

## **MHTI IN INDONESIA: THE ROLE OF POLITICAL AWARENESS FOR INDONESIAN MUSLIM WOMEN\***

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### **Abstract**

The position and role of women in religion have still been debatable. In Indonesia, Some people judge that there are many religious doctrines placing female as a lower creature than man. The Muslimah of Hizbut tahrir Indonesia, women organization of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, undertake an awareness dedication of the position and role of women in Islam and invites Muslims to be regulated by Syariah Islam. In other words, religion fundamentalism is an intense booster of their movement. The Islamic political movement with international leadership outside Indonesia is unprecedented in Indonesia political life. The ideas adopted by its movement seems like anti-capitalism, liberalism and secularism. So the movement of this organization is claimed as a radical movement. In fact, the MHTI is an anti-violence organization and braves in conveying aspirations as well as can break arguments addressed to them. According to MHTI, all of accusations addressed to them is the source of misery of Muslims. MHTI always performs rally, dialogue such as seminar and conference as means of awakening women to the Islamic law. The recent agenda of the MHTI was the International Women's Conference, which was attended by 1,750 influential women, from Turkey to the United Kingdom. Roles, functions and facts show that the role of MHTI has progressively influenced women's perspective on politics to the extent of government policy. Political awareness activities as well as criticism of government policies contrary to Islamic Shari'ah that began in 1983 in Indonesia, created a resurgence of Indonesian Muslim women's thinking, and became a source of criticism of the status quo of the Indonesian government. So that it causes many hostilities from the mainstream of security of Indonesia's political authority.

**Keyword:** MHTI, Islamic shari'ah, political awareness, Muslim women.

### **1. INTRODUCTION**

The debate over the position and role of women in the view of religion has been an endless debate since long time. In Indonesia, there are some people who think that many religious proof or doctrines place female figures as lower creatures than men. These doctrines have implications for the role of women in domestic and social life that are considered to be much harm to women. Whereas Islam explicitly or implicitly provides

support for every Muslim (including muslimah) to improve self-actualization and dedication, and this even becomes a necessity for every individual. However, there are some people who think to be free from the bonds of those religious doctrines so it often has implications to freedom that led to excessive. As a result of the problem today, women are often used as objects of discrimination. Cases of abuse, rape, murder, and persecution are increasing every day. The emergence of these problems causes people to think about improving and seeking all things to create peace and tranquility. Then emerge the movements based of religion, as an effort to raise awareness and education for women to realize their position and role as Muslimah. They not only take a role as Muslim women who only think about their personal problems and their families but also think about the problems of wider community until the issue of state affairs. As is known, Islam is a perfect religion. The perfection of Islam as a living system and legal system encompasses all matters faced by humanity. The Word of God Almighty: "And We sent unto thee the Book (the Quran) to explain all things .." (TQS An-Nahl [16]: 89). In other words, Every case has its laws. As well as any problem or any challenge faced by human beings, will be solved and answered by Islam. "Say, 'This is my way (da'wah). I and those who follow me invite (you) to Allah with a clear proof" (TQS Yusuf [12]: 108)

One of the Islamic-based movements in Indonesia is the Muslimah Movement of Hizb ut-Tahrir as one of the movements to raise awareness that they moved to make an awareness of the position and role of women in Islam and called on the Muslims to re-make Islam as a law with Islamic sharia. This movement is a political-based movement with Islam as the main foundation. However, lately the presence of Women of Hizbut tahrir in Indonesia has been the subject of concern. The mission carried out by MHTI, although its activities are strictly distanced from the violence, but get opposed by the government. It is because the calls that are often called by MHTI are a firm call, brave and lethal to awaken the ummah and the leader about the tyranny that happened due to abandon the laws of Allah swt. The call to return to the shari'ah and the khilafah has a very significant influence on the people of Indonesia. Therefore, the problem in this research is the extent of the impact of political dakwah conducted by MHTI in female Muslim women in Indonesia.

