The Movement of Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (MHTI) Against Feminism, 2000-2017

Jamila tul Firdausi
Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta
Jamilatulfirdausi0@gmail.com

Abstract

The Feminist movement became a forum to voice women's injustice which then caused social changes. However, some organizations oppose the understanding and movement of Feminism, one of them is Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (MHTI). This study aims to find out the rejection movements and thoughts of MHTI against Feminism. There are three things discussed, The first is the development history of Indonesia Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir (MHTI). The second is MHTI's thoughts on the role of women, and the third is MHTI's rejection of feminism. The method type of this research is the history method, these are heuristic, verification, interpretation, and historiography. This study results are MHTI was an HTI's autonomous organization that wished to establish an Islamic Caliphate based on Kaffah Islamic Syari’a. Then, MHTI argued that women's main role was to be housewives who are responsible for caring for children and fostering a harmonious family. MHTI firmly rejected feminism because it is considered as destroying the structure of men's and women's roles that had been determined in Islam. So, they acted in various regions to spread their ideas.

Keywords: Movement, MHTI, Feminism.

Introduction

The topic of gender equality and feminism has long been a public conversation. Feminist figures are constantly shouting about the injustices experienced by women who are considered second-class communities. The issue of women's domestic and public roles also raised debates until now. The impact of the gender equality movement can be seen in that many women have participated in various public jobs. However, not all people accept this movement. The understanding of gender equality is considered incompatible with Islamic law, as contradicted by Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (MHTI).
Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (hereinafter referred to as MHTI) is part of the Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) organization. HTI itself is a political organization that aspires to establish an Islamic caliphate based on Islamic shari'a and implement Islam in kaffah. Hizbut Tahrir (HT) began to develop in Indonesia in the early 1980s in Bogor, precisely the Bogor Agricultural Institute (IPB). The main figure behind it was Abdurrahman Al-Baghdadi from Jordan. Abdurrahman Al-Baghdadi was previously invited by Kiai Mama Abdullah bin Nuh, owner of Al-Ghazali Islamic boarding school in Bogor.1

HT’s thoughts then began to be taught in small recitations (halaqah) on campuses in Bogor and through the network of Campus Da’wah Institutions (LDK), HT’s teachings spread to campuses outside Bogor. In the decade of 1990s, Hizbut Tahrir’s da’wah ideas were delivered to the general public door-to-door. In the early phases, da’wah was spread to parents of students. As students graduated from campus, da’wah also began to move from offices, and housing to factories. This da’wah continued until the 2000s.2

The central Hizbut Tahrir, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) also recruited both male and female Muslims as members. Study groups for women were organized separately from men. Female members were usually mentored by fellow women, their husbands, or their non-marriageable relatives.3 These female members of HTI were called Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (MHTI), which is the object of research in this paper.

Just like HTI’s view, MHTI also believes that men and women have their respective duties and roles that have been mentioned in the Qur'an. According to HTI, women have the main role as the leaders of their husband's household and children. This means that women must be the ones who care for, nurture, and educate their children in the household.4 According to MHTI, Islam has given women the same noble role as men. The long history of Islam has also provided examples that women can play an active role in various activities like men. Even so, there are limitations on the role of women in some matters. This view is at odds with the concept of equality initiated by Western Feminists. In spreading this understanding, MHTI carried out movements in various regions in Indonesia which the author will explain deeply in this research.

As an organization that upholds Islamic shari'a and rejects all Western things, MHTI also rejects feminism. With this, it is

2 Ibid., 57-58.
3 Ibid., 50-51.
also necessary to know what real actions have been taken to spread their ideas. This research is important to be explored in depth to understand that feminism, which is a movement of women's struggle for equal rights with men, is not fully accepted at all levels of society. In this case, MHTI, before it was abolished by the government, actively carried out movements against feminism.

Regarding MHTI, the author found several journal articles that also discuss Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (MHTI), these are the article entitled "Interaksi Sosial Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (MHTI) Pasca Pembubaran" by Uus Usuwasolihah and Sangidun. The second article is "Respon Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (MHTI) terhadap Rancangan dan Undang-Undang terkait Perempuan dan Keluarga" by Ita Musarrofa. Another article is "Menolak Kesetaraan: Counter-Discourse dan Motif Politik di Balik Gagasan Anti Feminisme MHTI" by Isnatin Ulfah.

The three articles have the same object which is MHTI, but provide a different focus. Of the three, the last article has almost the same research focus as the author's namely MHTI and Feminism. The difference is that the author in this study describes the history of MHTI, MHTI's view of the role of women, and most importantly MHTI's rejection movement against feminism. As a novelty in research, this study specifically describes the history of MHTI's development and MHTI's movements regarding feminism that have never been mentioned in previous studies.

