or a complete religion that regulates all aspects of life. In particular, Hasan Al Banna, the founding father of Ikhwanul Muslimin describes six priority duties to be achieved by the Ikhwanul Muslimin adherents: achieving self improvement (*islāh an-nafs*), founding an Islamic family (*islāh al-bait al Muslim*), improving society (*islāh al mujtama*), liberating the Muslim nations from non-Muslim colonial power (*tahrir al watan*), improving governance (*islāh al hukumah*), and returning the glory of Muslim rules at the international level, and eventually achieving the global *Umma*.³⁷ In order to meet all these duties, such knowledge should be taught through three strategic phases called the '*Marhalah Dakwah*' (the Dakwah Strategy).

The *Marhalah Dakwah* is the most essential knowledge for all the Tarbiyah members (*jama'ah*). To establish the '*Umma*' (the Islamic polity) as a pre-condition to achieve the Daulah Islamiyah, the Dakwah (proselytization of Islam) is managed through three basic strategies, namely: the introduction phase

³⁷ Rahmat, Imdadun. 2005. Op.cit.p.41.

(*marhalah ta'arif*), the development of cadres recruitment phase (*marhalah ta'win*), and the entire Dakwah implementation or political phase (*marhalah tanfidz*). The first *marhalah* is called '*Ta'arif*' or the introduction of being '*ka'afah*'. *Ta'arif* is an acknowledgement of the ideological values addressed to the individuals to accept Islam as '*ka'afah*', meaning a total submission to Islam. At this level, individuals are expected to behave accordingly to the *shari'a*. The second *marhalah* is called '*Ta'win*' or the establishment of a community. *Ta'win* is the establishment of a community based on the *Shari'a* principles. At this level, the *Jama'ah* (the community of a constituted Islamic society) determines social relationships and their proportion to all its members. Marriage arrangement is one basic part of the Dakwah Strategy, emphasizing arranged marriage among the *Jama'ah* members due to shared beliefs and moral values (*kufu*). Education addressed for familial relationship is also part of this strategy. In its simple form, *ta'win* is achieved through the establishment of a new family. The third *marhalah* is called '*Tanfidz*' or the involvement within a broader society both socially and politically. *Tanfidz* dictates the command for all *Jama'ah* members to struggle for the implementation of the *Daulah Islamiyah* (Islamic State) by constituting social organizations and or establishing political parties.³⁸

In the Suharto period, all of the religious lessons taken within the *halaqah* meetings of the *Tarbiyah* movement referred mostly to the guidance inspired by Hasan Al Banna. Another influential guide for the adherents of the *Tarbiyah* members in the Suharto period were also derived from Sayyid Qutb's thoughts, particularly from *Petunjuk Jalan* (1980), translated and published by DDII an Indonesian translation of *Ma'alim fi Al-Tariq*.³⁹ Unlike Al Banna, Qutb is considered more political in describing the Dakwah strategies by introducing three political concepts of *hakimiyah* (sovereignty), *manhaj* (methods), and *daulah Islamiyah* (Islamic state). For Qutb, God is the absolute sovereign. Thus, Islamic society should only and could only be ruled by God's rules that is the *Shari'a*.

³⁸ Muhalil, Syaik Jasim. 1997. *Ikwanul Muslimin: Deskripsi, Jawaban, Tuduhan dan Harapan* (transl. Hawari Aulia). Jakarta: Najah Press. pp.17-20.

³⁹ Translated in English as *Milestones* published in 1993 in Damascus by Dar al-Ilm Publisher.

Meanwhile, Dakwah methods should be based on the historical root of the Prophet Muhammad's experiences that according to Qutb constitute three periodical steps called the *Manhaj*. The first step of *Manhaj* is the establishment of the *Jama'ah* (Islamic community) by maintaining ideological coherence to the Qur'an and the Sunna.⁴⁰ The second step of *Manhaj* is the consolidation of the *Jama'ah*, especially when they have to separate their practices in life from the '*Jahiliyya*'. Within this step, a *Jama'ah* should make a boundary to identify their proponents and opponents (enemies). The third step of *Manhaj* is *Hijrah* (a migration of a journey) that means the integration of the whole *Jama'ah* by leaving the '*Jahiliyya* system' into a solid Umma. Within the framework of the *Manhaj*, Qutb also called Muslim to commit to *Jihad*⁴¹ especially in order to overthrow the *Jahiliyya*'s power. In specific, Qutb invoked Muslims to legitimize means of physical force in practicing *Jihad* – which is to some extent perceived as violent *Jihad*. All of those methods are the prerequisites for the establishment of a Daulah Islamiyah (an Islamic state).⁴² Sayyid Qutb's ideas especially those that justified violence in committing to *Jihad* were frequently represented in other radical magazines like *Sabilli*,⁴³ but was not often featured in *Ummi*, although to some extent *Ummi* also praised Sayyid Qutb as a sacred martyr in the contemporary Islamic world. In addition to disseminate Qutb's work, *Ummi* was very much in favor to his concept on *Jahiliyya* and an emphasis to conduct moral transformation in order to overrule the *Jahiliyya* system.

During the Suharto period, the translated volumes of the Ikhwani thought were very influential in developing the *Dakwah* methods of the Tarbiyah movement. Ali Said Damanik (2002) differentiates two important phases experienced within the Tarbiyah movement in the Suharto period, namely the phase of pre-purification and the phase of purification. In the pre-purification,

⁴⁰ Sunnah is Islamic norms based on the teachings and practices of Prophet Muhammad as well as the interpretations of the Qur'an.

⁴¹ *Jihad* (Arabic) literally means 'struggle' – The full phrase of Jihad is '*Jihad fi Sabilillah*' – which means "to struggle in Allah's way". There are multiple and various interpretations on Jihad which count non-violent and violent manifestations. However in common, many Muslims agree that Jihad is a spiritual struggle that is to struggle inside the self which means to conquer malicious intent.

⁴² Rachmat, Imdadun. 2005. Op.cit.pp.48-49.

⁴³ Rijal, Syamsul. 2005. Op.cit

there were no standard patterns of mentoring lectures. For that reason there were lots of references taken from the proliferation of translated volumes of radical Islamic thought, especially during the late 1970s until mid-1980s. During that period, there was no solid consolidation among Muslim student activists in defining their ideological orientation for forming particular religious groups. From the 1970s until the 1980s, the DDII (the Indonesian Board Council for Islamic Propagation) fed the Muslim student activists who consumed radical Islamic thought through publications. However, the *Dakwah* movement in Suharto period pioneered by the DDII since the 1980s was not a solid coherence movement and later resulted in at least three mainstreams of *Dakwah* movements: the Tarbiyah movement, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, and the *Salafiyya* *Dakwah* movement led by Muslim activists from the LPIA (Lembaga Pendidikan Indonesia Arab – the Institution for Indonesian-Arabic Education) that was financially supported by the Saudi government.⁴⁴

Imdadun Rahmat (2005) puts forward an argument that antagonism toward the *Dakwah* strategies among Muslim student activists from the 1980s also contributed to divisions in the *Dakwah* movement of the Suharto era. In the pre-purification period, the *Usrah* (the religious mentoring within a small group of discussion) was not organized with a particular curriculum or agenda. As I have previously mentioned, even book translations on Iranian revolution were discussed within *Usrah*.

After the involvement of the Indonesian *Dakwah* activists who graduated from the Middle East (especially from Egypt and Saudi Arabia who were the sympathizers of the Egyptian Ikhwanul Muslimin) into the Tarbiyah movement from the mid-1980s, the phase of purification began. The *usrah* in the Tarbiyah community was later called 'halaqah', a term for mentoring that is also frequently used by the Ikhwanul Muslimin in Egypt. Later, the term 'usrah' is commonly used by Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia and also by other Salafi *Dakwah* movements in Indonesia for their mentoring classes. From the purification era, the materials for Tarbiyah methods of mentoring (*halaqah*) particularly taken from the Ikhwani thought were more organized and compiled within two

⁴⁴ See: van Bruinessen (2002), Damanik (2002), Fealy and Bubalo (2005), Rahmat (2005).

important categories. These two compilations of the Tarbiyah materials are: 'pembentukan karakter-karakter pribadi Islam' (*takwin al syakhsiyah al islamiyah*) or the Islamic self characters building, and 'pembentukan karakter gerakan atau aktivis gerakan' (*takwin al syakhsiyah al harakiyah/al da'iyyah*) or the movement and activist characters building. Within the category of Islamic self character building, there are five basic materials provided for the muttarabi (pupils): the study of the meanings of syahada (Muslim declaration of belief in oneness of God and the acceptance of Muhammad as God messenger), the study of understanding God (*ma'rifatullah*), the study of understanding Rasul or God messenger (*ma'rifatul-rasul*), the study of understanding Islam (*ma'rifatul Islam*) and the study of understanding human beings or human behaviors (*ma'rifatul insan*). The materials in the category of the movement and activist character building consist of the understanding of normative truths, recognizing enemies of Islam, the mastery of the *fiqh Dakwah* (main rules for the implementation of Dakwah). Those materials are predominantly influenced by Ikhwani thought and are organized as basic references for the mentoring lectures of the Tarbiyah movement.⁴⁵

In the period of the purification phase within the Tarbiyah movement, the emergence of the Dakwah media in the Suharto period was very significant in disseminating the Tarbiyah materials of preaching. This includes two regular magazines established by the Tarbiyah activists in the Suharto period: Ummi that was started in 1989, and Sabili that was started in 1992. In the introduction chapter, I briefly mentioned Sabili as a more political journal of the Tarbiyah movement and this distinguished Sabili from Ummi. In short, *Sabili* represents more male views and to some extent is more provocative in disseminating the idea of political Islam than what is represented by Ummi. In the following paragraphs I explain in more detail how Ummi represented the *marhalah Dakwah* (the Dakwah Strategy) during the Suharto period that bound female adherents of the Tarbiyah movement.

⁴⁵ Damanik, Ali Said. 2002. *Fenomena Partai Keadilan: Transformasi 20 Tahun Gerakan Tarbiyah di Indonesia*. Bandung: Mizan. Pp.110-121.

Prior to 1998, *Ummi* (and also *Sabili*) actually acted as an illegal press because the magazine was published and distributed without obtaining legal permission from the authority of the Indonesian Ministry of Communication. A license for press publishing businesses is called SIUPP (Surat Ijin Usaha Penerbitan Press – License for Press and Publishing) and in the Suharto period it functioned as a means of government control over media content. After the fall of the Suharto government, *Ummi* gained its SIUPP on 25 September 1998, mainly because the Ministry of Communication under President BJ Habibie's administration made the requirements for obtaining SIUPP easier, more accessible and cheaper. For almost a decade, *Ummi* was an illegal community-based monthly journal that despite its illegal status was still accessible for the public, especially students at secular campuses.

Between 1989 and 1990 *Ummi* appeared as an irregular stencil off print and began to be regularly published as a female monthly journal in the magazine format after 1991. It was through *Ummi* that the *marhalah Dakwah* was introduced into the vocabulary of Indonesian Muslims, especially female *Tarbiyah* adherents. The introduction to *marhalah Dakwah* in *Ummi* during the Suharto period, although it was very much strong in deploying the *Ikhwani* ideology, unlike the *Ikhwani* translation books, it was creatively presented through diverse narratives. This implies that performing the *marhalah Dakwah* was not solely a form of obedience, but it was a necessity.

Framing Marhalah Dakwah in Earlier Ummi Publications

The most important messages brought by *Ummi* publications during the Suharto period were not only to disseminate a broader meaning of *Dakwah*, but also to introduce the path of *Dakwah* according to the *Ikhwani* ideology. The most basic figure was Hasan Al Banna whose *Dakwah* teachings were influential in developing the materials for organizing the *Tarbiyah* movement in its earlier period (especially in 1980-1990). There were also influences from other *Ikhwani* figures such as Sayyid Hawwa, Sayyid Qutb, and later Yusuf al Qadarawi whose ideas also shaped the *Tarbiyah* movement.

From my findings of framing and content analysis of the *Ummi* irregular publications between 1991-95, and its regular publications from 1998, I found that the emphasis on *marhalah Dakwah* was very obviously presented through diverse sub-themes. The framing analysis of *Ummi* prior to the Reform era can be shortly summarized in the table as follows:

**Table.5. Framing Analysis Summary of Ummi in the Suharto Period
(1991-1995, 1998) ⁴⁷**

Main Cover Caption	Frequently Appeared Themes (Headlines)	Visualization
<i>Al zaujah muthi'ah wal karimah – menjadi istri yang taat (being a loyal housewife)</i>	<p>Propagation of the marhalah Dakwah</p> <p>The call for 'Jihad'</p> <p>Anti Christianization</p> <p>Forms of political contention or attitudes against the government (Suharto) policies and or existing social norms. For example, refusal of the Family Planning Program, Persuasion for the practice of Polygamy, and arranged marriage</p>	<p>None of depictions are female</p> <p>Limited visualization of living creatures especially humans</p> <p>Males figures taken from the photos of Ikhwanul Muslim in movement in the Middle East, for example: Egypt, Palestine, Jordan, and Afghanistan (no pictures represented the Islamic movement in Indonesia, all pictures seem to be copied or reproduced from other magazines or publications-no copyrights mentioned)</p>

⁴⁷ Source: Data Framing Analysis of *Ummi* from irregular editions varied from 1991 – 1995, 1998. Between 1996-1997 *Ummi* also appeared irregularly due to financial problems (see: Appendix 1)

Ummi's main focus on '*Al zaujah muthi'ah wal karimah*' (or being a loyal housewife) during the Suharto period was aimed at employing the emphasis on the *ta'arif* (the first marhalah) and the *ta'win* (the second marhalah) strategies. The main discourse of 'a loyal housewife' implies an ideological baseline for the female Tarbiyah adherents for preparing their '*Hijrah*' (a new journey) into a *syumul* (complete) way of life and thus accepting and embracing being a loyal housewife as an inseparable part of performing their obedience to support the Dakwah movement. The slogan of being a loyal housewife appeared very often in every column of *Ummi* that sparked the narratives of the essential duties of a loyal housewife, exemplified by the stories of the wives of Prophet Muhammad and the *Salaf al Shalih* in relation to their ways in managing households and how they might have a greater impact to the society.

The core ideological base of the *ta'arif* or the first marhalah was presented through some steps of self-character building. For some Muslimahh (female Muslims) the initial self-character building began through renewing their faith in Islam by accepting God (Allah) as '*al -Rabb*' (the Creator) and as '*al-Illah*' (the Great Master or Law Giver). This implies that what has been ordained as God's rules should be taken into changes in personal behavior. According to *Ummi*, practicing *hijab* is the most visible form of performing an initial obedience toward the renewed faith in Islam and it bears consequences in the ways women should behave appropriately according to the sha'ria. *Ummi*'s second emphasis on the *ta'win* (the second marhalah) was intentionally framed within a major discourse on being a loyal housewife that brings ideas of a preparation to create an Islamic family and the ideas of ideal Islamic family which, to some extent, bears social consequences for women.

The orientation towards *marhalah Dakwah* (on *ta'arif* and *ta'win*) and how it is represented in *Ummi* through diverse narratives are examined through a content analysis of *Ummi*'s cover story or slots structure (the arrangement of the magazine's content). In brief, the structure of *Ummi*'s content during the Suharto period is described in Table 6:

Table.6. Ummi's Cover story in The Suharto Era
(Ummi's Content 1991 – 1995)

Genre	Rubrication(Column Titles)	Contents
Propagation of Dakwah	<i>Asiah</i> (the nurture)	Narratives of the best examples of the loyal and faithful housewives of the Prophet Muhammad and/or the wives of the <i>salah al saleh</i> (the first generation who accompanied the Prophet) and their contributions to Islam.
	<i>Waqi'i</i> (the reality)	Narratives of the real problems in managing households and how to avoid conflicts within a household according to <i>shari'a</i> (as a solution).
	<i>Liqo'</i> (the circle)	Materials for self character building (<i>takwin al syakhsyah al islamiyah</i>) – similar materials with that circulated within a 'real' halaqoh (mentoring classes).
	<i>Mizan</i> (the weigher)	Descriptions and interpretations of <i>shari'a</i> , especially in relation to marriage and household management.
	<i>I'laj</i> (to cure)	Descriptions for conducting worship according to <i>shari'a</i>
	<i>Mar'atush Shalihah</i> (faithful women)	Narratives of a beautiful image of a Muslim woman. Beauty is then defined not only an attractive physical appearance but also a faithful heart. This includes suggestions on how serving the husband (i.e., suggestions for

Genre	Rubrication(Column Titles)	Contents
		having appropriate sexual intercourse), how to cater the whole family, and how to maintain physical attractiveness to the husband.
	<i>Bi'ah</i> (environment)	Narratives of defining what could be identified as the 'jahiliyya' system – a system that does not acknowledge the existence of God's supervision and thus is unacceptable in the 'Islamic community'. To some extent this column functioned as a provocative propaganda for instance, in the way the 'Tarbiyah community' has refused to comply with the Government policy for family program and prohibits the use of contraception methods.
Religious Consultation and Counseling	<i>Surat Ananda</i> (Letters from my daughters)	Letters from <i>Ummi</i> subscribers mainly addressed questions on pertaining knowledge on <i>shari'a</i> in relation to women life (i.e., female duties in worship and the biological cycles that followed the consequences on performing religious duties like in praying, and/or fasting).
	<i>Ya Ummi</i> (Oh Mother)	A true story written by <i>Ummi</i> subscriber(s) describing their religious journey and how they

Genre	Rubrication(Column Titles)	Contents
		made decisions to hijrah (entering the Islamic life) – that at the end of the story commented on and summarized by <i>Ummi</i> editors.
Education, Information and Entertainment	<i>Kauniyah</i> (the inspiration)	A reportage or an inspirational story of Muslim women lives who consisted to stand firm in faith.
	<i>Qurrata’Ayun</i> (‘the attractive one’, but in Islamic context, the meaning is translated as ‘the faithful children’)	Information on healthy life and on how nurturing children (i.e., information on nutrition for bearing children). Supplement pages for children (i.e., a coloring sheet with floral forms, basic lessons in mathematics with pictures).
	<i>Baiti Jannati</i> (Heavenly House)	Information on home decoration and cooking recipes.
	<i>Cerpen</i> (short Stories) and <i>Cerbung</i> (serial Stories)	Fictional stories in short essay and fictional serial stories from some independent writers of the Tarbiyah community. This activity of invited writers for fictional stories later inspired the establishment of FLP (Forum Lingkar Pena or the Circle of Pens Forum) that distinguished their literature genre as Sastra Islami or ‘Islamic Literature’.

Since its early publications in earlier 1990s until the early time of Reform era, the publications of *Ummi* were very much compelling the Muslimah (female Muslims) to show their obedience towards their Imams (husbands). This includes suggestions to approve for their husbands to practice polygamy. The male-views on the early publications of *Ummi* (1991 – 1995) are subsequently derived from the editorial structures as well, as the whole membership of the editor staff at that time were men. In its early publications from 1991 until 1995, the content of the journals seemed to be more dogmatic as the column allocation for propagating the *marhalah Dakwah* was more dominant rather than representing issues raised by the readership or Muslim women of the Tarbiyah community.

There were two slots where responses from readers could be found, first in the religious consultation column *Surat Ananda* (Letters from My Daughter) and in a counseling column *Ya Ummi* (Oh Mother). *Ummi* for instance put a title *Surat Ananda* (letters from my daughter) in its religious consultation column which included responses to questions around performing appropriate religious practices according to *shari'a*. The title *Surat Annada* implied that *Ummi* perceived itself as if as it was the 'mother' and thus the female Muslims readers were perceived as her 'daughter'. Meanwhile the column *Ya Ummi* represented inspirational stories of some women who embraced the path of Dakwah by telling the readers their *hijrah* (a new journey) experiences. For instance, when they put on hijab, or when they had to marry the men they never met before (arranged marriage), and thus such experiences resulted in unexpected or unwelcomed attitudes from their families and friends. The anonymous editor responding to the column *Ya Ummi* summed up the story by asserting prophetic quotations from the Qur'an or Hadith in order to ensure the readers that following the path of Dakwah would of course bear some social consequences. They (the readers presumed to be female tarbiyah members) should remain strong because such a strong quality was an attempt to answer the sacred call.

With regard to the theme of *Jihad*, it is also very obvious that early publications of *Ummi* began to introduce the issues of global injustices faced by the Muslim society for instance by showing the conflict in the Middle East and thus promoting a call for *jihad*. This was also exemplified by inserting horrible

pictures, such as a photo of Muslim children becoming orphans and being physically injured in conflict. Although the theme of *jihad* appeared in *Ummi* earliest publications, it was unclear what particular duties were ordered as *jihad*, except to bear the consequences as the wives of the *Mujjahid* (see Figure.1).⁴⁸

In other words, there were no topics in the texts about what kind of expectations *Ummi* had of its readers, except to gain sympathy. It could be seen as a way of creating an emotional bond with other Muslims so that the readers. Narratives of *jihad* as an inspirational motivation and its significance to female Muslims was exemplified for instance through an open letter written by Aminah Qutb whose husband Sayyid Qutb was executed by the Egyptian Government in 1966. This letter was specifically addressed to Ummi Muhammad who lost her husband, Abdullah Azzam⁴⁹ who was assassinated in a car bomb in Peshawar in 1989. In this letter, Amanah Qutb shared her deep emotions and her grievances with Ummi Muhammad and thus she (Ummi Muhammad) was also praised because of her patience and sincerity. This letter was a translation from Arabic into Indonesian, something that confirmed a trend of the Tarbiyah movement during that period (Suharto era) of translating massive books and manuscripts from the Ikhwanul Muslimin.

⁴⁸ The term *Mujjahid* refers to a Muslim who are committed to *Jihad*

⁴⁹ Abdullah Azzam was also a member of the Egyptian ikhwanul Muslimin and was famous because of his involvement in the jihadist movement in Afghanistan against the Soviet Union. He was also a mentor for Osama bin Laden who first encouraged bin Laden to come to Afghanistan (See: Kepel, Gilles.2002. *Jihad*. Harvard: Harvard University Press)

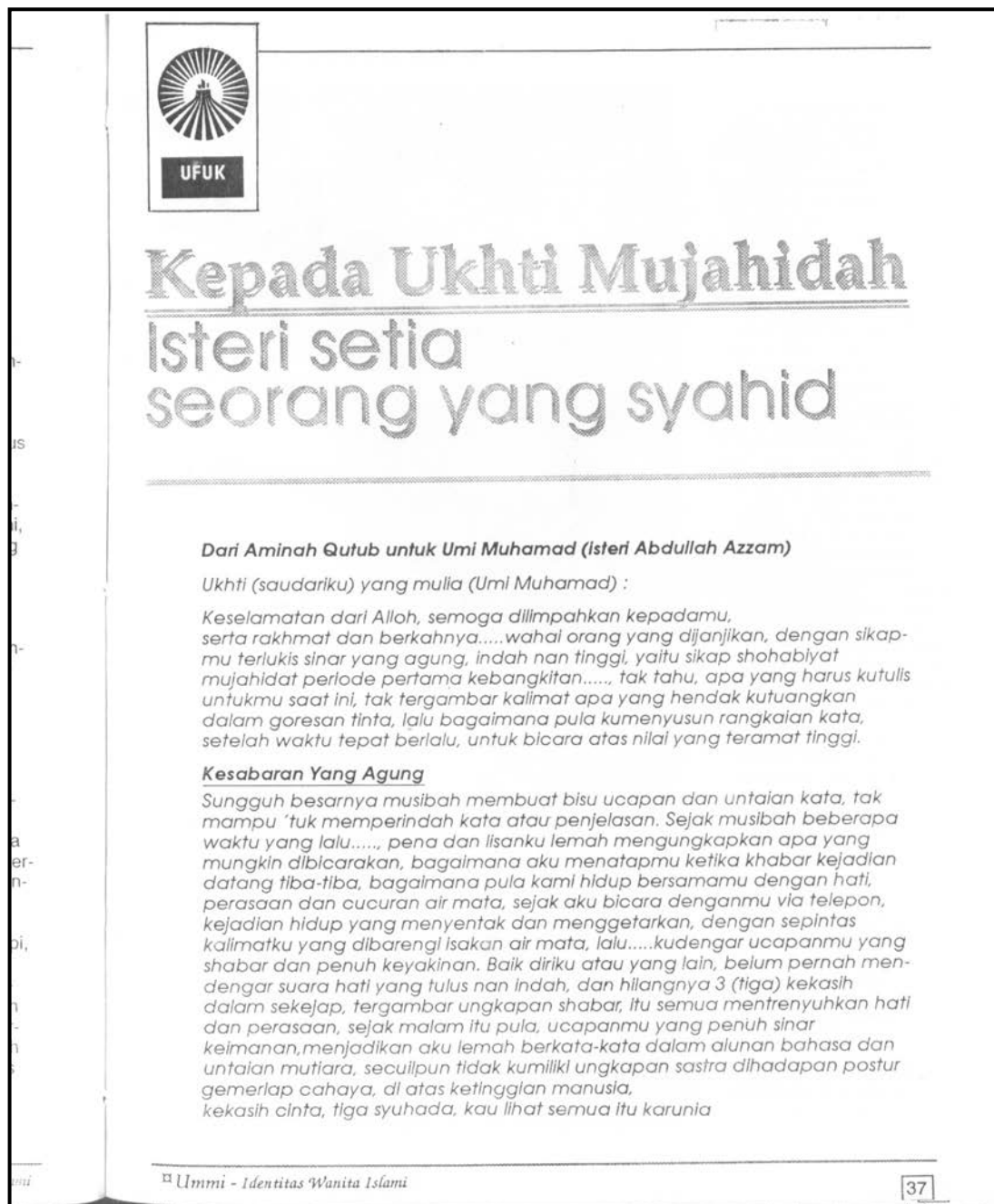


Figure 1. A Letter from Amina Qutb (Sayyid Qutb's wife) to Ummi Muhammad (Abdullah Azzam's wife) entitled: *Kepada Ukhti Mujahidah, Istri Setia Seorang Syahid* or "To My Mujahidah Sister, A Loyal Housewife of a Martyr". Source: *Ummi* No.2/1991.

During its earlier period, *Ummi* seemed to be a façade female magazine, far from public attention and only known to members of the Tarbiyah movement. The topics on female-concern issues became more apparent since some female Dakwah activists joined the editorial structure especially from

1998. This was a sign when *Ummi* began its transformation to adapt to female or women magazine culture. In modern life, women's popular magazines have been corresponded with female culture, a culture that claims to celebrate femininity. In the case of *Ummi*, celebrating femininity has always been associated with the orientation of implementing *marhalah Dakwah*. This could also mean that the female world that signifies femininity (such as fashion, household work, and relationships) are important clues to persuade more and more female Muslims to be more comfortable in accepting Islamic moral values in line with the command of *marhalah Dakwah*.

3.2.2. Ummi's role as the Murrabi on Constructing 'Dakwah': Ummi Narratives in the Suharto's Period

In general, *Dakwah* is perceived as preaching. *Dakwah* for most Indonesians is perceived as Islamic practice that take place in religious sermons. For *Ummi*, *Dakwah* is more than just delivering Islamic sermons. The word 'Dakwah' is literary taken from three basic Arabic words; *da'a* means an appeal, *yad'u* means an invitation, and *da'watan* means to call. So 'Dakwah', according to *Ummi*, is an invitation for everyone (especially Muslims) to embrace Islam as her or his way of life and thus to make it an appealing call to others. *Ummi* also constructs 'Dakwah' as an internalized process of the self in servitude to Allah manifested in actual practices, and then transforming the values into practices to be spread out to others.⁵⁰ Therefore, *Dakwah* employs two main objectives: delivering the message of truth (*bi ahsan al qawl*) and implementing values of truth (*bi ahsan al amal*). On delivering the message of truth, *Dakwah* aims at changing individual and collective (group) behavior to have a more pious Islamic personality. This also means an internalization of Islamic values addressed for specific (targeted) subjects and for the public. On implementing the value of

⁵⁰ *Ummi* summarizes this notion of 'Dakwah' by referring to particular verses mentioned in the Qur'an, especially from the Sura Ali Imran (3):104, and Sura Ali Imran (3):110.

truth, *Dakwah* aspires to a manifestation of Islamic values into daily practices. To achieve the goals of *Dakwah*, Ummi emulates Hasan al Banna's concept of the three basic roles for 'Mar'ah Muslimahh' (Muslim women) as follows:

1. Women as '*maratus' shalihah*' (pious women)
2. Women as '*ummu madrasah*' (mother of education)
3. Women as '*al zaujah muthi'ah*' (loyal housewife)

Ummi identifies itself as the 'Mother for Indonesian Muslimah' (Muslim women), and its publications are intended to disseminate ideas such as these three qualities. Such qualities, according to Ummi, should be understood as primary objectives of every woman, especially in order to harmonize the relationship between men and women by practising righteousness.

According to Hasan al Banna, as described in his short essay of 'Mar'ah Muslimah',⁵¹ in order to harmonize relationships between men and women, Islam regulates the division of duties and rights between men and women based on three values constituted within *shari'a*. First, Islam raises the dignity of women and makes them partners to men in terms of sharing obligations and rights. Second, Islam recognizes the distinction of rights and obligations applied to men and women based on their given (sex-gender) traits.⁵² Third, Islam recognizes a '*fitrah*' (a natural attraction) between the opposite sexes. Based on these three values, Al Banna argues that Islam dictates two basic doctrines on women; first is the obligation of men to educate women, and second is the separation of men and women in public life.

To formulate two doctrines taught by Hasan al Banna, *Ummi* prescribed to a strict *hijab* regulation that specifically prohibits the practice of '*ikhtilat*' or free mixing between genders especially in public life. Consequently, the meeting

⁵¹ Al Banna, Hasan. 2011. *Majmu'ah Rasail Al Iman As Syahid (Risalah Pergerakan Ikhwanul Muslimin)*, trans.Wahid Ahmadi et.al). Solo: Era Intermedia.

⁵² In Islamic feminist's view, patriarchal Islamic doctrine that confound (blend in a confusing way) sex as nature given and gender as social construct resulting from a misogynist interpretation of the Qur'anic verses and this misogynist interpretation is re-justified through the interpretation of Hadith and thus becomes the source for particular Islamic doctrines. (Abdul Ghafur, Wahyono.2002."Wanita Sebagai Penggoda: Studi Kritik Hadis: Sanad dan Matan", in Ghafur and Isnanto (eds), *Gender dan Islam: Teks dan Konteks*. Yogyakarta: PSW-IAIN Sunan Kalijaga. pp.85-90).

together, mixing and intermingling of men and women, the crowding of women and men in one place, as well as the exposure and the revealing of women to men are strictly prohibited. More specifically, with regard to the hijab rules, *Ummi* often quoted three basic obligations for women in its media content:

1. an obligation of women to lower her gaze because women have sexual potential to attract and to flirt with the opposite sex (men);
2. an obligation of women to stay and remain at home;
3. an obligation of women to stay away from anything that causes 'fitnah' – or a temptation which implies sinful consequences (e.g. the arousing desires, committing indecency and wrongdoings).

All of those above obligations of women in Islam were explicitly exposed in *Ummi* publications during the Suharto period (1991-1995). This also explains why in the Suharto period, particularly until 1998, there were no female depictions in *Ummi* publications.

The obligation of women to stay and remain at home was actually not a popular idea given the fact that most *Ummi* readers at that time were female Tarbiyah members who studied at some leading secular state campuses. Various responses arose from readers regarding this prescribed obligation, mainly because they had to negotiate some complexities, for instance attending (secular) public school or classes. Therefore, in order to contextualize this idea, *Ummi* referred to particular social contexts where women could negotiate whether they might be able to go in public, especially for pursuing education. *Ummi* also contextualized the idea that women should remain at home by encouraging women (especially those who were already married) to spend their times mostly 'at home' for gaining knowledge (especially pertaining to Islam) rather than going out gossiping or shopping with their peers. Being 'at home' also contextualized by *Ummi* by attending to the mentoring classes or *halaqah* sessions (see: Figure 2).

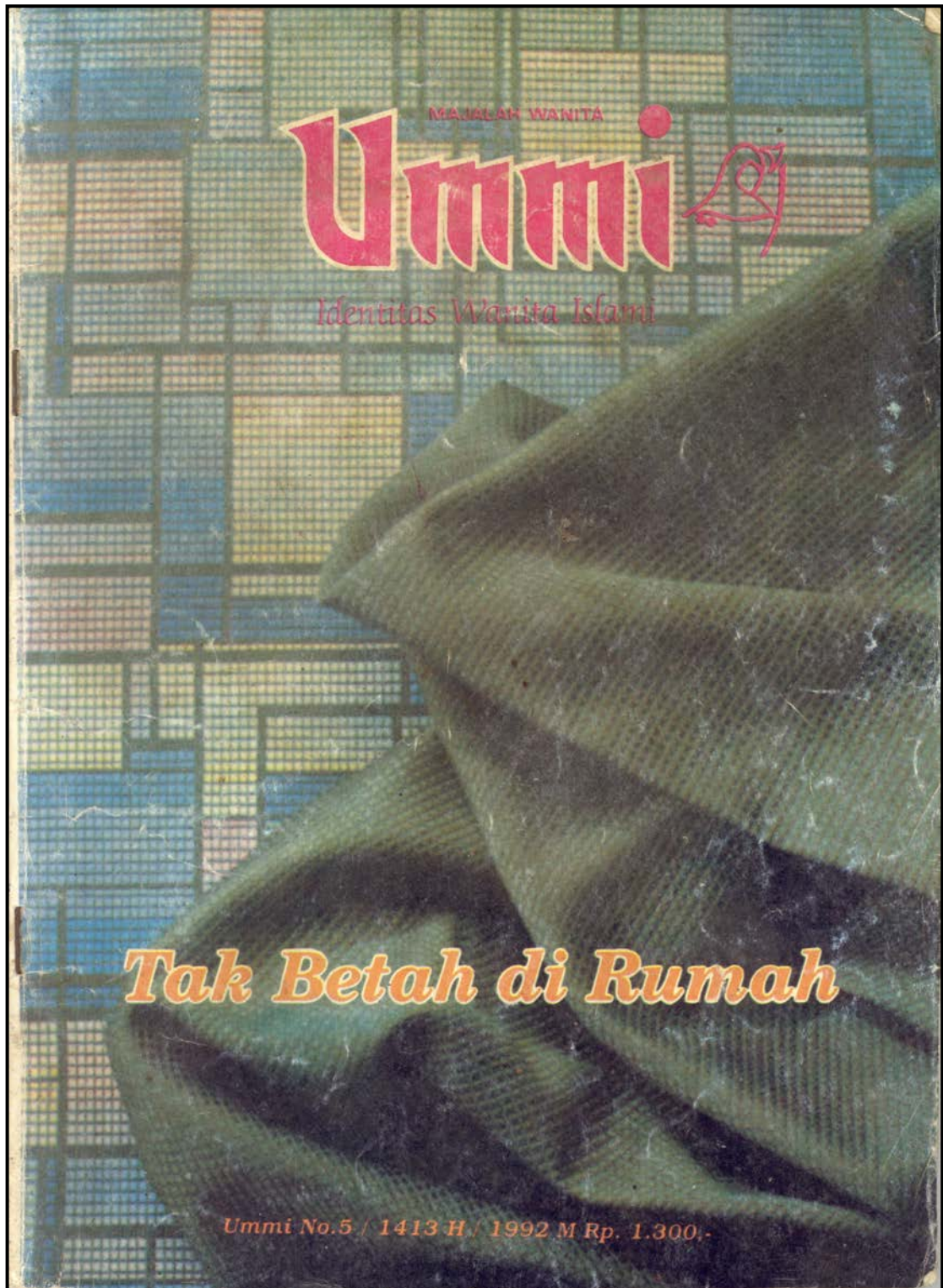


Figure 2. Example of *Ummi*'s cover in the Suharto period. Source: *Ummi* No.5 /1413.H – 1992: “Tak Betah di Rumah” (Not Comfortable Staying at Home).

Although *Ummi* was (and still is) a women's magazine and despite the fact that in the Suharto period it was circulated only among the Tarbiyah activists, it still

addressed women as its readers. Unlike other women's magazines during the Suharto period that celebrated femininity even in the domestic realms, *Ummi* seemed to be a 'boring' magazine providing very little space for fantasy that aroused feminine emotions. Janice Winship (1987) argues that inside women's magazine is a world of personal life emotions and relationships, therefore a women's magazine is women's territory yet still clearly involving men.⁵³ Magazines are an expression of 'women's territory' filled with the language of emotions was something that was lacking in *Ummi*'s representation in the Suharto's period. Therefore celebrating femininity was not a major appeal of *Ummi*, since the magazine appeared to promote an ideological baseline that prohibits any exposure of women because women have their potential to seduce men and it is viewed as a despicable crime in the eyes of God.⁵⁴ However, it did not mean there was no 'fantasy' provided in the *Ummi* narratives.

By exemplifying the roles of the *Ummu' Shalihah* – all of those pious women of the *Salaf al Shalih* generation who also accompanied the Prophet Muhammad - in various ways of narrating, for example, *Ummi* proposed another alternative fantasy for a more dignified meaning in life that is to live a life as a 'maratus' shalihah' (pious women). To do this, *Ummi* sometimes juxtaposed the significance of the *maratus' shalihah* narratives with the facts that narrated a seduction of material life found in everyday reality. For example, a story of Aisha bint Abi Bakr, a wife of prophet Muhammad who was jealous of another of the prophet's wives, Shafiyya bint Huyayy because of her beauty. One day when the

⁵³ Winship, Janice. 1987. *Inside Women's Magazines*. London: Pandora Press.p.12.

⁵⁴ The idea of women as a seduction to men is actually rooted in Judeo-Christianity. Islam to some extent shared this belief particularly in the conception of the first human creation (the creation of Adam and Eve) mentioned for instance in the Qur'an Sura Al A'raf (7): 19-23. Most Muslim scholars have agreed that the difference between Islamic interpretation and Judeo-Christianity perspective on human creation lies on the Islamic belief that humanity was not borne of Adam's rib. However, debates among Muslim scholars on the interpretation of the first human creation are diverse, especially that connotes 'women position in Islam' as deficient to men. An Islamic feminist approach for instance, criticizes the logic to put women as the 'blame' for original human sin, especially those using the qur'anic interpretations. To some Muslim scholars, the interpretation of women's position in Islam obviously refers to the Qur'an Sura An Nisa (4):34 which particularly describes 'men' as a 'leader' or a 'protector' of women. The interpretation of this qur'anic verse (An Nisa:34), however, is somewhat also problematic because it also becomes a major reason for discriminating women, especially around concerns with violent abuse against women justified by men to 'educate' their wives.

See: Hasyim, Syafiq. 2006. *Understanding Women in Islam: An Indonesian Perspective*. Jakarta: ICIP (International Centre for Islam and Pluralism). pp.3-29.

prophet was away from home, Aisha threw away the food for the prophet prepared by Shafiyya. When the prophet noticed this, he was not angry, instead he asked Aisha to substitute the food and brought it back to Shafiyya, so they met, knew each other and learnt how to do a good deed to please Allah not to favor their husband (the prophet himself). Ummi presented this prophetic narrative by combining with other narratives of the seduction of material life in which women found their lives in competition with other women.

For Ummi's readers who came from middle class background – the Tarbiyah activists in some leading campuses – all of these inspiring stories fit to find its confirmation in everyday life, especially during that period of burgeoning consumer culture in the Suharto era. This is obviously found in the column of 'Surat Ananda' where readers sought to find counsel with Ummi and told their problems that arose from the contradiction they found in their relationship with their family, relatives, and friends since they followed the path of Dakwah. At this point, Ummi provided an answer as a package applied to every Muslimah, by stressing the importance of *Mar'ah Muslimahh* obligations and their rewards in the eyes of God.⁵⁵ All of these narratives were manufactured with promises in order to provide women with virtuous comfort of the doctrines they followed.

Attempting to provide its readers with virtuous comfort, Ummi represented its role as the '*Murrabi*' – a religious mentor of the Tarbiyah movement. A representation as a Murrabi implies a fatherly character rather than a motherly character whereas the Ikhwani doctrines presuppose men's duty to educate women, and women's duty to educate their children. This symbolic character of being a Murrabi for Ummi means to supply its readers with knowledge as well as imagination and to formulate the combination of the two in forming narratives. Frequent uses of 'Arabic' terms symbolically represent a quality of a Murrabi, and in this sense Ummi tried to acknowledge particular terms (that also were used in the formal Tarbiyah mentoring sessions) derived from the Ikhwani vocabulary in order to assert a 'new identity'.

⁵⁵ A citation based on the Quranic verse that frequently appeared in *Ummi* with regard to the reward of being pious refers to Q.S. Ali Imran (3): 76, that says, "*Nay, those who keep their promise and practice righteousness verily God loves those who are pious*".

Another fatherly character in Ummi publications during the Suharto period found its political position in contention with the rulers. A rebellious idea for instance was suggesting that women not support the government family planning program. The underlying argument of such persuasion was that the *Jama'ah* (the Tarbiyah society) needs more Ikhwani cadres who are born to loyal and pious wives. These are to be named as the production of the *Mujjahid* generation – a generation who are willing to glorify Islam by being committed to the call of *Jihad*. Although Ummi did not persuade women in particular ways of practicing jihad by violent means, it informed readers with some inspirational stories of the widows of the Mujahid whose husbands died as martyrs for jihad. By making significant other Muslim worlds occupied by corrupt regimes, or where Muslims suppressed by hegemonic power, Ummi introduced its readers with a sense of Islamic solidarity and suggested they identify themselves first as being a Muslim. Another feature that was also illustrated with a degree of contention in *Ummi* during the Suharto era appeared in its frequent headlines on the danger of pluralism. This is exemplified by the discourse on 'Anti-Christianisation' that suggested all Muslimah not only prevent themselves being targeted for mixed-marriage, but also on their preferences for schooling.