### **1.1. Qualitative Research**

This research is a qualitative research to know and find the intention of each phenomenon. The qualitative research has research strategy that is case study. According to Noeng Muhadjir, the case study is to "find the scientific truth in depth and in the long term, in an effort to find trends, patterns, directions and interactions of many factors that can spur or hinder change". (Muhadjir, 1996) Using case studies is helpful to comprehend a case comprehensively and to know the impact it has on the future. McGow and Waston quoted by Mohtar Mas'ood are using the term "scientific method" which means analyzing data objectively, logically, and systematically to describe, explain and predict everything observed. (Mas'ood, 1990)

### **1.2. Historical Approach**

The approach used in this study is historical approach. Historical approach is a study that seeks to see past history critically and chronologically. According to Teuku Ibrahim Alfian, (Alfian, .t.th.) That the historical approach rests on four principal activities, namely (1) the collection of objects derived from that era and the collection of relevant printed, written and oral materials; (2) removing unauthentic materials; (3) bringing reliable testimony about authentic materials; (4) to compile a reliable testimony into a meaningful story or presentation. The working process of historical approach in this research is heuristic (look and find histories source), critics (a judgment on the authenticity and credibility of a source), auffassung (synthesis of facts obtained through source criticism), and darstellung (presentation in written form). This historical approach is used to examine the MHTI da'wah model that has been applied to make the changes of society in a better direction. Data collection techniques are by documentation, in the form of books, web sites (<http://hizbut-tahrir.or.id> and <http://hizbut-tahrir.or.id/category/muslimah/>), Media Umat tabloid, as well as official statements from MHTI members through the official web.

### **1.3. Verstehen Analysis**

Analysis of data using verstehen is to reveal the motives and thoughts behind an action. (Bodgan, 1993) Verstehen has two ways of working firstly, identifying the acts of understanding as desired by the actor; And secondly, to recognize the surrounding context and which is used to understand it, or symbolic interactionism.

## **2. MHTI IN INDONESIA**

### **2.1. History**

Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (MHTI), a women's organization of HTI whose activities are engaged in raising the awareness of the position and role of women in Islam and calling on Muslims to return to the law of Islam with Islamic sharia. This organization is a transnational Islamic organization. Hizb ut-Tahrir is known as a non-parliamentary political party. It is a political party but does not take the seat of power on the current government. This is because according to Hizbut Tahrir, the current state system does not apply the rules of Islam perfectly. Since the fall of the Ottoman Caliphate, the majority of Muslim countries have adopted laws that originated from the West so it is very difficult to make the Islamic rule fully applied thoroughly. Therefore, when the Islamic party goes to a non-Islamic system, the party's Islam becomes biased.

The formation of this party is based on fulfilling Allah's call: "Let there be among you a group of people who call upon al-Khayr (ie embracing Islam), enjoin goodness and prevent munkar. They are the lucky ones. (Surah Ali Imran {3}: 104) Based on the surah, Hizb ut-Tahrir was established, with its founder Shaykh Taqiyuddin An-Nabhani. It was first established in Palestine but then spread to many other countries including Indonesia. The presence of Hizb ut-Tahrir in Indonesia is often regarded as an underground party for not participating in the election of government seats. However, their activities are raising political awareness and arousing the thoughts of Muslims about all the issues surrounding it. And lead the Muslims that the source of the current problem is because the laws of Allah are not applied in human life. Shaykh Taqiyuddin An-Nabhani in his book stated that: "The rise of a person depends on his thinking" (An-Nabhani, 2014). Therefore, the process undertaken by Hizb ut-Tahrir in his movement is to make awareness and evoke thoughts. They realize that what is happening today is a "war of thought", then thought that is needed to resist it. In addition, HTI assumes that the retreat of the ummah of Islam is because of its decline in thinking about life, the universe, the human and its three relationships with what was before and after it. Therefore, it is very important to understand the ummah of Islam about its position in this world as the creation of Allah swt.

Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia is part of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia as a trans-national political party. Its presence has reached more than 40 countries on 5 continents. The entry of Hizb ut-Tahrir to Indonesia in 1980s, exactly 1983, was pioneered by KH Abdullah bin Nuh, he was the leader of al-Ghazali pesantren Bogor. In the beginning he met with Hizb ut-Tahrir activist in Sydney, Australia, Shaykh Abdurahman al Baghdadiy. Then he was very interested in his lecture about the obligation of unity of the ummah and the obligation to uphold the Khilafah against the hegemony of the world invaders. Therefore KH Abdullah bin Nuh invited Shaykh Abdurahman al Baghdadiy to Indonesia.

Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, in the course of their da'wah, does not resort to violence. When undertaking small or large agendas they continue to go through mechanisms set by the local government. The theme and the central topic of their conversation relates to the good of the ummah both nationally and internationally. The targets of their da'wah regardless of status, they nurture all elements of society, regardless of position, age or ethnicity even religion. Because they assume that Islam is a mercy for all nature then it must be spread to anyone.

So the da'wah of Muslimah Hizb ut-Tahrir which originally only exists in one or several cities with the results of only a few cadres only, 10 years later from the year of its existence until now it has grown throughout Indonesia. Now, in the middle of the third 10 years, the da'wah of HTI has spread across 33 provinces, in over 300 cities and districts. In fact some of it has penetrated far into the outposts

### **2.2. Stages of Da'wah of MHTI**

MHTI is part of the HTI then the da'wah stage is also the same. The only thing that distinguishes is the target of da'wah. As explained earlier that Muslimah Hizb ut-Tahrir is a political party so that its activities are through politics. But there are different things in their political views. If today's society views politics as a dirty, synonymous ploy and should not be related with religion. It is different with the view of HTI itself which considers that politic is a way of maintaining community affairs for its good. So that religion and politics can not be separated. Therefore, HTI takes a political path because this is a way that will be able to awaken and solve the problems of society and guide the ummah to re-establish the Khilafah system and uphold the law based on the revelation that Allah has revealed in this life.

In one of Taqiyuddin An-Nabhani's books "Takatul al-Hizbi" states that Hizb ut-Tahrir is not a faction / organization based solely on spiritualism, nor a scientific institution (such as a religious study or research institution), nor an institution Education (academic), and not a social-humanitarian institution (which is only engaged in social-society) but is a political organization / faction that makes Islamic ideas as the spirit (soul), the core and also the secret of life. (An-nabhani, 2001)

MHTI is present in the midst of Indonesian society to resurrect the Islamic community from its proper degradation, liberate them from kufr ideas, system, and laws, and liberate them from the power and domination of kufr countries, and aimed to reinforce Daulah Khilafah Islamiyah on earth, so that government affairs can return in accordance with the revelation that Allah has revealed. Basically MHTI appears to call of al-khayr, which is calling on al-Islam and enjoining virtue (implementing the Shari'a) and preventing munkar (remove resignation to the Shari'a). (Hizb ut-Tahrir, -). Therefore, HizbuT Tahrir uses Islam as its principle and thariqoh (operational method) used is thariqoh (method) of da'wah conducted by the Prophet saw. So in reaching that goal there are 3 stages that are taken. The 3 stages / methods taken by HTI in da'wah are what were done by the Messenger of Allah. The first stage is the stage of establishment of the movement, which at that time formed the pattern of movement and the formation of the first halqah after understanding the concept and methods of da'wah of Hizbut Tahrir. That first halqah then get in touch with the society to offer the concept and method of Hizbut Tahrir, individually. The second stage is the stage of interaction with the community, so that people participate in practicing Islam and make it a major problem in life. The way is to awaken the awareness and create public opinion on society about the ideas and laws of Islam that Hizbut Tahrir has endured, so they embody those ideas and laws as their thoughts that they fight for in life, and they will walk with Hizb as an effort to establish the Khilafah, ellect a Caliph to carry out the life of Islam and carry the da'wah of Islam throughout the world. The third stage: take over the government through the ummah and apply the whole Islamic ideology in the form of surrender rather than coercion or violence (coup). This stage is a method of applying Islamic ideology, not as a goal. Because this party is present in order to continue the life of Islam, so that when the caliphate is upright, the Islamic political party still exists as the controller and supervisor of the state, and leads the ummah to dialogue various problems with the state. (An-Nabhani, 2001)