The author takes the period of 2000-2017 to study because HTI declared itself publicly in 2000 and was officially disbanded in 2017. So, the main problems that the author is going to discuss include: How is the development history of Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (MHTI)? How does MHTI view about women’s role? Why does MHTI tend to reject Western feminism?

Method

This research is a social-historical research on the movement of Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia against feminism 2000-2017. Therefore, the author used a sociological approach. According to Weber, the use of sociology in historical studies aims to understand the subjective meaning of social behavior, not only investigating its objective meaning. The work of social history is identical to the history of various social movements such as national movements, religious movements, and others.5

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In this regard, this research is closely related to social movement theory and feminism. The study of social movements has historically developed since the 1960s and inclusively refers to two theories: Marxism and functionalism. Marxism is a doctrine that calls for social change, while functionalism theory emerged as a response to the structure of arbitrary domination of the upper social class on the lower social groups. This injustice gave rise to a collective action to demand justice.\(^6\)

Social movements according to Cohen (1983) are organized and ideological movements carried out by several people to change or maintain certain elements in the wider society.\(^7\)

Feminism by Sarah Gamble is defined as a belief that women are treated unfairly in a society that is formed to prioritize male perspectives and interests.\(^8\) The emergence of feminism is caused by the realization that women are treated unfairly and unequally with men in society.

The method used in this research is the historical research method, which consists of four stages, including heuristic, verification, interpretation, and historiography.\(^9\) In the first stage, namely heuristic, the author collects data, both primary and secondary data. In this case, the author uses several reference sources such as a book entitled *Perempuan HTI: Berjuang dalam Pasungan* by Zusiana Elly Triatini, several journal articles, and news articles from online websites.

The next stage is verification or source criticism which is divided into two, namely external criticism (testing the source by selecting its physical aspects) and internal criticism (looking at the credibility of the sources used). In this case, the author tested news articles from the website because they are important sources for this research. According to the author, the news can be trusted because it was written during the events being studied. So the author did the same to other reference sources such as books and journal articles.

The next stage is interpretation of data. The author interpreted the facts after uniting the facts obtained from historical sources. So that conclusions can be drawn and become the result of research on the MHTI movement in rejecting feminism. Finally, the author conducted writing or historiography from the results of the interpretation to become historical research.


\(^9\) Ibid., 101.
Discussion
The Development History of Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (MHTI)

Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, hereafter MHTI is an autonomous institution of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). Since its establishment in the 1980s, finally, in 2000 HTI declassified their organization publicly. As an autonomous institution under HTI, MHTI members began to aggressively carry out movements to convey their aspirations. Especially the ideals of establishing a Caliphate State.

The MHTI organizational structure itself is no different from the HTI organizational structure, those were from the center to the regions. Central Leadership Council (DPP) at the central level, Regional Leadership Council (DPD) I at the provincial level, and DPD II at the city district level. In the 2010s, MHTI's membership was estimated to reach 50,000. In the MHTI training stage, it is also the same as the training done by the HTI center. The training method is divided into three stages, such as:

1. Marbalah at-Tasqif, meant coaching and training that was carried out to form members who accepted and believed in the thoughts and methods of Hizbut Tahrir.

2. Marbalah Tafa'ut Ma'a al-Ummah, which meant interacting with the ummah which aimed to be ummah who took on the obligation to do da’wah Islam. With this, they would make Islam the main issue until they struggled to realize the ideals of Hizbut Tahrir.

3. Marbalah Istilaam al-Hukum, is the takeover of power carried out to implement Islamic law overall to the world.

Since its establishment, MHTI had been inseparable from HTI. MHTI's commitment to HTI's visions and missions such as establishing the Khilafah State was their top priority. MHTI was free to plan its work programs, but the ratification and implementation of these work programs formally needed to report first to the leaders of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). MHTI's compliance was not only due to their identity as an HTI women's organization but also because they believed in the principles they held to implement Islam kaffah.

The programs that MHTI had throughout Indonesia were the same. MHTI programs and activities were no different from

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12 Kurniawan, “Gerakan Tandingan...”
those of the central HTI. This activity usually involved all levels of MHTI management, regional administrators, branches, and even MHTI members and cadres who were divided into groups and layers of society that were not only Hizbut Tahrir worshipers. Here are some models of activities carried out by MHTI\(^{13}\):

1. **Regular recitation** which was held every week, monthly, and also when commemorating Islamic holidays, such as Isra’ Mi’raj. This recitation was attended by all levels of society, both MHTI congregants and sympathizers. The implementation was sometimes also the result of cooperation with other Islamic women's organizations or majlis taklim.