Ummi narratives in the Suharto period in general are actually a bare adaptation version of Hasan al Banna's teachings. The narrative production is located in three focal ideological baselines: men as the protector of women; men and women are proportioned to distinctive rights and obligations; and women as the moral gatekeepers. A frequently metaphor used by Ummi for emphasizing those ideological baselines is by saying; "*sebaik-baiknya perhiasan dunia adalah Isteri yang shalihah*"⁵⁶ or the 'most valuable treasure is having a pious wife'. A pious wife is thus described as a woman who can protect the dignity of her husband by protecting herself from wrongdoings obliged by the doctrines.

⁵⁶ This metaphor is actually not derived from the interpretation of the Qur'an, It refers to a Hadith (a saying of the Prophet) based on *Sahih Muslim*, 1467.

3.3. Framing Pious Identity in Islamic Women's Magazines During the Suharto Era: A Brief Comparative Study of Amanah and Ummi ⁵⁷

Although in earlier period of independent Indonesia, Islamic press that cover the issues of women and Islam are diverse, they are only in 'mainstream' Muslim publications that are not particularly addressed women as its main readership. *Swara Muhammadiyah* for instance is a monthly journal owned by Muhammadiyah the second largest Muslim organization in Indonesia. Muhammadiyah has survived various political changes since the birth of the Republic of Indonesia until now.⁵⁸ *Swara Muhammadiyah* has been for so long submitted some issues relating with women and Islam, but its publications only circulated within the members of Muhammadiyah. Therefore, *Swara Muhammadiyah* cannot be categorized as a popular magazine, indeed it is a community-based magazine. When *Amanah* began to attract public attention for the first time in the early 1980s, it was considered the first Muslim women's popular magazine that distinguished itself from other 'secular' women's popular magazines.

Suzanne Brenner (1999), in her study of the image of women in the popular print-media in Indonesia during the Suharto regime, argues that the development of popular magazines especially those that targeted women were characterized by a major concern with how 'the intimate sphere of the family came to replace an active politics of the public sphere.'⁵⁹ Such quality of female representation in popular magazines in the Suharto era was very much in contrast with the preceding era of Sukarno when there were only few popular magazines. In the Sukarno era there was one leading women magazine called

⁵⁷ A comparative study between Ummi and Amanah in this sub chapter has been partially published as a short article (in German) in *SUARA* magazine (2012). It reveals especially the disobedience showed by Ummi against the Family Planning Program under Suharto Era, by contrast Amanah reaffirmed the government program. However, the publication did not elaborate further discussion on Islamic female identity as analyzed in this sub chapter. See: Pamungkas, Arie. 2012. 'Indonesische Frauenmagazine und die Dakwah Bewegung nach Suharto.'*SUARA*.3/12.

Available online at: http://www.watchindonesia.org/II_3_12/SUARA_2013_3_komplett.pdf

⁵⁸ Budi Irawanto, 2011. op.cit

⁵⁹ Suzanne Brennen, 1999. "On the public Intimacy of the New Order: Images of Women in the popular Indonesian print-media". *Indonesia*, 67, p. 16.

Majalah Trisula: Majalah Untuk Wanita Berjuang (Trisula Magazine: the Magazine for Struggling Women) which was first published in 1959 and was strongly in favor of political activism. This magazine was very much active in campaigning for women's struggles for equal opportunity, especially in relation to political participation. What was represented by *Madjalah Trisula* was almost completely absent in the popular magazines during the Suharto era. Women were normally portrayed as apolitical subjects experiencing the new transformation to middle class status and pursuing modern lifestyles. Thus, Brenner further argues that the representation of the stable, harmonious, apolitical society of an urban middle class family found in the popular magazines in the Suharto era appropriated the political agenda of the regime by which women were positioned merely to pursue 'modernity' and thus become an integral part of a developing consumer society.

Amidst other popular magazines in the 1980s, there was *Amanah* which distinguished its representation from other famous secular female magazines like *Femina*. While *Femina* focused on the indulgence of modern Indonesian women who pursued personal careers and modern lifestyles that openly displayed sexuality and aggressiveness, *Amanah* was the first Muslim women's magazine that quietly exhibited Islamic piety and education, advocated nurturing and motherly qualities. Brenner also finds that *Amanah* presented an image of a modern society built on Islamic values where families come first and women should be fulfilled in the sense of motherhood and Islamic piety, not in the search for satisfaction of personal desires.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, *Amanah* also shared something in common with other secular women's popular magazines, as Brenner argued:

"Each stands as a marked departure from more conventional images of Indonesian women, suggesting itself of being modern."

(Suzanne Brenner, 1997. p.20)

With regard to the interest of the Suharto regime in promoting the image of a harmonious family as argued by Suzanne Brenner, *Amanah* also expressed its

⁶⁰ Ibid, p.20

support for government policy especially the Family Planning Program. It can be traced to Amanah's routine consultation column for 'using appropriate contraceptive methods'. Amanah's special column on 'Family Planning Consultation' supervised by Dr. Kartono Muhammad, a former head of IDI (Ikatan Dokter Indonesia, or the Indonesian Medical Association) was also upheld by the top Muslim clerical body called MUI (Majelis Ulama Indonesia) or the Indonesian Ulema Council.



Figure 3. The front cover of *Amanah* (Headline: 'Menerbitkan Wanita Ulama' – Bring Out Women to be the 'Ulema') / Source: *Amanah*: No. 173/1993:

DIISI OLEH: Dr. KARTONO MOHAMMAD DIASUH OLEH PENGURUS BESAR IDI
KOLOM LINGKARAN BIRU

**EFEK SAMPINGAN DEPO
 PROVERA LIBI**

Selama ber-KB, saya selalu memakai suntikan Depo Provera, sebab tidak ada keluhan apa-apa. Tapi belakangan ini saya ingin ganti Depo Provera LIBI sebab harganya lebih murah. Apakah pabrik pembuatnya sama? Adakah efek sampingnya?

Ny. Munawar Surip
 Jl. A. Yani Utara
 Pemalang, Jawa Tengah



Jawab:

Depo Provera yang sudah biasa Ibu gunakan dan Depo Provera LIBI yang Ibu inginkan diproduksi oleh pabrik yang sama. Bedanya hanya pada label di botol, yang untuk Depo Provera LIBI diberi lingkaran biru, tanda yang telah dikenal luas itu. Pembuatnya dilakukan sekaligus, sebab kalau terpisah, di samping tidak efisien juga harga jualnya akan menjadi mahal. Hanya pemasangan labelnya memang dikerjakan secara terpisah. Jadi kalau Depo Provera LIBI dan kontrasepsi LIBI lainnya dijual dengan harga lebih murah, semata-mata karena 'disubsidi' BKKBN dalam pemasarannya.

Sol efek sampingan, jika Ibu tidak ada keluhan apa-apa selama memakai Depo Provera, maka dengan berpindah ke Depo Provera LIBI, Ibu akan sama amannya sebab obatnya memang tidak berbeda. Untuk itu kami ucapkan Selamat Datang ke dalam Lingkaran Biru.

CUKUPKAH DENGAN BIDAN

Saya seorang Ibu berumur 25 tahun dengan berat badan 25 Kg. Anak saya baru seorang dan kini berusia 3 tahun. Saya belum ingin hamil lagi agar bisa membesarkan si kecil lebih dahulu. Pak Dokter, cara KB mana yang baik buat saya, dan kepada siapa saya harus pergi? Maksud saya, apakah bidan berwenang memberikan pil LIBI atau suntikan LIBI?

Ny. Kurniasih AR
 Kayumanis Barat
 Jakarta Timur

Jawab:

Karena Ibu masih muda dan baru beranak satu, kontrasepsi apa saja boleh dipakai. Misalnya cukup dengan suami Ibu memakai kondom. Resiko kehamilan memang lebih tinggi karena angka kegagalan kontrasepsi kondom relatif agak besar. Tetapi meski demikian saya rasa tidak menjadi masalah. Sebab anak baru seorang dan sudah berumur 3 tahun. Andaikata Ibu hamil lagi memang sudah cukup waktu. Kecuali jika Ibu hanya ingin mempunyai satu anak.

Kalau dirasa kurang nyaman dengan kondom, boleh juga memilih pil atau suntikan. Syaratnya harus melalui pemeriksaan dokter dahulu. Bila dokter berpendapat oke dan tidak apa-apa, Ibu bisa langsung ke bidan. Bahkan untuk penggunaan pil, dengan menunjukkan Kartu Lingkaran Biru, pil berikutnya bisa dibeli di apotik tanpa resep dokter lagi.

**DENGAN KB MANDIRI
 DARAH HAID SAYA MA-
 KIN BANYAK**

Umur saya 28 tahun dan suami sudah 32 tahun. Sebagai karyawan sebuah perusahaan negara, saya tidak ingin melahirkan lagi. Sebab kami telah dikaruniai Tuhan dua anak, laki-laki dan perempuan. Tapi suami tidak suka memakai kondom. Karena itu dua tahun terakhir ini saya

melaksanakan KB mandiri dengan spiral.

Masalah saya, darah menstruasi saya jauh lebih banyak keluar dibanding ketika tidak memakai spiral. Jenis anrisepic mana sebaiknya saya pilih agar tidak mengurangi kebahagiaan kami?

Ny. Munawaroh Mashudi
 Jl. Masjid No.17
 Srengseng Sawah - Jakarta Selatan

Jawab:

Pilihan Ibu menggunakan spiral sudah cukup bijaksana demi memelihara kebahagiaan rumah tangga. Itu merupakan salah satu usaha untuk mencegah kehamilan, mengingat motivasi Ibu yang begitu tinggi untuk tidak mempunyai anak lagi. Jika setelah pemasangan spiral di rahim Ibu, darah haid jauh lebih banyak keluar daripada sebelumnya, sebaiknya Ibu kembali kepada dokter yang memasangnya dua tahun lalu itu. Ceritakan semua keluhan Ibu, mungkin perlu dicarikan spiral lain yang lebih cocok dengan kondisi Ibu, misalnya pada ukuran besar kecilnya, atau kadar tembaga yang melapiskannya. Karena meskipun spiral lama sudah berhasil mencegah kehamilan, ternyata menimbulkan masalah yang membuat Ibu tidak nyaman.

Anjuran saya, kalau memang Ibu sudah bertekad kuat tidak mau melahirkan anak lagi, pilihan yang paling efektif dan relatif lebih aman adalah kontrasepsi mantap yang hanya dilakukan sekali untuk seumur hidup.

KOK, PAKAI SPIRAL BISA GAGAL?

Saya sedang bingung Dok! Bulan lalu saya terlambat haid dua minggu. Lalu saya periksa ke dokter hasilnya negatif. Tapi, saya kurang puas lalu saya periksa lagi ke dokter lain, ternyata hasilnya positif. Padahal sejak tiga tahun silam saya sudah ikut KB dengan spiral. Umur saya sekarang genap 30 tahun dan telah mempunyai dua anak, yang kecil berumur 4 tahun.

Apakah dengan pemasangan spiral masih ada kemungkinan terjadi kegagalan?

Ny. Ambarwati
 Jakarta Pusat

Jawab:

Bagaimanapun konon namanya kontrasepsi, kemungkinan gagal selalu ada. Karena faktor tubuh pemakai kontrasepsi ikut berperan di dalamnya. Yang paling rentan terhadap kegagalan tentu saja sistem kalender atau pantangan berkala, disusul kondom, suntikan, pil, kemudian spiral. Di antara semua itu yang paling kecil kemungkinannya adalah kontrasepsi mantap.

Meski begitu, spiral tetap merupakan kontrasepsi yang lebih kecil kemungkinan gagalnya dibanding pil atau suntikan. Secara pokok rata-rata, umumnya kegagalan kontrasepsi IUD tidak mencapai 10 persen. Dan semua jenis IUD mempunyai angka yang seimbang. Misalnya IUD LIPi (copper-T-380-AO) memiliki kemungkinan kegagalan jauh lebih kecil daripada copper-T-200, yaitu 0,8 persen untuk IUD LIBI dibanding 5,4 persen untuk copper-T-200.

Namun agar angka kegagalan itu makin kecil, pada minggu-minggu pertama setelah IUD terpasang, dianjurkan agar suami istri bersangkutan juga memakai kontrasepsi lain, umpamanya kondom. Baru sesudah IUD cukup mapan dan diterima baik oleh rahim, perlindungan tambahan itu tidak diperlukan lagi.



Alat KB Lingkaran Biru terpercaya dan cocok bagi anda

Figure 4. The Consultation on Family Planning Program in *Amanah*. Source: *Amanah*: No. 173/1993.

In its way of shaping the image of pious women, *Amanah* stood out for the diversity of Muslim cultural practices throughout Indonesia. As can be seen from Figure.3, the cover of *Amanah* in 1993 represented a woman wearing a loose-

scarf (in Indonesian it is known as a *selendang* or *tudung*) where the neck and the upper hair are still visible. When the debate of practicing the 'hijab' (veiling) became a public controversy for the first time in early 1990s on the national scale, Amanah also reported the case as its major highlight. The polemic of hijab in early 1990 emerged from the case of some female students who were expelled from their high schools because they insisted to wear hijab when attending the classes. Wearing hijab while attending state school at that time was perceived as promoting particular ideology or pushing religious symbols and it was assumed to be violating the rules of the state school that supposedly remained 'secular'. Despite the hijab controversy Amanah also gave the light as public concern, it did not seem to affect the visualization of the magazine. The images of Muslim women depicted by Amanah were not only limited to those wearing hijab as we see today in Indonesian Islamic popular magazines.

In stark contrast to Amanah, Ummi during the Suharto era remained outside public attention. Unlike Amanah, published in the format as a glossy monthly magazine, Ummi was only an irregular series of stenciled off-prints. In its early incarnation from 1989 to 1990 it contained only 36 pages and had limited distribution to the members of the Tarbiyah movement in three major urban cities in Java: Jakarta, Bandung, and Yogyakarta. Ummi began to appear regularly as a community magazine for the Tarbiyah movement members from 1991. As previously described, for almost a decade in its early version, there were no depictions of women in Ummi. During that period, Ummi was very much determined to propagate the idea of 'hijab' as a moral duty for women in order to support men for lowering their gaze or avoiding sexual intentions. The narratives acknowledged by Ummi at that time exemplified a radical ideological baseline that women should carry out their duties of being loyal housewives. Female depictions in Ummi began shortly after some women Dakwah activists began to be involved in the editorial board.

In contrast to the narratives showed by *Amanah*, *Ummi* also demonstrated dogmatic narratives. Such disobedience was shown in persistent narratives suggesting women allow their husbands to practice polygamy and also refuse any means to prevent the possibility of pregnancy (including medical contraceptive methods). In its narratives for allowing husbands to practice

polygamy, Umami argued that the highest degree in God's hand is reaching '*Ma'rifah*' – closeness to God. It can only be achieved through their obedience to their husbands as the imam (the head) of the family and one of its forms is by allowing the husbands to practice polygamy. In particular, Umami also suggested its readers have more children while at the same time the government advocated the family planning program of having only two children in every Indonesian family (see the comparison in figure 4 and figure 5).

LEPAS

YUK... POLIGAMI!

*".... Maka kawinilah wanita-wanita yang kamu senangi, dua, tiga, empat. Kemudian jika kamu takut tidak akan berbuat adil, maka kawinilah seorang saja, atau budak-budak yang kamu miliki. Yang demikian itu lebih dekat kepada tidak berbuat aniaya".
(QS An-Nisa :3)*

Langsung saja, Allah swt. memulai ayat di atas dengan Poligami, sebelum dengan Monogami. Hal ini menunjukkan bahwa poligami lebih kuat dan monogami hanya dalam keadaan takut saja. Malah dari hasil penelitian Syaikh Abdulul-lah Ahmad al Jalali, disimpulkan bahwa poligami adalah sunnah bukan 'Rukhsah' (dispensasi). Hal ini berlaku bagi orang yang telah siap, mapan, berkecukupan materi dan lain-lain. Dalih kenapa poligami disunnahkan menurutnya yaitu QS An-Nisa ayat 3 dan 129. Poligami adalah pilihan Allah swt untuk Rasul-Nya saw. Sungguh, Allah tidak akan memilihkan untuk Rasul-Nya kecuali yang terbaik dan Rasulullah saw tidak akan berbuat kecuali yang terbaik. Allah swt juga memerintahkan kita agar

mengikuti Muhammad saw, seperti yang tercantum pada Suarat Al- Ahzab ayat 21, yang artinya "Sungguh pada diri Rasul itu ada teladan yang baik bagimu..."

Nah..., untuk mencontoh teladan Rasulullah saw, maka marilah kita bersiap diri untuk berpoligami, karena poligami merupakan salah satu sunnah Rasulullah saw. Sebenarnya, kalau kita mau mempelajari dan menyadari, sungguh, poligami itu penuh hikmah, misalnya saja :

1. Sebagai sarana terbesar dalam rangka pengembangan manusia. Karena Rasulullah saw memerintahkan kita pengikutnya untuk memperbanyak jumlah keturunan, sebab dihari kiamat nanti akan di banggakan jumlah mereka. Persoalannya begini; hitung-hitung 4 orang wanita menjadi

isteri dari seorang suami sama dengan masing-masing wanita tersebut menikah dengan seorang suami. Kalau sunnah yang membawa berkah ini kita non aktifkan, maka dalam waktu yang bersamaan seorang hanya dapat 1 anak (kecuali kembar lho?!). Tapi dengan adanya 4 isteri maka akan memberikan jaminan (jika mereka subur) akan melahirkan minimal masing-masing seorang.

2. Untuk menolong nasib kita kaum wanita sendiri, karena jumlah wanita melebihi jumlah pria. Lantas kalau sudah begini apakah logis jika wanita dengan kondisi seperti ini dibiarkan saja tanpa pernah bersuami ??? Lalu bagaimana nasib wanita yang tak pernah bersuami ?. Biasanya nasib mereka malang, ada yang setelah hijrah dan memakai jilbab rapih, eeh...lama-lama 'fujur' (mengalami kelesuan). Mereka kembali kemasa jahiliyahnya. Tak ada hijab antara pergaulan laki-laki dan wanita. Mereka berharap bisa dapat pacar seperti dulu dan dengan demikian baru bisa menikah, Naudzubillahimin dzalik, atau ada juga yang tetap konsisten dengan jilbab dan keislaman-nya tapi sampai usia yang layak nikah (kadang melebihinya) tetapi belum nikah, sayang khan...?(UMMI

Figure. 5. A Column suggesting Polygamy in Ummi: "Yuk Poligami!" (Do Polygamy!) Source: *Ummi*: No. 3, June 1993, 1413 Hijriyah.

When Suzanne Brenner argues that Amanah presented an image of a modern society built on 'Islamic values', she supports this argument by stating that a 'sense of motherhood' and 'nurturing families' are the ideological

messages that not only frame Islamic identities but also it reaffirmed the desire of the Suharto regime to domesticate women. I would agree with Brenner's argument at this point, especially when I found that Islamic values presented by Amanah also confirmed the government agenda, for instance in the case of the family planning program. However, in Brenner's argument, there was no further explanation on how Muslim woman's identity was more fluidly and complexly constructed in the representations in Amanah. Brenner admits that Amanah represented pious domesticated women but it was mainly due to the appropriations to Islamic values. It also reaffirmed 'New Order' cultural appropriation of a harmonious family that was somewhat problematic in Islamic principles. My short observation on the collections of Amanah editions in 1991-1993 showed that Amanah was never in favor of the practice of polygamy, even though monogamy as the best model had never been clearly stated either. Moreover, Amanah also encouraged women to have a high position in the scholarship of Islamic Jurisprudence, so they might be able to contribute to particular subjects concerning women issues. This is missing in Brenner's observation of Amanah.

If we compare Amanah with Ummi, we might assume that Amanah was far more liberal than Ummi, because Ummi preserved the oppressive Ikhwani ideological baseline which confines women to an archaic patriarchal structure, while at the same time, Amanah (despite its, in Brenner's terminology, promotion of an Islamic identity of domesticated women) still opened up a space of negotiating women status in public. Ummi has now changed especially in its display of female depictions and to some extent Ummi seems to emulate Amanah as an Islamic lifestyle magazine.

In spite of such transformations made by Ummi, some narratives and ideological propagations since the birth of Ummi remain present in the magazine until today. What makes Ummi an unusual case is that it is also a part of a social and political movement of the Tarbiyah movement. A movement that contributes to the contemporary socio political and cultural landscape of post-Suharto Indonesia where the presence of Islamic symbols is more visible and more gendered. Despite the fact that representations of women and Islam in Ummi were the opposite to Amanah, the later development of Ummi in its recent

publications of reform era indeed emulates what Amanah had done in the past especially in dealing with Ummi's performance as a Dakwah magazine in a style of pop magazines, but of course its Tarbiyah ideology is still definitively prevailing.

Chapter.4

The *Dakwah* Magazine in a Pop Style (The Transformation of Ummi in Post Suharto Era)

4.1. Framing *Maratus Shalihah*: The Transformation of Ummi in the Reform Era

Each magazine claims to offer something different with other magazines, including Ummi. On the front cover of the magazine, Ummi's motto is captioned by a catchphrase, '*Ummi identitas wanita Islami*' – Ummi the identity of pious Muslim women. In this way Ummi employs a symbol of piety in order to differentiate itself with other popular women's magazines. Therefore the representation of 'pious women' is Ummi's essential *Dakwah* messages. By means of symbolizing pious women, Ummi plays its role in forming identity construct. On that account Ummi provides an identity construct that is embedded within the discourse of '*maratus shalihah*' (pious women).

Janice Winship argues that a popular women's magazine exhibits the nature of femininity to serve the media industry's strategy of manipulating the construction of womanhood by catering women with false fantasy. A false fantasy is created through a superficial world of personal life emotions and relationships.¹ This strategy is indeed accomplished by an invention in packaging the magazine's appeals in order to make it 'different' with other women's magazines, as Winship further asserts that:

"On any magazine stand each women's magazine attempts to differentiate itself from others also vying for attention. Each does so by a variety of means: the title and its print type, size and texture of paper, design and lay out of image and sell lines (the cover captions)."

Janice Winship.1987.p.9

¹ Winship. 1987. Op cit

Anna Gough Yates (2003) underlines that women magazines not simply provide innocent pleasure for its readers, but a site for identity construct through which oppressive feminine identities are constructed and disseminated. On this account, Anna Gough Yates further argues that the women's magazine industry is a monolithic meaning producer that circulates messages and signs about the nature of femininity that serves to promote particular 'ideological' interest. Therefore, Anna Gough Yates suggests that the study of women's magazine must employ the concept of discourse in order to investigate the dialogical meaning inside the magazine in potential struggle with historically and culturally specific uses of language.²

There are three procedures to trace the identity construction in the discourse of *maratus shalihat* represented by Ummi. First, identity construction is operated in Ummi's concept on what constitutes the identity of pious women and how it is distinguished with other identities. In other words, it traces Ummi's strategy of utilizing otherness in order to qualify the identity of *maratus shalihat*. Second, the identity construction in the discourse of *maratus shalihat* occurs in the mediated process of narrating the ideology (of the *ikhwani* teachings or doctrines) through rhetorical devices such as metaphors, analogy, accentuation (of particular terminologies), repeating statements, caption titles, and visual representations. In this context, Ummi incorporates not only a meta-narrative on 'maratus shalihat' (pious women) but also persuasions in order to manufacture a sense of identification (of shared similarities and thus otherness). Third, the identity construct of *maratus shalihat* thus generates different meanings in a distinctive social and political context. A distinctive social and political context helps to explain the nature of Ummi's transformation in the post Suharto era from previously appeared to be a radical *Muslimah* journal circulated among the Tarbiyah members into a popular *Muslimah* magazine circulated in public.

² Gough Yates, Anna. 2003. *Understanding Women Magazine* (Publishing, Marketing and Readership). New York: Routledge. Pp. 6-12

There are two important historical events that underlay the transformation of Ummi in the post Suharto era. Firstly is the establishment of the PKS (the Justice and Prosperous Party) in 1998; and secondly is the implication of post September 11 and most significantly, the Bali Bombings in 2002. Likewise in the Suharto's era, Ummi consistently disseminates the ikhwani teachings on 'maratus shalihat' in public. The involvement of the female Tarbiyah activists into a political realm especially since the birth of the PKS³ has affected Ummi's representation on Dakwah. In 1998, Ummi began to incorporate a journalistic style into the magazine that remains until today. Since that time, the female Tarbiyah activists who worked at Ummi simultaneously also began to write political opinions in Ummi's main editorial column of '*Bahasan Utama*' – *The Main Discussion*. This was the first time in Ummi's production when the female Tarbiyah activists became the storytellers through a journalistic style. In the earlier period of the Reform era, Ummi also included persuasions to support Islamic activism that somehow overtly disseminated the hardline ikhwani doctrine for instance Jihad in terms of physical struggles in the magazine's contents. However such a 'hardliner' ikhwani doctrine is later covertly disguised in Ummi's contents since 2003 - following the implications of the September 11 and especially the Bali Bombings in 2002. As a result, Ummi appears to moderately articulate the ikhwani teachings in public. Nevertheless, Ummi's post Bali Bombings editions sustain the Tarbiyahs' views in Islamic activism by exploiting femininity in order to mobilize Muslim women's participation for regulating public morality.

Despite the fact that Ummi has systematically accommodated a few qualities of a popular magazine since 1998 following the involvement of the female Tarbiyah activists into the decision makers of Ummi's production in late 1997, the magazine's new format in a pop style effectively took place since 2003. Prior to the editions in 2003, Ummi seemed to convey overtly political interests of the Tarbiyah movement rather than to promote Islamic lifestyle.

³ See chapter 1: the PKS (the Justice and Prosperous Party) was initially established as the PK (Partai Keadilan or the Justice Party), but then changed its name to the PKS for competing in the 2004 national parliamentary Election.

Therefore since 2003, as a response to the implications of the Bali bombings and in order to allure new readers who presumably do not belong to the Tarbiyah movement, Ummi has embraced a new approach of a pop magazine especially by allocating more pleasure contents.

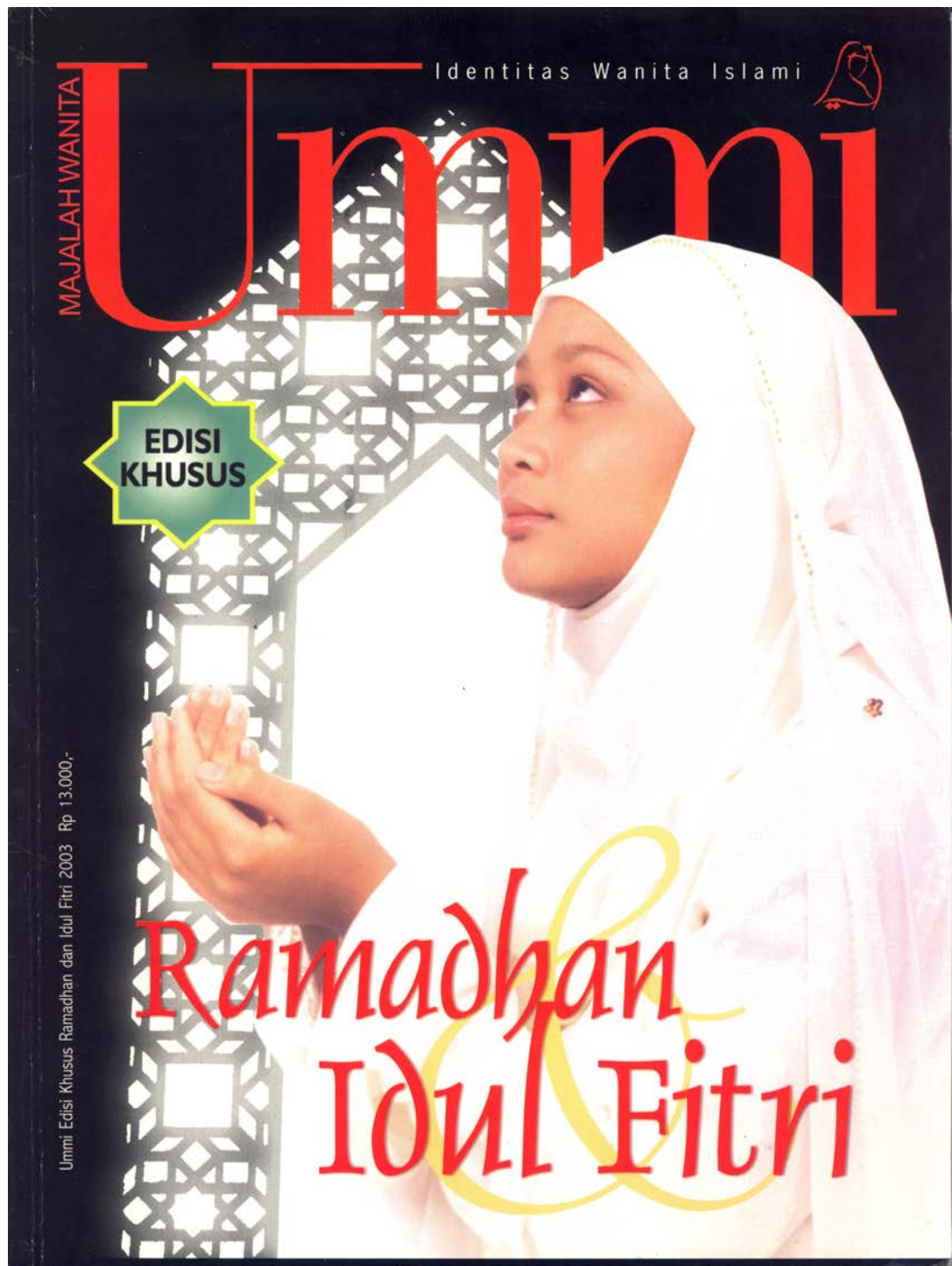


Figure.6. Ummi's Edition of post September 11 and Bali Bombings 2002

Source: Ummi Special Edition Ramadan and Ied Mubarak 2003

Since 2003, *Ummi* has not only visibly employed an exterior format of a popular women's magazine, but has differentiated itself with other women magazine particularly by renewing the image of modern pious women (*maratus shalihat*) as its appeal. The image of *maratus shalihat* was previously represented as a loyal housewife in the editions of *Ummi* in the Suharto era. Since 1998, *Ummi* has gradually refined the image of pious women by employing more feminine identities as the magazine's project. A visible change was shown through the depictions of women's faces in the magazine. Within a new frame of Muslim women's popular magazine, unlike in its previous editions, *Ummi* began to employ the nature of femininity and pleasure – as two basic characteristics of a pop women's magazine. *Ummi*'s emphasis on exploiting emotions also seems to successfully attracted new readers. In dealing with evoking readers' emotions, *Ummi* employs more sophisticated rhetoric in representing women issues and tends to use a more 'appropriate' language that is also commonly employed by other secular women magazines.

In general, *Ummi*'s transformation into a pop style in post Suharto era includes several exterior and interior characteristics of a women magazine as identified as follows:

1. The emergence of advertorial pages.
2. Female depictions (initially represented inside the magazine – on the advertorial pages, and then later women's faces on the cover of the magazine)
3. A quality of emphasizing femininity: the construction of motherhood (Islamic motherhood of 'Ummu Madrasah' or mother of education), piety and beauty (*maratus shalihat*)
4. More articles based on the genre's classification that also include leisure activities (pleasure)
5. An adoption of a journalistic style in the magazine
6. More articles for accommodating readers' responses and readers' opinions

7. An application of a rhetorical device⁴ which obscures the 'ikhwani' (Tarbiyah) terminology that used to be employed in the magazine prior to the 2003 editions particularly in the major columns under the genre of moral virtues

Despite the fact that Ummi provides an alternative (Islamic) lifestyle, likewise in the Suharto period, Ummi continues its role as the mouthpiece for the dissemination of the ikhwani (Tarbiyah) ideology. It is evidenced by Ummi's consistent view on public morality. Ummi's post Suharto political interest thus aims at strengthening public morality started from disciplining private morality. In dealing with this purpose, Ummi persuades its readers by employing femininity and defining a construction of Islamic motherhood. The framing and content analysis of the magazine show that despite the shift has been made by Ummi, the magazine still plays a major role as the '*Murabbi*' (the mentor) by consistently underlining the core *Tarbiyah* norms as Ummi's moral project and as a source for religious self-help for the readers. On this account Ummi considers its readers as the Ummi's daughters who need to be listened because they are in search for an eternal guidance. Ummi's moral project then not only configures the ikhwani's fundamental doctrines for an 'authentic' Islamic lifestyle, but also transforms Dakwah into the object of consumption

4.1.1. Framing Maratus Shalihat: Ummi's Representation of Islamic Activism and the Public Role of Female Tarbiyah Activists (1998-2002)

Hasan al Banna's doctrines on the roles of '*Mar'ah Muslimah*' (female Muslims) foreground an important identity construct for Muslim women – especially by introducing the image of 'maratus shalihat' (pious women). Al Banna's first doctrine prioritizes the role of a loyal housewife that necessarily implies a strategy for establishing the Jama'ah – the community of a constituted

⁴ A rhetorical device is the use of words in a definite way to convey particular meanings or to persuade readers in order to evoke emotions

Islamic society. On that account, Muslim women are prepared and conditioned to be the political companions of the Jama'ah – as exemplified by the roles of *Ummu Shalihah* from the *Salaf al Shalih* generation who also accompanied the Prophet Muhammad. Ummi still represents al Banna's doctrines in its publications, however, since earlier 1998 (before the downfall of Suharto's regime), Ummi has renewed an image of 'maratus shalihah' in much wider context, not just in providing instructions on how to be a loyal housewife. The renewed image of 'maratus shalihah' thus becomes a source for identity construct as well as Ummi's moral project for reinforcing public morality.

Since in the Suharto era, in addition to incorporate Muslim women into the *Tarbiyah* political movement, Ummi has specifically disseminated Sayyid Qutb's concept especially on his concept of the *Manhaj* (the *Dakwah* methods). Sayyid Qutb is an influential ikhwani figure whose teachings are considered politically radical especially on the idea of overthrowing *the 'Jahiliyya'*. Within the *Manhaj* framework, the *Jama'ah* (the *Tarbiyah* community) creates a boundary of what is considered as '*the Jahiliyya*' (considered as non-Islamic) and what is considered as a 'true Islam'. The *Jahiliyya* includes not only the system, but also the actors who live upon the system, and their ideology (a set of knowledge) as a threat to Islam. Qutb further asserted that the *Manhaj* should be achieved through a combination of preaching and movement that requires '*Jihad*' as a central key of mobilizing the *Dakwah*'s struggle. Preaching should be conducted as a protracted form of resistance against the *Jahiliyya*'s supremacy, while movement should be conducted not only as a form of resistance but a struggle to seize power. Therefore, Qutb called every Muslim (especially the *Ikwani* members) to actively engage with politics in order to seize power. According to Qutb, preaching works to invite Muslims for embracing a true complete Islam (*Syumul Islam*) but this strategy will not effectively take place without a coercive method for disrupting the *Jahiliyya* authority and its related institutional power. More specifically Qutb considered

applying *Jihad* in terms of physical fight in the violent movement against the *Jahiliyya* oppressive domination.⁵

To some extents, Sayyid Qutb's doctrines on resisting and even more on overthrowing the *Jahiliyya* power was a greater motivation for the *Tarbiyah* members to disseminate the ikhwani political discourse against secular discourses on democracy and pluralism. The establishment of the PK (PKS) was also motivated by a necessity to exercise Qutb's concept on the Manhaj Dakwah.⁶ As an attempt to support the newly established Dakwah party of the PKS, all segments of the *Tarbiyah* community are encouraged to mobilize collective actions, including some efforts made by Ummi. During the period of 1998 – 2003, Ummi showed its overtly strong supports for the PKS's interests. In its journalistic style, Ummi has developed an assertive persuasion by constructing a fusion ikhwani ideology based on Hasan al Banna's doctrine of women as the bearer of moral tasks and Sayyid Qutb's doctrine on overthrowing the 'Jahiliyya' power particularly in order to demand for regulating public morality.

An initial persuasion made by Ummi in the earlier Reform era in 1998 was demonstrated by a call to every '*Muslimah*' to participate in the politics by joining '*the Jama'ah*' (to be the PKS members). Strong political persuasions also found in Ummi's editorial columns that referred to Sayyid Qutb's hardline Jihadi narratives. Prior to 2003, hardline *Jihadi* narratives still appeared in Ummi editions, for instance in narrating the case of religious conflicts that affected Muslim women and children in a great amount of sufferings. A proof of blending Hasan al Banna's doctrine and Qutb's doctrine also found in Ummi's construction of Islamic motherhood of '*Ummu Madrasah*' (mother of education). The theme of '*Ummu Madrasah*' becomes regular headlines in Ummi's editions that contain persuasions for educating children (young generation) with strict Islamic norms so they would not be contaminated by

⁵ Qutb, Sayyid. 1980. *Ma'alim fi Al Tariq (Petunjuk Jalan)*. Jakarta: Media Dakwah. Pp. 45-58

⁶ Despite the PKS's denial of seeking an Islamic Daulah (the Islamic State), the PKS's blueprint has adopted Sayyid Qutb's concept on the '*Tamadun Society*' - a society that confronts moral corrupt and thus reinforces moral transformation. See: Damanik (2002), Rachmat (2005), Machmudi (2006)

the Jahiliyya's influences. This was very much represented in Ummi especially after the PKS (the Justice and Prosperous Party) was first launched and Ummi was in favor to promote the party's political propaganda. It was not surprising that during that period was also the first time where all 'secular vocabulary' on politics (for instance, 'democracy, liberalism, capitalism, neo-capitalism, hedonism, consumerism, and so forth) came to be included among the sub-themes of Ummi's editions. A method of using contention against 'the Jahiliyya' at that time (1999-2003) was also employed in order to attract readers' attention on the PKS's political agenda. This was obviously found in Ummi's slogan of anti liberalism that was generally defined as attitudes against American or Western economic, political, and cultural dominations. In particular, the slogan of anti liberalism was addressed by the PKS to criticize Megawati's administration for a friendly government's policy to the US and West European countries investments in order to recover Indonesian's prolonged economic crises since the downfall of Suharto's regime. As a consequence from Megawati's policy, a numbers of International NGOs have operated in Indonesia to work on human rights and civil society – as an integral issues – or inseparable parts of the International economic assistances.⁷

The summary of framing analysis of Ummi's editions in 1998-2002 that framed the early roles of the female Tarbiyah activists in 'political activism' in general can be seen in the following table:

⁷ After Suharto's resignation in May 1998, vice President B.J Habibie rose into power, but the Indonesian people (especially forced by the student movements) demanded him to conduct an immediate national election in 1999 to form a new government. The new parliamentary members then appointed Abdurrahman Wahid as the first Indonesian president generated by *Reformasi* in 1999. However, in mid 2001 due to Wahid's unsolved dispute with some leading figures in the parliament who accused Wahid for preparing a decree to dismantle the parliamentary rights, the majority of parliamentary members led by '*the Poros Tengah*' – the central axis (a coalition of Islamic and nationalist fractions in the parliamentary) revoked the mandate, removed him from power and replaced him with then President Megawati Sukarnoputri (former vice president under Wahid's administration). Under Megawati's administration, the government openly called international aid (donor) agencies for economic recovery due to prolonged economic crises since 1998. Under Megawati's economic recovery plan, there was an absence of Islamic agenda in public policy. Unlike the Habibie and Wahid governments, the Megawati's government made no major cooperation with the Islamic world (especially to the Middle East countries). Further reading, see: Sukma, Rizal. 2003. *Islam in Indonesian Foreign Policy: Domestic Weakness and the Dilemma of Dual Identity*. London: Routledge Curzon. Pp.128-131.

Table.7. Transformation of Ummi 1998 – 2002 (the early time of Reform era – the early development of the newly PKS prior to the impacts of September 11 and the Bali bombings)⁸

Cover Caption	Frequently Appeared Themes (Headlines)	Visualization
<i>Maratus Shalihah</i> (a pious /faithful woman)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Propagation of marhalah dakwah with emphasis on tanfidz: the persuasion of joining the PKS • Manhaj Dakwah: a combination of preaching and movement (Notions on the Jahiliyya system and Jihad) • Female Tarbiyah public role: The Muslimah NGOs and the reinforcement of public morality • Popularization of the practice of hijab in public • Anti Liberalism (American or West Economic and Cultural Domination) • Anti Pluralism: (a) Against homosexuality (b) Anti Christianization: Rejection for mix-married (inter-religious marriage) and Persuasion for not sending children to 'Christian' schools • Public Morality: (a) Against the widespread pornography in the media (b) Against so-called 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Female Depictions • Cartoons are introduced especially in the supplement part for children • Caricature, Sketches and Comics or illustrations in the articles • Some pictures show the reportage of 'tarbiyah movement' and the PKS activities throughout Indonesia • Some pictures represent Islam or Muslims as minority in foreign countries (reproduced from other Islamic magazines, copyrights not mentioned)

⁸ See: Appendix 2

	'permissive' lifestyles and sexual misbehaviors (un-Islamic sexuality): adultery, promiscuity, premarital sex or non-marital sex, homosexuality	
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Since the establishment of the PKS in 1998, the female Tarbiyah activists actually play minor roles in the party's structure until today. However female figures of the PKS representatives are very active to promote the reinforcement of public morality. This is exemplified in Ummi's editions during the period of 1999-2009 that specifically demonstrated Ummi's opposition to the so-called bad impacts of globalization. The spread of pornography in the media, and public tolerance toward so-called 'sexual misbehavior'⁹ were seen in Ummi's view as moral degradation generated by Western cultural influences.