### 2.3 Agendas of MHTI in Indonesia

The agendas held by MHTI are a part of Da'wah which is believed to be a matter of obligation to every Muslim individually. According to MHTI, there are three kinds of da'wah, namely: first, da'wah fikriyah, da'wah done by spreading thought to inculcate Islamic thought and destroy or deny un-Islamic thoughts. Second, dakwah siyasiyah; da'wah that is driven to achieve the political objectives, which is the establishment of sharia and khilafah. The third is dakwah askariyyah, this da'wah is done through military force or jihad fî sabilillah. (Shobron, 2014) However, today, they are in the phase of da'wah fikriyyah and siyasiyyah by taking various ways and means, either directly or indirectly. The da'wah directly, it is done by holding various kinds of forums reviews, discussions, seminars, talk shows, tabligh akbar, conference and so forth. Activities like this are routinely done in various regions in Indonesia weekly, monthly or annually. As the activities and opinions are done shown in the following table:

No	Themes of the agenda	Place and time	Participants
1	Congress for Indonesian Mothers 3 "The Mothers Lost the Essential Shield"	Jakarta, 26/12/2015	Not less than 3.000 muslim women
2			
3	Congress for Indonesian Mothers 3 "Mother's Role Highlights the Role of Secular Media"	Langsa City. Aceh, 20/12/2015	Hundreds of Muslim women
4			
5	Congress for Indonesia Mothers 4 "State Is the Foundation of Family Resilience"	Madiun City, 18/12/2016	500 mothers from various circles
6	Congress for Indonesian Mothers 4 "State Is the Foundation of Family Resilience"	Bima, 18/12/2016	Hundreds of Muslim women
7	Congress for Indonesian Mothers 4 "State Is the Foundation of Family Resilience"	Mojokerto, 18/12/2016	500 muslim women from various circles
8	Congress for Indonesian Mothers 4 "State Is the Foundation of Family Resilience"	Semarang, 18/12/2016	500 muslim women
9	Press Conference "Reflection of End of Year 2016 (RATU)" MHTI. "Sued for State's Role in Family Resilience"	Yogyakarta, 15/12/2016	Dozens of women figures and media crew

10	Press Conferences Annual Reports 2016 MHTI Medan: Strong Country, Family Resilience Will Be Sturdy	West Aceh, 18/12/2016	700 participants from various professions
11	Congress for Indonesian Mothers 4 Malang: The Rise of Mother of Generation, Realize Family Resilience with Khilafah Struggle	Malang, 18/12/2016	700 muslim women from various circles
12	Congress for Indonesian Mothers 4 Bandung: Building Khilafah Civilization For The Realization Of Family Resilience	Bandung, 18/12/2016	More than 700 muslim women
13	Congress for Indonesian Mothers 4 Madiun Raya: "State Is the Foundation of Family Resilience"	Madiun, 18/12/2016	500 mothers from various communities (mubalighah, bureaucrats, mass organizations and general public)
14	Grand Agenda "Workshop of Indonesian Mothers 4" "State Is the Main Pillar of Family Resilience"	Bima, 18/12/2016	Not less than 300 muslim women from various circles
15	Congress for Indonesian Mothers 4 Makassar: Building Khilafah Civilization For The Realization Of Family Resilience	Makassar, 18/12/2016	1000 women from the circles of housewives, majelis taklim, student activists, mubalighah, intellectuals, Islamic organizations, and press
16	Congress for Indonesian Mothers 4 Mojokerto: Family Resilience, State Responsibility	Mojokerto, 18/12/2016	500 participants
17	Congress for Indonesian Mothers 4 Medan: Support from women figures for MHTI Struggle	Medan, 25/12/2016	1200 mothers and women
18	Congress for Indonesian Mothers 4 Pamekasan: The Applied of All Syariah realize sturdy family	Pamekasan, 18/12/2016	350 mothers from various circles, intellectuals, mubalighah, majelis taklim, NGO/ mass organization/ politic organizations, professionals, community mobilizers, and other women figures
19	Congress for Indonesian Mothers 4 Semarang: "State Is the Foundation of Family Resilience"	Semarang, 18/12/2016	500 muslim women figures
20	Congress for Indonesian Mothers 4 : "State Is the Foundation of Family Resilience"	Bogor Raya, 25/12/2016	1450 muslim women figures
21	Press Conference: Reflection of End of Year 2016 (RATU) MHTI "Sued for State's Role in Family Resilience"	Yogyakarta, 15/12/2016	Dozens of women figures and media crew
22	Press Conference: Reflection of End of Year 2016 MHTI Medan: Strong Country, Family Resilience Will Be Sturdy	Medan, 15/12/2016	Women figures and media crew
23	Congress for Indonesian Mothers (KIN) 4 West Aceh: "State Is the Foundation of Family Resilience"	West Aceh, 18/12/2016	700 participants from various professions
24	Congress for Indonesian Mothers 4 Pekanbaru: Khilafah: The Solution for Family Resilience	Pekanbaru, 18/12/2016	Thousands of muslim women figures in Pekanbaru
25	Congress for Indonesian Mothers (KIN) 4 Cirebon: "State Is the Foundation of Family Resilience"	Cirebon, 25/12/2016	Not less than 1000 mothers
26	Islamic Education Exhibition "Khilafah and Education: Reviving the Golden Age"	Jakarta, 10/03/2017	1000 visitors
27	International Women Conference: "Khilafah and Education: Reviving the Golden Age".	Jakarta, 11/03/2017	1750 women figures of education