2. **Workshops** held for all Islamic women's organizations in certain areas. For example, MHTI Yogyakarta held a workshop for Islamic organizations in the city of Yogyakarta.

3. **Seminar activities** as well as book reviews on certain themes.

4. **Several other activities.**

In addition, MHTI also used a publication strategy to disseminate its ideas. MHTI issues leaflets called Al-Islam which are distributed every Friday. There was a magazine book, Al-Wâ'ie which was published twice a month, and the Media Umat (MU) tabloid. The discussion raised usually examined a problem that was developing in Indonesia or the problems of Muslims in the world. By utilizing technology, MHTI also did da’wah through their social media including Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, and blogs on the official Hizbut Tahrir website.\(^ {14} \)

Besides the regular activities mentioned above, MHTI also carries out action movements to voice their ideas regarding the establishment of the Khilafah State. On the other hand, they took to the streets to react to problems that go against their principles. MHTI had also been seen several times protesting against government policies that they believed were not by Islamic law.

HTI itself, including MHTI, was licensed as a mass organization in Indonesia in 2014. However, the government felt that the HTI movement was trying to influence public opinion to replace the Indonesian State based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution with the concept of Khilafah that they promoted. So in 2017, the government revoked the decision on the authorization of the previous HTI association and officially dissolved this organization according to Perppu Number 2 Year 2017 article 80A.\(^ {15} \)

**MHTI’s Thoughts about Women’s Roles**

Islam is a religion that upholds humanity, love, and peace. Islam teaches equality and justice. Muslims are obliged to be kind and provide protection regardless of

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\(^ {13} \) Kurniawan, “Gerakan Tandingan...”.

\(^ {14} \) Dora Olviana, “Gender Bias dalam Framing Anti Feminisme Muslim Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (MHTI) di Kota Surabaya” (2017), 8.

class, race, and even gender differences. In the Qur'an itself, many verses discuss this matter. However, it is often misunderstood due to a lack of religious knowledge as well as misinterpretation.

Ashgar Ali Engineer argues that male superiority over women is something that is justified by scholars to perpetuate their power over women. The Qur'an idealizes the image of women as valuable and dignified as men\textsuperscript{16}, such women are required to have independent political attitudes, they are also required to have more knowledge and abilities about the economy, and women are required to be able to make their own choices that they believe are right.

During the time of the Prophet Muhammad, the status of women can be seen in their involvement in several important roles. Several opinions circulating among biographers say that the role of women in the process of hadith narration and the formation of Islamic discourse was undoubtedly enormous.\textsuperscript{17}

MHTI agreed with this statement that women have an honorable position in Islam. Thus, it cannot be concluded that Islam is gender-biased or overly masculine. There are certain times when Islam talks about women from their femininity, such as menstruation, pregnancy, childbirth, breastfeeding, and others. There are also times when Islam speaks of women as human beings who are equal to men, such as in the obligations of prayer, zakat, hajj, amar ma'ruf nahi munkar, and so on.\textsuperscript{18}

The Qur'an places men and women in an equal position. Men and women have the same capacity, be it spiritual, moral, or intellectual capacity. Islam fairly assigns the roles and responsibilities of men and women so that both can live harmoniously side by side in society. The principle of equality stated in the Qur'an was interpreted by MHTI as one of the ways to form a harmonious relationship between the two. Even though the Qur'an recognizes the differences between men and women, it is not the type of difference that gives an advantage or disadvantage. Differences that support the existence of harmony between men and women in the family.\textsuperscript{19}

MHTI considered that men and women have assumed their respective responsibilities. In particular, women are given the responsibility to lead household matters just as


\textsuperscript{17} Khairul Umami dan Mega Puspita, “Gender Approach in Islamic Family Law” \textit{(An-Nisa': Journal of Gender Studies, Vol 16, No 1, June 2023)}, 113.

\textsuperscript{18} Triantini, \textit{Perempuan HTI}, 56.

\textsuperscript{19} Triantini, \textit{Perempuan HTI}, 61.
men are responsible for leading their children. In this case, MHTI emphasized that the main role of women is to lead the household, husband, and children. Women are tasked with caring for, organizing, and fostering the household to create peace and comfort in the family. According to MHTI, this role meant that they have contributed to religion and the State because they have helped to educate new generations to become advanced and pious generations in the future.

For public roles, MHTI argued that women can carry out activities or work like men. Islam has emphasized the equality of roles between men and women as mentioned earlier. Women are allowed to become professionals and pursue any field, whether agriculture, industry, or trade, conduct transactions, become employees and even become principals or leaders in an organization.