After the downfall of the Suharto's regime in May 1998, the Reform era has also generated a proliferation of civil society movements which activism demand for the accommodation of minority rights. This includes the emergence of a sexual minority group for the first time in public called the LGBTI (the LGBTI – Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals, and Transgenders Indonesia). Likewise other civil society organizations, the LGBTI also began to actively articulate the rights for equal opportunity especially in dealing with Aids prevention and the reproduction and sexuality rights. For instance was demonstrated by the LGBTI's campaign on pushing the government for distributing free condoms for sex workers and or vulnerable groups. Together with other civil society movements, the LGBTI also disseminates the discourse of pluralism in Indonesia by making it relevant with the fact that Indonesia is a multicultural society. It was President Abdurrahman Wahid (also known as Gus Dur) who first popularized the idea of 'pluralism'. Gus Dur's concept on

⁹ Ummi defines 'un-Islamic sexuality' as sexual misbehaviors which in general refers adultery but also includes homosexuality

pluralism is then referred by several civil society organizations as a basic notion for campaigning equal opportunities for every citizen regardless religious, ethnic, racial, sex-gender, sexuality and physical differences in strengthening democracy for a multicultural society like Indonesia. However, to some Islamic groups, Gus Dur's view on pluralism was perceived as a threat for weakening Muslim political supremacy. In particular, these Islamic groups assume that Gus Dur's view on pluralism will result not only in religious tolerance but power sharing between Muslims (as the majority of the society) and the minority groups.¹⁰

Expressions against the discourse of pluralism was also represented in Ummi's view as a serious threat that will divide Indonesian Muslim societies because it does not fit with Islamic moral ground. This view is represented in Ummi's publications, particularly on the disagreement to recognize sexual minority's rights. According to Ummi, the advocacy on sexual minority rights on behalf of human rights mobilized by particular civil society organizations (notably by the LGBTI) was a proof of an imported corrupt moral. In Ummi's view it was conceived as an attempt to subvert the nation's morality especially to weaken Muslim youth generation. A view of anti pluralism was first exemplified in Ummi's edition in June 1998, only a month after Suharto's resignation from power in May 1998. In this edition, Ummi addressed a specific issue of the hypocrisy among human rights activists, especially those who work for International agencies (see figure 7). Ummi accused 'some feminists' who worked for human rights NGOs (non government organizations) in Indonesia for propagating the Jahillya interests due to their supports for funding minority groups' activisms. According to Ummi, the feminists who strived for human rights activism have no genuine interests in improving life qualities of the Indonesian population that is predominantly Muslims. Despite the fact that – according to Ummi – the majority of these Indonesian feminists are Muslim

¹⁰ Expression against Gus Dur's concept on pluralism came not only from the Tarbiyah community, also from other groups within the mainstream Islamic organizations such as the NU and the Muhamadiyah.
See: Mujiburrahman. 2008. *Mengindonesiakan Islam: Representasi dan Ideologi*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar. Pp. 57-60.

women, they do not prioritize Islamic moral ground for their politics. By contrast, according to Ummi, these feminists served for the American or West funding interests (*the Zionist conspiracy*¹¹). Indeed, these feminists, according to Ummi, have deployed strategies for secularization through the discourse of pluralism (see figure 7).

In Ummi's view, pluralism is an ideology that threatens the foundation of Islamic morality because it does not recognize the *Jahiliyya* system found in the secular ways of life especially due to its (pluralist ideology) capacity and tolerance for accepting unacceptable, inappropriate, and un-Islamic behaviors such as 'homosexuality'. In post Suharto era, some radical Islamic media openly blame American and or Western influences for the dissemination of pluralism. The idea of pluralism is thus perceived as a hidden 'secular and liberal' propaganda to weaken Muslims. Moreover, according to these radical Islamic media, the ideology of pluralism as a product of Western corrupt culture entails an attempt to destabilize the Islamic normative orders.¹² In particular, Ummi suspects that the idea of pluralism has acknowledged the so-called 'permissive' lifestyles or sexual misbehavior (such as: the spread of pornography in the media, the practices of premarital sex or adultery, etc) and sexual (moral) illness (homosexuality) to be normally accepted by the public.

Another issue with regard to Ummi's view on anti-pluralism was a concern on anti Christianization (see figure 8). According to Ummi, Christianization continues in the Reform era not only through education but also through an inter- religious marriage's strategy. The issue of Christianization is actually not new, according to Mujiburrahman (2006), it represents Muslim fear that is rooted in the conflicts between Muslims and

¹¹ The usage of the *Zionist* conspiracy as a phrase was commonly taken from Sayyid Qutb's claim that Islam has a long experience in facing 'Western' hostility. This hostility cannot just be seen as a barely conflict towards Islam, rather as a set of ideologies (created and presented through the *Zionist* networks) known as '*al Ghazwu al Fikr*' (*perang pemikiran – A war of thoughts*) that kept Muslim societies to remain ignorant with their Islamic beliefs. Moreover, according to Qutb, because Muslims were in favor to 'secular' thoughts, such attitudes will divide Muslim societies and thus gradually will demolish Islamic normative orders (Qutb. 1980. Op Cit.)

¹² Rizal, 2005. Op cit

Christians under the Suharto's New Order regime. Suharto's effort of abolishing communism in 1965-1966 shaped a stigma on communism - as anti religion and atheism – and thus communism is the enemy of the nation. This stigma persists until today. Due to a fear of being accused as communist, every Indonesian citizen should affiliate formally with the State's recognized religions (in the Suharto's era consisted of Islam, Christianity – including Catholicism, Hindu, and Buddhism). Consequently it resulted in the high number of conversions, notably from previously followers of the *Abangan*¹³ into Christianity.¹⁴ Ummi's fear of Christianization in the Reform era was not only originated from the past but also a reaction against some efforts made by particular civil organizations to legalize inter-religious marriage in the post Suharto era. In earlier Reform era, there were some activists notably from civil organizations began to disseminate the idea of legalizing the inter-religious marriage given the fact that the Marriage Act in 1974 was intended to treat marriage as a secular issue. During the time when the Marriage Bill was drafting in 1970, there were massive demonstrations from Islamic organizations and Muslim students that eventually forced the parliamentary to ratify an important verse in the Bill. The verse was then ratified in the Marriage Act and it says that 'marriage is only valid when it is carried out according to the law of respective religions and beliefs. Since that time, this verse has become the source to prohibit inter-religious marriage – especially for Muslim women. The consequence from the ratified verse of the Marriage Act results in the interpretation that a legal marriage is only recognized when it is conducted properly according to the law of respective religion, which is in Islam means the Shari'a and thus inter-religious marriage especially for Muslim women are not allowed according to the Shari'a.¹⁵

¹³ Mujiburrahman used this concept from Clifford Geertz (1976). *Abangan*, according to Geertz refers to the Javanese Muslims who practice syncretic Islam with variations of Javanese beliefs rooted in Hinduism, Buddhism, and Animism. (Mujiburrahman, 2006. *Feeling Threatened: Muslim-Christian Relations in Indonesia's New Order*. Leiden/Amsterdam: University Press)

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid

Again, Ummi accused the dissemination of the ideology of pluralism has induced people to demand for an inter-religious marriage that eventually would benefit the Christian missionaries.

Unlike in the Suharto era, the government in the Reform era works together in cooperation with several NGOs. Because NGOs plays significant roles in influencing policy-making and public interests, some female Tarbiyah activists including those at Ummi proposed to establish an Islamic NGO. The major concern on the public morals became a political site for the female Tarbiyah activists to exercise their public role. At that moment Ummi actively began to articulate counter public opinions against secularism and pluralism. This is for instance was exemplified in the edition of Ummi in June 1998 which headline conveyed a persuasion to establish an Islamic NGO in order to counter the activisms of the secular NGOs (See: figure 7). The necessity to establish an Islamic female NGO was motivated by a demand to reinforce Islamic values and practices in public. The female Tarbiyah activists eventually established Muslim women NGOs associated with the PKS and shares political interests in public morality. There are two major female Tarbiyah NGOs such as the 'Salimah persaudaraan muslimah' (Salimah - the *Muslimah* Sisterhood) established in 2000, and the MTP - Masyarakat Tolak Pornografi' (The Society for Against Pornography) established in 2005. The activities and public campaigns of these two female Tarbiyah NGOs were very much featured in Ummi especially prior to the enactment of the Pornography Act in November 2008. In fact, these major female Tarbiyah NGOs work to mobilize public supports for the PKS's political agenda especially in regulating public morality.

Bahasan Utama

LSM Muslimah gelisah. Pasalnya, sudah banyak kerja yang dilakukan, tapi minim sekali perhatian. Betukah LSM Muslimah bekerja tidak profesional dan kurang memiliki akses untuk mempengaruhi kebijakan?



LSM Muslimah Gelisah

Reformasi membawa 'angin' perubahan di negeri ini. Kebebasan untuk menyuarakan ide-ide, ideologi dan aspirasi yang tadinya terbelenggu kini telah mendapat tempat yang luas dalam media massa. Peluang ini telah dimanfaatkan dengan baik oleh berbagai organisasi dan LSM (Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat) untuk mempengaruhi opini publik, membentuk *main stream*, dan kalau dapat mempengaruhi kebijakan pemerintah.

Isu 'perkosaan massal'

terhadap perempuan Cina beberapa waktu lalu misalnya, berkembang menjadi opini publik yang cukup kuat setelah digulirkan oleh LSM-LSM dengan memanfaatkan media massa. **Mitra Perempuan** dan **Kalyana Mitra** adalah beberapa LSM perempuan yang bersuara vokal tentang isu tersebut. Mereka menuntut agar kasus tersebut diurut dan pelakunya diseret ke pengadilan. Lebih jauh, mereka bahkan membentuk tim relawan

dan memberikan pendampingan bagi korban-korban perkosaan.

Hasilnya sungguh luar biasa! Dunia internasional mengutuk. Menperta (Menteri Peranan Wanita Tuty Alawiyah) disambut dengan rangkaian demo ketika berkunjung ke Amerika Serikat. Kedubes Indonesia di berbagai negara direpotkan dengan gelombang unjuk rasa. Bahkan tayangan dramatis dalam bentuk foto-foto dan putaran film diseti di supermarket-supermarket dan tempat-tempat umum. Sampai seorang muslimah yang tinggal di Belanda menyempatkan diri menelpon ke Jakarta dan berkata, "Saya merasa malu sebagai orang Indonesia". Lebih buruk lagi, wajah kaum muslimin Indonesia

by Garudis/0305

Figure.7. Umri's Main Discussion Column: 'LSM Muslimah Gelisah' (The NGOs and the restless *Muslimah*). Source: Umri No.6/X/1998



Figure.8. Ummi's major headline: '*Inter-Religious Marriage? No Way!*' (Mix Marriage is forbidden). Source: Ummi No.11 /XII/ 2001

4.1.2. Framing Maratus Shalihah: Ummi's Representation of Islamic Activism and Public Morality (2003-2009)

The September 11 and especially the Bali Bombings in 2002 had a greater implication among Muslim societies in Indonesia that evoked bitter

public debates on the meaning and the practice of *Jihad* in Indonesian context.¹⁶ Since September 11 and the Bali Bombings in 2002, the term Jihad has a pejorative meaning – that is associated with ‘terrorism.’ The Bali Bombings in 2002 was an exceptional case given the fact that this act of terrorism on behalf of Islam was conducted in Indonesia’s soil and was justified to be a holy war. The case of the Bali Bombings stimulated controversies especially those entailed sharp criticisms on what supposedly Jihad meant to be for Muslims (especially Indonesian Muslims). The criticisms were addressed to particular Islamic groups that disseminate hardline interpretations on Jihad notably by the Dakwah movements (the Tarbiyah movement, the Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, and the *Salafi* movement of the *Laskar Jihad*-the Jihad Troops). There was a strong prejudice towards the *Tarbiyah* community and the PKS that their ‘ikhwani’ ideology supported ‘violent’ *Jihad* because of their ideological root in espousing Sayyid Qutb’s interpretation on a modern violent Jihad.

In response to this prejudice, the *Tarbiyah community* and the PKS tried to disseminate Yusuf al Qaradawi’s idea of rejecting *Jihad* as a means of violence in public, notably which is represented in Ummi. Yusuf al Qaradawi is an influential ikhwani figure whose understanding on Islam is considered more moderate compares to Sayyid Qutb’s interpretation on Islam. Al Qaradawi’s works on Islamic jurisprudence, as well as on political and cultural writings are considered to be the contemporary exemplars of the Ikhwani teachings. Consequently, Ummi’s reference to al Qaradawi’s perspectives has a major influence on the appearance of the magazine since the editions in 2003. Ummi’s transformation includes a recent tendency of expanding a range of

¹⁶ The impacts of September 11 and the Bali Bombings in 2003 sparked controversies and ignited bitter debates on the national levels. Two mainstream Islamic organizations (Nadhatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah) condemned the acts especially on the case of the Bali Bombings which caused death toll of innocent people including Muslims. Subsequent to this, in 2003 both NU and Muhammadiyah pushed the MUI (the Indonesian Ulema Council) to issue *Fatwa* which forbids violent *Jihad*. The MUI then issued the *Fatwa* on Forbidding Terrorism on behalf of Islam (The MUI Fatwa No.3/2004) in 2004. Further reading, see: Effendi, Bachtiar. 2009. *Agama Publik dan Privat: Pengalaman Islam Indonesia* (Public and Private Religion: Experiencing Islam in Indonesia). Jakarta: PPIM UIN Jakarta Press. Pp.72-90

topics concerning femininity based on the contemporary Ikhwani interpretations rather than discerning overtly political discontentment.

Unlike its previous publications, in post September 11 and the Bali bombings, Ummi has systematically reduced the use of contention in relation to the West and or to secular ideas. However, it does not mean that Ummi's view on asserting public morality has diminished. Indeed, Ummi alters its rhetorical devices by refining particular terminology of the ikhwani teachings particularly which derive from Sayyid Qutb. In other words, Ummi now seems to disseminate the ikhwani teachings and the interest of the Tarbiyah movement (a moral transformation of a society) in more subtle ways. This is exemplified by a gradual lacking presence of the term '*Jahiliyya*' – in Ummi editions since 2003. When the term '*Jahiliyya*' appears in the magazine then it refers to narrate pre-Islamic customs and beliefs during the course of life of the Prophet Muhammad rather than using such concept as a meta-narrative to contextualize Indonesia's condition.

Although radical and oversimplified accusations against the West have faded away in the editions of Ummi since 2003, on the other hand, Ummi still obscures Qutb's view on cultural movement to create a '*Tamadun* society' – a society that reinforces a moral transformation in public. An overtly reference on the Qutb's commentary of the Quran (*Fi Zilal al Quran – In the Shade of the Quran*) still regularly appears in Ummi's religious consultation column. Sayyid Qutb's particular view on '*Jahiliyya*' is actually not totally disappeared, rather it is covertly disseminated through metaphors and narratives that emphasize the importance of a woman's roles to be a moral guide keeper to protect the society from the 'contaminated' hedonist world. The strategy is particularly exercised in Ummi's focus on public morality composed in the discourse of a normative sexual order. An urgent call for a moral transformation was shown by Ummi as a response to mobilize support for the movement to ban pornography and so called 'pornoaksi' (cultural expressions especially live performances of explicit sensuality or eroticism and public displays of un-Islamic sexuality or sexual misbehaviors). On that account, Ummi actively promoted the call to eradicate 'pornography' through a legal action since 1999

until 2008 (when the Pornography Act was eventually enacted in November 2008). In developing the opinions for a moral transformation, Ummi argued that a concern in moral protection would not only serve the interests of particular Islamic groups, but the whole nation. Such an argument is indeed manufactured by employing metaphors that evokes personal emotions or sympathies.

Ummi's shift into a pop style magazine is thus developed by the Islamic rhetoric of personal intimacy in order to evoke readers' emotions. This rhetoric is developed through a renewed discourse of the *maratus shalihat* (pious women). Throughout the contents of Ummi, the *ikhwani* ideology is apparently still omnipresent but refined through more delicate rhetoric with a focus on the self-characters building in order to achieve the qualities of *maratus shalihat*. A discourse of *maratus shalihat* is thus constructed in an affectionate rhetoric through the language of emotions. Through this way Ummi has shaped its appeal to be accepted as a popular magazine particularly due to Ummi's offer for the Muslimah's guide in an alternative Islamic lifestyle that is more authentically 'Islamic'. On that account, Ummi continuously generates its view on reinforcing public morality by emphasizing femininity. The transformation of Ummi as a Muslim women's lifestyle magazine that constitutes a degree of Islamic activism in framing the roles of the feminine '*Maratus Shalihat*' is briefly summarized in the following table of the Framing Analysis Result:

Table.8. The Transformation of Ummi 2003 –2009¹⁷

Cover Caption	Frequently Appeared Themes (Headlines)	Visualization
<i>Pious Women (Maratus Shalihat)</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Public Morality: against pornography and "pornoaksi"- (an 'invented' term by the dakwah activists) which refers to cultural expressions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Female depictions Cartoon in the supplement part for children Caricature, Sketches and Comics or illustrations in the articles

¹⁷ See Appendix 2

	<p>(especially live performances) of explicit sensuality or eroticism and public displays of un-Islamic sexuality (sexual misbehaviors)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ummu Madrasah: Women as active educators, family caretakers, and moral gatekeepers • Against un Islamic sexuality including homosexuality • Islamic intimacy and the private issues in relationships • Piety and Beauty: Hijab as Lifestyle 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some pictures showing dakwah activities sponsored or associated to the PKS or <i>Tarbiyah</i> movement throughout Indonesia • Some pictures showing <i>Dakwah</i> activities in other places worldwide (Pictures reproduced with permission or with copyrights)
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The transformation of Ummi also gives a sign that there is a dynamic shift of the ideological orientation within the Tarbiyah movement itself. A prevailing moral guide based on the revitalization of Hasan al Banna's teachings by Yusuf al Qaradawi (who is acted as a more 'moderate' ikhwani *Mufti*¹⁸) is the evidence of this ideological shift in the Tarbiyah movement. Yusuf al Qaradawi has reinterpreted Hasan al Banna's teachings through his book '*At-Tarbiyatulislamiyah wa madrasatu Hasan al Banna*' that is translated into Indonesian as '*Pendidikan Islam dan Madrasah Hasan al Banna*' (Islamic Education and the Hasan al Banna's Madrasa/School). In his moderate interpretation of the importance of Islamic education according to Hasan al Banna's teachings, Yusuf al Qaradawi specifically acknowledges that Muslims must not negate a sense of 'nationalism' as inseparable part of the *Dakwah* practices – but when the term nationality comes to an interpretation of imposing identity framed within territorial borders (or applies to citizenship),

¹⁸ *Mufti* is an Islamic legal expert who has capacity to advise or impose Islamic legal matters to be exercised.

he asserts that on this account territorial borders should be considered as the place where the *Aqida* ¹⁹ (the Islamic six fundamental beliefs) is upheld by the society.²⁰ To some extent it means that Muslims are encouraged to reside in the 'Muslim' majority society. Additionally, according to al Qadarawi, Muslims should yield their sense of nationalism in accordance with their faith and that because Islam rejects all forms of fanaticism.²¹ With regard to the invitation to join the *ikhwani's Manhaj* (system) of *Dakwah*, al Qadarawi urges all the *ikhwani* followers not to impose a coercive method for the struggle of transforming a society into Umma (Islamic polity). By contrast, it should be based on a combination of persuasive and affectionate approaches.²²

Al Qadarawi's view on affectionate persuasions for practicing *Dakwah* is currently a major moral guide for Ummi. This issue was initially discussed for example in Ummi's main headline in March-April 2004 entitled '*Sendirian Ok, Berjamaah lebih hebat*' – literally means '*It's Ok to be alone but it's great to be with the Jama'ah*' (see Figure.9). By utilizing the metaphor of '*Shalat berjamaah mendapatkan pahala lebih banyak daripada shalat sendirian*' or '*Performing shalat*²³ – *together with others in the rows (in the Jama'ah – or as a group in the rows) – gains more rewards than doing it alone*' (although in Islam to perform *Shalat* alone – or solitarily is also rewarded by God), Ummi described that the ultimate reward for the complete journey to Islam (and specifically by practicing *Dakwah*) is to work in a 'team' – or in a solid Jama'ah rather than in

¹⁹ The *Aqida* meant hence is the *Sunni* theological interpretation of fundamental branches of Islamic belief namely: (1) tawhid, belief in one God (Allah) and the only ultimate one to be worshipped;(2)belief in the *Malaika* (the Angels);(3) Belief in the *Kitabs* (God's books such as the Torah, the Bible, and the Qur'an);(4) Belief in the Rasul (God's messengers);(5)Belief in the Resurrection's day and the Final Judgment's day; (6) Belief in the Qada (the divine decree) and the Qadar (predestination)

²⁰ Qaradawi, Yusuf. 1980. *At-Tarbiyatulislamiyah wa madrasatu Hasan al Banna* (Pendidikan Islam dan Madrasah Hasan al Banna, transl. by Bustawi et al). Jakarta: Penerbit Bulan Bintang. Pp.90-94.

²¹ Ibid

²² ibid pp.95-96

²³ *Shalat* (or *Salat* – in Arabic transliteration) is the Islamic obligatory worship; it is difficult to replace an appropriate term of *Shalat* into English, because translated it simply as 'praying or prayer' could mean differently as Muslims also 'pray' for God which is called 'du'a' (Arabic) or 'Doa' (in Bahasa or Indonesian)

solitary ways. Given the fact that the edition was published a month before the 2004 National Election, in particular the metaphor also narrated in the discussion of the rights for women to vote. The narrative brought a message that the readers should be critical to vote for particular 'political parties'. Concluding the message, Ummi encouraged the readers to vote for a 'clean' party²⁴ which committed to eradicate corruption (including moral corruption) – because 'corruption' is considered as the great barrier and the source of disaster to meet the ideal expectancies of the 'civil movements' in the Reform era.

²⁴ *'Bersih dan Peduli'* (Clean and Care) was the PKS's slogan to compete in the 2004 parliamentary Election. In 2004 election, the PKS gained significant votes that enabled them to have considerable influences in the parliamentary.



Figure.9. Ummi's main headline: "Sendirian Ok, Berjamaah Hebat" (It's Ok to be alone, but it's great to be with the 'Jama'ah'). Source: Ummi No.10/XV March-April 2004.

Yusuf al Qaradawi's effort to revitalize the teachings of Hasan al Banna is also an important influence in Ummi's fresh approach to employ a popular style for the magazine's apparel. Likewise other (secular) women popular magazines, Ummi began to explore women's territory by exhibiting a world of personal emotions and relationships. Ummi's new approach of a popular magazine also includes more visual expressions and female images representation in the magazine, making the magazine not only 'unusual' but also attractive – compared to other 'secular' women popular magazines.²⁵ Ummi's new approach inevitably has challenged the magazine's orientation to the *Manhaj Dakwah* due to its position as a political vehicle of the PKS. On that account, Ummi's orientation on practicing *Manhaj* (a combination of preaching and movement) is thus questioned; whether Ummi is still strategically designated as a propagandist media for recruiting the *Tarbiyah* cadres and the PKS sympathizers or not become the quest for examination in this chapter and the next following chapters. In the Suharto period, Ummi's ideological orientation not only introduced the *ikhwani* ideal type of 'maratus shalihat' (pious women) by emphasizing the role as a loyal housewife with the aim to prepare women as political companions of the 'Jama'ah'. In post Suharto era, prior to the September 11 and the Bali Bombing 2002, Ummi's discourse on 'maratus shalihat' was designated to mobilize actual political supports for the PKS. In post Bali bombings, Ummi editions since 2003 have featured more issues on public morality by constructing femininity and the Islamic motherhood of the Ummu Madrasah (mother of education) to evoke public sympathy. My findings show that since 2003, although Ummi seems to obscure an overtly support for the PKS, a favor to this Dakwah party is instead disseminated in symbolic representation for instance in the case of mobilizing public supports for the reinforcement of public morality.

²⁵These two topics of exploring the language of emotions and involving visual materials as emotional expressions discussed in the next sub chapters.

4.2. The Case of The Pornography Act 2008: Ummi's Narratives on Public Morality

Generating a view on Islamic activism by emphasizing a sense of femininity is Ummi's political interest in order to reinforce public morality. During the period of 1998-2008, Ummi paid a major attention on public morality, particularly the case of pornography, as regular themes in its editions. However, Ummi's concern on public morality not only addresses the issue of pornography but also a major concern on strengthening normative sexual order. These concerns are deliberately conveyed in some narratives that argue for a moral protection from moral degradation for the next generation. This argument is symbolically associated with a construction of Islamic motherhood of the 'Ummu Madrasah' (mother of education) by exemplifying the role of a mother in protecting her family especially her children. The Pornography Act becomes an interesting case to me because it exemplifies Ummi's long efforts in disseminating public morality in order to mobilize public opinions. The case of pornography act as represented in Ummi is also an interesting case due to the controversy that emerged in the public debate over what can be identified or considered as pornographic activities.

Pressures to uphold public morality derive from 'Dakwah' practices underlying the value of '*amr ma'ruf nahi munkar*' (enjoining good and forbidding wrong). There are several verses in the Quran mention this phrase²⁶. Despite multi interpretations of the Quranic verses regarding the practice of '*amr ma'ruf nahi munkar*' among Muslim societies – this phrase becomes a central doctrine for public morality. In the reform era, several Islamic organizations have come to call the Indonesian society to pay attention to public morality issues attempting to eradicate all sorts of religiously prohibited practices such as gambling, consumption of alcohol, prostitution,

²⁶ The phrase '*amr ma'ruf nahi munkar*' are mentioned in the Quran, for instance in the Sura at Tawba (9): 71, Sura Ali Imran (3): 110

the widespread pornography in the media, and implicit sexual acts to be considered as 'pornoaksi' or pornoaction.²⁷

An important event related to the reinforcement of public morality is the enactment of the Pornography Act in 2008. Prior to the enactment of the law, some Islamic organizations (the MUI, the DDII, the HTI, the FPI – the Islamic Front Defenders, and the MMI-the Indonesian Mujahidin Council) and notably some parties in the Lower House (the Democrat Party, the PKS, and the PBB-*Partai Bulan Bintang*-the Crescent Star party) mobilized supports to legislate the first draft of Pornography Act. In 2006 the first draft of Pornography Act was publicly announced as *Rencana Undang-Undang Anti Pornografi dan Pornoaksi* – RUU APP (the Bill on Anti-Pornography and *Porno-action*) which ignited disputes at the national level. The term 'Pornoaksi' was most problematic, because it mingled the term of 'pornography' with other terms such as 'sexuality, sensuality and eroticism'. Given the fact that there is no such a terminology (of 'pornoaksi') in the Indonesian legal terminology, it has widened the dispute particularly considering what followed as legal actions based on the definitions mentioned in the draft. Legal action will result not only in banning 'porn' materials in media representations, but also to what is 'considered' to be pornographic activities in public including expressions of eroticism and sensuality. In comparison with the word of 'pornography' which comes from English, there is no such a term of 'pornoaksi' in English. Therefore it is actually difficult or problematic to translate the term 'pornoaksi' into an English version of 'porno-action', because actually there is no such a compatible word in English especially because the term of 'pornoaction' not only refers to pornographic activities (that is considered as live performances), but according to the inventors of this term (the Tarbiyah activists) also refers to the public displays of sexuality or public display of physical intimacy or even simply exploiting female sensuality at public. However problematic it was, the English term of 'pornoaksi' is already widely known in public or other media

²⁷ The FPI (the Islamic Defender Front) and the MMI (the Indonesian Mujahiddin Council) for instance, quite often to carry out radical and violent attacks on discotheques, nightclubs, and several entertainment places on behalf of upholding 'amar ma'ruf nahi munkar'.

for 'Pornoaction'.²⁸ The terminology of 'Pornoaksi' was actually invented by the 'Tarbiyah activists' who proposed the terminology long before the advent of the Bill on Against Pornography and Pornoaction.

The Bill on Against Pornography and Pornoaction was highly criticized by some pro-pluralist organizations in Indonesia assuming that the act would jeopardize the rich cultural diversity of ethnic-racial and religious Indonesia. It was because the act allowed for a particular moral interpretation of 'banning cultural expression in Indonesian multicultural traditions especially those which expose eroticism or celebrating sensuality. There were criticisms against the assuming legal implications of so-called 'Pornoaksi' that resulted in massive public demonstrations in several Provinces, such as in Bali, Yogyakarta, North Sulawesi, Papua, and East Nusa Tenggara. The opponents argued that the bills would prohibit any cultural expression of the Indonesian multicultural traditions in which sensuality and or eroticism are publicly celebrated for sacred purposes, for instance in Bali and Java where inherited symbols of fertility are displayed through cultural artifacts and traditional rituals.²⁹

After having bitter debates at the Lower House of Parliamentary for almost two years, the highly problematic term of '*pornoaksi (porno-action)*' was overruled and the Lower House of Parliamentary eventually enacted the Pornography Act on 3rd November 2008. It was very obvious that most of the legislators who passed the Pornography Act came from the Islamic parties, especially those from the PKS led by the female Tarbiyah activist, Mrs Yoyoh Yusroh. Prior to the enactment of the Pornography Act, the PKS was obviously very active in disseminating its political agenda on public morality, especially

²⁸ The Jakarta post, a famous daily newspaper in English for instance raised a concern on the problematic use of the term 'porno-action' – despite the fact that the 'term' was already appropriated by other media. An example of the Jakarta post news regarding the elimination of the terminology of 'pornoaction' from the bill was reported in 2007, for instance as documented in this link: <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2007/01/25/house-renames-pornography-bill.html> (accessed 2 March 2011)

²⁹ Rozaki, Abdur. 2010. 'The Pornography Act and the Politics of Sexuality'. In Atsushi Ota et al (eds), *Islam in Contention: Rethinking Islam and State in Indonesia*. Jakarta: The Wahid Institute,-CSEAS-CAPAS. Pp. 122 – 134.

by publications in affiliated Dakwah media, including such representations made by Ummi. As shown in the figure 10, Ummi covered the reportage on the event of national symposium for '*Gerakan Nasional anti Pornografi dan Pornoaksi*' (The National Movement Against Pornography and Pornoaction) in 2005. The symposium was organized by the Ministry of Youth and Sport and was opened by Mr. Adyaksa Daud, the Minister of Youth and Sport, who is also the Tarbiyah activists and the PKS politician.

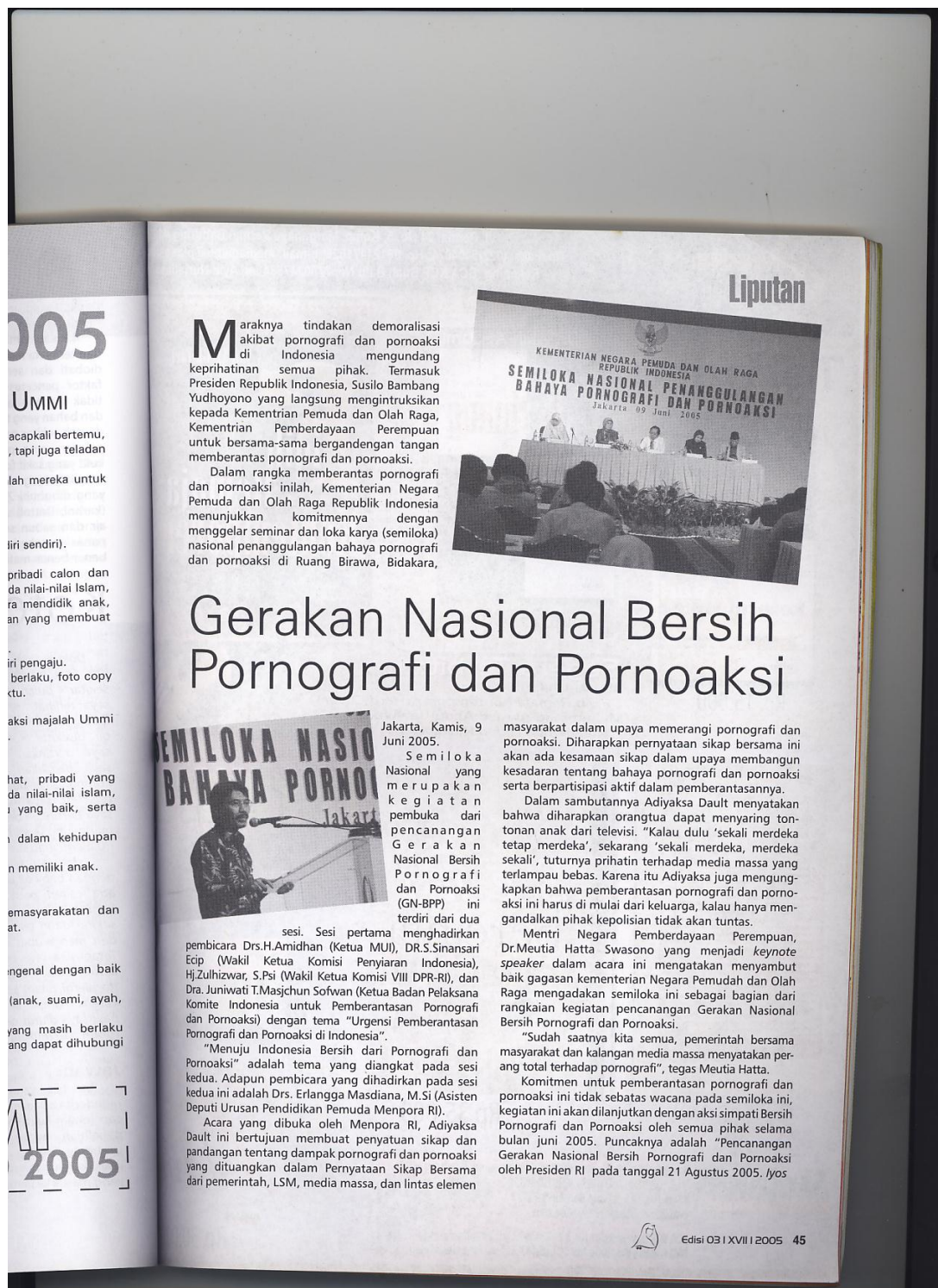


Figure.10. Ummi's reportage on 'Gerakan Nasional Bersih Pornografi dan Pornoaksi' (The National Movement For Freeing the Nation from Pornography and Porno-action). Source: Ummi No.03/XVII/2005

Umami's essential representation since the earlier period of the Reform era that continues until today is addressing public morality. There were numerous materials of exposing issues of public morality dispersed in Umami's editions of 1998-2008. However, this sub chapter takes only two case studies of Umami narratives that engendered two important concerns of morality in public exposed by Umami. These two case studies demonstrate concerns on the spread of sex materials in public, and the public tolerance towards un-Islamic sexuality. Umami's representation of these two concerns in public morality has significantly contributed to shape public opinions as the impetus for the enactment of the Pornography Act.

The selections of two case studies are taken from two editions of Umami prior to the enactment of the pornography Act in 2008. These case studies signified Umami's interests of not just pushing the PKS's agenda on banning pornography, but also on further strengthening sexual normative order. The PKS's effort to ban pornography has successfully gained supports from wider Islamic organizations and it is accommodated in the Pornography Act 2008. However, since the idea of 'Pornoaksi' was not overtly accommodated in the enactment of the law, it remains in Umami's vocabulary for un-Islamic sexuality or un-Islamic sexual behaviors. Umami's dissemination on public morality can be discerned from the following two examples of narratives. The first case study emphasizes Umami's concern on pornography. These narratives asserted both religious and political arguments to justify the need to ban sex materials in the Indonesian media. The second case study emphasizes Umami's concern and conceptualization on 'pornoaksi' (pornoaction through complicated arguments from religious, political, and psychological views on un-Islamic sexuality for public regulation).

(1) Case Study 1: Narratives on the Emergency Call to ban ‘Sex Materials’ in the Media.

Source: Ummi’s edition No.04/XI, August-September 1999 - cover title was captioned in the phrase of “*Menangkal Media Nakal*” (*Ward off Rogue Media*).

The first case study of Ummi’s narratives in public morality exemplified an issue concerning the spread of porn materials that were distributed quite freely in the earlier Reform era. In this edition, Ummi divided the major editorial headline of the emergency call to ban sex materials in the media into three different sub-headlines distributed in the three separate columns. The code of banning pornography was encoded in the articles of prohibiting sex materials in public. In order to decode the messages of the narratives therefore the defining texts are investigated in the paragraphs in the body of the articles through the identification of key words. The defining texts sums up the whole main argument. In this sample, the decoding process identified the meaning of the narratives that specifically conveyed a message of ‘a regulation to control pornographic materials in the media including a prevention to express of (sexual) lust’. The decoding process on the narratives of Pornography can be discerned by reading Ummi’s three articles as summarized as follow:

Table.9. The Decoding Process in Reading the theme of ‘Pornography in Ummi’s Articles’ (Ummi No.04/XI, August-September 1999)

Genre	Column/ Author - Contributor	Title/Defining Texts / Key Words
Moral Virtue	Bahasan Utama (Main Focus of Ummi’s Editorial Pages) by Ummi’s Editors	<p>“<i>Media Penghancur Keluarga</i>” (Media – The Family’s Destroyer):</p> <p><i>Media have two dimensions, they provide service for information, but they are also forms of commodity. As a commodity, sex sales and media view it simply as business. In Indonesia today we witness people may buy porn materials (porn books, porn videos) easily and cheap. Will us let our children to get obsessed with sex? Or committed to sexual crimes because they can be so tolerant to the practice of sexual misbehaviors?! (page.8)</i></p>

		Key words: <u>porn materials as commodity in the media and sexual misbehaviors</u>
Moral Virtue	Media Kita (Our Media) – by Ms. Nina Armando (Principle researcher from the NGO for media literacy and advocacy of MARKAS – Media Ramah Keluarga dan Masyarakat – the Friendly Media for Family and Society)	<p><i>“TV Sang Dewa Janus (TV the Janus God)”</i> <i>TV programs today contain lots of adult materials especially that expose sexually implicit. Children have free access to watch these programs that are supposedly not allowed. But they (children) are, because there is no regulation currently in Indonesia to restrict children access to adult entertainment on our TVs programs. Yet TV is entertaining, but it has two faces like the God Janus. It is damaging our children’s morality too. (p. 21)</i></p> <p>Key words: <u>Children’s access to adult entertainment in TV’s programs in the absence of regulation</u></p>
Propagation of Dakwah	Religious Consultation – by Ms. Herliani Amran (Expert in Islamic Jurisprudence from the Salafi tradition)	<p><i>“Bolehkah saya melihat adegan porno di Film yang bukan film Porno? (Can I watch a porn scene on a non-porn movie?)</i> - Reader’s Question – posted by Yasmin from Serang West Java (reader’s identity is revealed)</p> <p>Answer: <i>Islam forbids men or women – who are not considered as their ‘Mahram’ to gaze at each other even if this happens without any lust. Sayyid Qutb asserted the importance of Fiqh ‘Sadduzzarai’ – a law to prevent an evil intention for lust. This law becomes the reason to lower our gaze at the opposite sex. This law includes strict prohibition of public gaze at unacceptable objects that invite lust. A true Muslim will obey this rule. Therefore watching inappropriate pictures, or movies which induce lust is more than forbidden, it is against Islam, it’s an evil doing (p.40)</i></p> <p>Key words: <u>a law to prevent lust (an evil - sexual intention)</u></p>

(2) Case Study 2: Ummi's Narratives on Zero Tolerance to Permissive Lifestyles and Sexual Misbehavior.

Source: Ummi's edition No.02/XVII, June 2005 – cover title was captioned in the phrase of "*Maksiat tak Malu-Malu Lagi*" (*No Longer Shy for being Immoral*).

The second case study of Ummi's narratives in public morality exemplified an issue concerning Ummi's political message to strengthen sexual normative order. Compared to the first case study, the narratives in the second case study employed complicated rhetoric. The narratives demonstrated Ummi's effort to conceptualize the definition of '*pornoaction*'. The definition of pornoaction included a wide spectrum of un-Islamic sexuality that consists of attitudes which exploit sensuality, an expose of women's body in public, showing off physical intimacy in public, public display of affections (kissing and hugging between unmarried couples at public), and live performances that exploit eroticism or sexually implicit. The narratives were taken from Ummi's edition in June 2005 that indicates Ummi's effort to disseminate the concept on '*pornoaction*' for the first time in public. The term of '*pornoaction*' has not been completely popularized earlier by other media in Indonesia until the disputes emerged in public after the official socialization of the Bill by some members of the Lower House. By contrast, Ummi has already intensively disseminated the term '*pornoaction*' since 2005 which was one year earlier, prior to the official socialization of the Bill in 2006 by the members of the Lower House.