Table 1: Some of the agendas held by MHTI over 2 years or more collected from <http://hizbut-tahrir.or.id/category/muslimah/event/>

No	Opinions	Issued
1	The Point of Resilience of Muslim Families in the Liberal Era	5/12/2016
2	Various Program Designs Prepared To Destroy Muslim Family Buildings	27/11/2016
3	The Role of the State to Suppress the "Bomb" of Family Liberalization	24/11/2016
4	Family Ruination is triggered by Media	23/11/2016
5	State Efforts to Rebuild Resilience of Families Like Fire Far Away from Bake, Not Touching the Roots of the Problem	21/11/2016
6	Liberalism Destroy the Resilience of Muslim Family	15/11/2016
7	Lack of Islamic Values in Family Life, Weaken Family Sustainability	15/11/2016

8	Campaign of Muslimah Peduli Negeri: State is The Foundation of Family Resilience	15/11/2016
9	Press Conference of End Year Reports 2016 Makassar City	15/12/2016
10	Press Conference of MHTI West Java: Sued for State's Role in Family Resilience	15/12/2016
11	MHTI: 2016, Year of Emergency of Indonesian Family Resilience	17/12/2016
12	Contradictions of State Policy, Family Resistance Crushers	16/12/2016
13	Country Fails to Protect Families from Damaged Value	
14	The State is the Main Pillar of Family Welfare	15/12/2017
15	The State is the Foundation of Family Resilience	12/12/2016
16	Role of MHTI to Educate Women for Family Resilience	8/12/2016
17	'Instant' Mother: Impact of Secular Life	07/12/2016
18	Education and Its Role in the Destruction of the Caliphate	18/02/2017
19	The Curriculum of Secular Education Bore the Hypocrites Among the Ummah	18/02/2017
20	The True Globalization Behind Narratives of World Class University (Looking Forms of World Class Education-Part 1)	01/03/2017
21	Right to Education for Women: Between Dark Facts and Propaganda	27/02/2017
22	Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) and Countering Islamic Extremism (CIE), Two Policies Aiming to Secularize Muslim Students in the West	19/02/2017
23	The Key to Success of the Caliphate in Building Qualified Infrastructure for All	05/03/2017
24	Failure of Education in the West (Part 1): The Objectives of Education in the West	02/03/2017

Table 2: Opinions issued by MHTI collected from <http://hizbut-tahrir.or.id/category/muslimah/event/>

The agendas held by MHTI as seen on their activities are done continuously and systematically. For example, the agenda of Kongres Ibu Nusantara is held every year simultaneously in 83 cities all over Indonesia within 15-25 December 2016. The themes are also interesting but also hard and challenging. It is because the ideas built in their agendas and opinions call Muslims to realize that Islam is an ideology that has rules of the system in human life. Then, the rule will be applied when the system used is the system of Khilafah Islamiyah. It is based on a fact about the problems of education, economy and justice that hit the country. Mothers who are forced to become economic machines because of the necessities of life are increasingly suffocating. Not to mention the mass media plays a role in growing shares of family destruction with destructive impressions.