In this edition, Ummi divided the major editorial headline of 'zero tolerance to permissive lifestyle and sexual misbehaviors' into three different sub-headlines in which the code of '*pornoaction*' was encoded in the three separate columns. The core argument of the narratives was decoded through the identification of 'the defining texts' located on particular paragraphs in the articles. The decoding process of the defining texts identifies 'key words' that signify the meaning of pornoaction as: (1) sexual misbehavior or un-Islamic sexuality (2) the exploitation of sensuality of women's body for entertainment or 'the lust industry'. The narratives also bring an essential message to assert the term pornoaction into the Bill because it is accorded with the Islamic law to prevent the expression of lust. The meaning of the discourse of '*pornoaction*'

can be discerned through sample of decoding in reading Ummi's three articles on 'sexual misbehaviors' such as follows:

Table.10. Sample of decoding in reading Ummi's three articles on 'Sexual Misbehaviors' (Ummi No.02/XVII, June 2005)

Genre	Column/ Author	Title/Defining Texts /Key Words
Moral Virtue	Bahasan Utama (Main Focus) – Umami's Editorial Pages	<p><i>"PDA – Public Displays of Affection, Pro atau Contra? (PDA-Public Displays of Affections, Agree or Not?)"</i></p> <p><i>Showing off a PDA is a form of 'Pornoaksi-Porno-action'! Because it is a form of sexual misbehaviors that is perhaps acceptable in the Western countries. But even among the Westerners themselves find a friction whether they felt comfortable to see 'an unmarried couple kissing so deeply in public' or not. But, definitely showing off physical intimacy in public is prohibited too according to the Western moral standard. In fact, in Europe for example, showing off a PDA between students at school is unacceptable despite the fact that it is not against the formal law. Still, some teenagers can break this 'unwritten' law (custom) because there is no punishment involved. However showing off a PDA is definitely not our culture! Especially because it also shows an intimacy that somehow exploits women's body! Thus it is very important to include sexual misbehavior into the passage of the Bill of Against Pornography and Pornoaction. We need to assert the term of 'Pornoaction' in the bill because we witness today, our teenagers – among young unmarried couples, they don't feel ashamed at all to show their sexual intimacy at public. This is immoral and our nation's morality is at risk. (p.17)</i></p> <p>Key words: <u>physical intimacy is a form of sexual misbehavior, sexual misbehavior is pornoaction, the term pornoaction should be asserted in the Bill</u></p>

Moral Virtue	Media Kita (Our Media) – Nina Armando	<p><i>‘Sang Milyuner dan Demokrasi’ (The Millionaire and Democracy)</i></p> <p><i>Joe the Millionaire of the American reality show is now Indonesianized in the RCTI TV channel. Seven beautiful Indonesian women dressed up in traditional costumes and made themselves to be seen very sensually attractive in order to win just one man. These women tried so hard to seduce ‘Marlon’ the Indonesian ‘Joe’. No matter how hard these women have tried, ‘Marlon the Joe’ should eliminate one of them. This show treats women to be more than just a trophy. Women are measured for their physical beauty and women’s body serves this lust industry. This is absolutely insulting! The TV industry exploits women’s body as sexual commodity. Although we have addressed our protest to the RCTI regarding this show, and RCTI has promised us not to air it anymore, but there is a group of people (called themselves ‘a society for freedom of expression’) demand the RCTI to keep airing the program because ‘we’ live today under democracy. It is surprising to me because I’ve just learnt – how come a sexual harassment can be accepted as a form of democracy? (p.49)</i></p> <p>Key Words: <u>the TV entertainment exploits sensuality as sexual commodity and women’s body as a trophy that serves the lust industry</u></p>
Propagation of Dakwah	Religious Consultation – Herliani Amran	<p><i>Apa saja yang bisa dianggap sebagai Zina? (What can be considered as adultery?)</i></p> <p>Reader’s Question posted by Puteri in X-town (reader’s identity is anonymous)</p> <p>Answer: According to the Quran, adultery is a prohibited sexual intercourse between unmarried couple. However, Islam also encourages us not to encounter any possibility for fornication. Therefore we (women) need to lower our gaze in order to prevent any possibility to invite lust that will end up in un-Islamic sexual activities especially in sexual intercourse. Sayyid Qutb in his book ‘Fi Zilal al Quran’ (in the shade of the Qur’an) emphasized the aim of Islam is to establish a pristine</p>

		<p><i>society, a society that cannot be damaged or weakened by greed and sexual lust. Therefore, adultery not only includes 'a sexual intercourse between unmarried couple' but all sexual activities that will lead to it (p.56)</i></p> <p>Key Words: <u>adultery is un-Islamic sexual activities, women should lower the gaze in order to prevent lust</u></p>
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The two samples of Ummi's narratives of pornography and pornoaction obviously focused on moral discipline especially on regulating women's body. The narratives implies two conjoined interests of Ummi's politics in sexuality; firstly is the idea that women's body is the object to be regulated; and secondly is the idea that women are subjected to bear the most priority task for moral obligation in order to discipline sexual order in the society. The enactment of the Pornography Act in 2008 did not necessarily stop Ummi to continuously disseminate the issues of public morality. Indeed, the concern on public morality is disseminated through a discourse of individual moral transformation by practicing more 'Islamic' norms in public spheres. In other words, it implies Ummi's consistent aim for the proselytization of Muslim women to be *righteous* Muslims according to the ikhwani (Tarbiyah) doctrines.

On that account, Ummi's politics of sexuality is obscured through diverse and rich narratives involving emotions, moral virtues, and indeed intellectual arguments for individual moral transformation. This can be seen from the whole main argument in the articles that underlines a metaphor of women's role in protecting young generation from moral degradation. The young generation is imagined like a woman's child who is fragile and thus needs protection from so called 'sexual disorder or sexual illness'. In manufacturing the narratives of sexuality, it is very obvious that Ummi stigmatizes un-Islamic sexuality (e.g.: physical intimacy between unmarried couple, adultery, and homosexuality) as immoral. In fact the method of stigmatization effectively serves to identify what is considered to be 'Islamic' and 'non-Islamic' sexual behaviors. An assertion of Islamic moral ground in

sexuality continues in Ummi's effort for shaping the image of *maratus shalihat* (pious women).

4.3. Ummi's Renewed Discourse of Maratus Shalihat: The Constructions of Femininity in the Practice of Hijab and the Islamic Motherhood of Ummu Madrasah

Ummi in post-Suharto era made a significant shift by gradually capturing a broader idea of '*maratus shalihat*' (pious women) from previously exemplifying a focus on '*al zaujah muthi'ah*' (a loyal housewife) as a role model of pious women. This gradual shift is visibly found in the configuration of Ummi's headlines and the contents of the magazine especially since earlier 1998, a few months prior to the downfall of Suharto's regime in May 1998.³⁰ Since that period, the shift has resulted in various ways such as in the visualization or depiction of female figures and increased readers' participations represented in Ummi's textual production. In dealing with this shift, Ummi has refined the discourse of *maratus shalihat* that attempts to create a more dignified image of pious women who follow the path of Dakwah.

Ummi's renewed discourse on *maratus shalihat* constitutes two important major constructions; first is the construction of femininity in the practice of Hijab and second is the construction of Islamic motherhood of ummu madrasah (the mother of education). Ummi's effort to construct femininity through the practice of hijab here underscores active practices that generate meanings reproduced by social agents (in this case are by the female Tarbiyah activists). Unlike Ummi's past publications in the Suharto's era that did not incorporate the narratives of hijab's experiences, Ummi's renewed discourse on *maratus shalihat* incorporates the experiences of hijab as a

³⁰ In 1997 some female dakwah activists joined in the structure of Ummi's production for the first time. The editorial change in Ummi's production since 1998 presumably contributed to the orientation of the magazine from being very unfriendly seen to women to putting more feminine expressions. Further analysis on the influences of female dakwah activists in the re-creation of 'Ummi' in post Suharto era describes in chapter.5

voluntarily hijrah. The illustrations of a voluntarily hijrah symbolically implies a dignified meaning of the practice of hijab because it connotes women's awareness in religious obligation without coercion. The awareness of taking religious obligation freely is also narrated through the construction of Islamic motherhood of 'ummu madrasah' (mother of education). The ummu madrasah in this context is exemplified through women's role both as a moral educator and protector of the family and the society for their religious services to generate a better Islamic generation.

A freedom to achieve the quality of pious woman is thus represented in the promotion of Hijab as an alternative lifestyle. On this account, Umami's renewed image of 'maratus shalihah' – the pious woman is constructed to be more feminine and self-reliant. Hasan al Banna's doctrines on the roles of Muslim women (*al zaujah muthi'ah, ummu madrasah, and maratus shalihah*) are still omnipresent in Umami, but the ideas now are represented in more diverse narratives. The ikhwani doctrines on Muslim women are explicated in the persuasions to be a loyal housewife and moderate interpretations on coping with the duty of a loyal housewife. Hasan al Banna's doctrine on Hijab's rule that specifically regulates women's responsibility to lower the gaze for instance appears constantly in the editions of Umami in post Suharto. Nevertheless, demeaning metaphors that symbolize sinful women's body (just like those represented in the Umami's past editions) are subtly paraphrased. As a substitution, the persuasions to regulate women's sexual appeal are employed in the narratives of self-characters building and virtuous comfort.

An obvious expression to narrate the ideology of *hijab* in Umami's post Suharto is found in the column on shared stories of experiencing veiling among Umami's readers. The stories shared readers' (the authors') motivations to follow the path of *Dakwah* by practicing veiling that were the result of voluntarily decisions not from compulsions. Suzanne Brenner (1996) identified a phenomenon of middle class educated Javanese women's submission into the *Dakwah* movement by practicing veiling in 1990s as a '*voluntarily hijrah*', a self-

consciousness to encounter to a new way of life to the so called '*Islam yang kaffah*' (a total submission to a complete Islam).³¹ The practice of veiling, specifically has introduced '*jilbab*' to cover the body with a veil and a long dress that allows only women's face and wrists to be visibly seen. In everyday life in Indonesia today, more and more Muslim women wear jilbab. In response to the phenomenon of veiling among Muslim women, Ummi specifically distinguish the concept of '*Hijab syar'i*' by wearing an appropriate '*jilbab*' which means to cover the body that also conceals the shape of women's breasts and waist. An expression of a voluntarily hijrah thus engenders new interpretation of the meanings of '*hijab*'. The new interpretation is for example demonstrated by wearing an appropriate hijab (*Hijab syar'i*) that not specifically symbolizes women's exclusive association to the Tarbiyah community, but a distinctive true Muslimah identity.

In the Suharto period, veiling was seen as a symbol of rebellious identity and the decision to join the tarbiyah community sometimes also resulted in the family's breaking up. There were actually few spaces in Ummi's past editions (in the Suharto period) for sharing the experiences of Hijab among the readers (most notably were female dakwah activists). Some letters from the readers were posted in Ummi's column '*Surat Ananda*' (Letters from my Daughters) told the stories of female Tarbiyah activists who were rejected by their parents, families and friends since they practiced veiling. Some other stories from Ummi's readers even told the experience of being removed from their 'social environment' due to the decision to follow the path of dakwah, for instance because of an arranged marriage or a marriage without parent's consent. However, Ummi's response to such issues of family's breaking-up was demonstrated through a rebellious persuasion to remain in distant relationship with people who cannot accept the '*hijrah*' of these female Tarbiyah activists – including with the family members who expelled them. Another rebellious metaphor was also said that experiencing social difficulties were the price for the struggle of the Tarbiyah movement paid by these female

³¹ Brenner, 1996. Op cit. P.697

Tarbiyah activists. Therefore, these female Tarbiyah activists should have not to worry about risking or losing relationship with families and friends because they would cultivate better new families that are bound with Islamic norms. To some extents, the persuasion also argued by Ummi that Islam allowed them to oppose their 'infidel' parents. This sacrifice to leave familial or social ties in this context, according to Ummi was highly rewarded in the eyes of God. A virtuous comfort, on this account, was always present in Ummi publications during the Suharto period, but it was always presented as rebellious statements.

In post Suharto era, the female Tarbiyah activists in Ummi's editorial board are aware that the issues of familial breaking and social removal due to the decisions to follow the path of Dakwah have caused a negative image on the Tarbiyah movement. Therefore, since 1998, some female Tarbiyah activists in Ummi initiated a new project to renew the image of modern pious women. It began by incorporating more feminine characters in the magazines – including in the propagation of veiling. The practice of veiling represented in Ummi's post Suharto then became a representation of expressing freedom of personal choices for pursuing Islamic virtues in harmonious ways. Ummi invites its readers to share their inspirational stories that accentuate the benefits of practicing hijab in affectionate ways for social acceptance. Within the narrative Ummi always summed up the reader's story with a repeatedly suggestion that Hijab can only be meaningful when it is conducted in a combination of persistence and patience to educate people for accepting Hijab. Patience is thus qualified as feminine character embedded in the image of pious women.

Some successful stories of a 'voluntarily hijrah' captured by Ummi are found in its regular column of '*Dunia Wanita*' (Women's World). This column shares inspirational stories of women from varying different social background. The 'ordinary' women and the Indonesian top celebrities such as movie stars, politicians, executive women, have contributed to the stories of the *Dunia Wanita*. The stories in general informed the readers a similar moral lesson that their *hijrah* did not preclude them to achieve success in terms of education, careers, or life achievements that help them to reconcile with their families and friends. Yet, these achievements are considered precious due to

the pride their (these readers who shared stories in Ummy) carried with their 'hijab'. Wearing a 'Jilbab' (veil) for them - symbolizes a difficult duty to maintain chastity. Hijab helps to sustain pure honesty in order to refuse an evil temptation particularly by exploiting physical beauty and or dishonest intentions (see Figure.11).



Figure.11. A Regular Column in Ummy 'Dunia Wanita' (Women's World): sub theme 'Ajakan Berjilbab' (An Invitation to wear Jilbab). Source: Ummy No. 9/XVII,2006

Hijab in Umami's post Suharto thus not only represents a practice of veiling as a form of religious obedience. Indeed it connotes a freedom to express identity that symbolically conveys the meaning of chastity. This is exemplified by a renewed discourse of '*Maratus Shalihah*' in Umami post Suharto. The importance of the discourse implies an idea that being pious women is not only about showing obedience to God, but it is also about gaining respect from the society. In order to gain respect from the society, Muslim women according to Umami should prepare a sacred duty as the '*ummu madrasah*' – the mother of education. Being the ummu madrasah specifically also conveys a sacred meaning for women as the guardians of their families. Such an idea also found in Fadwa el Guindi's argument (1999) who argues that veiling conveys sacred privacy and sanctity in which women undertake their sacred relationship with God into their every day lives. El Guindi's argument was originated from her ethnography work on the veiling practice among female Dakwah activists in Egypt. El Guindi's thesis was built on the centrality of privacy and space. Similarly with the phenomenon of veiling as a 'voluntarily hijrah' in the case of female Tarbiyah activists in Indonesia, El Guidi also found that the practice of veiling among the Egyptian female Dakwah activists as a liberating self expression in relation to sustain respect, privacy, and chastity. Indeed, El Guindi puts forward an argument that a practice of veiling is thus a private visual metaphor and it is a conversion of a sacred realm into public sphere.³² According to El Guindi's, the practice of veiling in public connects a linkage between dress, women, and sanctity of space. This private metaphor of veiling is reflected in the duality of Islamic rituals of 'dressing the Ka'ba' (the centre of the holy pilgrimage Mecca) for protection and attitude of protectiveness and the Hajj ritual of Tawaf by rhythmically circumambulating the Ka'ba' in the counter clock circling to worship God that symbolizes the unity of man to God. Islam perceives woman's body as a sanctuary that deserves both protection and the attitude of protectiveness for its rhythmic changes. In other words, similarly to the ritual of dressing of the Ka'ba, veiling

³² El Guindi, Fadwa. 1999. *Veil, Modesty, Privacy and Resistance*. New York, Oxford: Berg. Pp. 95-96.

also signifies a quality of respect that embodies not only physical but also metaphysical relationship directly to God. Therefore, veiling is aimed at carrying a personal union with God in public sphere. In addition to this context El Guindi (1999) also emphasizes that:

“The concept of sanctuary that connects sacred places (e.g. mosques, pilgrimage centers) also applies to women’s quarters and family - a connection that brings out the significance of the idea of sanctity and the rhythmic interweaving of patterns of worldly and sacred life, linking women as the guardians of family sanctuaries and the realm of the sacred in this world.”

(El Guindi, 1999.p.96).

However, El Guindi’s idea invites several criticisms notably from feminists and Muslim women liberal activists mainly because her analysis did not include a phenomenon when ‘hijab’ becomes a medium of oppression or cultural hegemony that recently occur in particular Muslim societies. Andrea B. Rugh (2002) criticizes El Guindi’s idea by an argument that the practice of veiling also conveys public message, something that is missing in El Guindi’s analysis. Rugh further challenges Guindi’s argument by further warns that the common practice of veiling by its wearers signified their growing religious commitment and it correspond to the phenomenon of covering the body with more and more garments.³³

In Indonesia, however, unlike the practice of veiling in Egypt that is long rooted in Arabic-Islamic culture, the practice of veiling itself has never been so popular and massive until the last two decades. Even though, the practice of veiling in Indonesia was not a new phenomenon, it had been introduced exclusively only within particular Islamic educational environment. Traditionally, the practice of veiling was commonly hybridized practiced as

³³ Rugh, Andrea.B. 2002. ‘Veil: Modesty, Privacy and Resistance’. *Visual Anthropology Review*, 18. Pp. 112-113

'*kerudung*'³⁴ that usually was also modified with traditional ethnic costumes. Even at the National Islamic Universities like the UIN (Univesitas Islam Negeri – the State Islamic Universities) during the 1970s – 1980s in Java, some female students wore only '*kerudung*' that still allows part of their hairs and necks to be visibly seen. So, '*jilbab*' was not very popular until quite recently since 1990s. Dewi Candraningrum (2013) for instance argues that women who practice veiling are actively engaged in conveying other meanings of *hijab* to public. By illustrating a phenomenon of hijab in the contemporary Indonesia, Candraningrum puts forward an argument that '*jilbab*' (the veil) is adopted for the pursuit of an idealized feminine beauty and the quest for identity acceptance. Candraningrum provides an exemplification from her case study in the veiling practice among the Indonesian transgenders. In her study, Candraningrum found that *hijab* (veiling practice) is culturally and socially constructed to serve not only Islamic patriarchal norms but also to the hegemony of heterosexuality norms. Hijab thus becomes a cultural hegemony in contemporary Indonesia due to its function as a medium of negotiating gender normativity under a hegemonic heteronormativity, motivated by Islamic norms.³⁵ Traditionally in Java for instance, transgenders are culturally welcome and socially accepted, and thus homophobic was not found in the tradition. However, transgenders in Indonesia now are dealing with a growing homophobia in public and thus wearing a veil reconciles the feelings of being socially rejected on one hand and the quest for feminine beauty (that also connotes piety) on the other hand. Among the transgenders, veiling is seen as a mechanism to remain socially and culturally accepted. To this extent, I support Candraningrum's argument particularly on the hegemonic heteronormativity that has given the practice of veiling a higher moral status to the wearers in Indonesia today.

³⁴ '*Kerudung*' is another form of veiling that is actually a loose scarf which covers the head but the neck and part of the upper hairs are still visibly seen (see figure.3 as an example).

³⁵ Candraningrum, Dewi. 2013. *Negotiating Women's Veiling: Politics and Sexuality in Contemporary Indonesia*. Bangkok: IRASEC. Pp. 60-64.

On that account, Ummi's discourse of the renewed '*maratus shalihah*' is constructed through the hijab ideology that legitimates an oppressive feminine identity which associates gender traits based on sex under patriarchal norms. The hijab ideology represented in Ummi also operates through a distinctive gender normativity by homogenizing men and women in the separate social groupings. Therefore, in Ummi's view, heterosexuality is the ultimate lawful sexuality in Islam. The appropriation of Hijab as a mechanism to normalize heteronormativity is demonstrated in Ummi's view that espouses the ikhwani doctrine to discipline public morality based on sex differences. In this context the practice of veiling justified a feminine identity by manufacturing newly social meanings of respect and chastity (sanctity).

The feminine construction of '*maratus shalihah*' in Ummi's post Suharto editions is also framed in a dignified role as a protector for the family. When a woman decided to put on hijab, it does not simply means to confine the body physically – it also means to bear consequences on practicing Dakwah (to follow the path of Dakwah). Wearing a *Jilbab* not only means to encounter a spiritual journey; it bears a manifestation to invite other Muslims to be fully guided by Islamic norms. This manifestation can be achieved through the role of being '*Ummu Madrasah*' (mother of education). The '*Ummu Madrasah*' signifies an ideal type of a mother as a role model and inspirational moral guide to create a normative Islamic society. As dignified educators, women should teach their family first and later their society to be more familiar and thus willingly accept Islamic norms for their moral guidance in every day practices. In particular, being the *Ummu Madrasah* also gives women a status of the family's protectors due to their feminine qualities in nurturing the family members. In this context, woman is imagined as having an ability to have a greater moral influence through education, first it should start from home and thus in the society. It begins by the upbringing patterns to conditioned children under the Islamic norms. The method stresses the benefits of the conditioning practice in order to make the children feel free to adopt Islamic norms. In this Islamic conception of motherhood, women are expected to cultivate a better generation so called the '*rabbani generation*' or the *Godly* generation who are

knowledgeable about God and whose *akhlak* (morals) are in obedience to God. The reproduction of the *rabbani generation* is also idealized in the pursuits of a servitude to Allah and a perpetual struggle to create an ideal Umma as exemplified in the history of the Prophet Muhammad's struggles of conquering the '*Jahiliyya*' (the ignorant) and converting them to be pious Muslims.

With regard to the reproduction of the *rabbani generation*, Ummi describes the role of *ummu madrasah* through some narratives that provide strategy and practical instructions to educate children. Because being an active educator will not only affect the family, but also society. In dealing with this duty, women should prepare themselves with particular knowledge on Islamic social system. In order to provide a knowledge on Islamic social system to readers, Ummi refers to Yusuf al Qaradawi's concept on '*Malaamihu al Mujtama' al Muslim Alladzi Nasyuduh - Sistem Masyarakat Islam (the Islamic Social System)*'³⁶. In the concept of the Islamic social system, Yusuf Qaradawi emphasizes a combination of compassion and righteousness as the basis of Islamic education. Based on Qaradawi's concept, Ummi conceptualizes the role of *ummu madrasah* by combining the strength of affection (being compassionate) and virtue (being righteous). According to Ummi's view, the combination of strength represents the power of a mother who can transform a mental state of children from being apathetic into committed to Islam. The role of *ummu madrasah* for example is represented by a metaphor that persuades *a mother to be 'picky'* in choosing a better '*Tarbiyah*' for her child (children). The *Tarbiyah* in this context refers to a formal education and an Islamic nurture of ethics and integrity. Therefore, being '*picky*' in the practical term means not sending children to a school that not provides complete and comprehensive Islamic syllabi. In its edition in March 2005, Ummi specifically promoted the *Tarbiyah-PKS* affiliated elementary schools of the JSIT – Jaringan Sekolah Islam Terpadu - the Islamic Integrated Schools for their complete and

³⁶ Yusuf al Qaradawi concept on Islamic Social System consists of educational materials and is also taught during the *Tarbiyah* mentoring classes. The materials regarding Qaradawi's concept has been published as a book and translated into Indonesian. Further reading, see: Qaradawi, Yusuf. 1997. *Malaamihu al Mujtama' al Muslim Alladzi Nasyuduh - Sistem Masyarakat Islam dalam Al Qur'an dan as Sunnah*. Solo: Citra Islami Press.

comprehensive Islamic syllabi (see Figure12). The JSIT today consists not only elementary schools but also high schools that operate in major cities throughout Indonesia (Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Sulawesi, Maluku, Nusa Tenggara, and Papua).

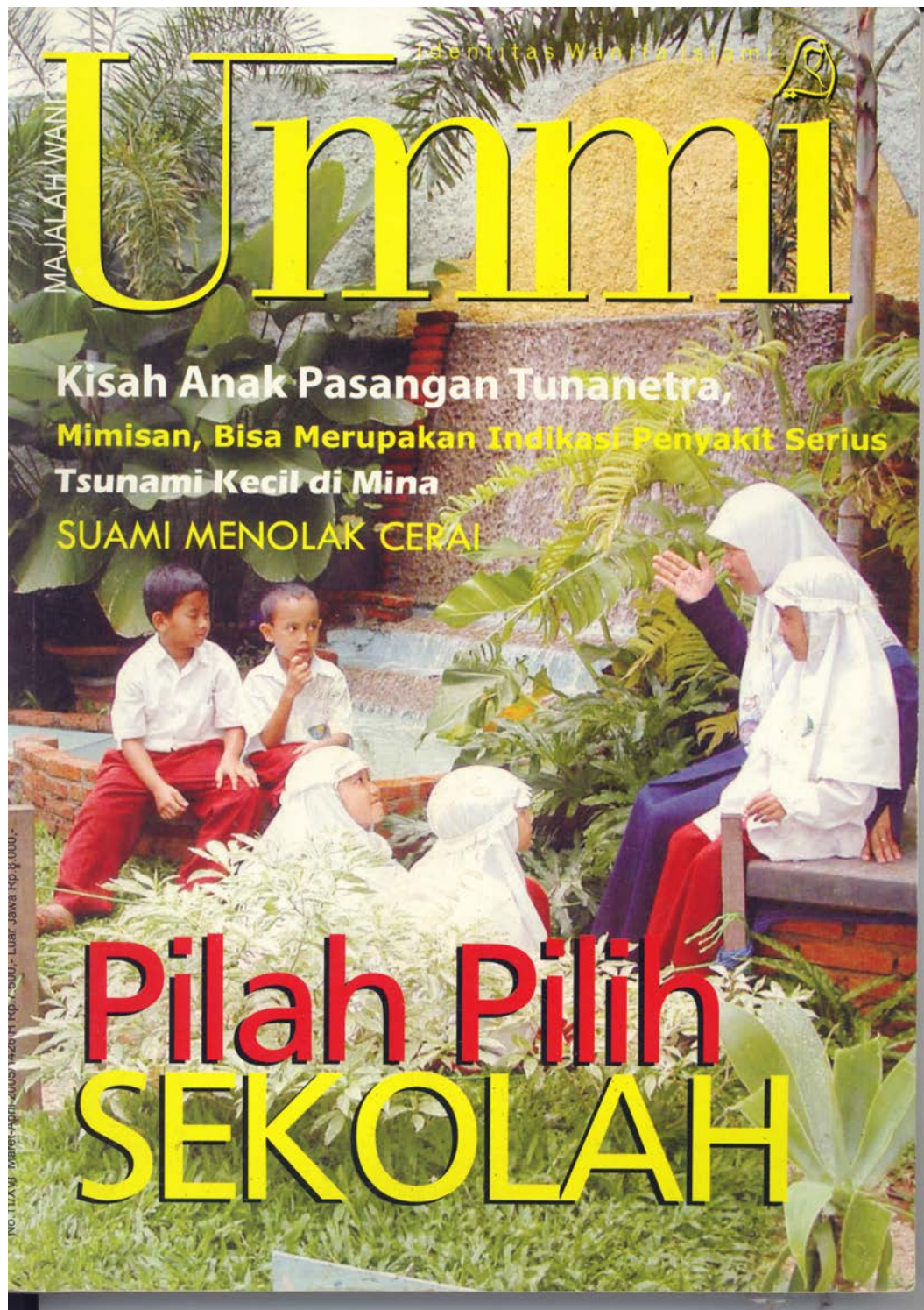


Figure. 12. Ummi's Cover and Headline: 'Picky for Schooling!' Source: Ummi No.1 /XVI, March edition 2005.

Ummi's edition in March 2005 for instance illustrated the role of Ummu Madrasah. The edition's cover photograph implies a symbolic representation that children should also be conditioned to the *hijab* ideology as well (see figure 12). We can obviously see that children since their early youth are dressed in '*hijab*'. As shown in the cover's picture, the young girls were wearing their '*jilbab*', meanwhile the young boys were wearing long trousers in their elementary school's uniform. The young boys are depicted in hijab as well because they were not wearing short pants. Wearing a short pant is actually a normal boy's school outfit in the Indonesian public state elementary school. The photograph also conveys another interesting sign because the student's uniform in red and white symbolizes the color of the Indonesian national flag. Wearing a uniform in red and white is in fact a compulsory attribute for attending 'secular' public state elementary school. The image of children practicing '*hijab*' has never been widely exhibited in public prior to the Reform era. Children practicing hijab in Ummi of post Suharto era is thus imagined as *Anak Shaleh* (pious children). The cultural imaginary of *Anak Shaleh* (pious children) only quite recently emerged for less than a decade ago in the Reform era. Ummi was then the first magazine to introduce a public familiarity on the image of *Anak Shaleh*, especially because Ummi has initially represented the image of pious children since in its earlier editions during the Suharto era. Although, practicing '*hijab*' according to Islamic *Shari'a* only obliges to adolescents beyond puberty, in Indonesia today, even young Muslim students at public elementary state schools (non-Islamic schools) are encouraged to wear *hijab* since their earlier age.

The discourse of *maratus shalihah* is thus formulated by a hierarchy of moral codes where the basis relies on a voluntarily submission to Islam. This submission requires more binding norms in the servitude to Allah. Ummi's renewed discourse on *maratus shalihah* then implies an essential meaning that being pious should come first from a voluntarily decision, but the consequence from the decision is to discipline the self with moral obligations ascribed for a promised dignified (higher) status. Being a *maratus shalihah* as exemplified by the roles of Ummu Madrasah (mother of education) then signifies not only a

self - transformation to be more pious and committed. Indeed, in Ummi's representation, it should be followed up by an active action to transform society to be conditioned for the *Islamic* norms according to the ikhwani (Tarbiyah) teachings.

4.4. Ummi as a Popular Women's Magazine: Islamic Intimacy in Private Relationships and the Commodity of Femininity

The transformation of the magazine to a popular style consequently invites more responses from Ummi's readers. Therefore, a space for allocating readers' concerns becomes another project of Ummi's editors. In this project, readers addressed their private problems in search for Ummi's advices especially on the complexities of personal relationship. This is for example appears regularly in the Ummi's classic column '*Ya Ummi*' (*Oh my Mother*). Unlike in the Suharto's period where the column served to answer readers (the Tarbiyah members) questions on practical instructions for practicing Dakwah and the values behind the practices, in the Reform era the column serves to respond anonymous readers who shared their 'private' secrets that were previously in Ummi considered as taboos. These private problems in relationship for instance are identified as follows; having a violent husband, a husband has sexual affairs with other women, having a brother or even a husband who is a gay (or bisexual), a temptation to meet ex-lover, having a mean mother in law, a husband married secretly without asking for the wife's approval, etc. All of these shared private stories have never been displayed in Ummi's past editions in the Suharto's era. As a response to the shared stories Ummi provides two types of solution, the shari'a answer and the psychological answer, sometimes Ummi also includes a solution from a secular legal perspective, for instance when it came to un-resolved conflicts that affected the readers' legal status as Indonesian citizens.

Concern on women's private relationships is Ummi's new project that emulates the works of secular women's magazines in Indonesia. Intimacy as

women's magazine project in Indonesia has started since 1980s, for instance as exemplified in the Suzanne Brenner's study on the Indonesian popular women's magazines. However in this regard Ummi offers a distinctive Islamic intimacy by providing virtuous comfort. Islamic intimacy indeed also serves to familiarize Islamic norms particularly that applies to private relationships. Secular women's popular magazine in the 1980s-1990s such as Femina and Kartini had formulated an intimate approach with their readers by accommodating the readers' private problems and made them into a commodity of femininity.³⁷ Janice Winship argues that consuming others women's private matters offered by women's magazines is also entertaining because popular women's magazine provides an ideological framework where readers are encouraged to signify their own feminine senses within this offered framework of femininity.³⁸

³⁷ Brenner. 1999. Op cit

³⁸ Winship. 1987. Op cit pp. 76 - 80



Figure.13. Ummi's headline: 'Be A Happy Single'. Source: Ummi No.3 / XVII, July 2005

Readers' private problems especially in managing personal relationship then inspired Ummi's project on exploring femininity as its major appeal. Because the exploration on femininity in women's magazine provides pleasures that are not only profitable to the magazine's industry but also legitimizing particular dominant interest, therefore women's magazine does not provide innocent pleasure. This is for example exemplified in Ummi's edition in July 2005 which was for the first time published a provocative theme entitled '*Be a Happy Single*' (see figure 13). The option of choosing the title was quite impressive because unlike Ummi's other headlines that were captioned in *Bahasa* (Indonesian), this title was written in English. Such an appeal of captioning the magazine's headline in English is actually carried out by international brand women's magazines which have operated in Indonesia since in the earlier Reform era such as *Elle* and *Cosmopolitan*. Ummi's first edition on the theme of 'being single' revealed a 'hot topic' particularly among the Tarbiyah members. The theme discussed complexities and ramifications faced by some female readers in relationship for example when they have to meet 'an arranged marriage' that to some extents is still culturally unacceptable. Ummi has grasped this issue in the moderate ways, by allowing the readers to remain 'single' but keep motivating them to open up possibilities for creating happy family according to Shari'a. After the first edition of being single was successfully gained readers' attention, Ummi incorporates more complicated issues on marital relationships. These marital issues for instance were exhibited in some cases raised by the readers who asked Ummi's advice for a divorce for instance due to inability to cope with polygamy or experiencing domestic violence. Ummi always provided a moderate solution by providing two possibilities of resisting or letting go a marriage. Marital solutions offered by Ummi now include a shar'ia guide for handling an Islamic divorce and psychological counseling in coping with marital problems (see Figure.14). Prior to this, Ummi only employed a shari'a perspective for domestic problem's solution.

Suami Keras Kepala



Assalamu'alaikum

Saya Santi (30), sudah menikah kira-kira 5 tahun, memiliki 3 orang anak. Tapi selama ini saya terbebani dengan perilaku suami saya yang keras kepala dan pembawaannya yang angkuh, sepertinya dia tidak butuh pertolongan orang lain. Padahal keadaan rumah tangga kami saat ini sedang carut marut. Memang dari awal pernikahan saya sudah melihat tabiat suami saya yang seperti itu. Tapi saya pasrahkan saja, mungkin memang dia yang terbaik untuk saya.

Suami saya tidak mempunyai pekerjaan tetap. Selama ini untuk membiayai kehidupan kami, dia berjualan di dekat stasiun kereta. Tapi usahanya ini tidak berjalan dengan baik. Setelah ibunya meninggal, kondisi

ekonomi kami sekarang ini makin berat karena tak ada lagi yang membantu kami.

Suami saya juga tidak bisa memelihara hubungan dengan lingkungan sekitarnya bahkan dengan keluarga saya pun sekarang malah musuhan. Beberapa minggu lalu suami saya bertengkar hebat dengan kakak saya karena suami ingin menjual tanah milik saya hadiah dari ayah. Saya pun tidak setuju tanah itu dijual, karena atas tanah itu nanti saya ingin membangun rumah, supaya tidak terus menganggur seperti sekarang ini. Tapi dia tidak peduli dan malah dia yang lebih marah.

Ternyata dengan keluarganya suami tidak akrab. Karena sifatnya yang keras kepala itu keluarganya tidak suka dan menjauhinya. Ketika dia datang ke tante-tantanya untuk meminjam uang karena kami terjerat rentenir, dia malah diusir tante-tanya.

1. Ummi, bagaimana menghadapi suami yang keras kepala suami saya ini agar kehidupan rumah tangga kami bisa lebih baik?

2. Suami saya selalu merasa yakin bahwa dia adalah kepala rumah tangga yang baik, iman yang baik untuk keluarga, tapi tidak dipraktikkan dalam perilakunya. Bagaimana mengingatkannya, dengan sikap keras kepala dan merasa selalu benar itu?

3. Saya terpaksa meminjam uang dengan rentenir. Apakah dosa saya diampuni?

Wassalamu'alaikum

Santi, Jakarta

Jawaban Syariah

Nanda Santi, yang dirahmati Allah, kehidupan rumah tangga memang ibarat bahtera berlayar di lair.



Figure.14. Column Ya Ummi - Reader's Religious and Psychological Counseling in Ummi – theme: 'Suami Keras Kepala' – A Stubborn Husband. Source: Ummi No.5 / 2006.

Umami's project on exploring femininity thus provides a key site for a wider development of a self-identity by accommodating readers' opinions in shaping the image of *maratus shalihah*. Readers' opinions address two major concerns related with private relationships. First, concern in marital relationship that mostly comes from the difficulties in the dilemmas of being single and the problems to cope with a polygamous marriage. The dilemma of remaining single mostly came from women's reluctance for taking the risks for 'unblessed marriages' (see figure 15). The unblessed marriages could mean a marriage without parents' consent (that in most cases happened in the arranged marriage between the Tarbiyah activists), or a marriage with an incompatible Muslim guy (presumed to be secular) who is not equally practicing Islam. Second, concern in familial relationship caused by conflicts with parents, or other family's members. There are several sensitive issues also discussed by Umami in the later headline themes as the results of the previously readers' opinions, for instance an arranged marriage, pernikahan dini (an early marriage),³⁹ a husband's economic dependence, etc. Umami is aware that some *Muslimah* (especially the female Tarbiyah members) are having uneasy conflicts with their family or experiencing familial breaking. Therefore, Umami includes a concern on repairing familial relationship in its current editions.⁴⁰ Umami's view on an arranged marriage is quite moderate compares to its past position, despite Umami's rigorous position on prohibiting adultery and unmarried dating, Umami began to accept a marriage that results from natural causes. Indeed, Umami has issued instructions for an Islamic courting that is often referred to as '*Ta'aruf*' or an Islamic procedure for having acquainted period between two lovers. On the other hand, Umami still apparently sustains the culture of arranged marriage (that is identical with the marriage culture among the Tarbiyah members) through an interactive program which offers a

³⁹ The *Tarbiyah* movement advocates its members to marry at young age (despite their lack of economic capacity) in order to prohibit adultery and or to prevent sexual misbehaviors.

⁴⁰ Scholars like Brenner (1996) and Schroeter (2013) noticed that female *Dakwah* activists were aware of familial breaking due to their choices to a *Hijrah* – or a journey to total Islam. But it (familial breaking) would not stop these female *Dakwah* activists to leave the Jama'ah or abandon the path of *Dakwah*.

service for a 'Ta'aruf' to single Muslim women (readers) who are in search to find the 'perfect' Muslim guys. With regard to the problems to cope with polygamy, what has almost been absent since 1998 in Ummi's representation is Ummi's previous stark position of legitimizing polygamy. It does not mean, however, that Ummi does not support the practice of polygamy. The magazine sustains an Islamic view that polygamy is acceptable according to the Shari'a, but Ummi seems no longer in the favorable position to overtly advocate the practice of polygamous marriage. Indeed, Ummi provides both alternatives of sustaining or letting go the marriage, although symbolically now Ummi seems to favor a monogamous marriage. Based on readers opinions, especially those concerned in marital problems, it seems that the Ummi's editors incline to admit the existing issues of domestic violence that also occurred among the Tarbiyah members as well. Ummi's concern on the issues of domestic violence is demonstrated in the Ummi's guide of handling an Islamic divorce. However, unlike other 'secular' women's magazines which framed the issues within a feminist framework of '*KDRT – Kekerasan dalam Rumah Tangga*' (domestic violence), Ummi's editors opt to frame it as a '*Gangguan dalam Pernikahan*' or 'marital disorder'.

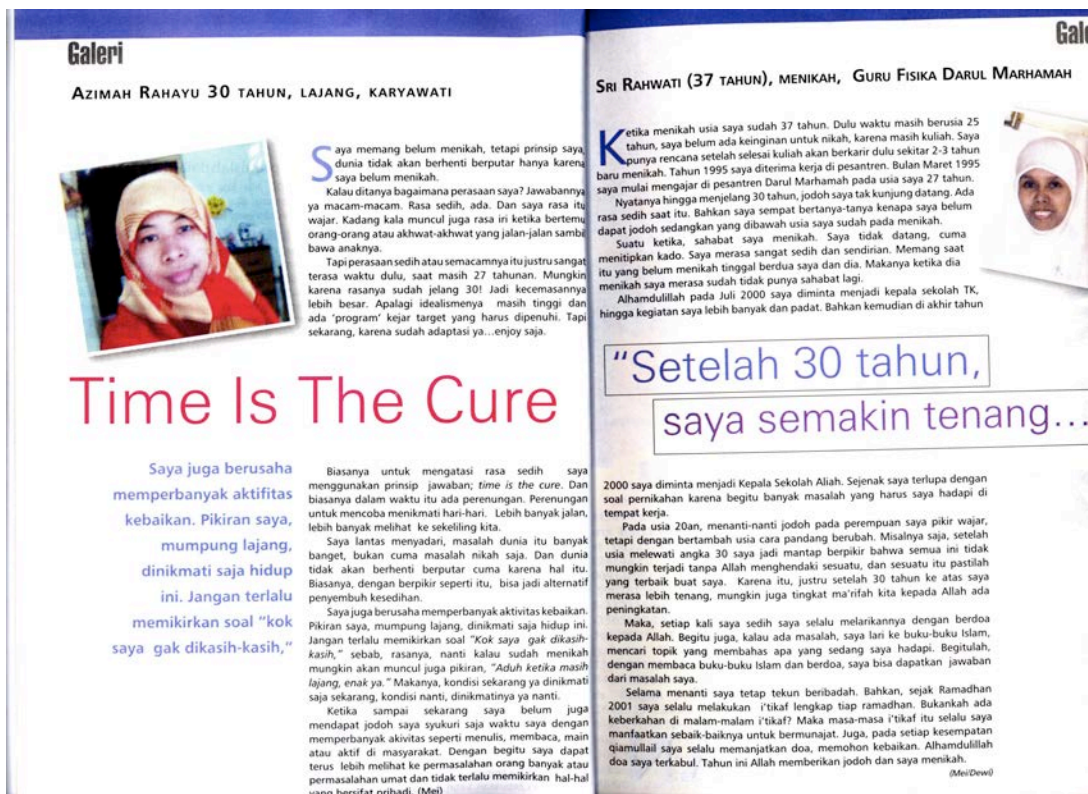


Figure.15. Galeri - The Gallery Columns: Readers' Opinions in Private Relationship. The column exemplified in the figure 15 shared two different opinions on private relationship. First is concerning a dilemma of being single and the reluctance to an unblessed marriage (in the left column entitled '*Time is the cure*'). And second is concerning a decision for an arranged marriage at the age of thirty years old after a long period of reluctance (in the right column entitled "*Setelah 30 tahun saya semakin tenang*'- *After I got 30 years old I feel more calm*).

Source: Ummi No.11, November 2006

The term 'marital disorder' is discussed by Yusuf al Qaradawi to illustrate a case of *Nusyuz* or the disobedient wife. In the case of *Nusyuz*, al Qaradawi interprets an Islamic law which allows a husband to beat his wife. This law derives from the interpretation of the Quran Sura Annisa (4): 128 which says: "*And if a woman fears from her husband contempt or evasion, there is no sin upon them if they make terms of settlement between them - and settlement is best. And present in [human] souls is stinginess. But if you do good*

*and fear Allah - then indeed Allah is ever, with what you do, Acquainted."*⁴¹ However, according to al Qaradawi, a wife beating should not deliberately prescribe as a solution to Nusyuz. It (wife beating) could only be accepted as long as it is an unintended and spontaneous act without hurting woman's face or sensitive areas of a woman's body.⁴² Readers who complained about their abusive husbands for instance might find Ummi's answer ambiguous because it is not quite clear to whom Ummi takes its side. On that account, although Ummi also acknowledges al Qaradawi's moderate interpretation on the rights of Muslim women to initiate the divorce procedure (*Khuluq*), there is also an ambiguous apologizing rhetoric for suggesting women to put aside self-satisfaction and refer to God's guidance through perpetual worship at first before making decisions for a divorce in order to normalize the marital relationship. In other words, Ummi seems to omit the patriarchal ideology by keep encouraging women to reconcile with their 'abusive husbands'. This effort, according to Ummi, purposes to keep the family in a harmonious state. Performing 'harmony' seems to be at front in Ummi's proposal for resolving problems with relationships.

Attempting at providing moral virtues in harmony is thus Ummi's religious package to represent its renewed image of *maratus shalihah*. Islamic moral virtues based on the ikhwani (*Tarbiyah*) teachings are rhetorically placed in the magazine's genres. The construction of feminine identity is also operated in the genre making. The genres provide a wide spectrum of religiosity and femininity through which serves Ummi's project on disseminating the ikhwani ideology and continuously propagating the Tarbiyah's interests. Apparently the genre's categorization still echoes the old Ummi's formula (in the Suharto era), but Ummi has re-arranged these genres under a newly rubrication format where all columns are no longer captioned in Arabic terms – but in Bahasa (Indonesian). A spectrum of religiosity and

⁴¹The Quran: <http://quran.com/4/128> (accessed on November 24th 2013).

⁴²Qaradawi, Yusuf. 2000. *Haram dan Halal dalam Islam- Al Halal wal Haram fil Islam (the Lawful and Prohibited in Islam)*. Transl.by Hamidy, Mu'ammal. Surabaya: PT. Bina Ilmu.Pp.284-286.

femininity in the magazine can be discerned in the following table of Ummi's Cover Story;

Table.11. Ummi's Cover Story (Ummi's Content 1998-2009)

Genre	Rubrication (Column Titles)	Contents
Propagation of dakwah (Religious Consultation, Psychological Counseling, and Motivational Counseling)	Mutiara Islam (Pearls of Islam): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mutiara Dakwah (Pearls of Dakwah) • Kajian Hadits (the Study of Hadith) • Tafsir Qur'an (The Interpretation of the Quran) • Fiqh Wanita (Islamic Law/Jurisprudence for Women) • Galeri (Gallery) 	Description and Explanation on Islamic values and practices Description and discussion on the Status of Women in Islam according to the Qur'an and the Sunna Description and discussion on understanding of the <i>Shari'a</i> and Islamic legal thoughts Narratives of the inspirational stories from the Salaf al Salih generation Readers opinion on private relationships (marital and familial)
Moral Virtue	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bahasan Utama (Ummi's Main Focus) • Media Kita (Our Media) • Dunia Wanita (Women's World) • Ya Ummi (oh Mother) 	Persuasions to Prioritize moral virtues (<i>akhlakul karimah</i>) Narratives and discussions on the 'Hijab' (Values and Practices) Narratives on public morality and its social impacts (e.g: the danger of pornography, how to make a brother realize that homosexuality is a disease needs to be cure, how to remind a friend not 'dating' a man, etc) Narratives on <i>Ummu Madrasah</i> (Values and Practices) Persuasion on putting an emphasis on 'love' and 'compassion' as the <i>Dakwah</i>

		approaches (i.e. to call a friend a dear sister, to speak quietly to older people, etc) Personal Problems' Sharing and solution
Self-Image and Beauty	Cantik (Beautiful) Tamu Kita (Our Guest)	Tips for beauty (Style for Fashion and Make up) Narratives on balancing beauty and piety
Home/ Household management	Ragam (Variety) Keluarga (Family): •Kesehatan keluarga (Family's Health) •Psikologi Keluarga (Psychology of Family) •Nuansa Kehidupan •Konsultasi Keuangan	Tips and suggestion on fulfilling self-achievements (self motivation): pursuing education, pursuing career at work. Tips and suggestion on managing household based on the Shari'a resolution.
News – Journalistic Reportage	Info (General Information) Liputan (News) Album (Album)	Reportage on related <i>Dakwah</i> activities Reportage on related activities concerning women's and family issues nationwide
Entertainment, Food, Sport, Practical Tips	Fiksi (Fictions) Dapur (Kitchen) Pangan Halal (Halal Food) Obrolan (Chit-chat) Solusi (Solution)	Storytelling (Various inspirational stories and lessons from spiritual journey) Tips for Exercising Sport (in the Shar'i manner) Suggestion for Halal consumption
Islamic worldview	Ufuk Luar (Beyond the horizon)	Documentary reportage on Muslim Women and the Islamic world (Sunni Islam)

Ummy's changing relationship with its readers systematically transformed the image of maratus shalihah (pious women) that used to be distinguished in the roles of a loyal housewife (*al zaujah muth'iah*). The image of a loyal housewife in Ummy's past editions (Suharto era) was previously illustrated in passivity and characterized as obedient and submissive. Such an image of an obedient submissive housewife was shown for instance by Ummy's past argument to support a restriction for women to go in public. By contrast,

in Ummi's post Suharto editions pious women are illustrated in moderate dynamic. In post Suharto Ummi's edition, the image of pious women signifies an obedience in performing religiosity that also constitutes a demand for mobility. A demand for women's mobility is legitimized with a priority to pursue Islamic piety first not in search for personal desire. Modern maratus shalihah is thus imagined (by Ummi) as 'a free woman' who is voluntarily willing to take a lifetime moral transformation (and the consequence which follows) with the feeling of not being oppressed.

Marjorie Ferguson (1983) argues that women magazine provides a syllabus of instructions that socialize a state of womanhood according to certain doctrines in an oppressive sense. In this sense, Ferguson further asserts that women magazine advocates 'a cult of femininity' – that is not only reflected in the journal's strategy of constructing 'female roles' in the society. Indeed, the magazine helps to socialize this construction of womanhood in the convincing ways by legitimizing readers' demand.⁴³ Similarly, Angela McRobbie (1996) also proposes an argument that readers of women's popular magazine are understood in emotional and intimate ways. In doing so, readers are assumed by the editors as the magazine's circle of friends because readers provide a space of projection for the magazine's project.⁴⁴

Ummi's project in reaching out more readers also means that the magazine should maintain the desires of both old and new readers in displaying femininity. Like other popular women's magazines, Ummi's features also offer narratives of romance, private relationships, education, pleasure, relaxation, and the state of being established. In Ummi's case, the motive of managing more intimate and emotional relationship with readers consequently has changed the features of the magazine, but not the essential ideological framework. Within the framework of Islamic intimacy, readers are considered as the members of Ummi's family, more specifically Ummi treats

⁴³ Ferguson, Marjorie. 1983. *Forever Feminine: Women Magazine and the Cult of Femininity*. London: Heinemann. Pp. 184-185

⁴⁴ McRobbie, Angela. 1996. "More! New Sexualities in Girl's and Women's Magazine". In Curran et al (eds), *Cultural Studies and Communication*. London: Arnold. P.178.

them as 'daughters'. But in Ummi's project, these daughters are subjected to conform Ummi's moral views. In other words, readers may aspire their views on problematic social relations but they eventually cannot confront the truth about power relations in Ummi's view on Islamic moral order of managing social relations. On this account, Ummi still plays a powerful role as the Murrabi whose knowledge on Islamic values and practices is yet able to be questioned by the Muttarabi (readers) but the Murrabi's reply to the question is undisputable. This is obviously found in the case of readers' opinions on domestic violence in which by Ummi the issues are framed as 'marital disorder'.

In the Suharto's era, a celebration of femininity was almost absent in Ummi's editions. While in the Reform era, Ummi appears like a Mother whose 'motherly character' is symbolized by 'listening to its readers'. Ummi uses a metaphor of '*mendengarkan suara pembaca kami adalah tugas Ummi sebagai ibu*' – 'listening to our readers is Ummi's duty as a mother'. This metaphor is frequently employed in the editorial page to convince readers that the magazine provides an alternative view of Islam by which women are truly respected. A reference to the moderate ikhwani contemporary moral teachings necessarily has affected more intimate relationship between Ummi and its readers. Yet, Ummi's view as the mother for its readers implies an oppressive patriarchal ideology because on constructing femininity Ummi resides to espouse the 'ikhwani' essential doctrine that stresses women's obligation to uphold a normative sexual order in the society. In this context, Ummi's emancipatory project of accommodating readers' desires through an intimate relationship indeed affirms the manifestation of private Muslim identities in the public sphere. Ummi's politics of sexuality is thus culturally manufactured in the magazine's rhetoric that accentuates the importance of self-characters building in the light of moral transformation.

4.5. "*Cantik dan Shalihah*"(Beautiful and Pious): Visual Representation and Female Images in Ummi's Post Suharto

According to Roland Barthes (1977) just like texts, images functioned as rhetorical tool that convey signs and meanings. Barthes argues that when reality is depicted in the visual medium, it is not essentially encrypted. It is the reproduction of reality in the form of visual images that encodes a system of signs to generate meanings. Barthes's concept on the rhetoric of image is also understood that the meaning of visual representation necessarily is encoded in the activity of viewing which is also shaped culturally and contextually. Barthes argues that the rhetoric of images comprises a set of 'connotators' (the signifiers within a particular medium) that are built in particular cultural codes and context. Because ideology is a system of ideas, it is manifested in the signified and the signifiers. Ideology is, according to Barthes, found in the common domain of signified connotations.⁴⁵ On this account, visual representation of the image is a symbolic language that also serves ideological construction. Although Barthes's concept on the rhetoric of image works for his analysis of the advertising images, his concept also works in analyzing images (visual materials) of magazines. The images in a magazine not just simply denotes their captions; they connote meanings because they are symbolically narrated. There are plausible multi interpretations for the meaning of a single photograph on the cover of the magazine for instance, because the reproduction of the image making is not purely engaged with innocent intention whereas the editors of the magazine intentionally impose specific messages. Therefore the reproduction of image making in the magazine is designated in line with the production of textual narratives that both employ signs and meanings.

In its earlier editions of the Suharto period, there were no female depictions and very limited visualization of living creatures in Ummi. Unlike before, the practice of hijab is very much visually represented in the Ummi's

⁴⁵ Barthes, Roland. 1977. *Image, Music, Text*. Selected Essays (Transl. by Stephen Heath) New York: Fontana Press. Pp.46 – 50.

post Suharto editions. Numerous female depictions were apparently found in the advertorial pages in Ummi's editions since 1998 evidenced with various images of veiled women in the advertisements of Muslim fashion and halal cosmetics (see Figure 16 and 17). In addition to visualize the practice of hijab, a special column for Muslim fashion design and beauty style was also incorporated in the post Suharto editions of Ummi (see figure 18 and 19).

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NO.	JURUSAN	JENJANG	SKS
1	Pendidikan Guru Taman Kanak-kanak	D1	46 SKS
2	Pendidikan Guru TK / Play Group	D2	86 SKS
3	Pendidikan Guru Sekolah Dasar	D2	86 SKS

KAMPUS PGTK "DARUL QALAM"

- A. Pasar Minggu : Plaza Tanjung Barat B/34 (Depan Stasiun)
- B. Kwitang : Jl. Kwitang Raya No. 38 B (Blok Gunung Agung)
- C. Ciputat : Jl. Ir. H. Juanda No. 81 (Depan IAIN Syahid)
- D. Ciledug : Jl. Cokroaminoto No. 34 (Samping Hero)
- E. Kalimalang : Jl. Raya Kalimalang No. 28 (Depan RS. Harum)
- F. Tangerang : Jl. Otista No. 82 Pasar Baru Tangerang
- G. Tangerang : Jl. Daan Mogot No. 16-F (Samping Plaza Tangerang)
- H. Bekasi : Jl. A. Yani No. 22 (Islamic Center / Depan Mall)
- I. Bekasi : Cut Mutiah Plaza A 103 (Samping Terminal)
- J. Cikarang : Cikarang Plaza Blok A No. 4 (Darat Filiki)
- K. Bogor : Villa Pulo Armen Blok B No. 16 (Depan Binarum)
- L. Sukabumi : Jl. KH. Samud No. 195 (Al-Azhar-STIEP)
- M. Bandung : Jl. Leuwir Panjang No. 32 (Dekat Pasar)
- N. Surabaya : Jl. Raya Delta Sari Blok A No. 16 (Latansa)
- O. Trenggalek : Jl. Soekarno Hatta, Plaza Hayam Wuruk No. 1 A (Latansa)
- P. Roky : Jl. Hasyim Ashari No. 117 B Samping Roky Mas

KAMPUS PGSD "DARUL QALAM" KAMPUS: A, C, D, E, I, J, K, L

Wardah
Kosmetika suci dan aman

Aman-kah Kosmetika Kita?
Bahan dasar dalam kosmetika haruslah aman. Hal ini haruslah diperhatikan dalam memilih kosmetika. Wardah Kosmetik Indonesia (LPGOM MUI) Prod. Dr. H. Anisah G. tentang penggunaan kosmetika.

Teknologi pembuatan kosmetika saat ini sangat pesat. Di dalamnya terdapat penggunaan bahan dari ekstrak. Seperti pada jenis foundation dan body lotion. Sementara penggunaan kosmetika dengan bahan alami masih jarang. Oleh karena itu, Wardah Kosmetik Indonesia (LPGOM MUI) Prod. Dr. H. Anisah G. tentang penggunaan kosmetika.

Sampai saat ini Wardah Kosmetik Indonesia (LPGOM MUI) Prod. Dr. H. Anisah G. tentang penggunaan kosmetika.

Teknologi pembuatan kosmetika saat ini sangat pesat. Di dalamnya terdapat penggunaan bahan dari ekstrak. Seperti pada jenis foundation dan body lotion. Sementara penggunaan kosmetika dengan bahan alami masih jarang. Oleh karena itu, Wardah Kosmetik Indonesia (LPGOM MUI) Prod. Dr. H. Anisah G. tentang penggunaan kosmetika.

1. Lemak
Lemak dan turunan lemak (Glycerin, Glycerol, Stearic Acid, Palmitic Acid, dll) yang banyak digunakan untuk lipstick, sabun, cream, dan lain-lain.

2. Kolagen dan Elastin
Kolagen dan elastin berguna untuk menjaga kulit agar tetap elastis dan tidak keriput. Zat ini sering digunakan dalam produk perawatan kulit yang bertujuan untuk menjaga kulit agar tetap elastis dan tidak keriput.

3. Ekstrak Placenta dan Amnion (Collagen, Elastin, dll)
Ekstrak Placenta dan Amnion yang terkandung dalam kosmetika Wardah dapat membantu proses regenerasi kulit, dapat diperbaharui.

4. Vitamin
Zat pemelihara vitamin yang digunakan dalam kosmetika Wardah dapat membantu proses regenerasi kulit, dapat diperbaharui.

5. Asam Alfa Hidroksi (AHA)
AHA sangat berguna untuk mengangkat kulit yang mati, sehingga kulit halus dan berseri. Asam alfa hidroksi yang terkandung dalam kosmetika Wardah dapat membantu proses regenerasi kulit, dapat diperbaharui.

6. Hermin
Hermin ekstrak, ekstrak timus dan metformin, hermin yang terkandung dalam kosmetika Wardah dapat membantu proses regenerasi kulit, dapat diperbaharui.

* Dapat berasal dari hewan yang diperbolehkan dalam Islam.

Sumber : LPGOM-MUI

Figure.16. Sample of Female Depictions in Ummi's Advertorial Page (Halal Cosmetics)



Figure.17. Sample of Female Depictions in the Magazine's Cover Story and the Advertorial Page (Muslim Fashion). Source: Ummi No.09/XV/2004.

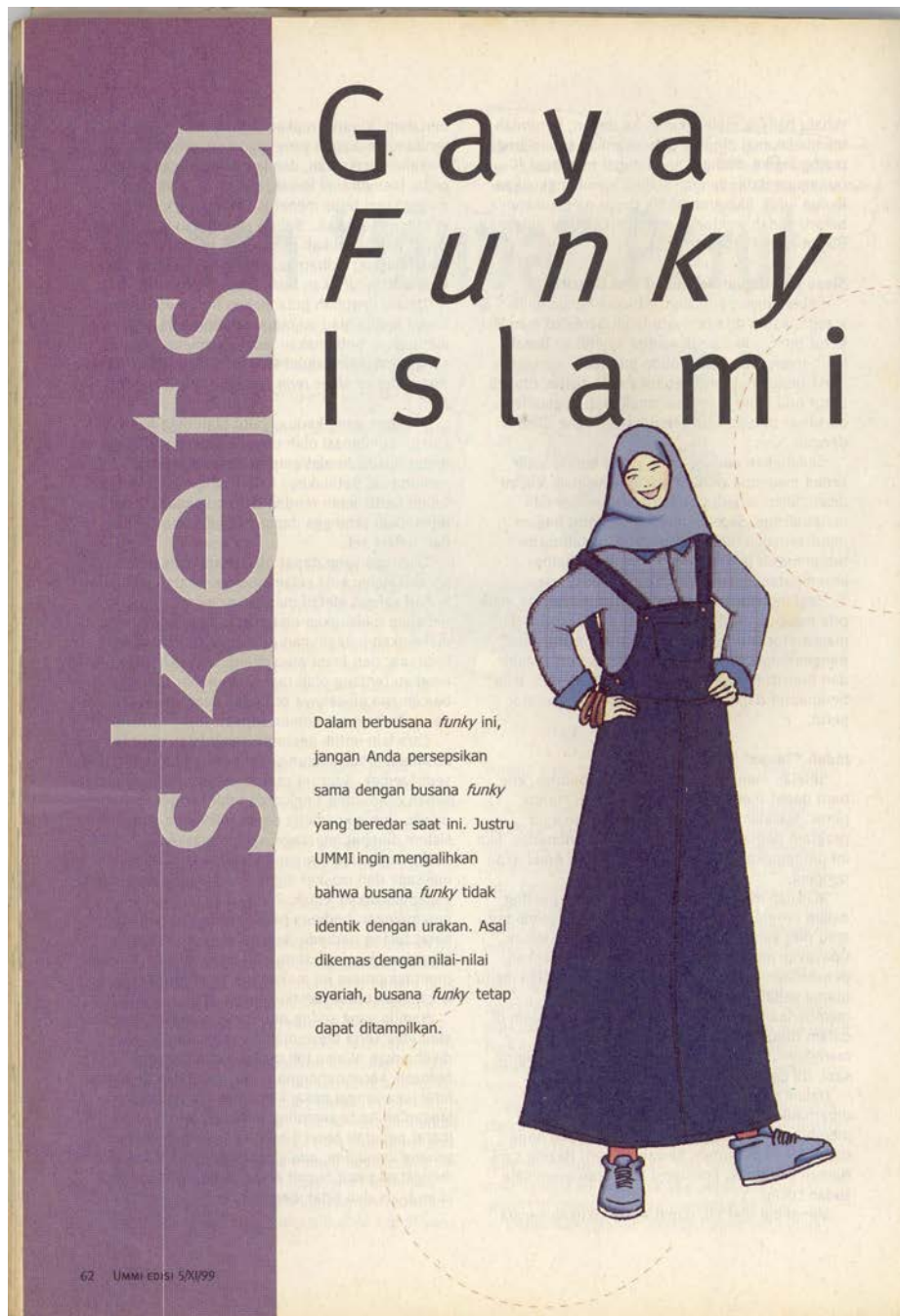


Figure.18. Sample.4. Umami's Fashion Design Column: The Sketch for A Funky Islamic Dress Style. Source: Umami No. 5/XI/1999.



Figure. 19. Sample 5. Ummi's Fashion Design Column: "The Beauty Style of Batik for Active Women". Source: Ummi No.3/XX/2008

Although female depictions of veiled women are found in Ummi's editions since 1998, there was still no female image on the cover of Ummi until 2003. The cover of a popular magazine is the most important centre of attention that sells the magazine. Women's pop magazines tend to represent female images in the glamorous style of photography on its front cover for its attraction. Later, since the editions in 2003, Ummi has depicted the images of veiled women on the front cover of the magazine in the glamorous style of photography. Therefore, the appearance of female depictions on the cover of Ummi implies a changing orientation of the magazine to represent (or sell) the image of pious women as a centre of attraction.

Visual representation of female images in Ummi thus is an interesting topic to be discussed in this sub chapter, because it also signifies the construction of the renewed maratus shalihah (pious women). Female depictions in Ummi has altered the Tarbiyah's interpretation on the ikhwani doctrine of hijab that restricts the visual appeal of women's body aimed at constructing piety for privacy, sanctity, and modesty. In fact the representation of hijab in Ummi now tends to exploit femininity for beauty, shown by the visualization of dressing the body in hijab aesthetically. In other words, both piety and beauty are constructed simultaneously within the values and the practices of hijab. A shift of visual representation in Ummi definitely signifies an ideological dynamic in the editorship. Therefore, in order to grasp the core messages from the visual representation of female images in Ummi, an understanding of the ikhwani teachings as a moral guide's influence of the magazine's editorship needs to be elaborated as well at this juncture. Visual representation of the Islamic symbols and values in mass mediated forms in the case of Ummi provides an exemplification of the objectification of Islamic identity that corresponds to Islamic activism of the Tarbiyah movement. On that account, the ikhwani ideological influence in Ummi has contributed to shape the identity formation of pious women.

There is a general misconception that perceives cultural expressions of dominant Muslim societies reside more on oral vernacular that shapes cultural auditory forms rather than visual forms, particularly due to the culture of the Quranic recitation.⁴⁶ However, according to Charles Hirschkind (2006), in the modern Muslim societies likewise auditory means, visual means serve as sensory modes to transmit Islamic knowledge. Given the fact that there is no any verse in the Quran which overtly prohibits the practice and the use of images, however there is a sustained general view that Islam tends to limit cultural expression through visual means especially in the image making. This

⁴⁶ Grueber and Haugbolle (2013) argue that a misconception toward the flawed notion that images do not exist or are prohibited in Islam became more established due to the controversy of the Jylland Posten cartoon of the Prophet Muhammad in the Islamic world in 2005-2006. On the other hand, Muslim majority societies, especially in the Middle East are becoming to define themselves by utilizing visual means. Further reading see: Grueber, Christina and Haugbolle, Sunne (eds). 2013. *Visual Culture in the Modern Middle East*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

is because some Muslims particularly of the Sunni tradition refer to the interpretations of the verses in the Quran and the Hadith that restrict the purpose of making images.⁴⁷ According to Yusuf al Qaradawi (2004), some Muslims under the influence of the *Salafi* tradition even tend to ban images making of living creatures and the reproduction of them. This Salafist tradition of prohibiting images making mostly refers to Imam Al Nawawi's interpretations of the Quran and Hadith that strictly limit artistic expressions.⁴⁸ As a response to the Salafi tradition to prohibit images making Yusuf Al Qaradawi, in his book of *Al Islamu wal Fannu* or 'Islam and the Art', acknowledges that yet there are some restrictions in Islam based on the interpretations of the Quran and the Hadith for images making. These interpretations imply God's message that man should not compete with God to form a thing that imitates God's most perfect creation – that is the man himself.⁴⁹ According to Al Qaradawi, the restriction of images making applies only to those images that are used deliberately for worshipping. This prohibition applies particularly for images making of human being in the three dimensional form. The underlying reason for such prohibition is historically rooted in the narrative about the Prophet Muhammad's command to destroy some sculptures or worshipped idols inside the Ka'ba, after the Conquest of Mecca by Muslims from the Arab pagans. In other words, Al Qaradawi argues

⁴⁷ Grabar, Oleg. 1983. "Reflections on the Study of Islamic Art". in *Muqarnas I: An Annual on Islamic Art and Architecture*. Oleg Grabar (ed). New Haven: Yale University Press. Pp.1-4

⁴⁸ Imam al Nawawi or Yahya Ibn Sharaf al Nawawi (1233 – 1277) was an Islamic Jurist who wrote the book on Islamic legal thought and Jurisprudence *Riyadush Shalihin* or 'Gardens of Righteous' that becomes one of the most influential Islamic legal sources in the Salafi tradition. Source: A Short Biography of Imam al Nawawi, online article, available at: http://www.islaam.net/main/display_article_printview.php?id=244. Accessed on December 20th 2013.

⁴⁹ A verse in the Quran related to this interpretation of the restriction for images making for example was taken from the Quran Sura Ali Imran (3): 6 which says that: "It is He who forms you in the wombs however He wills. There is no deity except Him, the Exalted in Might, the Wise." While there are more interpretations based on several Hadiths that prohibit images making rather than the interpretations which derive from the Quran. One example of the radical interpretation of the Hadiths by Imam Nawawi was taken from the Hadith narrated by the Salaf al Shalih 'Ibnu Mas'ud' which informed that the Prophet Muhammad ever said: "Indeed, in the life after Death, God will impose the most sufferings to all draftsmen (painters)."

Further details on Al Qaradawi's interpretation on the Islamic Jurisprudence on Art, see: Al Qaradawi, Yusuf. 2004. *Al Islamu wal Fannu. Islam bicara seni*. Transl. Ahmadi Wahid et al. Solo: Era Intermedia. Pp. 123 - 153

that Islam still tolerates images making, especially that are made in two dimensions (i.e.: painting). Nevertheless, Al Qaradawi's interpretation on Islamic art is not in a favorable stand for lawfully authorizing the arts for sculpturing. While in the case of photography according to Al Qaradawi, Islam tolerates photography not only because it was not yet existed during the period of the Salaf al Shalih, but also because it is worked in the principle of camera-obscura which essentially means only to capture a 'shadow'. In general, Al Qaradawi suggests a modern interpretation for the Salafi tradition whose approach is more tolerant for images making and the reproduction them. In addition to the reproduction of images making, Al Qaradawi also suggests Muslims not to reproduce the images of *tyrannical* figures because the tyrants have made themselves as the modern worshipped idols, and that means they are God's enemies.

Yusuf Al Qadharawi's thought on '*Al Islammu wal Fannu*' – Islam and the Art, is the major influence on Ummi's ideological stance, especially in dealing with popular culture. According to Al Qadharawi a visual representation of female is acceptable as long as it is portrayed according to the shari'a. That is, a woman should be on 'hijab'. A visual representation of beauty is assumed to be promoting a good image of a faithful woman. As Allah (God) is also the Most Beautiful, so female visualization in art is allowed as long as it is not intended to show explicit sensuality.⁵⁰ Therefore, Yusuf al Qaradawi's interpretation on the purpose of female depictions in mass mediated forms should be understood within the terrains of the hijab ideology.

On that account, the analysis of Ummi's rhetoric of female images should be based on the visual materials that connote 'hijab' as cultural codes to manufacture the identity of modern pious women. As noted previously in my analysis of the renewed discourse of maratus shalihah, the ideology of hijab serves to construct the identity of modern pious women in the idealized feminine beauty. My analysis of the visual representation of female images in Ummi here is thus limited by particular selections of visual samples distributed

⁵⁰ Ibid

in the editions of Ummi in 1999 – 2009. The distribution of female images inside the editions of Ummi post Suharto is summarized in the following table:

Table. 12. The Distribution of Female Images in Ummi Editions of Post Suharto

Location / visual formats	Classified Pages	1998- 2002	2003-2009
	Front Cover	Figurative Illustrations (Sketch, Drawing)	Photographs
	Articles (including News Reportage)	Figurative Illustrations (Caricatures, Sketches) and Photographs	Figurative Illustrations (Sketches and Drawings) and Photographs
	Entertainment and Lifestyles	Figurative Illustrations (Sketches) and Photographs	Figurative Illustrations (Sketches, Drawings) and Photographs
	Advertorial	Photographs	Photographs
	Supplementary (Children Story)	Figurative Illustrations (Comics)	Figurative Illustrations (Comics) and Photographs

However due to a wide distribution of female images in the massive editions of Ummi that I have generally assessed (see Table 8 and 11), in order to grasp the identity construct of ‘modern pious women’ through the representation of female images I limit my focus on particular selections of visual materials of veiled women that carry the signs of beauty and piety that are also employed in the renewed discourse of *maratus shalihah*. In other words, the purposive rhetorical analysis of female images here is addressed to select particular visual materials that are captioned as forms of beauty and piety. Therefore, in order to grasp the meanings of beauty and piety constructed in Ummi for the attractions to sell the magazine, I took three samples of Ummi’s covers from a variety of different editions. The covers of the magazine vary from photographs of a single woman’s face, woman and her family members, and women in the group. My analysis of the rhetoric images based on the three samples of Ummi’s covers has identified at least five ‘connotators’ that specifically constitute the signs of sanctity, modesty, beauty, active, and mobility in the images of veiled women. The meanings of piety and

beauty in Ummi that derived from the rhetorical analysis are elaborated in the following paragraphs.

Sample #1 the meaning of Hijab for modesty and sanctity

Signified Object: A woman wears a simple veil.

Signifiers: a vague female image, the gloomy light spotted on a woman's face, an unnoticeable face, an unknown woman, a mysterious figure, the woman's face is overshadowed by bright coloring textures, the highlight caption 'be a pleasant person'.

The first sample (Figure 20) was taken from Ummi's front cover of the edition in May 2001, prior to implications of the September 11 in 2001 and the Bali Bombings in 2002 that significantly have contributed to the alteration of Ummi as a popular women's magazine. On the cover of Ummi in that edition is the photograph of a veiled woman whose face is unnoticeable. Indeed, the woman's face was also overshadowed by the cover's coloring textures. While the main headline was captioned '*Menjadi Pribadi Menyenangkan*,' or 'Be a pleasant person'. The photograph brings a denotation of a vague female figure or an unidentified veiled woman. It was a bit difficult to analyze the meaning of this photograph without reading the main article of the headline because unlike a typical popular magazine which provides an information to narrate the photograph of its cover, in this edition there was no such a thing. Without reading the main article, the picture of a veiled woman may lead to very speculative connotations, for instance a mysterious nice woman, or a pleasant woman hides her sadness (gloomy sides), etc. However, after reading the main article of 'be a pleasant person' – then the picture on this cover brings at least two connotations. The first connotes an idea that a pleasant person is a humble person and always be able to maintain trust. A pleasant person thus will not boast herself, because who is she is not important but what she cares to others is important. The second connotes an idea that a pleasant person is someone who is able to maintain trust. The photograph on the cover thus signifies a meaning that a pious woman (who put on hijab) is ideally seen as a modest

person and is represented in sanctity because the morality to adopt an Islamic symbol (veiling) is aimed at securing privacy for public attention. Hijab is thus normatively seen as a self-mechanism to maintain in a humble and reliable personality. On this visual image, hijab is constructed as modesty and sanctity.



Figure.20. The first sample of female depiction on Ummi's Cover.

Source: Ummi No. 01/XIII/May, 2001

Sample#2 the meaning of Hijab for sanctity and mobility

Signified Objects: Object.1= a boy wears a t-shirt; Object.2: a bearded man in a simple shirt. Object.3= a veiled woman in a jeans shirt and a colorful veil – and the make up on her face.

Signifiers: a chic woman, a humble man, a funny boy, a son, a father, a mother, a happy family, a son is closer to his father, a mother is closer to her husband, a father in the middle position between his son and wife, the cheerful family, the highlight caption: Tren, Hubungan Tanpa Status – Trend, A Non-Marital Relationship.

The second sample (Figure 21) was taken from Ummi's front cover of the edition in September 2006. In that edition, the photograph denotes a family portrayed in the cheerful expressions. Unlike the first sample, there is a short narrative in Ummi's cover story page about the identities of the family members on the cover. The family on the cover was also the Ummi's featured guest in this edition narrated in another column. The column of the featured guest informed an inspirational story of a mother who is also a career woman and shares the domestic tasks with her husband including in parenting. On the other hand, the headline of the magazine is captioned 'Trend; A Non Marital Relationship' – which idea seems to be a contrary to the image of a happy family portrayed on the cover of Ummi. The headline article discussed Ummi's concern on a trend among active women (including among Muslim women) who involved in pre-marital sex (non marital relationship) by legitimizing it as freedom, although it is strictly prohibited in Islam. The picture of a happy family in this cover thus signifies an idea that a marital relationship is the lawful sexual relationship in Islam because it is sacred. A focus rhetorical analysis on the image of a veiled woman in this picture connotes an idea that hijab and a lawful marriage have helped this 'veiled' woman to maintain sanctity. By maintaining sanctity necessarily not precludes women to be active

in public. On this visual image, hijab is thus constructed as sanctity, and mobility.



Figure.21. The second sample of female depiction on Ummi's Cover.

Source: Ummi's No.5/XVII/September 2006

Sample #3 the meaning of Hijab for beauty and modesty

Signified Objects: Four Women in different styles of Jilbab

Signifiers: chic women in the make up, attractively good looking, colorful Jilbab, various styles of veiling, fashionable Jilbab with fancy simple accessories, smiling friendly faces, fashion models, or socialite women, the actress promote their movie, the highlight caption: Artist KCB-2 Ketika Cinta Bertasbih Bagian ke Dua: Meninggalkan Kesan Mendalam (the KCB-2 Actresses, When Love is Praised to God-Part 2: the Impressions from the movie)

The third sample (figure 22) was taken from Ummi's front cover of the Special edition for August-October 2009. The cover denotes a group of veiled women in the fashionable styles of Jilbab. In this cover, four film actresses were photographed and featured by Ummi for the promotion of a movie entitled 'When Love is praised to God' – a movie based on the novel written by the famous writer of the FLP (Forum Lingkar Pena- the Circle of Pens Forum) Habbiburahman el Shirazy. The feature of the cover's models was also narrated in another column of Ummi's featured guests – that informed the readers about the actresses' impressions from their roles in the movie of 'KCB-2'. The narrative in general tells the idea that the roles of these actresses in the movie as pious women have already resulted in the attached images of pious women in 'reality'. It is said that because of veiling, these actresses may opt to, or are chosen to play only in the scenes which specify the roles to be pious persons. Indeed, such social 'image of being a pious woman' has motivated these actresses to carefully negotiate with the worldly celebrity lives.

Although the practice of veiling as seen in the photograph is stylized in the colorful 'jilbab', somehow modesty is still renegotiated by the use of simple accessories. The images of these veiled women are captured in attractively physical gestures which connotes an impression that beauty still can be

stunningly revealed with modest veiling. On this visual image, hijab is constructed to stresses the notion of beauty and modesty.



Figure.22. The third sample of female depiction on Umni's Cover's cover.
Source: Umni Special Edition, August-October 2009

Based on the rhetorical analysis on the three samples of Ummi's cover photographs, I found that three values of the practice of veiling are at least constructed in the visual image of veiled women, specifically:

- (1) Veiling as a medium of asserting sanctity and modesty
- (2) Veiling as a symbol of mobility and subverting physical confinement
- (3) Veiling as a medium of naturalizing a general notion on women's beauty (that is also commonly proposed by other secular women's popular magazines)

In the context of privacy, veiling is a visual metaphor that employs a religious construction on Islamic femininity in asserting sanctity and modesty. The notion on stressing privacy in the practice of veiling is discernibly showed for instance in Ummi's cover of the edition in May 2001, evidenced by the vague visualization of the female image. Indeed, in the editions since 2003 Ummi has showed a tendency to visualize more firmly images on its cover.

Interestingly, Ummi now tends to depict female images that symbolize a women's status as active women. The female depictions on the cover of Ummi are also aesthetically portrayed in attractiveness. In this context, the image of an active woman who wears 'jilbab' (veil) signifies a subversion of a flawed notion on hijab that secludes women in public and or eludes beauty. Ummi's symbolic value on the construction of beauty in the visual representation of veiled women indeed naturalizes a general notion on women's beauty that essentially displays passive attractiveness. Such a notion on women's beauty is commonly proposed by secular women's magazine. Janice Winship (1980) argues that in women's magazines (and also in advertising) a visual metaphor of beauty is contradictorily constructed in passive attractiveness. Within the construction of passive attractiveness, the act of beautifying specifically exposes a sign of being 'sexually available'. According to Winship, the sign of being 'sexually available' affirms a passive, virginal, and innocent sexuality to

be discovered by men. This construction of passive attractiveness derives from a patriarchal hegemonic view on beauty that stresses virginity.⁵¹ The idealized beauty in the visual representation of veiled women in Ummi is also visually narrated with feminine independence and passive attractiveness. In this context, the values and practices of veiling are appropriated into an alternative lifestyle. The phrases that '*veiling can be funky*' or '*stylist jilbab for active women*', found in the Ummi captions' of the fashion designs for instance (see figure 18 and 19), specifically are the overtly messages to foreground hijab as an alternative lifestyle. Although the visual representation of veiled women in Ummi underscores a construction of pious women in feminine independence, yet it is inextricably bound with the constructions of motherhood, domesticity, and sexually passivity.

By means of visualizing the practices of veiling, Ummi is actually struggling to impose its ideological values on moral piety. The construction of hijab represented in the female depictions in Ummi thus implies the reaffirmations of moral piety and the quest for idealized beauty as a moving identity construct. The identity construct of pious women is not yet fixed, because to some extents Ummi's visual metaphors of beauty and piety by contrast liberates the strict notion of confining 'sexual appeals' embedded in the value of hijab. On the other hand, Ummi's rhetoric of sexuality invigorates a consistency in asserting sexual normative order by popularizing the values and the practice of hijab in public. To this extent, Ummi persistently represents the interests of the Tarbiyah movement in moral transformation in the everyday lives of society. The popularization of veiling through visual images in Ummi has proven that political activism and the commodification of lifestyle necessarily share public domain for the practice and the meaning of religion. At this juncture, the objectification of Islamic identity of pious women as represented in Ummi thus serves both Islamic patriarchal structure and patriarchal capitalism of the women's magazine industry which takes benefits from profit making by exploiting femininity.

⁵¹ Winship, Janice. 1980. 'Sexuality for Sale', in Hall, Stuart et al (eds), *Culture, Media, Language*. London: Routledge. Pp.210-216.

4.6. The Re-stylization of Dakwah in Ummi's Current Production: Ummi's Fandom and Cultural Intermediaries

Ummi as a medium of propagating Dakwah has proven itself to be the agent of meanings production for supporting the Tarbiyah movement's project especially in the transformation of public morality. On the other hand, the production of Ummi essentially also serves patriarchal capitalism through the commodification of Islamic feminine identity. This commodification of Islamic feminine identity brought by Ummi has inevitably integrated the Tarbiyah community into a larger consumer culture. Hakan M Yavuz (2004) argues that the integration of a religious group promoting Islamic activism (through piety movement) into a consumer culture has the implication in the transformation of religious needs and obligations into modern commodities. Yavuz further argues that commodities of goods, leisure and services are also Islamized through consumer patterns. In this context, Islamic activism re-stylizes '*Dakwah*' (the proselytization of Islam) into a collective engagement to seek for an alternative market oriented for Islamic ideas and practices.⁵² This sub chapter therefore seeks to elaborate a current development of Ummi by exemplifying Ummi's recent advertisements varied from the editions of 2009-2013 that demonstrate the extension of Ummi's emancipatory project with its new consumers. Ummi's emancipatory project consequently has re-stylized Dakwah into a collective action in consuming Ummi's commodities of Islamic feminine identity. Today, as advertised in its online homepage and its facebook fan page, Ummi claims to be the number one bestseller for Muslim women's magazine and the second most famous for women's magazine (after the secular women's magazine Femina) in Indonesia since 2011.

Ummi, indeed has enabled the Tarbiyah community (especially the female Tarbiyah activists) to reach out a broader public such as; a new readership (people or women who did not belong to the Tarbiyah movement) and affiliated agencies in piety movement and marketing piety (for profit

⁵² Yavuz, Hakan. 2004. 'Opportunity Spaces, Identity and Islamic Meaning in Turkey.' In Wicktorowicz (ed). *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach*. Bloomington and Indiana Polis: Indiana University Press. Pp. 270-285.

making). Ummi's engagement with its new public (readers and affiliated agencies) consequently also resulted in the invention of joint ventures for transforming piety into forms of goods or items and services appropriated with the values of Islamic feminine identity (*maratus shalihah*). Indeed, the Tarbiyah community's involvement in Ummi with a larger consumer culture has not just expanded networks for the commodification of Islamic feminine identity, but also intensified public interests in the piety movement for moral transformation motivated by 'Ummi'.

The re-stylization of Dakwah is manifested by the Ummi's management through the emancipatory project which includes readers' involvements. In dealing with this project, the management of Ummi has created a community of the 'Ummi's family' – a fandom - consists of Ummi's loyal subscribers or fans. The presence of a fandom in the case of Ummi, not only represents Ummi's marketing strategy to stay close or closer with its readers. In fact, the presence of Ummi's fandom has generated existing cultural intermediaries that help to promote Ummi to public. Indeed, the people in Ummi's fandom are also involved in the Ummi's joint venture project for selling goods, leisure activities, and services in which all are packaged in the commodification of Islamic feminine identity of the *maratus shalihah* – pious women promoted by the Ummi's management.

According to Pierre Bourdieu (1984), cultural intermediaries are the 'new petite bourgeoisie' or a new faction of middle class workers who occupy position for linking production to consumption. Specifically Bourdieu argues that:

"The new petite bourgeoisie comes into its own in all the occupations involving presentation and representation (sales, marketing, advertising, public relations, fashion, decoration, and so forth) and in all the institutions providing symbolic goods and services. These include the various jobs in medical and social assistance (marriage guidance, sex therapy, dietetics, vocational guidance, paediatric advice etc) and in cultural production and organization (youth leaders, play leaders, tutors

and monitors, radio and TV producers and presenters, magazine journalists)...

(Bourdieu.1984. P. 359)

In general, cultural intermediaries are defined as ‘mediated’ workers in the occupational fields that require symbolic promotional strategies. In his concept of ‘*Distinction*’ Bourdieu explicates that different classes exhibit different lifestyles which to some extents reflect their position in society, however, in the era of mass consumption, lifestyles become the site for creative innovations for invented new forms of consumption, hobbies, and leisure activities. On this account, symbolic production is central to the work of cultural intermediaries for shaping the values of the products that connected them to people’s lives.⁵³ In other words, cultural intermediaries posit an interplay position to create symbolic values (myth or beliefs) in order to make senses of the products (or services) and economic capitals. In the case of Ummi, it is not just the work of Ummi’s sales and marketing workers to promote Ummi’s product to new readers (or new targeted consumers) but also with the assistance of the Ummi’s family members (or Ummi’s fandom). Therefore, maintaining a closer relationship with readers and enlarging a wide scope of readership are not just essential for the Ummi’s management, but also for the members of Ummi’s fandom as well.