It is such a difficult problem when witnessing the application of law in this country is something that people can buy. This is evidenced from the legal injustice against cocoa thieves with the ones who insult religion. Not to mention the law in this country has no religious dimension that it is far from the blessing. Though Islam has placed the country as a raain, which is the people's caretaker, but now the country no longer runs its role, it becomes a trader, said Ustadzah Hj said. Siti Nafidah Anshory, S.P., M.Ag, Chairman of MHTI DPD I of west Java in front of the participants of Congress. Thus, MHTI thinks that only the Islamic system within the Khilafah State is able to stop the problem. Therefore, MHTI invites muslimah to jointly establish the Khilafah as a consequence of faith in Allah. In addition, the opposition to rules of state based on secularism, capitalism and all the isms which contradict with the Islamic principle is carried out in the form of nonviolent war of thought. Uniquely, every activity undertaken follows the procedures established by the state even though the activity is intended to attack the issue of a state that does not apply Islamic rules.

### **3. MHTI ROLE TO BUILD INDONESIAN MUSLIMAH POLITICAL THINKING**

The missionary journey of Muslimah Hizb ut-Tahrir in Indonesia has become something that has great impact for Indonesian women. They uphold activities that almost did not stop done by them by presenting various elements of society from among women. The type of da'wah they run today by building understanding and awareness. To awaken to the corrupt thoughts that were digging the Muslims and to build Islamic thought in place of the corrupted thought. The existence of coaching by MHTI on ummah focused on mothers and women. MHTI organize coaching about women's duties within the family and in the community. A mother, for example, who understands her basic duties will make her easier to collaborate with other family members. This greatly affects family resilience. A mother has a role in performing the function of love, education, and familiarizing the family with the environment. Therefore, MHTI conducts guidance for Muslim women to have strong faith, high commitment in carrying out their obligations, and obey the shari'ah of Islam and have the knowledge of Islam who cultivate. These things are necessary in performing a mother's duties as a generation educator. But according to Ratu Erma Rachmayanti, Chairman of DPP MHTI, said to HTI

Press that the main tasks of these mothers will not run perfectly when there are still many counter-productive policies in the state. Such an increasingly massive program of women's economic empowerment has pushed mothers out to work. One side of the government requires the families to solve all kinds of problems they face, such as asking mothers to educate children with religion and morals in order to wake up from predators of evil, the other side they encourage mothers to work. Mothers or families may not be able to protect their children from social, porn action, pornography, when the government protects the pornographic business, halfheartedly in eliminating crime. So the realization of family resilience is the synergy of the family, society, and also the state.

Based on this, many people start to think and awakened about the problems that hit the mother and women of Indonesia. The absence of laws protecting and directing is the source of inequality that breeds misery. So the agendas undertaken by MHTI more or less will awaken women of Indonesia. The proof that MHTI from year to year growing ever initially only in bogor area but now has spread to 300 cities in Indonesia. In addition, women who are awakened come from various backgrounds: intellectuals, mubalighah, Majelis Talim, NGO / mass organizations / Politic organizations, activists, professionals, community mobilizers, and other female figures. Evidently, the news that proclaims HTI dissolution, including MHTI, gets rejection from the community from various elements of community. So the dissolution did not happen until now. As a result, MHTI who has been building an education essentially build family resilience. They awaken women to the problem of system that hampers the realization of family secure then a woman will continue to work optimally perform its function, and have a big stake in realizing the true state (Khilafah Islamiyah, red.) that support true family resilience. And that is what is happening on the agenda of MHTI. Although in reality MHTI also gets rejection from the government for the reason that MHTI arrange a plot to break the NKRI.

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