Ummi’s route to expand its public initially began from the magazine strategy to reach broader readership outside of the Tarbiyah community. As part of the strategy to attract more readers, Ummi manages to make the magazine exceptionally different with other women’s magazine. Since 2003, Ummi has released two types of its editions. Firstly is a monthly regular edition which features Muslim women’s world and family as its major appeal. Ummi’s regular edition is printed in A4 – a medium size of magazine consists of 120 pages. Secondly is a special edition which is published every three month (four times a year) and appears as a Muslim fashion magazine which specifically

⁵³ Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. (Transl.Nice, Richard).London: Routledge and Keagan Paul. Pp. 354-365

features beauty and piety as its major appeal. Ummi special edition is printed in B5 – a large size of magazine consists of 100 pages. Unlike the regular Ummi's edition which is printed in a *Digest* size of magazine⁵⁴, all pages in Ummi's special edition are printed in the colored glossy papers like a photography magazine.

Later, due to the development of the new media, since 2012 Ummi also appears in the digital format of an online magazine that is also especially designed for mobile gadgets like smartphones and tablet computers (see figure 23). Within the digital format, Ummi's online magazine not only appears in the traditional HTML format but also in the dual format that provides both the HTML version and the '*Flash*' version in the digital flipping of pages that is designed for 'touch-screen'. Ummi's digital format as an online magazine offers more personalized features for its subscribers. In its digital format, Ummi provides not only the standard form of a popular magazine (such as the use of genre classifications for the columns), but also facilities for personalized features such as blogging (for providing readers with personal journals inside the online magazine) and the plugin connection to social media networks (such as Facebook, Twitter, etc).

⁵⁴ A Digest size of magazine is a magazine which is printed with thin papers and looks similar to a paperback journal but in a larger size



Figure.23. The advertisement of Ummi's Digital Format Magazine for mobile gadgets: 'Ummi on Android' – download free application from Googleplay (Google Store) for subscription.

Source: Ummi's Facebook Fans Page.

<https://www.facebook.com/MajalahUmmi> (accessed on November 12th 2013)

Readers and their desires are the sources for a popular magazine's project. Print media like Ummi for instance has underwent a change partly because the magazine's survival strategy and particularly due to the competitions to win more popularity. Ummi's adaptation from an underground radical Islamic journal into a popular women's magazine cannot be separated from the Ummi's media corporation's interests not only in proselytizing *Dakwah*, but also in marketing *Dakwah* for profit making. Marketing piety is thus Ummi's strategy in dealing with *Dakwah* both as the media for proselytization and profit making.

Traditional print media used to rely on the purchasing of the items (e.g.: books, journals, newspapers, and magazines), but the emergence of advertising industries has helped print media to make alternative profit making. In this context, the competition to win popularity is the main reasons for the print media industries to increase or balance profits. However, in the advance of technological development, print media have to cope with other forms of electronic and digital media to reach readerships. Given the fact that most electronic media rely on the income source mainly from advertisements, it becomes another challenge especially for the print media to survive due to the status of the electronic media as the advertising industry's darling especially in the digital era. Therefore, in order to meet the challenge for profit making, print media have tried to invent new innovations by creatively including readers for their future projects. Such innovation for instance, in the case of *Ummi* is made necessarily by the creation of a fandom which composes the fans of *Ummi*'s loyal subscribers. However, in the case of *Ummi*, the creation of fandom is not solely intended to make profit making but also to propagate '*Dakwah*' in competition with other prominent Muslim women's magazines.

Amidst the intense competitions today, *Ummi* has to challenge other prominent Muslim women's magazines in Indonesia, especially with other '*Islamic*' popular magazines as well as with other '*Dakwah*' magazines. Besides *Ummi*, there are at least one prominent Muslim women's magazine that shares affiliated advertising networks and readerships namely, '*NooR* – the Muslim women lifestyle magazine' (see figure 24). On the other side, in catering female Muslim activists in the campuses' networks (that used to be *Ummi*'s base customers), *Ummi* now has to face other 'Muslimah magazines', for instance the new comer of the '*Muslimah*' Magazine *Qonitah* (see figure 25). *NooR* is actually a famous popular Muslim women's magazine that sells 'Islamic Lifestyle' and 'Muslim fashion' to cater upper and middle Muslim urban class in Indonesia. Whilst, *Qonitah* is an uprising new '*Muslimah*' magazine which embraces *Salafi* Islam and is designated to reach female *Dakwah* activists of the *Salafi* – affiliated *Dakwah* movement in some leading secular campuses in major urban cities in Java. As a brief comparison of both magazines, *NooR*

provides moderate interpretations for Islamic lifestyle as its appeal; meanwhile Qonitah claims to provide 'authentic' Islamic moral guide for the 'true' Islamic identity.

Unlike *Ummi* and *Qonitah* that both are rooted in the *Dakwah* movement, *NooR* does not belong to any Islamic activism. The emergence of *NooR* in the post Suharto era was mainly a response to accommodate a growing enthusiasm for consuming Islamic symbols and identity among Indonesian upper and middle classes. According to Carla Jones (2007), in mid 1990s, some Muslim women began to write comments to editors of 'secular' women's magazines complaining the lack of Islamic fashion that made them feel out from the national fashion scene. As a response to such requests, secular Muslim women's magazine began to feature Muslim fashion particularly for the editions published during the Islamic holidays. In the post Suharto era, some secular women's magazines even began to incorporate a regular special column for 'Muslim fashion'. Jones further explains that the expanded market of Islamic fashion in recent Indonesia also signifies the use of Islamic symbol for a pathway to social mobility.⁵⁵ From the advertorial pages, *NooR* shares similar affiliated advertisement networks with *Ummi* especially for Halal cosmetics and Muslim fashion.

On the other hand, the emergence of *Qonitah* since 2013 was said as a response to cater Muslim women especially members of the affiliated Salafi *Dakwah* movements with proper Salafi teachings. In its first edition in March 2013, *Qonitah* claims to purify a better understanding of the Salafi teachings and tradition that are now obscured by other Muslim women's magazines. In disseminating its religious view, *Qonitah* embraces a strict interpretation on the practice of hijab and prohibits not only the visualization of female images, but limits the visualization of living creatures. At a glance, *Qonitah* seems to imitate the old 'version' of *Ummi* in the Suharto era due to its interpretation on hijab which also derives from the strict Salafi tradition. Despite the fact that

⁵⁵ See: Jones, Carla. 2007. 'Fashion and Faith in Urban Indonesia'. *Fashion Theory* 11 (2/3). Pp. 211-232.

Qonitah can only be publicly purchased in Islamic bookstores; however, just like Ummi and also NooR, Qonitah indeed appears in the digital format of an online magazine with the application for mobile gadgets as well. In dealing with the distribution of the magazine, Qonitah shares similar networks with Ummi by utilizing major Islamic bookshops in major cities in Java such as Jakarta, Bogor, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Solo, Surabaya. These Islamic bookshops actually have served as traditional sellers for Ummi for more than a decade in the post Suharto era. Since mid 2000s Ummi has expanded the distribution of the magazine not just in major Islamic bookstores but also major secular bookstores throughout Indonesia. Interestingly although Qonitah is sold publicly as a professional Muslim women's magazine (unlike Ummi in the Suharto period which only appeared like a stencil off journal), the editor's address remains anonymous and the correspondence with the editor only available by an email address. Despite the fact that Qonitah does not look like a luxurious magazine like NooR and Ummi (special edition), the magazine appears to be quite professionally managed. It is also evident that advertisements are very lack in Qonitah, except those from the Dakwah publishers promoting the books of the Salafi teachings. From the magazine online version, it seems that Qonitah is published and funded by a group of people associated with the Salafi Dakwah movement of the LIPIA alumni networks. The LIPIA or the *Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Islam dan Arab* (the Institute for Islamic and Arabic Studies) is a cultural organization funded by the Saudi government for the dissemination of the Salafi Islam in Indonesia since 1970s.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ In the Suharto period, the alumni of the LIPIA established a network for the Salafi Dakwah movement, but in the earlier Reform era, the movement was fractured into several groups. There are only two influential groups from this movement that play significant influences in Islamic activism in Indonesia such as the *Ahlul Sunnah wal Jama'ah* and the *Laskar Jihad*. The Laskar Jihad was involved in mobilizing Islamic activists for the religious conflicts in Maluku in 1999-2001. Further readings on the Salafi Dakwah movement of the LIPIA alumni networks, see: Martin Van Bruinessen (2002), and Noorhaid Hasan (2006).



Figure.24. The Islamic *Lifestyle Magazine* 'NooR'. Source: NooR No.01/ January 2010



Figure.25. The First Edition of 'Muslimah' (Dakwah) Magazine Qonitah. Source: Qonitah No.1. Vol. 1 (March) 2013.

Despite the fact that Ummi has to meet a challenge with the presence of new competitors in marketing piety for Muslim women, as well as in sustaining the propagation of *Dakwah* for its piety movement, unlike Ummi, NooR and Qonitah (perhaps also other Muslim women's magazines) both do not own a specific fandom. During the last decade of the Reform era, Ummi has creatively formed a fandom consists of Ummi's fans or loyal subscribers. Indeed, Ummi's fandom becomes an integral part of Ummi's recent project in developing Ummi's joint ventures. Ummi's joint ventures are said in Ummi's advertisement of this project, to be the manifestation of the spirit of the '*Muslim Sisterhood*' in order to emancipate the members of the 'Ummi's family' (on this account is Ummi's fandom) for the spiritual and economic benefits by joining Ummi's business enterprise. Through the creation of a fandom Ummi necessarily has established its own advertisement industry for the Islamization of leisure activities and motivational services as modern commodities. In other words, Ummi's source of income not only relies on its own marketing efforts to gain profits from advertisements. Indeed, it was through the assistance of its fandom, Ummi takes benefits not just from other advertisements, but from Ummi's mediated services that promote particular products and the services of the affiliated companies or agencies, and also from the fandom's purchases of Ummi's products and services.

The commodification of Islamic feminine identity is further transformed into goods or products in the joint ventures managed by Ummi, its fandom, and the affiliated agencies. In this context, members of Ummi's fandom are not just represents themselves as the loyal consumers of Ummi, but are encouraged to rise up the benefits by becoming the un-official Ummi's sales spoke persons. Becoming an active member of the Ummi's family means that a member is not just consuming Ummi's magazine and its fans items, but also gaining benefits by promoting the magazine of Ummi to others (new readers or new consumers) as well as promoting the goods or services of Ummi's affiliated agencies. Likewise other popular magazine's industries, Ummi still run in the fashionable way to sell the magazine, but unlike other women's magazines, the presence of Ummi's fandom functions to run Ummi's multi level marketing's

strategy to sell not just Ummi's cultural products and religious services, but also to promote the products of Ummi's affiliated business agencies.



Figure 26. The advertisement of the member card for Ummi's family (Ummi's fans), found in every editions of Ummi since 2009

Therefore, it is not surprising that in the current editions of Ummi, some advertisements are made by Ummi's management to promote the existence of Ummi's family. This is evidenced, for instance by the advertisement of the 'Ummi's member card' (see figure 26) in the advertorial page of every Ummi's editions since 2009 until today. The advertisement of Ummi's family membership is managed with other affiliated companies which give special discounts for the holders of Ummi's family membership card. The affiliated companies that join Ummi's project in managing its fandom are various such as an Islamic hotel, Muslim fashion and cosmetics, Islamic bookstores, and a travel agency. Every holder of Ummi's member card will gain more points by increasing their benefits for more discounts and rewards, which essentially means to be consummated by more consumptions.



KABAR GEMBIRA!!

Mulai hari ini, mengikuti umrah bersama Ummi
sangat Mudah dan Murah
Harga mulai 1500 US \$ (selama 9 hari)
Jadwal berangkat April dan Juli 2010

Banyak kemudahan untuk Anda:

- Booking seat hanya Rp 2 juta
- Gratis biaya pembuatan paspor
- Gratis asuransi
- Seluruh tuntunan ibadah didasarkan pada sunah dan hadits yang shahih sesuai pemahaman para sahabat Rasulullah saw.

kerjasama
Majalah Ummi dan PT Madinah Iman Wisata
Daftar sekarang juga.
Hubungi: 021-8193242 Ext. 199/195 atau
Mawadah (0817-4934680), Citra (081388440808)

PT Madinah Iman Wisata mempersembahkan
10 program umrah gratis untuk 10 ustadz/guru se-Indonesia
Kirimkan profil ustadz/guru Anda melalui
email ke marketingmadinahiman@gmail.com.
Untuk informasi klik www.madinahiman.com

Figure.27. Ummi's advertisement for religious service and traveling: the Umrah pilgrimage to Mecca, found in every editions of Ummi since 2009.

However, Ummi's emancipatory project that includes its readers is not exclusively limited to the formal members of Ummi's fandom. In another program, for instance in managing the religious service and traveling for the Umrah pilgrimage to Mecca, Ummi also invites its readers to nominate their informal religious female teachers (Ustadzah) to win the rewards for the cost-free Umrah pilgrimage. The Umrah pilgrimage's program is conducted twice a year – lead by Ummi's advisor for religious column, a leading female figure of the Tarbiyah movement, Ustadzah Herlini Amran (see figure 27). This program is said to be Ummi's charity program for those female Tarbiyah

activists who are valued to successfully encourage their community for the practice of Islamic norms especially that promotes the qualities of being pious.



Figure 28. Umami's Facebook Advertising for Promotional Hijab Practices via SMS. Accessed from <https://www.facebook.com/MajalahUmami/> (Accessed on 12 October 2013)

MAU TAMPIL CANTIK BERHIJAB ?
Ikuti Hijab Class
 bersama **INDADARI Salon Jilbab**

Hari : Kamis, 10 Januari 2013
Jam : 10.30 - Selesai
Kantor La Tulipe
Jln. Raden Saleh no 48 Cikini - Jakarta Pusat
Samping RS Cikini

Materi yg diajarkan :
 1. Perawatan wajah & make up untuk diri sendiri
 2. Kreasi hijab sehari-hari dan pesta

Biaya : Rp. 235.000,-
 Tiap peserta mendapatkan :
 Lipstik & Sertifikat dr La Tulipe,
 Inner Maroko, Pasma, Majalah Ummi,
 Lunch Box

Transfer ke rek BCA : 2281204604
 an. Vera Wiedya Astuti.
Paling lambat Kamis 3 Jan 13

Untuk info :
 Vera : Point + Promotion - 0818892361
 Pin BB : 2707CACA **Tempat Terbatas!!!**

Ummi

Figure 29. Ummi's Facebook, and Ummi's online magazine's Advertisement for Fee-Base Motivational Seminars and Workshops in 'Appropriate Veiling' (Hijab Syar'i). Sample is downloaded from Ummi's online magazine: <http://www.umm-online.com/> (Accessed on 27th November 2013).

Ummi's adaptation to a more pop style magazine for the last five years is intensified by the technological advancement particularly by social media networks. New social media become Ummi's site for identity development in disseminating and visualizing the image of maratus shalihat (pious women). Ummi's another emancipatory project that utilize the use of social media networks is found in the motivational program. In this motivational program, Ummi inclusively invites its readers to participate not just as participants but also as motivational instructors, especially in popularizing the practice of veiling in fashionable ways (means creatively modish) but remains 'Syar'i' (see figure 28 and 29). Hijab 'Syar'i' is meant to be the practice of veiling that is appropriated to the Shari'a doctrine for not only covering woman's head but also hiding the shape of woman's hip and breasts. The popularization of 'Hijab Syar'i' becomes Ummi's apparent concern for disseminating and commodifying the 'appropriate' veiling style due to the widespread practice of veiling that is

considered less qualified according to Umami's interpretation of the Shari'a on the veiling practices. The practice of inappropriate hijab is mentioned by Umami for instance in the case of some Muslim women whose veiling practices still negotiate the shape of women's body. In this context, Umami use the method of otherness to differentiate its cultural commodity of hijab and thus legitimate its promotional culture for the practice of veiling and its values– that is practiced differently by other Muslim women and promoted in various different ways as well by other Muslim lifestyles magazines, for instance by NooR.

In general, Umami's revolutionary ways of adopting pop style in its media production for more than a decade in the post Suharto era, remarks not only its transformation to a more modern style of a popular magazine but signifies a steady distance to an active politics in public sphere. Although, Umami necessarily still disseminates the contemporary ikhwani teachings particularly on Islamic self characters building and public morality, the magazine's recent emancipatory project not exclusively intended to serve explicit political interests of the Tarbiyah movement. Moreover, Umami also seems to disassociate itself symbolically from being the PKS's mouthpiece, despite the fact that Umami's editors are still dominated by the female Tarbiyah activists who are also members of the PKS. With regard to the current development of Umami as a popular women's magazine, the magazine not only provides an alternative identity construct of more modern pious women, indeed Umami now proselytizes more Muslim women (especially new readers) to be more righteous from ahistorical departure in their social and political context. The new members of Umami's family are mostly Muslim women who do not previously belong to the Tarbiyah movement. These Muslim women represent apolitical women who depart for their ahistorical voluntarily *hijrah* by committed to Umami's modern promotional culture for the objectification of Dakwah and piety movement. On the other hand, it is through the production of Umami that enables the female Tarbiyah activists to wag Islamic activism for moral transformation and the struggle for the coming out of private Muslim identity in the public sphere.

Chapter.5.

Who are the Muttarabi? A Brief Study of Ummi's Readership and Readers' Receptions on Reading Ummi

5.1. The Nature of Ummi's Readership in the Post-Suharto Era

As previously described in chapter two, according to the survey from the media rating agency of AC Nielsen in 2009, a considerable numbers of housewives and students as Ummi's readers were represented in the survey. Nevertheless the survey indicated a growing number of new middle class urban professional female workers in Ummi's readership. Despite the fact Ummi's association to the Tarbiyah movement, the AC Nielsen's survey did not capture it because the survey was mainly designed to measure the popularity of Ummi. Ummi utilized the survey from AC Nielsen in its advertorial page to attract more advertisements by incorporating such empirical data to convince public that the magazine now is widely accepted as a popular women's magazine in Indonesia. The survey conducted by AC Nielsen in 2009 still not provides sufficient information on the nature of Ummi's readership regarding the gradual transformation of the magazine from previously a radical underground magazine into a pop style magazine. In this context, Ummi was a cultural product of a subculture (of the Tarbiyah community) that rises up to cater the market of Muslim public especially Muslim women in Indonesia.

With regard to make a linkage between the gradual transformation of Ummi as a popular magazine and public acceptance of Ummi, I developed a research in the historical nature of Ummi's readership. The media new public such as readers, audience, and the spectators actually participate in shaping the development of mass media. In the case of Ummi, public acceptance of the magazine implies a historical and social process of negotiating the magazine as the cultural product of an Islamic subculture of the Tarbiyah movement's group to be accepted for the consumption of broader Muslims. The fact that Muslims represent the dominant powerful consumers in Indonesia, a market for Islamic

cultural products involves competing interests between different Muslim groups and other dominant institutional power such as advertisement industries, cosmetics or fashion industries, and other related institutions that are benefitted from the commodity of Islamic femininity. The transformation of *Ummi* thus necessarily signifies the efforts (struggles) of asserting the values of the Tarbiyah movement into public culture. In this way, *Ummi* as a popular magazine has to meet different competing interests for the market of Muslim public. Therefore, the interests of a broader Muslim public have to be calculated too by the *Ummi*'s management (the editors and the shareholders). In other words, *Ummi* is the Dakwah media which seeks to find a compromise equilibrium by constructing public's need to consume its commodity of Islamic femininity and simultaneously calculating its struggle to compete with other media which offer similar commodity or related values.

The production of *Ummi* has undoubtedly transformed Islamic femininity as both cultural and capital commodity. Because *Ummi* was produced through a discursive formation, the study of *Ummi* readership should also investigate how the magazine is consumed and made meaningful by particular readers in specific social and historical context. In this case, the study of *Ummi* is also designated to investigate the way the magazine is appropriated and made meaningful in the act of consumption. In dealing with this aim, I conducted two methods for researching *Ummi*'s readership. The first method was conducted with a quantitative reader's reception through a small-scale survey in order to map out of the readers based on specific social and historical context of the magazine, especially when the magazine has become a popular magazine. The second method is a qualitative reader's reception that was conducted through interpretive ethnography in order to discern how particular readers made *Ummi* meaningful in specific social and historical context. The qualitative reader's reception is a major method in this research.

The quantitative reader's reception of *Ummi* was conducted for four months in February – May 2010 in Jakarta and Yogyakarta, two of many urban cities in Java that have associated with the past historical roots of the Tarbiyah movement. The survey involved one hundred (100) respondents consisted of 38

respondents in Jakarta and 62 respondents in Yogyakarta. The respondents for the quantitative research of Ummi's readers in Jakarta were some female visitors of the public sermons in the mosque of *Mesjid Agung Al Azhar* in South Jakarta. The mosque holds public sermons regularly every weekend on Sunday morning and attended by the upper and middle class citizens of Jakarta. Obviously, the regular public sermon on the weekend at the Mesjid Agung Al Azhar Jakarta becomes a symbolic space of elevating the elitist status among middle and upper class of Jakarta's citizens. This elitist status is attributed not only because of their wealth but also due to the cultural status of being pious is considered a spiritual treasure. It is thus not surprising that most visitors of the public sermon in this mosque on the weekend came by with their luxurious cars. Despite the fact that I had circulated more than 60 questionnaires for my three visits in the public sermons at the Mesjid Agung Al Azhar Jakarta, only 38 respondents filled in the questionnaires. Meanwhile, the respondents for survey in Yogyakarta were female visitors of various public sermons but held in the same place of the Dakwah Campus's mosque of *Mesjid Kampus*, located at Gadjah Mada University (UGM). Several *Dakwah* activists especially from the Tarbiyah movement, the Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), and other *Salafi* Dakwah movement used to hold their public sermons at this mosque by occupying several rooms provided inside and surrounding the mosque. The mosque of *Mesjid Kampus* UGM in Yogyakarta plays a pivotal key for the disseminations of the competing ideological bases of Islamic activism among Muslim students in Yogyakarta particularly from those three *Dakwah* groups originated in the Dakwah movement in the Suharto period. The phenomenon of Mesjid Kampus UGM is interesting for further study or ethnography because the mosque was actually built by the Campus bureaucrats as a response to provide all Muslim students at UGM with a facility for religious worshipping. In fact, the daily activities in the Mesjid Kampus UGM mostly handled by student activists of the *Dakwah* movements and their activities are organized by utilizing the mosque's rooms that actually served by the UGM (Campus) authority as public facilities. Despite the fact that the mosque is also open to public obviously most public facilities in the *Mesjid Kampus UGM* are dominantly occupied by these three *Dakwah* groups (the Tarbiyah, the HTI, and the Salafi Dakwah groups). Therefore, public who attended public sermons at the

Mesjid Kampus UGM during the days will meet a strange atmosphere of 'competition' because inside the mosque these different groups share the same space for public sermons where anyone (or anonymous non member of these groups) can easily come for sitting and listening to the sermons and just go afterward like in the fast food restaurant. Despite the fact that I did not intentionally only select female respondents of this research, none of male respondents both in Jakarta and Yogyakarta who were willing to participate. Another obstacle to find prospective male respondents was because during the public sermons I could only stay within the group of female visitors.

My quantitative research of Ummi's readership in 2010 showed that there were only 20% of the respondents were the subscribers of Ummi. However, all of respondents admitted to have had read Ummi (100%), and, 47% of them read Ummi on a regular basis (almost every month). The survey also informed that more than 50% respondents found Ummi for the first time in bookstores rather than being introduced by friends or during their involvements in the public sermons or either in private religious mentoring class of the Tarbiyah movement called the *halaqah*. The religious mentoring class as a site for reader's source to obtain or read Ummi was also included in the survey to indicate the relation between readers and the Tarbiyah movement. The survey showed that 10% of the respondents found Ummi for the first time during their first private religious mentoring class of the *halaqah*, and 23% of the readers read Ummi occasionally during the *halaqah*. The survey also indicated that 70% of the respondents read Ummi for the first time after the editions of 2003, 25 % read Ummi since the editions after 1998, and only 5% read Ummi prior to 1998.¹

Although the survey that I conducted in 2010 provides a general feature that demonstrated readers' relation to Ummi based on particular historical and social context, this research not sufficiently provided specific information on reader's reception on their activities of reading Ummi. There was a question actually in the survey that addressed respondents with their favorable themes based on the 'genre-making' in Ummi. However the question not specifically involved framed issues discussed in Ummi and how respondents articulated

¹ See Appendix 3

their judgments for favorable themes. In other words, the quantitative research of reader's reception did not specifically investigate how particular readers made the magazine meaningful in particular context. The qualitative readers' reception thus was also only possible made after I conducted an examination of framing and content analysis of Ummi's publications since the Suharto period until 2009. Therefore, after I completed the framing and content analysis of Ummi's publication, I developed specific questions on particular framed issues represented Ummi in order to investigate how such issues were perceived by readers and how readers articulate their opinions on such related topics that I conducted in the further reception study in 2012.² Thus, in order to grasp readers' understanding of particular framed issues offered by Ummi, a specific qualitative reception is necessary. This is the reason why I decided to conduct a secondary fieldwork for a qualitative reader's reception through a combination of depth interviews and interpretive ethnography in July – August 2012. The qualitative reader's reception of Ummi involved twenty participants from one hundreds respondents who previously participated in the survey that I conducted during my first fieldwork in 2010.³ The analysis of the qualitative readers' reception is thus a major elaboration for this chapter.

These twenty participants are among 41 respondents who replied back to my request to participate again in the second research. However I could only managed myself to conduct the qualitative reception with only twenty participants due to some obstacles in the fieldwork, for instance to cope with the distance and limited time of meeting other prospective participants. Given the fact that Ummi was rooted in the Tarbiyah movement and the magazine still disseminates the ikhwani teachings in more subtle ways, the qualitative reception aimed at interpreting readers' signification for the identity construct of being pious women proposed by Ummi.

Based on my quantitative research of Ummi's readership, I found that among one hundreds respondents there were at least twenty readers of Ummi had an association to the Tarbiyah movement. However, most of these readers

² See Appendix 3 (Questionnaire Form, Question No.8)

³ See: Appendix 4

who had an association with the Tarbiyah movement only read Ummi occasionally during the halaqah mentoring class. By contrast, the survey indicated more new readers of Ummi in the post Suharto era and they had no direct association to the Tarbiyah movement. Among twenty participants of female readers in my qualitative reception studies, there are eight women who admitted to be the formal members of the Tarbiyah movement and joined the community from different period of time, one participant joined in the Suharto era and the others joined in the Reform era. Members of the Tarbiyah movement involved in this research are four female professional workers and four students at Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta. These female professional workers who have a direct connection to the Tarbiyah movement have various professions such as a general practitioner in the public hospital in Yogyakarta, a nurse in the private Islamic hospital in Jakarta, an employee of a commercial bank (non Islamic bank) in Jakarta, and an entrepreneur (an owner of a laundry service) also resides in Jakarta. However, there are also two participants who had a direct association to the Tarbiyah movement but then pulled themselves away because they experienced identity crises during the time of their involvement within the Tarbiyah movement. The ex-Tarbiyah members who participated in this research are a female student in Yogyakarta who has now joined the Hizbut Tahrir (HTI), and a TV journalist in Jakarta who is today having no affiliation with any particular Islamic groups. Therefore, among twenty participants of this research, half of them have encountered the Tarbiyah movement.

The qualitative reception research also found that Ummi are obviously still famous among female Muslim student activists in the leading campus of Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta. Yet, the nature of Ummi's readership in this research represents a phenomenon of urban middle class Muslim women who are actually come from different social and historical background, but inhabiting a specific culture of shared identity for being pious women. Various backgrounds of Ummi's readers thus generate multiple interpretations on the meanings of being pious women.

A social background of Ummi's readers in this research also help to identify their subjective understanding to form a shared identity construct of

pious women. All participants of this qualitative reception come from various professions such as professional workers, housewives, and students. Readers' professions reveal their social position for their attributed status in the hierarchical middle class society because an attributed status also signifies other sense of belonging that form subjective knowledge for identity construct. Readers' multiple identities also influenced their perceptions on religious moral values and virtues for the manifestation of being pious women.

5.2. Being Maratus Shalihah: Readers' Perceptions toward Ummi's Representation of Islamic Femininity

Women's magazines are the producers of meanings and signs; however, the meanings of women's magazines are produced in the discursive formation because the magazines involve readers for their future projection. In the process of inhabiting specific culture proposed by women's magazines, readers are considered as active agents that also contribute to shape the meanings offered by the magazines. In this regard, readers make women's magazines meaningful in specific social and historical context because readers are actually aware for being the transmitters of specific messages offered by women's magazines.⁴ On the other hand, readers also share their interpretations on what they held in common which in turn are being valued, examined, and accessed by the magazines' industry.⁵

With regard to Ummi's project on constructing the identity of pious women in the post Suharto era, this chapter seeks to elaborate readers' activities of reading Ummi and the way they formed subjective understanding of being pious women. In this regard, this research figured out the way readers made their own senses on the construction of femininity embodied in the image of maratus shalihah (pious women) from their activities of reading Ummi, because

⁴ Ballaster, Ross et al (eds). 1991. *Ideology, Femininity and the Women's Magazine*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan. Pp. 127-131

⁵ McRobbie. 1997. Op cit

every participant of this study belongs not only to a singular identity but multiple identities due to their specific cultural and social background. The renewed image of *maratus shalihat* presented by Umami is the focus of this reception study. More specifically, the participants of this study were interviewed for their opinions on the construction of *maratus shalihat* in Umami and how they value themselves as pious women.

All participants of this research are veiled woman and some participants involved in this study defined themselves as the 'hijabers'. Although not all participants in this research agreed with such term. In the interviews with all participants I found that attitudes toward veiling are diverse to the practice of veiling. Nevertheless, the *hijabers* occupied a shared meaning of hijab that is to employ a spiritual identity embodied in the practice of veiling for sanctity and modesty. The shared meaning on hijab for sanctity and modesty has confirmed Umami's notion on the dignified moral status of wearing the veil, but in the particular context, some participants might be very critical to other concept of '*hijab*' presented by Umami such as the meaning of hijab for beauty. Again, all participants agreed that veiling symbolizes the status of pious women despite their various interpretations of social meanings of hijab.

Two participants who are housewives shared similar opinions on the social meanings of the practice of hijab that in general becomes a measurement for social acceptance or interactions. Sylvia and Martina hold their degree in public relations, but opted to be housewives because they would love to take care their own children despite the fact that their husbands would free them to find jobs. The two obviously are befriended since in the college and were noticed and informed about the Tarbiyah movement during their time of studying. Their motivation to be the subscribers of Umami was mainly because they considered Umami presented itself in moderate ways for educating women to be more pious. During their time of studying at the campus STIKOM LSPR (Sekolah Tinggi Ilmu Komunikasi) or College for Communication Studies – London Schools for Public Relations, there were no '*halaqah*' in the campus because most students in that school are predominantly ethnic Chinese Indonesians who are mostly non-Muslims. A sense of pursuing pious identity for these women appeared since

they married their rich Muslim husbands. Marriage and its social interactions in relations to support husband's social mobility is one reason why they began to practice veiling. Nevertheless, both Sylvia and Martina argued that since they put on hijab, not only they cultivated spiritual satisfaction but also more self esteems because not only their husband and families who like to see them veiled as well as Muslim environment, but also their non-Muslim friends. In this context, according to both women, veiling is more than a symbol for being pious women but symbolizes social harmony in which people they interacted with valued them in more respectable ways.

Other participants were very critical to the social notions on the practice of veiling in different views. Kartika, for example, a TV journalist who was an ex-Tarbiyah member during her previous years at the university are aware that veiling becomes a vehicle for upward mobility that works only to middle and upper class women. She, made her argument by exemplifying the practice of veiling especially among lower and middle class old women who practiced it mainly because veiling becomes a way of practical dressing rather than dressing in traditional 'Kebaya'⁶, like commonly found in the past. In this sense, according to Kartika, the meaning of veiling that connotes social or political interests is meaningless. Nevertheless she put forward an argument that these old veiled women also negotiate the practice of veiling for gaining social security from their society or environment, for instance due to their vulnerability. Frequent public sermons in the local mosques nowadays in Indonesia, according to Kartika become a site for popularizing the practice of veiling not only among upper and middle classes, but also among lower class, because in the mosques these vulnerable ageing people find their agencies for social security. Kartika defined herself to be liberated by any notion of veiling, although she keeps practicing it. For her, her veil is beyond religion it is her private spirituality in which she carried it in public because veiling also has helped her to negotiate with the challenges from her job. Being a female TV journalist, according to her, is more difficult than for instance being a newspaper or magazine journalist, because the job has no time limit due to the demand for an immediate 'on-air' reportage.

⁶ Kebaya is a traditional Javanese blouse dress combined with sarong or batik

'When for instance she had to cover a breaking news and was among the crowd of other journalists in competition to interview particular figures on the spot, Jilbab' (the veil) nevertheless was a mechanism that sometimes gives a privilege to her for having a priority to interview her informants. She noticed that the society tend to treat veiled women in a sense of fragility due to public knowledge about veiled women who deserve respect and protection. Kartika admitted that although she read *Ummi*, she was never a fan of *Ummi* but was a fan of 'Annida' – the teen Muslim magazine during her teenage in the Suharto period. Kartika said that her sister still subscribes the magazine and she is married to a PKS guy, that was the only reason that kept her tie to 'Ummi'.

Student Dakwah activists of the Tarbiyah movement and the HTI in this research argued for different opinions with regard to female depictions in *Ummi*. Achniah and Rumi, members of the Tarbiyah movement for instance, found no problem with female depictions in *Ummi*, indeed they agreed that *Ummi* should moderate its approach by employing more qualities of femininity for instance in supplying readers with practical instructions for beautifying their style of hijab without neglecting the Shari'a rule for a proper hijab. Siti Belanagari, a member of KAMMI (Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia) or the United Action Muslim Students Indonesia, the PKS-affiliated student organization found an internal conflict inside her mind with regard to the tendency of the media for representing more the act of beautifying the self in the practice of veiling. She argued that such representation indeed seems no longer radiate a spiritual meaning of hijab especially that stressed the notion of modesty. For her, modesty is the essential exterior identity of pious women because by all means, it motivates the self to purify malicious intentions that are actually human. On the other hand, she found herself in satisfactory to learn that the practice of veiling is widely accepted by more and more people across ethnicity and social classes that has enabled veiled women face no social or political barriers in negotiate with social mobility. Another criticism for the act of beautifying the self through the practice of veiling was also expressed by Eka, an ex-Tarbiyah member who is now joining the HTI. According to her, such representation of hijab has misled public understanding not only on the core essential meaning of hijab, but has transformed hijab for manipulative intentions. These manipulative

intentions, according to Eka found in the act for profit making shown by the increasing business of veiling fashion industry in inappropriate way that legitimates greed. On this account, Eka said that the popularization of veiling in public is contaminated by human greed. To this extent, Eka further argued that the real 'hijabers' are those women who are intact from the act of beautifying themselves through the practice of veiling, not only just simply formal (textual) understanding of the 'Hijab Syar'i'.

The interview also included the questions on how readers perceive Ummi's representation on Islamic femininity with a concern on private relationships. An old member of the Tarbiyah movement, Asih Suharsih, a nurse in the private Islamic hospital in Jakarta found that such concern is an important issue to be uplifted especially by the Tarbiyah community. Asih herself was in the difficult situation when she decided to marry a man from the shared *Kufu'* background through an arranged marriage prepared by her Murrabi. Asih came from Banyumas, Central Java, and she admitted that the cultural background of Banyumasan made the people more tolerant to discuss an implicit values of sexuality. Therefore when she married to her first husband fifteen years ago, her family could accept it mainly because she did not inform her parents that her ex husband was prepared by her Murrabi and thus her family thought that the man was her lover. Although, Asih told me that her family was very curious when noticed that her ex husband had never met her in face before their wedding. Asih divorced her husband six years ago because she could not cope with the polygamy. Although Asih seemed to regret her past marriage, she revealed that she still keeps in touch with her ex husband because they have two daughters. Asih also admitted that she was one among many Tarbiyah members who experienced a difficult situation with the practice of polygamy. Asih ex-husband married another woman only after their three years of anniversary and she survived the polygamous marriage for four years until eventually she decided to divorce him. Until the day I interviewed her, Asih remained single.

It is also interesting to discuss Ummi's concern on private relationships, especially on marital issues as the source for fantasizing the self by viewing other women's issues for their future projection in marital relationships. This way of

fantasizing the self is revealed by both Tarbiyah and non-Tarbiyah members. In general, they also tend to favor a natural cause for the reason of marriage rather than the idea of an arranged marriage. Yet, in common they also agreed that Islam forbids not only an explicit 'Zina' (adultery) but also the '*Zina Hati*' or an implicit Zina by encountering physical intimacy between lovers. Annissa, for instance, the youngest participant of this research and who has no association with the Tarbiyah movement argued that she will insist to lower her gaze in order to stay away from the 'Zina Hati', although she admitted that she has a boyfriend who regularly made a visit to her flat accompanied by other male friends. Annissa admitted that her relationship with her boyfriend was rooted in their extra curriculum religious (Islamic) activities at high school and having a boyfriend is normally accepted as long as they don't commit to the Zina Hati. Annissa said that her virginity not only means to protect her genitalia but also a mechanism to assess her 'future husband' to control sexual instinct. Annissa believed that a man who could control or overcome his sexual instinct would be best married because he won't do such a thing to other women. However, when I asked Annissa how come she was very sure with this belief given the fact that she has never knew her boyfriend's attitudes to other women in her absence. She kept insisted that she just wanted to believe it and the feeling of believing such value made her comfortable. I found that Annissa's perception on a complex issue of an idealized marital relationship derived from her ambiguity in conceptualizing an ideal femininity and a quest for a true Islam.

Another way of fantasizing the self by viewing other women's issue is a concern on being single. Dian Ekasari, for instance, a general practitioner in the public hospital in Yogyakarta was 32 years old by the time of the interview. Dian admitted that she managed herself to come regularly to the halaqah, but because of the demand from her job as a doctor, she admitted that recently she just came occasionally. Just like Annissa who expressed an ambiguous opinion, Dian also expressed an ambiguous opinion with regard to an ideal Islamic feminine identity. Dian admitted that through an arranged marriage, a Muslim woman might surrender herself with the providence of God because even when someone decided to marry for a natural cause, she never knew whether the marriage would remain forever or not. However, Dian added that only a woman who

already psychologically liberates all anxieties is the one who could manage herself for an arranged marriage. In this context, she also found herself still in difficulties or a dilemma. Dian did not explain further reasons for her view in marital relationship but then confirmed her ambiguity by revealing her single status that she enjoyed reading such issues in *Ummi* to calm herself that she was not the only one of those 'female Tarbiyah' singles.

I also included questions with regard to *Ummi*'s other representation on Islamic femininity through the image of pious women as self-reliant persons. In response to such question, all participants have agreed that having mobility for Muslim women is a good representation of Islam because it confirms the idea of equal before God between sexes. Despite the fact that all participants came across to similar moral values on the issues of being self-reliant, they have various opinions on interpreting gender equality which entails the idea of self-reliance. This is for example is expressed by Eka, the young HTI member. According to Eka, Islam acknowledges the equality of men and women before God in the proportional distinctive nature of men and women. According to her, feminist perspective has dismissed such notion mainly because equality is measured in material senses. Therefore, when women filled the domestic obligation, it is not considered as political, indeed, according to Eka, women's domestic roles are the most powerful political struggles in Islam because women are prepared not only as a wife or a mother for daily routines but as the basis supports for conditioning the Umma.

Joke Hermes (1995) in her analysis of readers' activities in reading popular women's magazine in Holland found that readers construct new texts in the form of fantasies and imagined new selves. In this context she argues that women's magazine is a form of relaxation and fantasizing ideal self, although the consumption of women's magazine only provides a temporarily moment of empowerment. Hermes believes that readers are the producers of meanings rather the cultural dupes of the media institutions. In my case study *Ummi*'s representation on Islamic femininity was not always appropriated by its readers, even by readers who interacted with the values of the Tarbiyah movement. However, participants of this study found themselves in general a sense of

collective bonding to some extents with specific women's issues represented by Ummi during their activities of reading Ummi. Yet, most participants agreed that Ummi distinctive appeal is not just on constructing piety, but also providing pleasures. The participants of this study admitted to have enjoyed Ummi in different ways and made Ummi only occasionally influential to their views on constructing pious women.

5.3. On the Duty as the Muttarabi: Readers' Perceptions on Ummi's Framed Themes on Islamic Activism

In its earlier representation, Ummi has framed the notion of pious women that served to support not only the ikhwani views on Islamic activism, but also to mobilize active political supports for the Tarbiyah movements as well as the PKS interest for instance in the case of the Pornography Act. However, not all participants of this reception study were aware with Ummi's record for mobilizing forms of activism through its media representation. In other words, not all participants were well informed that Ummi was used to be represented mostly as a political magazine rather than a women popular magazine. Yet, there are some participants who noticed that Ummi has underwent a transformation, especially those who were engaged with reading Ummi prior to the editions of 2003. Because Ummi has obscured its active political mobilization for the Tarbiyah movement and the PKS especially since the editions of 2003, I found that not all questions in the depth interview were applicable to all participants, except to those participants who already had knowledge on the appearance of Ummi prior to its pop style as a Muslim women's magazine. I also found that it was unfair to intervene some participants with my knowledge on reading Ummi because they only knew Ummi quite recently. In other words, addressing some participants with specific topics that they have no idea on how responding to these issues, in my will disrupt the process of gaining their understanding of reading Ummi in a natural sense.

Therefore, in general I only interviewed some participants to find their understanding on the meaning of *Dakwah*. However, addressing some participants with a general notion on *Dakwah* in a common sense, indeed only resulted in almost similar answer. Therefore, in order to investigate readers' perceptions on how *Dakwah* is propagated in Ummi, I made a distinction by relating the identity construct of pious women and the issues of private moralities in the public sphere. In this account, readers' constructs of pious identity are important to locate their positions in the 'Dakwah' (piety) movement promoted by Ummi and how these readers articulate their own roles in such positions.

The Tarbiyah movement through Ummi has popularized the construction of the ikhwani interpretation of Islamic motherhood of 'Ummu Madrasah' (women as educator) which to some extents signifies women's public role, not just educating their children and family, but society. Within the framework of 'Ummu Madrasah', female Tarbiyah members actively persuade their social environment to comply with the Islamic norms through self improvement that is manifested in private morality. In this context, the reinforcement of public morality are expected to occur in two levels of societal changes, as the Tarbiyah movement is now struggling to achieve the 'Tamadun' society by internalizing and actualizing the Manhaj of *Dakwah* taught by ikhwani leading figure Sayyid Qutb, who suggested the combination of both movement and preaching for societal change. The first manhaj, dealt with the political change achieved through active politics and mobilizing contentious issues through movement. This was exemplified in the case of the Tarbiyah movement's effort that was successfully resulted in the enactment of the Pornography Act in 2008. In this context, all members of the Tarbiyah movement including its institutions (including Ummi) mobilized contentious issues by problematizing moral corrupt of the society, necessarily including moral corrupt in sexuality. The second manhaj, dealt with cultural movement by mobilizing promotional culture of Islamic identity in public and thus socializes the Islamic identity through the practices of piety in line with the enforcement for normative orders including sexual normative order.

Umami has demonstrated its efforts to implement the Tarbiyah movement-ikhwan's Manhaj as the activism framework that is manifested in both Umami's active politics by mobilizing supports for the issues of pornography and pornoaction, as well as Umami's today tendency to adopt more cultural movement through the socialization of the identity of maratus shalihah (for instance the public campaigning for 'Hijab Syar'i). To this extent my qualitative readers reception thus tried to grasp how readers perceive their social position as well as their self projection with regard to the Tarbiyah's implementation of Manhaj Dakwah. Readers who are actually do not belong to the Tarbiyah movement also contributed to significant insights for Umami, because they are Umami's new constituents, more than just customers.

In my research, all non Tarbiyah members have come to a shared argument that public morality was also their major concerns. Farisya for instance, argued that the enactment of pornography Act is not yet solved problems in the society because the Lower House eventually dropped the notion of pornoaction. She found herself in anxiety to witness the practice of adultery in her neighborhood, for instance as she witnessed, the phenomenon of female Muslim students who live together without married with their boyfriends. In Jakarta, such phenomenon according to her is ignored by the landlords who rent their houses because they (the landlords) only wanted to make money. At this point, Farisya made a connection between moral corrupt for sexuality with moral corrupt for the real 'corruption' which is human greed. Other non Tarbiyah members such as Erma and Neni, both are students in Yogyakarta for instance, commented on the scandal of the leaked sex videotape of famous singer 'Ariel Peterpan' with several film actresses such as Luna Maya, Cut Tari, etc, in public. Ariel Peterpan was the one who first subjected to the pornography Act in 2011 and he was imprisoned to almost three years because of his 'sexual affairs' were videotaped and publicly leaked. Indeed, the case of Ariel sparked heated debates in public on whether he was deserved to be imprisoned or not because he was not the one who leaked the videos and or distributed them to public which was spread so quickly less than a month especially in the internet, on mobile cellphone in dups. Erma and Neni commented that Ariel should be punished more than three years, because according to these students, he is the

teen idol and the fact that there were Ariel's fans who mobilized public supports for him in order to release him from the jail, according to Erna and Neni reflected 'Indonesian double moral standard' especially in sexuality. Thus, according to them, there should be more than just a regulation in dealing with sex materials in public, but a strong moral will to discipline public with a strict punishment for 'sex criminals' like Ariel Peterpan as a method of deterrence. There was also one Tarbiyah member, Rumi who also commented on the case of Ariel Peterpan and argued for the same opinions. However, when I asked Rumi her opinion on the practice of Qanun-the Shari'a law in the province of Aceh – North Sumatra, she posited an ambiguous argument. She said that, yet most of the PKS politicians who are elected as local governments in several provinces in Indonesia, not all agreed to the implementation of the PERDA-Syariat or the local regulation for the Shari'a, especially which dealt with sexual offense at public. Rumi further argued that the PKS politicians and most of all the Tarbiyah members encouraged society for public morality by self improvement for piety first. Rumi also admitted that she found the implementation of the Qanun in Aceh was a bit degrading women in public, because female sexual offenders are flogged and became a public attraction and thus such act is valued as inhumane. Rumi believed that all the ikhwani followers would not agree with such punishment. Nevertheless, Rumi, like Erna and Neni still insisted that the 'pornoaction' should be recognized by public and re-enacted in the pornography Act for regulating public morality.

Another way of implementing Dakwah through the framework of Manhaj is also achieved through cultural movement. In this regard, two members of the Tarbiyah movement revealed their stories for encouraging their friends and colleagues to follow the path of Dakwah by accompanying them to a voluntarily hijrah by practicing veiling. Rosa, a senior accountant in a commercial bank in Jakarta for instance said that she was the first one among others who first practiced veiling after she got accepted to work in the commercial bank almost twelve years ago in earlier 2000s. According to Rosa, when she first entered the job, there were only two female employees who put on hijab and both were not at front to serve customers. She said, the atmosphere in commercial bank today is unlike in the Suharto period where all female employees were forced to exhibit

their 'Aurat' – sexual appeals in public by minimized dresses. Rosa admitted that because today Indonesia public began to accept the practice of veiling, she could easily persuade other female friends and colleagues to practice veiling. Laila and Andra, for instance, both are Rosa's colleagues and good friends who work in the same bank as tellers and they have to meet the bank customers face to face on the daily basis. Laila and Andra are non Tarbiyah members, but both expressed the same impression like Rosa's opinion that Muslim dressing or veiling has elevated the status of female employees in the bank because they are respected as human beings not sexual objects like in the past. Laila whose mother was also a teller who worked in the bank during the Suharto period in the 1980s also shared a private story to me. She said that her mother was being harassed by a special customer of the bank and the offender was not charged at all, indeed the case was dismissed by the authority of the bank during that time. Another Tarbiyah member who run a laundry service in Jakarta, Nuraini for instance argued that the cultural movement is more powerful than political mobilization. She said that due to her laundry business she made lots of friends including with Siti Fadlihah, an owner of a boutique in Jakarta. Nuraini claimed that it was through friendship including with Fadlihah they established a circle group for regular study for Islam consists of more than twenty women mostly are housewives from upper class in Jakarta. Fadilhah is not a Tarbiyah member, and she was raised in the family which culturally member of the mainstream Muslim organization Muhammadiyah. Fadilhah run the study group together with Nuraini where she is the head of the group. They set up a regular meeting every week for the study of Islam by inviting an Ustad or Ustadzah – the Islamic teacher or preacher to give a sermon for the group. Fadlihah said that the group also organizes social charity, especially by providing Muslim clothes and financial support to poor Muslim children for schooling.

For some other participants who are knowledgeable to the past editions of *Ummi* prior to its 2003 editions, like Asih Suharsih, Kartika and Rosa, reading *Ummi* actually required the readers with an understanding of the ikhwani teachings especially those addressed to prepare Muslim women for motherhood. Such understanding of the ikhwani teachings actually perhaps could only be pertained through a training of the halaqah mentoring class, because *Ummi* was

designed as the supplement's readings for this activity. Meanwhile for new readers of *Ummi* like Yayuk and Annissa, reading *Ummi* is easy to follow. Both Yayuk and Annissa admitted that they need *Ummi* for elevating their knowledge in Islam especially as a preparation to be the future housewives and mother.

Through my examination of framing and content analysis of the reading materials in *Ummi* for almost two decades, I found the construction of motherhood in *Ummi*'s representation obviously is in the refined form with still contains a soft formula of the ikhwani doctrines. However, not all participants were well informed with a basic understanding on ikhwani doctrines on pious women. An extreme case was exemplified for instance in the case of a young woman 'Annissa' who admitted to accept the value to lower her gaze that also applied to the way she treated her boyfriend by fantasizing the value as her moral investment to be cultivated in the future. Indeed, Annissa represents a phenomenon of the clash of moral anxieties especially among youth Indonesian Muslims today in which modernity is accepted with a sense of insecurity by adopting the quest for a true Islamic identity. Annissa also signifies a phenomenon of apolitical and ahistorical middle class young Indonesians who are unaware with the competing ideological battles in the public domain.

A clash of moral anxieties in my view also represented by Eka, the ex-Tarbiyah member, who are now joining the Hizbut Tahrir, who were aware with the competing ideologies in public domain and simply made a cross journey into another ideological group because she was allured with the Hizbut Tahrir's magnetic campaign for the struggle of establishing the Islamic Caliphate she thought to be more righteous than struggling for a Daulah (Islamic state) by accommodating the system of the rulers (Indonesian liberal democracy) such as exemplified by the PKS. Eka admitted that she was disappointed with a growing pragmatism among the Tarbiyah members for instance as publicly shown by notorious reputations of some leading PKS figures. She, then found herself more comfortable to join the HTI as her active politics in public. In this context, for Eka, *Ummi* is no longer a *Dakwah* media, but simply a monthly 'Islamic magazine' selling a particular lifestyle that revolves around the performance of symbolic religiousness.

Carla Jones argues that the Islamic lifestyle media which maintain pious femininity also represents the focus of Indonesian anxiety about Islam. The popularization of veiling according to Jones, is a powerful symbolism of piety which in turn has transformed religious value into an exchange value in the marketplace. This is a ground of the Indonesian anxiety about Islam that some Muslims found it difficult to cope with because they sustain a belief that piety should remain intact from capitalist view.⁷ Indeed, according to Jones, capitalist is also a set of belief not just a set of practice, similarly to piety. Therefore, both are tangible to material commodities. On the other hand, as long argued by Suzanne Brenner (1996) student activists of the *Dakwah* movement in the Suharto period projected their quest for an Islamic identity to be allured by transnational religious community as the healing for moral transformation of the society. The quest for a truer Islamic identity however in post Suharto era is expanded by open ideological competitions in public domain in order to scramble the space for propagation of proselytizing Muslims.

Meanwhile for old members of the Tarbiyah movement, the transformation of a 'Tarbiyah' media like Ummi by contrast is perceived as a progressive movement. In this context, for instance as argued by Asih, Rosa and Dian, the transformation of a society by the reinforcement of Islamic norms for moral public is more essential than mobilizing contentious politics in order to gain Muslim supports. In their views, the piety movement now is the best current political orientation of the Tarbiyah movement because it is wagged in the cultural forms that pacify tensions between different Muslim groups. On this account these old members also very critical to the PKS, stating that the party need to reorient itself to the initial PKS's platform for creating a Tamadun society by providing an image of a moral role model like the real 'Murrabi'. According to Rosa, without a reorientation to meet its grassroots expectation the PKS will lose its public support and that was the reasons why some people who have

⁷ Jones, Carla. 2010. 'Creating Virtue and Value in an Indonesian Islamic Lifestyle Magazine'. *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* Vol.6 No.3 / Fall. Pp. 91 -117.

associated with the *Tarbiyah* movement began to disassociate themselves symbolically with the PKS.

Indeed, what have been probably 'omitted' from *Ummi*'s recent editions (especially of those editions in post 2009) are *Ummi*'s visible supports for the PKS especially after the declining popularity of the party in 2009 national election and more deteriorating images following some scandals which involved the PKS elites.⁸ Nevertheless, the spirit of the *Tarbiyah* ideology is entirely yet the core essence of the magazine.

⁸ See: chapter 1

Chapter 6

The Murrabi: A Brief Ethnography Study of Ummi's Editorship

6.1. Female Dakwah Activists and the Production of Islamic Femininity

Ummi was established in February 1989 by two male Tarbiyah movement activists, Aidil Heryana and Agus Sudjarmiko who then recruited other Tarbiyah activists at the University of Indonesia in Jakarta to manage its publications.¹ Ummi's first edition was launched in April 1989 and staff from this magazine were all men and the male dominance in Ummi's structure remained until 1997. On the other hand, simultaneously during the period of earlier 1990s, a group of female Tarbiyah activists foresaw another field of Dakwah through cultural movement. They established a writers' group at the Faculty of Literature at the University of Indonesia in Jakarta and began to publish their 'Islamic genre of literature' such as prose or stories as well as poems at several newspaper, for instance in the leading Islamic newspaper like *Republika*. These female Tarbiyah activists who joined in that group then decided to work together and published a print-off stencil called 'Annida' which contents collected all the Islamic literature works of female Tarbiyah activists in 1991. This print-off stencil of Annida was very much limited circulated only among female Tarbiyah members in Jakarta. Among these female Tarbiyah activists are today leading female figure in public such as Helvy Tiana Rosa, Dwi Septiawati, Asma Nadia, Haula Rosdiana, Inayati, Dewi Fitri, and Dian Yasmina Fajri. Today these female Tarbiyah activists have their reputation as the 'founding father' of the Islamic genre of literature. Meanwhile, in earlier 1990s Ummi was already appeared as a community based magazine that catered the female members of the Tarbiyah movement and was published as a supplement reading or accompanying reading for the halaqah mentoring class especially in pertaining Islam. However, Ummi was managed by all men. In 1993, the management of Ummi took Annida to be published for a

¹ Meilis Sawitri (Ummi's Secretary of Editor), 2006. *Sejarah Ummi (The History of Ummi)*, unpublished notes

wider public. Therefore, during that period, all male Tarbiyah activists were working for Ummi – a Muslim women’s magazine prepared for motherhood, meanwhile Annida was intended to cater Muslim teen with a teenage Muslim magazine. Although Annida was adopted by Ummi’s management, its popularity was far more wider than to Ummi. This exceptional success of Annida, then ignited a significant shift in the Ummi’s management since mid 1990s. The male editors of Ummi, for instance like Ahmad Maburi thought that perhaps Ummi was better managed by female Tarbiyah activists because these women knew women’s world than men. This was the reason why then some female Tarbiyah activists were recruited to maintain Ummi for making the magazine followed the successfully path of Annida in gaining popularity.

Ummi’s gradual transformation as a real women’s magazine in fact began a year prior to the reform era. By the end of 1997 Ummi began its first route to be a Muslim women’s magazine. The adaptation into a popular magazine became more apparent since the female Tarbiyah activists joined the structure of the decision makers in Ummi’s production. The involvement of the female Tarbiyah activists significantly has shaped Ummi’s recent image. Although female Tarbiyah activists initially joined Ummi’s management since 1993, especially following the birth of ‘*Annida*’, as a new teen magazine, yet they did not much affect the orientation of Ummi as a ‘real’ women’s magazine until the editions of 1998.².

Annida was much more creative than to Ummi, especially because the magazine introduced the serial comics of *Si Nida*. The icon of *Si Nida*, a young ‘funny’ girl wearing a veil (see figure 30) gave a major credit that made Annida very famous among Muslim teenagers since mid 1990s. The birth of Annida as a magazine also came from an idea that if Ummi is a magazine prepared for Islamic motherhood, thus there is also a need to publish a teen (girls) magazine of ‘*Annida*’ as its companion. The female Tarbiyah activists found Annida as a site of creativity where they experimented the Tarbiyah’s missionary in fashionable ways (a pop style of Dakwah).

² *Si Nida* or *the Nida* – is a girl’s name and also an acronym of the word *Annida* (Arabic) means the Daughter

Although *Ummi* was *Annida*'s mother, *Annida* was far more popular than *Ummi* in the 1990s. It is especially due to *Annida*'s approach for employing slang language that is familiar to young readers. Another reason that gave a rise of *Annida*'s popularity is due to its young adolescent's theme and how to cope with adolescent's crisis. This theme is formed in fictions through which readers find the stories resemble teen problems in reality. A growing popularity of *Annida* then generated a new style of literature which employs the *Dakwah* missions. This style is later defined as the *Islamic genre of literature*. A new trend of disseminating the *Dakwah* messages through storytelling has motivated the female *Tarbiyah* activists who were trained under *Ummi* and the creators of *Annida* to develop a community of the *Tarbiyah* writers (storytellers) called '*Forum Lingkar Pena*' (The Circle of Pens Forum) that generates a new mainstream of *Sastra Islami* (the Islamic style of Literature). Although the FLP operates independently – it manages to keep connections with *Annida* and *Ummi* mainly because they share similar visions in the *Tarbiyah* movement.

As a response to the growing popularity of *Annida*, *Ummi*'s management then considered to have a new outlook for making the magazine more familiar to a broader readership. Prior to the editions of 1997, *Ummi* was regarded more as a dogmatic journal exclusively catered the female *Tarbiyah* members. Since 1997, *Ummi* has gradually transformed into a more 'moderate' *Muslimah* magazine by employing a new approach to accommodate Muslim women's issues including which related with personal matters. This means, since 1997 *Ummi* decided not only to serve the *Tarbiyah* members for providing a supplement reading of the '*Halaqah*' (the study circle) – but a magazine that caters Muslim public in general and Muslim women in particular.

In 2003, *Ummi* follows *Annida*'s footsteps to success by gaining new readers not only from the adherents of the *tarbiyah* movement but also from public. This transformation also underlined *Ummi*'s shift from an ideological community-base magazine into a popular Muslim women magazine. On the other hand, a broader readership of *Ummi* has also affected the way *Ummi* represents itself as a *Dakwah* medium because a growing numbers of *Ummi* readers who are not considered as 'legitimate' members of the *Tarbiyah* movement also

stimulate the transformation of the magazine in adopting a more 'moderate' style.



Figure.30. 9 Tahun Annida: Kias-kias dari Redaksi' (Annida's 9th Anniversary: Metaphors from the Editors). Source: Annida No.1 / X/ October 2000



Figure.31. 'Aurora di Acadia: Cerpen Nai Elye Hiruva' (Aurora in Acadia: A Short Story by Nai Elye Hiruva). Source: Annida No.7 / XV/ March-April 2007

A space for promoting hijab as an alternative lifestyle through diverse narratives in *Ummi* also resulted from editorial structure's change that involved more female workers especially after the fall of Suharto. Within the new structure, the female *Tarbiyah* activists found an opportunity to speak about themselves and the essential materials to share their experiences of joining the path of *Dakwah* that were used to be delegated under the dominant male editors in previous *Ummi* publications. It was also the time when the female *Tarbiyah* activists began to explore creativities in developing *Ummi* as a 'true Muslim women magazine which speaks about 'Muslim women territory' – yet in the light of the *Tarbiyah* teachings.

The magazine's relationship with subscribers has been organized not only by providing more spaces on the consultation column where the subscribers may post their questions, concerns, opinions, or contribute short stories etc, but by also creating a fans-club for *Ummi* loyal readers. This fandom is interesting because the readers are not only targeted by *Ummi* solely as 'customers' but as part of the 'Ummy's family'. *Ummi's* fandom as I have previously described in the chapter four was created to connect the readers of *Ummi* as active agents that help to promote the magazine and its related cultural products. However, the initial creation of *Ummi's* fandom was not deliberately designed to utilize the roles of these loyal readers to act as the *Ummi's* sales' spokesman. The initial creation of the *Ummy's* family was an arranged marriage program offered by *Ummi* to create '*Keluarga Islami*' or the appropriate muslim family based on the Shari'a (See figure 32).

The editors of *Ummi* found that the creation of *Ummy's* fandom is a manifestation of the spirit of an *Islamic Sisterhood*. Within the program of '*Keluarga Islami*' – *Ummy's* provides a service for the 'Ta'aruf', a mediated Islamic procedure for having acquainted period between prospective couples. This program is actually cost free, however, all prospective couples in this program were required to come to a preparation seminar before their wedding day, and they were required to purchase some materials like books. Obviously, the program of '*Keluarga Islami*' in *Ummy* become *Ummy's* social laboratory that connected female *Tarbiyah* members to be the motivators of the *Ummy's* fandom.

The creation of Ummi's fandom also an important signs to expand Ummi's social influences at public because the members of Ummi's family initially worked for Ummi without being paid as well, as a return to the benefit they gained by joining the family of Ummi. Therefore the spirit of Sisterhood, according to Ummi's editors becomes the principles to share mutual benefits.



Figure. 32. Ummi's Fan's Club initiated for the 'arranged marriage'

Ummi's exploration to connect the fandom with the world of Islamic femininity expanded further by integrating the loyal subscribers of Ummi since earlier 2000s not only to promote the magazine to public, but also to be part of the magazine cultural intermediaries. According to Meilis Sawitri, a senior editor in Ummi, this creation was also intended as an emancipatory work that benefitted the Ummi's family economically. Meilis also added that the membership of Ummi is cost free, but since the demands to join the group is greater, than they have to manage the Ummi's fandom much more professional. In this sense, because they also have to meet with the advertisement's

expectation, then, the membership of Ummi's family began to be managed for profit making. Indeed, Meilis argues that this fandom is not exploited for the benefit of Ummi itself, but also to provide them with activities like an informal occupations.



Figure 33. The activities of Ummi's family members

Meilis further explained that it was through the Ummi's family, the editors of Ummi also found some interesting topics with regard to the actual lives, especially among female Tarbiyah members. However, today, Ummi appeared not only to cater the Tarbiyah members but Muslim women in a wider context. Therefore, according to Aini Firdaus, one of junior editor in Ummi who handled the section for reportage in politics and Women's world, Ummi began to implement Yusuf Al Qaradawi's suggestion that Muslim women should be active in public for the promotional culture of Islam. Aini argues that the creation of Islamic femininity was not solely come from Ummi's crew creativity, but also since Ummi – reflects the progressive orientation of the Tarbiyah movement since mid 2000s following the ikhwani's changing orientation in Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood which embraced the concept of 'Wasatiyya'.

Yusuf Al Qaradawi along with other Egyptian Islamists intellectuals such as Muhammad al Ghazali, Fahmi Huwaydi, Kamal Abu al Majid, etc have introduced the concept of 'Wasatiyya' which emphasizes intellectual activities

rather than political organizing.³ The concept of Wasatiyya was taken from the phrase in the Quran Sura Al Baqarah verse no. 143 which says '*We have made of you an umma wasata*' which is perceived that Muslims should manage their social and political position to moderate a society. Being moderate in this context means that they should be more open and inclusive to a wider multicultural society. That is the reason why, a space for accommodating liberal notions such as democracy, pluralism, freedom of thought, the rights of women are acknowledged within this concept.⁴

The concept of Wasatiyya, according to Aini Firdaus, was only disseminated among the Tarbiyah members in Indonesia. just in few years ago especially after implication of the September 11. Indeed, Yusuf Al Qaradawi in particular mentions the roles of Muslim women in his concept of Wasatiyya. According to Al Qaradawi, the importance of Muslim women in society relies on their feminine strength. It is because family is the bedrock of the Umma, therefore women play significant roles. However, according to Michaelle Browsers (2009), Al Qaradawi's wasatiyya perspective on women's role although in one hand has liberated Muslim women to enjoy emancipatory work especially in public, but to some extents it also provides a justification to render a conservative approach that restrict Muslim women's rights for active politics. According to Browsers, Al Qaradawi ambiguous view on the roles of Muslim women in the wasatiyya perspective derives from Qaradawi's general rule that "the avoidance of evil should come before realizing of interest" – that to some extents preclude the realization of women's rights in the interest of avoiding harm to traditional domestic and civil society, including to political institutions.⁵

Aini Firdaus admitted that due to the changing orientation of the Tarbiyah movement to embrace the wasatiyya as its framework for implementing Dakwah, female Tarbiyah activists like her are encouraged to interact with more multicultural society especially which dealt with secular women's activism. To Aini, such a transformation is a big challenge because when she has to meet a

³ Browsers, Michaelle. 2009. Political Ideology in the Arab World. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 48 – 70.

⁴ Ibid. P.51

⁵ Ibid p. 62

wider public such as by interacting with women's activists who advocate the shared issues for lifting up the qualities of lives for women, sometimes she found herself to be stick with the ikhwani basic doctrine. Aini argues that, Ummi, like the Tarbiyah movement today accept multicultural society and are willing to cooperate with the multicultural society but not and never accepting pluralism. Aini further argues that the popularization of veiling in recent Ummi reflects Ummi's effort for a cultural movement as a field of Dakwah especially prepared for women, not solely to serve to capitalist interests.

6.2. Ummi's Moral Values: Women as Moral Gatekeepers and the Wasatiyya Strategy in the Media Production

The chief editor of Ummi, Meutia Gemala admitted that Ummi's moral values relies on the Hasan al Banna's basic doctrine on women as moral gatekeepers of a society. This doctrine according to her is a base for editorial arguments about the appropriateness benevolence of morality. Another editor's member, Aini admitted that Ummi's approach to employ more feminine style are directed in order to familiarize public especially Muslim women with norms that work for private relationships. Private relationships become the central focus of Ummi's editors due to massive requests from Ummi's public especially from the Tarbiyah community. Aini also added that the concern on private relationship was not intentionally directed at steering the magazine's orientation to be widely accepted by public, because again she asserted that Ummi's framing decisions are restrained by its moral values.

According to Meilis Sawitri, another member of Ummi's editorial board, Ummi's framing decisions not always necessarily dictated by Ummi's public; indeed, likewise the approach on the invention of Annida, the editors of Ummi are required to develop new inventions for socializing the views of the magazines to public. This is the reason why Ummi has developed more intimate relationships to its readers especially to its loyal subscribers. Meilis also

admitted that, the shareholders of Umami can no longer intervene Umami's framing decisions like in the past because the editorial board of Umami has a privilege for authorizing their rights without consulting to the shareholders. Meilis argues it is because the system that worked in the production of Umami is based on 'Amanah' or trust, therefore when a trust is already delegated to the editors, other parties in the management of Umami should comply with the editors' decisions. This trust assumed that female Tarbiyah activists in the editorial board have much better knowledge in femininity. Meutia Gemala, the chief editor also reveals the difficulties she has to cope with the tendency of over representing public interests in the magazine due to the magazine moral base that limits particular sensitive issues not to be openly discussed and thus published.

Meilis Sawitri admitted that the editorial of Umami was very much in favor to represent issue of active politics prior to the editions of 2003 because during that period the chief editor was still a man, and some female Tarbiyah activists had only less influences in the magazine production. This was also because according to her the editorial board of Umami still not yet captured specific issues with regard to the need of developing the magazine, or confused to orient the magazine for activism. Gemala explained that although Umami was older than Annida, the growing development of Annida then become a model of projecting Umami in the same manners. Meilis, the most senior member in Umami editorial board revealed that the Tarbiyah movement also experienced internal dynamics that in turn affected to the representation of women's issues in the magazine.

During my observation in Umami's editorial office for one month in January 2010 I have noticed that the culture of the Tarbiyah movement was still very much sustained in the office. Every Friday, all of the editorial members joined the internal *halaqah* which was not accessible by other non-members. That was the only activity inside the editorial office that remained un-observed for me. In general Umami's editorial staffs were very welcome to my presence, and I was also welcomed to observe their regular week meeting to discuss particular topics and responses to their related agencies such as advertisement industries, and other related groups such as women's study group for studying

Islam etc. Meutia Gemala said that they (Umme) was lucky to have the opportunity of being publicly welcome by the market because Umme also has grown up during the time when Indonesian's public showed their enthusiasm for learning Islam.

Obviously, Umme's strategy to open up itself for public, as agreed by all the editors of Umme (that are dominantly women) was very much influenced by the teaching of Yusuf al Qaradawi. However, Meilis Sawitri, just like Aini again put forward an argument that the moral teaching of the ikhwani on women as the moral gatekeeper should be balanced with their public roles. Sawitri quotes Qaradawi's thought on women distinctive rights; *"Because female is a distinctively different to male, and the male is not like female, female is equipped with an instinctive desire and natural passions."* Meilis made this reference to Qaradawi, that Islam respect women as feminine being. Meilis admitted that the idea to represent women as feminine being is the source and the inspirations for the transformation of Umme in a pop style magazine.

Yet, despite the fact that Umme has much more moderate than it was in the past, Umme still strictly employ the notion of women's as the moral gate keepers of the society. This view was not only represented in the magazine framing decisions but also in censorship. There were only minor censorship in the textual production of Umme, including those letters sent by Umme's readers or fans. However, censorship was very much apparent in the reproduction of image making that correlate with Umme's interaction with multicultural society. This was exemplified for instance in a case of coverage reportage that Umme also shared with other media. There was a case that I found coincidently in the practice of Umme's censorship in reporting news, for instance in the case of public and government campaign to prevent the AIDS transmission diseases. In this case, Umme used a photoshop technique to crop 'JUPE' – a film star who has reputation as a 'sex bomb' due to her popular way of exploiting sensuality. As a result, in Umme's news column JUPE was disappeared from the photograph although in fact she was there in the scene of promoting the campaign. Umme's journalist was there too to cover the news and took the real photograph, but in Umme's edition, JUPE was no longer present there in the depiction. The reason

why Ummi has to cropped JUPE, according to Gemala the chief editor, not only because of her bad reputation but also she was appointed as the Condom ambassador for Indonesia in the same day for the national campaign against AIDS. In the view of the Ummi's editorial board, without being censored, the photograph will ruin Ummi's reputation for being the moral gate keeper not only because the fact that she (JUPE) advertised the distribution of free condom. (See figure 34 and 35) .



Figure 33. Sample 1 of Ummi's Reportage on the International AIDS day – No Jupe in Ummi's News.



Figure 34. The TV Reportage on the news of the International AIDS day, and the campaign to distribute free condoms and the appointment of JUPE as the Condom Ambassador

In general, Ummi's adaptation to a popular style magazine by referring to Yusuf al Qaradawi's concept of *Wasatiyya*, or the quality for being moderate and tolerant to alternative perspective on one hand has helped Ummi to negotiate itself with a wider social interactions in dealing with its media production. However, nevertheless, in coping with being moderate and tolerant, Ummi will always protect its image as the moral gate keeper of the society. This is because women, nevertheless, are subjected to uphold the moral task especially in asserting sexual normative order. By quoting to Riaz Hassan, a sociologist in Muslim society, Brower echoes that the ambiguity of the *Wasatiyya* perspective relies on the transnational trait of the Umma which encompasses Muslim cohesiveness based on commonly shared Islam. This has allowed Muslim leaders

to manipulate its meaning and usage in order to conduct their affairs in the society⁶

⁶ *ibid.* 69.

Conclusion

In the Suharto period, Ummi was represented more as a mouthpiece for the Tarbiyah movement especially in the disseminating the ikhwani doctrines among the Tarbiyah members. Meanwhile, in earlier Reform era, Ummi showed its direct support for the Tarbiyah political party, the PKS (The Justice and Prosperous Party), and seemed to be a political vehicle to include the female Tarbiyah activists to cultivate the PKS political interests particularly in the realm of public morality. This was very evident in the case of the Pornography Act. The movement to gain public support for the enactment of the Pornography Act was waged by the PKS for years was also part of Ummi's heavy contents in earlier Reform era.

Unlike in the Soeharto period, the Ummi now employs a popular or trendy version of Islamic representation. Despite the fact that the current editions of Ummi appear to systematically reduce the use of contention to the West and or to secular ideas, Ummi modifies its ideological imposition of public morality through rhetorical devices especially by refining particular terminology of famous ikhwani doctrines such as jihad and the manhaj dakwah (the dakwah strategy). In dealing with the ideological refinement, Ummi represents itself more as the symbol of pious women that connotes a more moderate ikhwani interpretation on being pious by voluntarily practicing hijab and becoming an educator (Ummu Madrasah) for the family first and the society. In its further development, Ummi then focuses on the qualities of accommodating Islamic femininity.

In dealing with the accommodation of the Islamic femininity there are some changes in the representation of Ummi in post Suharto era, namely; the appearances of the magazine that contain more topics on female Muslim problems such as marital or private relationship and the cover of the magazine that allow female depictions as well as the representation of female images in the content of the magazine. More specifically, Ummi addresses its readers as its Mutarrabi (students/pupils) and thus positioned itself as the Murrabi (the teacher) for its readers. In this relationship, unlike in the Suharto period where the Murrabi was

very much represented as male characters, in post Suharto era, the quality of representing Murrabi is more with feminine quality. This is exemplified by Ummi through the accommodation of the readers responses and opinions in the content of the magazine that demonstrate actual problems when female Muslim are joining the path of Dakwah especially on the private relationship such as marital issues concerning the practice of polygamous marriage and the arranged marriage. In this context, Ummi situated its representation by encouraging readers' participation to signify their own feminine sense by referring to Islamic norms.

Therefore, in post Suharto era, Ummi's relationship with its readers is very important and has become the influence of the transformation of the magazine into a more popular style. Moreover, Ummi has developed its capacity not only by publishing the magazine (in hardcopy or printed magazine and the online or electronic version), but also by creating Ummi's fandom and incorporate the fandom into Ummi's activities beyond reading the magazine itself. At this point, Ummi has re-styled the Dakwah movement in more expanded networks for the commodification of Islamic feminine identity to the Indonesian public. The re-stylization of Dakwah thus is framed as a part of piety movement that supports moral transformation of the society accordingly to the Islamic norms and values. The technological advancement particularly through the use of social media networks has helped Ummi to popularize the magazine core value on being *maratus shalihah* (pious women) and how to have appropriate behaviors that connote the quality of being pious women. This is for example is shown through the popularization of the appropriate practice of hijab and the values that entails within the practice (sanctity, modesty, self-reliance, and beauty).

Ummi's accommodation to a popular style was possibly made by employing the qualities of femininity. In other words, to compete with other forms of popular mass mediated forms of Islam Ummi appears to be a cultural product that offers Islamic feminine identity as its commodity. On the other hand, the broader readers on that account have also affected the current representation of Ummi. The new growing numbers of Ummi readers who do not belong to the *tarbiyah* movement

significantly has motivated the transformation of the magazines in adopting more moderate styles to gain a broader market.

Readers are active agents that also shape the development of Ummi and therefore the study of Ummi readership is aimed to analyze the discursive practice that shapes the meaning of Dakwah represented by Ummi and how readers occupy particular meanings on it. With regard to the reception studies, my qualitative readers' reception study shows two important measures; first on how Ummi's readers perceive the ideas of Islamic activism and the quality of Islamic femininity. By relating these two measures, I would like to obtain the clue whether Ummi still perceives as a mouthpiece of the Tarbiyah movement or simply just as a popular Muslim women magazine that provides religious self-help. My study shows that Ummi's representation on Islamic activism particularly by promoting private morality in public is perceived by the readers mostly as a self improvement of pursuing the qualities of being pious women. On the other hand, my study also demonstrates that Ummi's representation on Islamic femininity not always appropriated by its readers. This is for example shown in the case of the act of beautifying self in the practice of hijab that includes material or physical notions that some readers found it as a contradiction to the pure notion of Islamic femininity that connotes sanctity and modesty. In general, readers perceive that Ummi provides them a moral guide for pursuing the qualities of pious women.

Ummi's orientation to a popular style magazine actually also demonstrates a dynamic ideological orientation within the Tarbiyah movement evidenced by the editor's reference to a more moderate ikhwani figure Yusuf Al Qadharawi. Yusuf Al Qadharawi's thought on '*Al Islammu wal Fannu*' (*Islam and the Art*) is one among other major influence of Ummi ideological propagation now especially in dealing with incorporating pop style as its major appeals. Another Qaradawi's perspective, the Wasatiyya strategy is also a greater influence to Ummi's adaptation to a modern popular Muslim women's magazine.

The creation of the renewed image of 'maratus shalihah' (pious women) in the representation of current Ummi is also constructed through more subtle rhetoric that exploits more a sense of femininity. This includes Ummi's approach

for accommodating various readers' responses. Readers thus become the future projection of the magazine. By emphasizing Islamic intimacy in approaching personal relationships, Ummi provides Islamic moral virtues for the coming out of private Muslim identities in public.

Despite the fact that the magazine has transformed itself to be more moderate in representing pious women than it was before in the previous years, Ummi still underlines the moral core of the ikhwani doctrine that dictates women to uphold the moral of the society. On this account, Ummi's emancipatory project which involves its readers not only serve the magazine interest for profit making, but also still in its ikhwani ideological orientation for reinforcing public morality

On this account, through its media production, Ummi propagates Dakwah for proselytizing more Muslim women to be more righteous that transformed the contentious method of invoking Muslim supports into a piety movement for the emergence of Muslim private identity in the public sphere. The quest for the truer Islamic identity especially among Muslim women today in Indonesia become not only a battlefield for commodifying feminine Islamic identity but also for competition among other Dakwah movements in order to further integrating women in passive politics for the establishment of a moral society.

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Appendix.1. Framing and Content Analysis: Ummi's Editions 1991-1995, 1998 (Suharto Era)*

YEAR	Edition. NO	Cover Caption	Headline's Articles (Contents Assessed)	Key Themes
1991	No.01/III/ April 1991	Emansipasi menurut Islam (Emancipation According to Islam)	Emansipasi menurut Islam (Emancipation according to Islam) Jilbab, lantas langkah selanjutnya? (After Jilbab, what will be the next Journey?)	Introduction to the Ikhwani basic Teachings and the Marhalah Dakwah (Hasan al Banna's doctrines on Mar'ah Muslimah-Muslim women) Hijab
	No.02/III/May 1991	Jihad Muslimah (Jihad for Muslim Women)	Kepada Ukhti mujahidah: Istri setia seorang yang syahid (To my Mujahidin Sister: A loyal Housewife of a Martyr)	Islamic Activism (the Roles of the Women activists of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood) Introduction to Sayyid Qutb's concept on Jahiliyya
	No.03/III/June 1991	Keluarga dan Tarbiyah (the Family and the Tarbiyah)	Keluarga: benteng pertahanan terakhir dalam problematika muslim (Family: The Last Battleground for Muslim's Problem)	Invitation to Join the Tarbiyah Movement (Islamic Activism) Introduction to Marhalah Dakwah The roles of Ummu madrasah
	No.04/III/July 1991	Maratus Shalihat dan Sekularisme (Maratus Shalihat-Pious Women and Secularism)	Ummu Shalihat: Profil wanita Sejati yang islami (The Ummu Shalihat: The Role Model for truly pious women) Runtuhnya sekulerisasi Aljazair dan sepucuk surat untuk wanita muslimah (The Downfall of Secularism in Algeria and the a letter for the Algerian Muslim Women)	The Ikhwani Doctrines for Muslim Women (al zauzah mut'iah wal karimah – a loyal housewife) Marhalah Dakwah Islamic Activism and the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood (Sayyid Qutb's concept on Jahiliyya)
	No.05/III/ August 1991	Tarbiyah untuk Dunia (Tarbiyah for the World)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Ikhwanul Muslimin Membela Perempuan (The Ikhwanul Muslimin Defend Women) •Wawancara dengan Ukhti dari Swedia (An Interview with our Ikhwani Sister from Sweden) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Marhalah Dakwah (The Dakwah Strategy) •Islamic Activism (The Struggles of the Muslim Brotherhood) •Sayyid Qutb's Manhaj (the Dakwah Methods)

	No.06/III/91 September 1991	Selamatkan Akidahmu (Save Your Aqida - Islamic Principles)	Aku lari menyelamatkan Aqidah (I run away from home to save my Aqida-Islamic Principles)	Islamic Activism (Persuasion to Follow the Path of dakwah by Removing Social-Familial Relationships Considered to uphold the Jahiliyya System)
	No.7/III/ October 1991	Istri Para Mujahid (The Mujahiddin Wives)	Kesan dan pesan istri para syuhada (The Impressions and the messages from the Wives of the Ikhwani Martyrs)	Islamic Activism (The Expressions of the Mujahid and their Wives, Introduction to Sayyid Qutb's Jihad)
	No.8/III/November 1991	Halalkah Gaji Wanita yang bekerja? (Is money earned by a working wife, halal?)	Gaji wanita karier halal? (Is women's salary halal/) Suami antara Hak dan Kewajiban (A Husband: Rights and Responsibilities)	Hijab and the Seclusion of Women in Public
1992	No. 10/III/ January 1992	Kegigihan Tarbiyah (Stay Tenacious for the tarbiyah)	Menjaga citra jilbab (Protecting the image of your Jilbab) Ajakan berdakwah (An invitation to Dakwah)	Hijab (Instructions for the appropriate Practices for Hijab and the Invitation to call for Hijab)
	No.01/IV/Apil 1992	Hijab itu Bersih dan Suci (Hijab means Purity and Sanctity)	Bersih hati bersih lisan (Pure Heart, Good Sayings) Hijab menjaga Perempuan dari Fitnah (Hijab's Protecting Women from Ill deeds)	Islamic Piety Hijab (Hijab for Sanctity)
	No.02/IV/ May 1992	Mana sekolah islami (Where's Islamic Schools?)	Tarbiyah lebih dari Pendidikan (Tarbiyah is beyond Education) Pentingnya Tarbiyah Islam (The importance of Islamic Tarbiyah) Didik anak kita dengan Moral Tarbiyah (Educate our Children with the Tarbiyah moral values)	Tarbiyah Mentoring Materials (Islamic Self Buildings, Fiqh Siyasah – Concept on the Khilafah Islamiyah or the Islamic Chaliphate), Marhalah Dakwah and Islamic Activism
	No.03/IV/ June 1992	Muslimah dan Kebangkitan Islam (Muslim Women and the Islamic Awakening)	Kebangkitan Islam dan peran Muslimah (The Islamic Awakening and the Roles for Muslim Women)	Tarbiyah Mentoring Materials (Islamic Self Building)
	No.05/IV/ August 1992	Tak Betah di Rumah (Not Comfortable Staying at Home)	Hijab: Jilbab sesuai syar'i (Hijab means to wear an appropriate Islamic Jilbab –Veil)	The Ikhwani doctrine on loyal housewife Persuasions not to go out of home without husband's accompany

			Memilih bercadar (An Option for Purdah)	Practicing the appropriate Hijab (Including to wear Purdah)
	No. 06/IV/September 1992	Badan segar dakwah lancar (A Healthy Body for the Successful Dakwah)	Kesehatan penting bagi Muslimah Pejuang (Health is important for the Struggling Muslimah-Muslim women) KB tidak perlu tapi tetap sehat (Don't choose Birth Controls but stay healthy)	Tips for Health and Islamic Activism (Dealing with
	No. 07/IV/92 October 1992	Peran Muslimah yang Berharga (The most precious Roles of Muslim Women)	Emansipasi tidak sama dengan prestasi (Emancipation has no equal meaning with Achievement) Peranan wanita islam harus dimengerti dan dihargai (The Roles of Muslim women must be understood and respected)	The Ikhwani Doctrines on Loyal Housewife Islamic Activism Hijab
	No. 09/IV/92 December 1992	Derita Jihad membawa hikmah (The Great Sufferings from Jihad will lead you to A Magical Power)	Pentingnya Jihad bagi persaudaraan Muslim (The importance of Jihad for Muslim Brotherhood) Lecehkan aku kau ku tuntut! (If you Insult me, I will chase after you!)	Islamic Activism and the Influence of Muslim Brotherhood for the Tarbiyah Movement
1993	No. 02/V/May 1993	Derita Muslimah Bosnia (the Bosnian Muslim Women's Great Suffers)	Jihad dan sabar adalah kunci kemenangan di Bosnia (Jihad and Patience are the Keys for Wining the Struggle in Bosnia)	Islamic Activism (The war in the Bosnia is the war on Muslims)
	No.3/V/June 1993	Seni mendidik manusia yang Islami (The Education for Islamic Personality)	Tarbiyah bisa dimulai di Sekolah (How to inniate the Tarbiyah Program at Secular 'School') Yuk poligami (Lets' do Polygamy)	Islamic Activism (An Invitation to Propagate the Tarbiyah messages/ikhwani doctrines at secular Schools) Suggestion for practicing Polygamy (To have more kids)
	No.4/IV/ July	Seni dalam islam (Arts	Kerja Seniman perempuan bukan untuk	Public Morality on Women's body and the

	1992	according to Islam)	mengundang Syahwat (The Works of Female Artists not to invite sexual lust)	Art
	No.5/IV/August 1993	Somalia sebuah tragedy kemanusiaan (Somalia the human's tragedy)	Ancaman pemurtadan di Somalia (A Backsliding Treat in Somalia)	Apostasy
	No.6/V/September 1993	Al Qur'an menggugat emansipasi (the Quran doubts Emancipation)	Islam bicara menghargai wanita bukan emansipasi (Islam speaks to respect women but not Emancipation)	Hasan al Banna doctrine on 'a loyal housewife' The ikhwani doctrines against the secular concept on women liberation (Sayyid Qutb's on Jahiliyya)
1994	No.10/IV/January 1994	Kembali kepada Fitrah (Return to the pure soul)	Kembali ke Fitrah (Return to the pure soul)	Islamic Piety
	No.11/IV/Februari 1994	Jangan Rampok Posisi Pria (Don't Rob your husband's position)	Jangan rampok posisi Pria (Don't rob your Husband's position) Untung rugi wanita pekerja (Bad and Good sides of Women's work)	Islamic Activism and the Ikhwani Doctrines on a Loyal Housewife
1995	No.12/V/95 July 1995	Muslimah antara Misi dan Harga diri (Muslim Women Between Mission and Pride)	Wanita Muslimah melahirkan para penakluk dunia (Muslim women who created the Conquerors of the World) Zionis mencengkeram dunia (Zionist's mastered the World)	The History of the Ummu Shalihah) Islamic Activism (Propaganda on the Zionist Conspiracy)
1998	No.02/X/1998 January	Setumpuk Kecewa Satu Bencana (A Great amount of Disappointments)	Obat Penguat Jiwa (The Medicine for the Strong Heart) Apakah Anda Bermental Baja (Do you have a steeled mentality?)	Islamic Piety The Tarbiyah mentoring on Self Characters Building
	No. 04/X/1998 April	Indonesia Mundur Satu Abad (Indonesia's Regression for A Century)	Indonesia Mundur Satu Abad (Indonesia's Regression for a century) Mana Partai Islam? Where's Islamic Party?	Islamic Activism (The need to establish a Dakwah Party)
	No. 05/X/1998	Usikan Seksual Mengancam	Nafsu Berkedok Cinta	Public Morality

	May	Perempuan (Sexual Temptation Women)	(Sexual Haunts	(Lust under the Guise of Love)	
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***Notes: During the Suharto's Period Ummi appeared irregular between 1989-1990, 1996-1997 due to financial problems.**

Appendix. 2. Framing and Content Analysis: Umri's Editions 1998-2010 (Post Suharto)

YEAR	Edition. NO	Cover Caption	Headline's Articles (Content Assessed)	Key Themes
1998	No.06/X/June 1998	LSM Muslimah Gelisah (the NGOs and the Restlessness Muslim Women)	LSM Muslimah Gelisah Berteman dengan Wartawan Spesialisasi Mbak!	Manhaj Dakwah Islamic Activism, Call for establishing Muslim women NGOs
	No.08/X/December 1998	Teror antara Rumor dan Horor (Terror between Rumor and Horror)	Teror antara Rumor dan Horor (Teror between Rumor and Horror) Ketika Teror Mengancam (When Terror is haunting)	Manhaj Dakwah Islamic Activism (The Religious Conflicts between Muslims and Non Muslims in Maluku, Indonesia)
1999	No.10/X/1999/ February 1419 H	Mengincar Suami Salih (Looking for a pious husband)	Awas Pengagum Suami! (Watch out, a husband's fans)	Islamic Intimacy and private relationships: Criteria for husbands selection
	No.12/X/1999/ April	Wanita Berduka Wanita Berjihad (Grieving Women, Jihadist Women)	Duka Muslimah dari Bosnia hingga Ambon (Muslim women's Great Suffers From Bosnia to Ambon, Maluku)	Islamic Activism (Reportage on Religious Conflicts and the impacts on Muslim women and Children from Bosnia to Ambon) Sayyid Qutb's concept on Jihad
	No.03/XI/ July 1999	Memburu kecantikan palsu (Chasing fake beauty)	Berlomba-Lomba mengejar Kecantikan (A Competition of Chasing Beauty) Awas Kosmetika tidak Halal (Watch out: Non-Halal Comestics) Cantik tidak berarti menur: to be beautiful does not mean to be cheap	Public Morality (concern on the exhibition of women's body), and the Construction of Islamic Beauty

	No.04/XI/August 1999	Menangkal media nakal (Ward off Rouge Media)	Media penghancur keluarga (Media: the Family Destroyers) Membuka mata memprotes media (Opening Our Eyes to send protest to the media) Pornografi di media (Pornography in the Media)	Public Morality (Pornography on the media), Female Tarbiyah Activism (Mobilizing support to regulate media and public consumption on adult entertainment)
	No.05/XI/September 1999	Bila Jodoh Tak Kunjung Tiba (When Your Soulmate has not yet come)	Bila jodoh tak kunjung tiba (When Your soulmate has not yet come) Tantangan kaum wanita di negara berkembang (The Challenges for Women in the Developing Countries)	Islamic Intimacy and Private Relationship (Reluctance for unblessed marriage, Dilemma for being single) Islamic Activism: Education for Women Piety: Education and Piety Movement
	No.08/XI/December 1999	Berburu Berkah di Ujung Ramadhan (Hunting for the great Reward by the end of the Ramadan)	Berburu Berkah di Ujung Ramadhan (Hunting For the Great Reward by the end of Ramadan) Jihad Perempuan: Pendidikan (Jihad for Women: Education)	Islamic Activism and Piety Movement: Education and Tarbiyah for Women
2000	No.11/XI March-April 2000/1420 H	Mengetuk Pintu Kematian (Knocking on the Door of Death)	Mengetuk Pintu Kematian (Knocking on the door of Death) Silahkan Pilih: Mati enak (Please Choose: Good Death)	Piety, Islamic Self Character Building
	No. 12/XI April-May 2000/1421 H	Kristenisasi mengepung Muslimah (Christianization Haunts Muslim Women)	Kristenisasi mengepung Muslimah (Christianization Haunts Muslim Women)	Anti Christianization, Islamic Activism

	No.10/XIII February – March 2000/ 1422 H	Umami Award (The Umami Award)	Penganugerahan Umami Award (Umami Award Ceremony)	Islamic Activism, Umami Award for Female Tarbiyah Activists' Achievements in Dakwah
	No.07/XIII November - December 2000/ 1422 h	Ramadhan Tiba (Ramadan is Coming)	Ramadhan Saatnya Mengubah Diri (Ramadan: It's Time to Self Transformation)	Islamic Self Character Building, Piety
2001	No. 8/XII January /2001/1421 H	Suami Istri : Maju Bersama (Husband and Wife: Together Come forward)	Suami Istri : Maju Bersama (Husband and Wife: Together Come forward) WTC: Die Hard Matinya Rasa (WTC: Die Hard, the death of the feelings-Concern on September 11)	Maratus Shalihah (Pious women) The equal rights between man and woman (according to Yusuf al Qaradawi) Yusuf Al Qaradawi's concept on Affectionate Dakwah, against violence
	No. 10/XII February – March/2001/14 21 H	Masa Depan Anak : Masa Depan Atau Ambisi? Children's Future: Their Future or Our Ambition?	Masa Depan Anak : Perencanaan Atau Ambisi? (Children's Future: Their Future or Our Ambition?)	Ummu Madrasah (Mother of Education) Piety and Tips for Education
	No.11/XII/2001 March 2001	Nikah Beda Agama? No Way! (Interreligious Marriage? No way!)	Nikah Beda Agama Awal Konflik Berkepanjangan (Interreligious Marriage: A Start for prolonged Conflicts)	Islamic Activism (Anti Christianization) and Public Morality against Inter- religious Marriage
	No. 1/XIII May – June /2001/1422 H	Menjadi Pribadi yang Menyenangkan (Be a Pleasant Person)	Ayo Bangun Citra Baru (Let's Build a new Image)	Piety (Maratus Shalihah: Modest, pious, honest and intellectual) Islamic Self Character Building Self motivation for achieving higher education

	Special Edition May 2001	Menjalin Komunikasi dengan Kekasih (Sustaining good Communication with Your Lover)	Jalin Komunikasi dengan Kekasih Menjaga keharmonisan rumah tangga melalui komunikasi yang baik (Tips and Solutions for good communication between husband and wife)	Islamic Intimacy and Marital Relationship
	No. 5/XIII September – October /2001/1422 H	Cerai Jalan Darurat (Divorce: An Emergency Exit)	Gangguan di Dalam Rumah Tangga (Marital Disorder) Darimana Datangnya Ekstrimitas (Where the extreme reactions come from?)	Islamic Intimacy and Marital Relationship: Marital Disorder/Problems with polygamous marriage, domestic violence, Instructions for Khuluq (Women's plea for a divorce)
	No. 7/XIII November – December /2001/1422 H	Ramadhan saatnya Mengubah Diri (It's Ramandan: Time for Self Transformation)	Urgensi Amal Jamaa'I (Mutiar Dakwah) (The Peals of Dakwah: The essence of Collectivity in Dakwah)	Islamic Self Character Building, Marhalah Dakwah
	Special Edition September 2001	Islam Bicara Seks (Islam talks about Sex)	Konsep islam tentang seks (The Islamic Concept on Sex) Menuju Seks yang lebih baik (Towards a better Sexual Relationship)	Public Morality: Umami's view against sexual misbehavior (non marital sex, adultery, and homosexuality)
2002	Special Edition No.4 April Tahun 2002	Generasi Rabbani Kita (Our Rabbani Generation)	Mencetak Anak Cerdas Dunia Akhirat (How to Generate Smart Kids for the Life of the World and Hereafter)	Public Morality, Ummu Madrasah (Mother of Education) and the Rabbani Generation
	Special Edition No. 6 Juni 2002	Islam menyukai Keindahan (Islam Loves Beauty)	Tampil Mempesona Sepanjang Usia (Look Stunning All Ages)	Piety and Beauty

	No.06 XIV September 2002	Ramadhan Sehat (Healthy Ramadan)	"Puasa ramadhan Pahala Didapat, Tubuhpun Sehat"(Ramadan's Fasting: You Got God's Reward for Healthy Body and Soul) Sehat Ala Rasul (Healthy Life in the Prophet's Way)	Piety and Beauty
2003	Special Edition	Ramadhan dan Idul Fitri (Ramadan and Ied Mubarak)	Itikaf bagi yang ingin mendulang pahala (Ramadan Worship for the best Reward)	Piety, Islamic Self Character Buildings
	No. 4/XV August - September 2003/1424 H	Bijak Menyikapi Proposal Nikah (Wisely dealing with a marriage's proposal)	Saat Menolak, Saat ditolak (When you should refuse, and when you are refused)	Islamic Intimacy and private relationships: Persuasion for 'arranged marriage' and Criteria for a perfect future husbands
2004	No. 10/XV March - April 2004 / 1425 H	Sendirian Ok Berjamaah Hebat (Alone Is Ok, Together is Better)	Sendirian OK Berjamaah Hebat (It's Ok to be Alone, but It's Better with the Jamah)	Islamic Activism, Support for the PKS, Public Morality
	No. 09/XV February- March 2004	Nasib TKW Kita (Our Female Migrant Workers' Fate)	Nasib Buruk TKW Kita Sekarang (The Fate of Our Migrant Workers Today)	Women and Islamic Activism
	No.05/XVI September - October 2004/1425 H	Menuju Keluarga Sakinah (Heading to find the Sakina Family)	Manajemen keluarga saleh (the Sakina Family's Management)	Islamic Self Character Building, Women and Islamic Activism, Public Morality

	No. 11/XVI March – April 2005/1426 H	Pilah Pilih Sekolah (Be picky for schooling!)	Menyekolahkan Anak ke SDIT (Sending your children to the Integrated Islamic Elementary School) Komik Porno seharga uang Jajan (Porn Comics for a cent)	Public Morality (The roles of Ummu Madrasah, Persuasion to send children to the PKS's School of JSIT – the Networks for Integrated Islamic Schools, Against pornography and the danger of cheap porn comics for children)
	No. 12/XVI April 2005/1426 H	Berdamai dengan Orang Tua (Make Peace with our Parents)	Selesaikan masalah dengan orang tua secara santun (Repairing our problems with parents in the wise manner)	Moral virtue and Islamic Intimacy and Private Relationship: Repairing Conflicts with Parents and Familial Relationships
	No. 2/XVII June 2005/1426 H	Maksiat Tak Lagi Malu-Malu : Biarkan atau Perbaiki? (No Longer Shy for being Immoral: Should we ignore it or must we warn 'them'?)	Bermesraan di muka umum (PDA/ Public Display Affection) - Melanggar etika dan hukum (RUU APP) Public Display of Affections should be imposed as Public Offence (Pornoaction) Apa saja yang termasuk zina? (What counts as Adultery) Joe Sang Milyuner (Joe the Millionair)	Public Morality (Pornoaction: Sexual Misbehaviors-Un-Islamic sexuality, Exploits women's body, Sexual implicit act)
	No. 3/XVII July 2005/1426 H	Be A Happy Single	Menjadi Lajang yang Berbahagia (A happy Single) Gerakan Nasional Bersih Pornografi dan Pornoaksi (National Movement Against Pornography and Pornoaction)	Islamic Intimacy and private relationship: Dilemma of being single due to reluctance for unblessed marriage, Coping with being single

				Public Morality against Pornography and Pornoaction (Adultery and Sexual Misbehaviors)
	No. 5/XVII September 2005/1426 H	PRT: Pahlawan di Rumah kita (Female Domestic Workers: Heroes in our houses)	Majikan dan PRT Persoalan Tiada Akhir (Employer and the domestic worker: problematic relationship) TV Si Penjadwal Kegiatan (TV – the children’s nany)	Moral virtue: Ummi’s view on equal relationship between women (the Lady-employer and the female domestic worker) Public Morality: Media bad impacts on children behavior
	No. 7/XVII November 2005/1426 H	Melepas Anak Bergaul (Release our kid for go out)	Bekali Anak Hadapi Pergaulan (Prepare our Kids for Social Lives) Kekuatan Dahsyat Cerita (The Power of Storytelling)	The roles of Ummu Madrasah, Islamic Self Character Building (for Muslim Children)
	No. 8/XVII December 2005/1426 H	Menyiasati Keprihatinan (How to negotiate with the Limits)	Menyiasati Keprihatinan dengan perbaikan moril (Negotiate the limits of society with moral transformation) Tessy dan Kemben Melorot (Tessy and the bikini’s sag)	Public Morality against Pornoaction (Sexual Misbehaviors and the exhibition of women’s body)
2006	No.09/XVII January 2006/1427 H	Komunikasi Penting dalam Cinta (Communication is the Key of Love)	Suami Istri Sahabat tapi Mesra? (A Friend’s Husband Tries to Seduce?) Bangun persahabatan dengan Cinta (Build Your Friendship with Love) Jangan Biarkan Gengsi Jadi Hambatan (Don’t Let Arrogance to be your barriers)	Public Morality, Islamic Intimacy and private relationship: Repairing Familial Relationship and Friendship, Islamic Resolution for Conflicts in Relationships

	No.11/XVII March 2006/1427 H	Memperbaiki Silaturahmi dengan Keluarga (Repairing Familial Relationships)	Menjalin Silaturahmi dengan Keluarga Besar (Sustaining Our familial Relationships)	Islamic Intimacy and private relationship: Repairing Familial Relationship and Friendship, Islamic Resolution for Conflicts in Relationships
	No.12/XVII April 2006/1427 H	Jodoh Tanggung Jawab Siapa? (Soulmate, Whose Responsibility?)	Jodoh Tanggung Jawab Siapa ? (Soulmate, Whose Responsibility?) Mencari Jodoh Jangan Asal (Don't be sloopy to find your soulmate!)	Public Morality, Islamic Intimacy and private relationship: Romance Relationship and Islamic Norms
	No. 01 XVIII May 2006/ 1427 H	Jadi Ibu Pendidik Yang Bahagia (be a Happy Mother of Education)	Kita Semua Bisa Jadi Happy Mom (We're all can be a Happy Mom)	Ummu Madrasah, Public Morality
	No.03/XVIII July 2006/ 1427 H	Cemburu Boleh Tapi Tidak Buta! (Jealous is fine but not blind!)	Cemburu Boleh Asal Tidak Buta (Jealous is Okay but not blind)	Public Morality, Islamic Intimacy and private relationship: Marital Disorder
	No. 04/XVIII August 2006/ 1427 H	Muslimah Mandiri (The Independent Muslim Women)	Memilih Keterampilan Sesuai Kebutuhan (Find your Own Skills for Independence) Makin Maju dengan Skill Baru (Success with your own new skills) Menambah Keterampilan di mana Saja (Improve your own skills whenever wherever)	Islamic Intimacy and private relationship: Marital Relationship, and 'Marital Disorder' , Domestic Violence, Motivations for Economic Independence

	No. 05/XVIII September 2006/1427 H	Trend Hubungan Tanpa Status (Trends: Relationships without Marital Status)	Tren Hubungan Tanpa Status (Trends: Relationships without Marital Status Bijak Hadapi HTS (Wisely dealing with the people whose relationships without Status)	Public Morality against Porno-action(Non Marital Sex, Adultery)
	No. 6/XVIII November 2006/1427 H	Mitos Puber Kedua (The Myth of Second Puberty)	Mitos Puber Kedua (The Second Puberty) Agar Rumah Tangga Tak Sampai Goncang (How to avoid Marital Disorder)	Public Morality, Islamic Intimacy: Marital Relationships, the Disobedient Wife, Marital Disorder
	No. 7/XVIII December 2006/ 1427 H	Pribadi Islami (Islamic Personality)	Menjadi Pribadi Pandai Bersyukur (To be a grateful person) Bersyukurlah, Demi Kehidupan yang Lebih Baik (Be Grateful for a better Life) Bersyukur dengan Hati, Lisan dan Perbuatan	Moral Virtue, Piety and Islamic Self Charater Building
2007	No. 10/XVIII Februari 2007/1428 H	Menggagas Tipe Rumah Tangga Paling Pas (A Good Plan for an ideal household)	Menuju Tipe Rumah Tangga Idaman (To achieve an ideal household)	Moral virtues, Islamic intimacy in marital relationships
	No. 11/XVIII March 2007/1428 H	Sstt..Jangan Bilang Siapa-siapa ya, Ini Rahasia ! (Pssst..don't tell anyone, this is secret!)	Kewajiban Menjaga Rahasia (The responsibility to keep other's secrets) Syarat mengungkap rahasia (Islamic provision to reveal secret)	Moral virtues, Islamic Intimacy in social relationship and Piety

	No. 12/XVIII April 2007/1428 H	Siapa Dia? Lihat Saja Penampilannya (Who is she? Look the way she is looked)	Pentingnya Membangun Kepribadian dan Penampilan secara Keseluruhan (The importance of outer and inner beauty) Adegan porno di TV sekadar minta maaf? (A porn scene on TV: Just apologizing?)	Pious Women: Beauty, Piety and have a good 'moral' Public morality against the spread of Pornography
	No. 1/XIX May 2007/1428H	Kala Orang Tua Jadi Raja (When Parents become the Rulers)	Pushy Parents : Kala orang tua Berlaku Raja (Pushy Parents: When Parents become the rulers) Jadul? PDA.. (Please Deh Ah...!) - Past Romance? Please no..	Moral virtues: Islamic Parenting and affectionate approaches for children upbringings Islamic Intimacy and private relationship, Public Morality: Against temptation to Adultery
	No. 2/XIX June 2007/1428H	Kenapa Ikhwan 'Enggan' Menikah? (Why some Ikhwan- Muslim Brothers are reluctant to marry?)	Kenapa Ikhwan Enggan Menikah (the Reasons why some Ikhwan-Male Tarbiyah are reluctant to marry)	Islamic Intimacy and private relationship: Understanding the (Tarbiyah) men's view on marriage
	No. 3/XIX July 2007/1428H	Beda Fikih Satu Syariat (Different Fiqh- but Same Shari'a)	Beda Fikih Satu Syariat (Different Fiqh but Same)	Islamic Legal thought and Jurisprudence (Yusuf al Qaradawi's Islamic Jurisprudence on the lawful and prohibited in Islam)
	No. 4/XIX August 2007/1428H	Perempuan Bebas Finansial (Women: Free from financial Problem)	Perempuan Menuju Bebas Finansial Women: Toward a financial freedom	Tips and Solutions for economic independence: Household industry

	No. 5/XIX September 2007/1428H	Merangkai Maaf Dari Hati (The Initiative for Forgiving)	Merangkai Maaf Dari Hati (Initiative for Forgiving) Obrolan : Krisis Identitas (Women's chat: Identity Crises)	Moral virtues, Piety, and Self Character Building
	No. 6/XIX October 2007/1428H	Menjadikan Rumah Tempat Paling Menyenangkan (How to create a pleasant home)	Menjadikan Rumah seperti surga (How to make a heavenly home) TV Mati pada Jam Belajar (Shut down TV for the study time)	Moral virtue, Piety, and Self Character Building
	No. 7/XIX November 2007/1428H	Kecanduan Cinta (Addicted to Love)	Kecanduan Cinta Terdengar Aneh Tapi nyata (Addicted to Love, sounds strange but it's true)	Islamic self character building (Yusuf al Qaradawi's teachings on affectionate Dakwah)
	No. 8/XIX December 2007/1428H	Hidup Lebih Baik dengan Manajemen Waktu (Live wisely with time management)	Manajemen Waktu, manajemen kehidupan (Time management, and the management of life)	Islamic self character building (Motivations for productivity and worship)
2008	No. 01/XX May 2008/ 1429 H	Hati-Hati Narkoba! (Drugs, Watch Out!)	Waspada Narkoba Menggila (Be Careful, Drugs Outbreak) Talak Tiga untuk Narkoba (Third Degree Talak – the third degree for divorcing Drugs!)	Public Morality
	No.02/XX June 2008/ 1429 H	Muslimah dan Bela Diri (Muslim Women and the Martial Arts)	Lindungi Diri dengan Bela Diri (Protect yourself with martial arts' skills) Kuasai Teknik Bela Diri (A Master for Martial Arts)	Islamic Self Character Building Islamic Self Character Building

	No.03/XX July 2008 / 1429 H	Suami Lebih Muda? (Younger Husband?)	Agar Jauhnya Usia Tak Jadi Kendala (Don't let Age Differences to be the Barriers) Kesamaan Tujuan, Hilangkan Perbedaan (Having Same Purpose will eliminate differences) Awet Bersuami Lebih Muda (Sustain a marriage with a younger husband)	Islamic Intimacy and Romantic Marital Relationships
	No.04/XX August 2008/1429 H	Hypnoparenting: Apakah Itu? (Hypnoparenting: What kind it is?)	Mempraktikkan teknik Hypnoparenting (Practicing Hypnoparenting) "Hypnoparenting" : Mengasah Bahasa Kasih (Hypnoparenting Speaks for Love)	Public Morality and Ummu Madrasah and Hypnoparenting
	No.05/XX September 2008/1429 H	Jaga Silaturahmi (Sustaining Relationships)	Raih Kebajikan Silaturahmi (Cultivate the good side of Relationships) Mudik : Eratkan Ikatan yang Longgar (Go Home: Tightened the loose ties)	Islamic Intimacy and private relationship: Repairing Familial Relationships and Islamic Resolution for Relationship Conflicts
	No.06/XX October 2008/1429 H	Kekuatan Doa (The power of Pray)	Kekuatan Doa : Janji Allah yang Sering Terabaikan (The Power of Pray: Abandoning God's Promises) Doa dan Ikhtiar (Pray and Seeks) Tuntunan Berdoa (The Guide for Praying)	Piety, Islamic Self Character Buildings

	No.09/XIX January 2008/1428 H	Jagalah Lisan Wahai Muslimah (Curb your Tounge, Muslimah!)	Menjaga Lisan Menuju Selamat (Be Careful with your sayings for Trouble Free) Mulutmu Harimaumu Menerkam' Siapa Saja (Your Mouth is Your own Tiger, It can kill Anyone!)	Public Morality and Islamic Self Character Buildings
	No.10/XIX February 2008/1429 H	Jangan Jadi Orang Tua Durhaka (Don't be a bad parent)	Nyatanya Orang Tua pun Bisa Durhaka (A Parent can be so bad) Jangan Jadi Orang Tua Durhaka (Don't be a bad parent)	Public Morality, Islamic Self Character Buildings, Ummu Madrasah
	No.11/XIX March 2008/1429 H	Pria Tampil Wangi dan Kinclong. Kenapa Tidak? (A Fragrant and shiny man, why not?)	Pria Tampil Indah Boleh Saja. Tapi.Berdandanlah karena-Nya (Men can be nicely dressed up but for God)	Islamic Intimacy and private relationship: Ummi's view on Metro sexual Men and Public Morality against Homosexuality
	No. 12/XIX April 2008/1429 H	Mengubah Nasib Bukan Takdir (To Change the Fate not the Predestiny)	Ubahlah Nasib, Jangan Sesali Takdir (You can change your Fate not your Predestination) Mengubah Nasib Buruk Menjadi Nasib Baik	Islamic Self Character Buildings, Piety
	No. 07/XX November 2008/1429 H	Liburan yang Islami (Having An Islamic Vacation)	Libur : Isi Ulang Semangat Lembur (vacation: Don't forget to charge your spirit) Merencanakan Liburan Keluarga (A Good Plan for Family Vacation)	Islamic Piety and Public Morality

	No.08/XX December 2008/1429 H	Siap untuk Anak Angkat? (Ready for an adopted Child?)	Posisikan Anak Angkat Secara Cepat (Treat your adopted child wisely) Mengukur Kesiapan Mengangkat Anak (Measuring your Capacity for Adopting a Child) Selayang Pandang Hukum Adopsi di Indonesia (The Indonesian Legal Procedures for Adoption)	A Guide for Islamic Legal Thoughts on Parenting, Ummu Madrasah, Public Morality
2009	No.9/XX January 2010/1430 H	Soulmate, Mimpi atau Nyata? (Soulmate, Day Dreaming or or reality?)	Soulmate: Sebuah Proses Menjadi Reality Show (Finding a Soulmate: A process of our reality show) Hasrat Mengintip Kita! (Sexual lust haunts us!)	Islamic intimacy and private relationships: A Ta'aruf Process – A mediated meeting with the future husband Public morality against adultery
	No. 10/XX Februari 2009/ 1430 H	Sabar Merawat Orang Tua (Taking care our parents with Patience)	Orang tua, keramat yang terlalaikan (Parents, the sacred people not to be abandoned)	Moral Virtues, Islamic Self Character Building
	No. 11/XX March 2009/ 1430 H	Merancang Peta Hidup (Designing the Plan of life)	Petakan Kesuksesan Hidup dari Sekarang (Map out your success from now on)	Life motivations and piety
	No. 12/XX April 2009/ 1430 H	Menang Melawan Fitnah (Wins against Slander)	Tak Norak Diterpa Fitnah (Stay calm when slandered)	Moral virtues, piety, and life motivations
	No. 01/XXI May 2009 / 1430 H	Tipe-tipe Kepribadian : dimana Kekuatan Anda? (Personality Types: Which are you?)	Bingkai Kepribadian dengan Nilai Islami (Framing Identity with Islamic Norms)	Moral virtues, Public Morality, Hijab

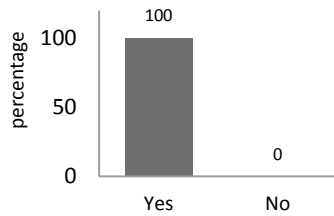
	Special Edition March - May 2009 / 1430 H	Sehat ala Barat – Timur (Health Tips from the West and the Orient Recipes)	Berburu pengobatan dari barat hingga timur (Hunting Medicines from the West to the Orient)	Information on Health and health Pharmacy, Halal Medication
	No. 02/XXI June 2009 / 1430 H	Ayahku Guruku (My father my teacher)	Kenapa harus (ada) Ayah? Why there (should be) is Father?	Moral virtues, Islamic intimacy: Marital Relationships and the roles of a father in household and children upbringings
	No. 03/XXI July 2009 / 1430 H	Menyatu namun tak larut (Integrated but not dissolved)	Bergaullah, tapi jadilah subjek (Hang out with the plural society, but be the leader)	Self Character Building, and Public Morality and Islamic Activism
	No. 04/XXI August 2009 / 1430 H	Menjadi Pribadi Qurani (Be the Quranic Person)	Menuju pribadi Qurani (Toward a Quranic Personality)	Self Character Building, Piety, Morality
	Special Edition June - August 2009 UMMI untuk Anak	Anak Indonesesia : Cerdas, Kreatif, Ceria (Indonesian children: Smart, Creative, Happy)	Anak Indonesesia : Cerdas, Kreatif, Ceria (Indonesian Children: Smart, Creative, Happy) Media Sehat untuk Anak (Healthy Media –shows for children)	Ummu Madrasah, Motivations, Piety, and Morality
	No. 05/XXI September 2009 / 1430 H	Spiritual Parenting	Spiritual Parenting : Cara Islam Lahirkan Generasi (Spiritual Parenting: Islamic way to generate a better generation)	Ummu Madrasah, Motivations, Piety, and Morality
	No. 06/XXI October 2009 / 1430 H	"Keluarga Hijau" Cinta Bumi (The Green Family Loves the Earth)	Jangan Biarkan Bumi Sakit (Don't hurt the Earth) Mukmin Pecinta Lingkungan (Pious Muslims will Love Green Environment)	Information on climate changes, Motivation to save the Earth, Piety.
	Special Edition	Islamic Art and Culture	Islamic Art and Culture : Kemilau	Islamic worldview, Yusuf Al

	August-October 2009/ 1430 H		Peradaban Islam (Islamic Art and Culture: The Glory of Islamic Civilization)	Qaradawi's concept on Islam and the Art, The History of the Caliphate Civilization
	Special Edition August-October 2009/ 1430 H	Film: Ketika Cinta Bertasbih, Meninggalkan Kesan Mendalam (When Love is praised to God: The impressions from the Film)	Film: Ketika Cinta Bertasbih, Meninggalkan Kesan Mendalam (When Love is praised to God: The impressions from the Film Jilbab, sebuah identitas yang tak sepi perjuangan (Jilbab: A lifetime struggle)	Reportage on the Film making of 'Ketika Cinta Bertasbih' – When Love Recites God's name (based on the novel written by the FLP writer-Ummi associate)
	No. 07/XXI November 2009 / 1430 H	Online Aman Banyak Teman (Safe Online but Make Lots of Friends)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dua sisi mata pedang jejaring sosial, pilih mana? (Two sided sword: Social Networks, which one you choose?) • Ajang cari jodoh yang tidak patut (Online Dating: Un-Islamic) 	Islamic intimacy and private relationship: friendship, dealing with online social media (and tips), public morality against online adultery
2010	No.9/XXI January 2010/1431 H	TV mengintai anak Kita (TV haunts our Children)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Jaga Buah Hati dari Syirik Teve (Protecting our children from Idolatry Polytheist TV shows) •Siaga Teve di Rumah (Standby to Control Children Watching TV) •Siapa Teman Menonton Buah Hati Kita ? (Who will accompany our children watching TV at Home?) 	Public Morality, Islamic Activism against Idolatry on the media

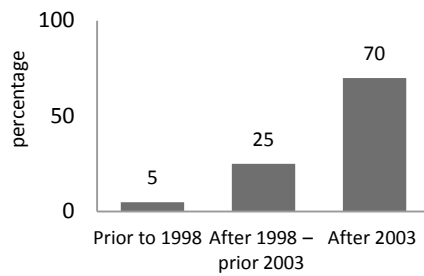
Appendix.3.

Quantitative Reception Study of Ummi's Readers (N=100)

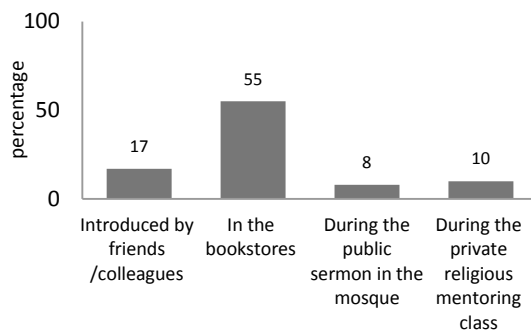
1. Have you read Ummi?



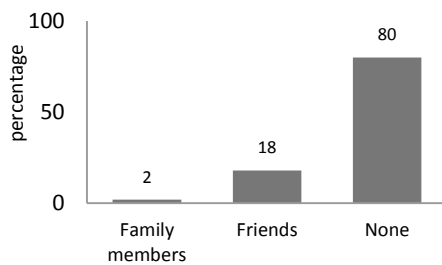
2. When the first time you read Ummi?



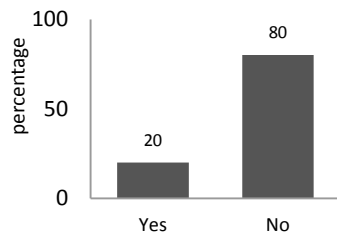
3. How did you obtain the magazine for the first time?



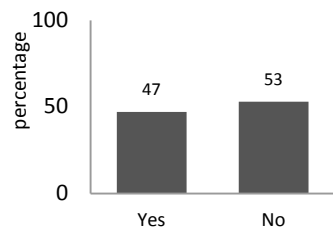
4. Does anyone else recommended Ummi for the first time?



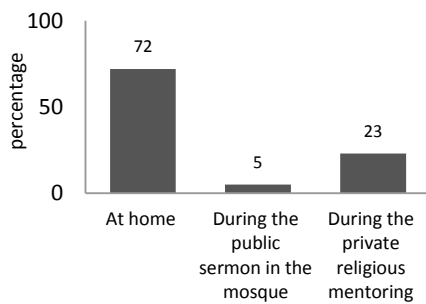
5. Do you subscribe it?



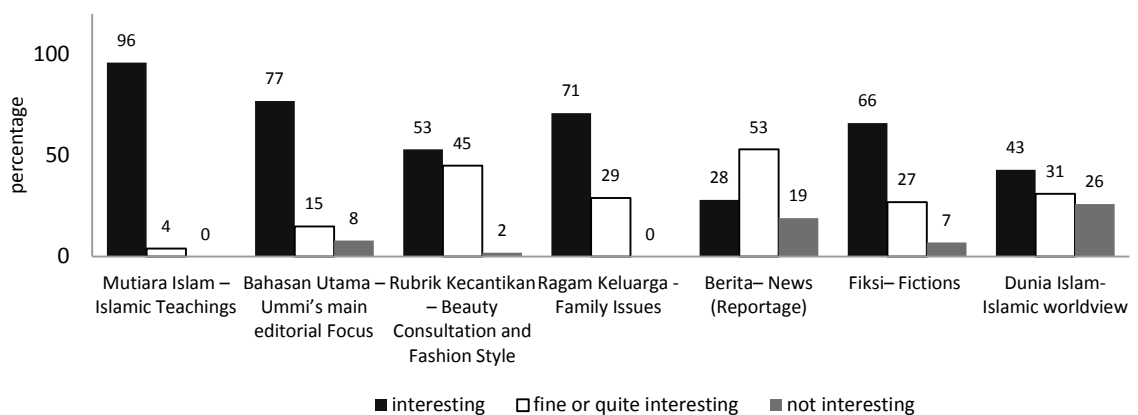
6. Do you just read it regularly?



7. Where do you occasionally read Ummi?



8. Please indicate your rank from the following rubrication in Ummi you find it interesting?



Appendix.4.

Qualitative Readers Reception

4.1. Sample of Interview Guide

A. Questions for Readers' Perceptions toward Preferred Readings in Islamic Femininity:

1. What do you think about the cover of Ummi today? What do you think about piety and beauty in Islam presented in Ummi?
2. How do you perceive specific themes in Ummi regarding the issues in private relationships such as: romantic relationship, marital relationship, and familial relationship?
3. Ummi now supports the idea of being self-reliant (practically means to be a career woman). Do you agree that women should pursue their independence? How do you think to achieve the state of being self reliant in line with religious obligation?
4. Do you read other women's magazine? Like what, or which one? Why do you like it? Do you prefer this magazine for leisure? Why yes, or Why not?
5. Do you also read other Muslim women's magazines? which one? What is/are its/their strength on specifying 'piety and beauty' in Islam?
6. What do you think about those women's magazines (both secular and Muslim women's magazines) compares to Ummi?

B. Questions for Readers' Perception toward the 'hidden texts' of Islamic Activism

7. What do you think about Dakwah? How do you think about Dakwah promoted in Ummi?
8. How do you qualify being pious women with amr ma'ruf nahi munkar?

Questions no. 9, and 10 are only applicable to the participants who read Ummi prior to the 2003 editions

9. Do you have any idea about Ummi's support for particular Islamic organizations or political parties? What do you think about it?
10. What do you know about the issues of pornography? Specifically, do you follow the debates of the pornography Act? Do you notice Ummi's concerns on the pornography Act and its debates?

**4.2. List of Participants for Qualitative Reader's Reception Study
(July-August 2012)**

No	Name	Sex /Age/Marital Status (Married/ Single)	Profession/ Association to the Tarbiyah Movement (formal member/non member)	Homebase / First time reading Ummi
1	Siti Belanagari	W /22 (S)	Student/ member	Yogyakarta / after 2003
2	Dian Ekasari	W/32 (S)	General Practitioner (a doctor) / member	Yogyakarta / after 1998
3	Rizka Pramadita	W/22(S)	Student / member	Yogyakarta / after 2003
4	Eka	W/22(S)	Student /non member (former member, now member of HTI)	Yogyakarta / after 2003
5	Achniah Damayanti	W/22(M)	Student / member	Yogyakarta / after 2003
6	Rumi Sedyaningsih	W/21(S)	Student / member	Yogyakarta
7	Yayuk Kurniasih	W/21(S)	Student / non member	Yogyakarta / after 2003
8	Erma Susianti	W/27(S)	Master Student in Public Policy / non member	Yogyakarta / after 1998
9	Neni Setyaningsih	W/23(M)	Student /non member	Yogyakarta/after 2003
10	Annisa	W/19(S)	Student / non member	Yogyakarta / after 2003
11	Kartika	W/36(M)	Journalist for TV program/ non member (but was former member)	Jakarta / Prior to 1998
12	Sylvia Ananda	W/28 (M)	Housewife / non member	Jakarta / after 2003
13	Matina Nova	W/29 (M)	Housewife /non member	Jakarta / after 2003
14	Farisya Handini	W/26 (M)	Master student /non member	Jakarta / after 1998

15	Asih Suharsih	W/37 (M)	Nurse in private Islamic Hospital / member	Jakarta / Prior to 1998
16	Nuraini	W/37 (M)	Enterpreuner (Owner of laundry service) / member	Jakarta / after 1998
17	Siti Fadlihah	W/40 (M)	Enterpreuner (Owner of A Muslim Boutique) / non member / non member	Jakarta / after 2003
18	Rosa M Zahra	W/36 (M)	Bank employee / member	Jakarta / prior to 1998
19	Laila Nur Akmalia	W/29 (M)	Bank employee / non member	Jakarta / after 2003
20	Andrayani K	W/33 (M)	Bank employee/ non member	Jakarta / after 2003

Appendix. 5

The Structure of Ummi Editorial Board and Management

General Manager	: Mrs. Dwi Septiawati
Vice Manager / Chief Editor:	Mrs. Meutia Gemala
Managing Editor	:Mrs. Rahmi Rizal
Executive Secretary	: Mrs. Meilis Sawitri
Editor Members/Journalists	: Mrs. Rosita (Editorial Reportage, Islamic Teachings and Islamic World) Mrs. Aini Firdaus (Politics, Social and Women's World) Mr. Didi Muardi (Economics and Bussiness) Ms. Firda Kurnia Widyasari (Culture, Lifestyle and Entertainment) Ms. Ratna Kartika (Ummi's Family and Fans, Readers' Consultation)
Lay out, Graphic Design and Editing:	Mr. Ahmad Fauzi Mr. Muhammad Yulius Mr. Ahmad Taufik
Sales and Marketing	: Mrs. Yani Pelita Sari Ms. Sherry Dahlia Ms Gandary
Finance and Accountings	: Mr. Pulung Erawan Mr. Eka Puja Linuih
Public Relations	:Ms. Leny Marnila
Distribution	:Mr. Nur Hamzah Bakri Mr.Dedi Setiawan Mr.Supriyadi Mr.Rudi Haryadi
Human Resources Development	: Mrs. Meutia Gemala Mrs. Marga Sari Mr. Rizul Akbar
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