However, women may not hold government positions, such as head of state (Caliph), mu'awin (assistant) caliph, Wali (governor), 'amil (equivalent of mayor/regent), and other positions included in the government. Serving in government means having a big responsibility to take care of the problems of the people, so women are not allowed to take this role. This is based on the verses of the Quran and the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad SAW which they believed to be a prohibition against women leaders.

The hadith that underlies MHTI's opinion is the hadith from Abu Bakrah which contains the response of the Prophet Muhammad SAW to the reality of the Persian country in decline when it was led by a woman named Buran. Rasulullah SAW responded that a nation would not prosper if led by a woman. MHTI interpreted the hadith as a signal not to make women leaders in government affairs. The scholars who responded to the hadith as a provision of sharia did not look at the asbab al-Wurud al-Hadis or the social condition behind the emergence of the hadith. If they had paid attention to these important matters, they would have come up with a different understanding. The Hadith was not intended for the general public but conditionally for the people of Persia where the leader of Buran had weak leadership credibility and was highly questionable. Moreover, according to Ahmad Ibn Ali Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani in Zusiana, this hadith is not a prohibition (nahiy) but only news (khabariyah).

This hadith in MHTI's view, explicitly rejects women leaders in the sphere of government, so they denounced those who

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think otherwise. This form of rejection was carried out by thousands of masses of South Sulawesi MHTI on September 14, 2004, at the Mandala Monument in Makassar.\textsuperscript{23} In the long march, by carrying dozens of pamphlets MHTI appealed to Muslims to be careful in choosing the president in the upcoming election. Then MHTI voiced that the main requirements to become a leader include, such as, being Muslim, male, baligh, reasonable, fair, independent, and carrying out the mandate as head of the State.

MHTI’s thought about the limitations of women's roles in government is contrary to the understanding of equality that they believed exists in Islam. Believing in hadith textually only, so their understanding was half-hearted. Whereas, by reflecting on historical facts, there were examples of female leaders who could rule a region well. Moreover, in a developed era as now, women can easily pursue education to improve the quality of women in various countries.

**MHTI Rejection Movement of Feminism, 2000-2017**

Since the beginning of its formation, HTI and MHTI considered everything that came from the West to be rejected. Such as the secular government which was considered incompatible with Islamic shari’a so MHTI carried the establishment of the Khilafah State. Indeed, feminism is a movement that originally emerged in Western countries, then it spread widely and became popular throughout the world in the 20th century, including in Indonesia. As a product of the West, feminism is certainly a matter that was contested by MHTI. MHTI argued that feminism undermined the order of roles that Islam has determined for men and women.

Actually, MHTI’s rejection of feminism or gender equality can be understood as anti-Western politics, not because of the feminist movement and struggle itself. Not all feminist ideas are negative, even in some cases by Islamic thought that MHTI believed. For example, liberal feminism states that men and women have the same reasoning potential so liberal feminism demands the provision of equal educational opportunities for women to improve their quality.\textsuperscript{24}

However, MHTI still firmly rejected it. Feminism was considered not by Islamic law. Feminism would only lead to the irregularity of the roles and functions of men and women as regulated in Islam. Women would leave...

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their role as housewives and neglect their children. Even though this role was the main role of a woman. Feminism could also cause the destruction of the ideal family, where male leadership in the family would collapse and the elimination of the role of motherhood because there would be competition between the two roles.

MHTI’s rejection of feminism was also evidenced by various demonstrations on the streets. In commemoration of Mother’s Day, December 22, 2010, Tempo Digital News reported on a demonstration by MHTI in West Java. This action was carried out by hundreds of MHTI members. Siti Nufidah as the head of West Java MHTI explained that the action was carried out as a form of protest against the gender equality policy which was considered to cause mothers to neglect the educators of the generation. On the same day and date, MHTI Central Java also took action on the road precisely at the Gladag Roundabout, Solo, Central Java. The action voiced rejection of gender equality as a form of concern for the future of the nation and invited mothers to fight for sharia and Khilafah.

To commemorate World Women’s Day on March 8, 2015, MHTI in various regions held demonstrations. Starting on March 3, 2015, MHTI Banda Aceh held an action to campaign to stop following the liberal and secular gender equality system. Iffah Ainur Rochman, a member of MHTI, said that Islamic law has long been accused of discriminating against women by liberal feminists, who say women should choose gender equality and leave Islamic law because it has shackled women all this time. The campaign aims to stop this accusation, that it is the secular system that causes problems.

The action, which was carried out in commemoration of World Women’s Day, was titled "Women and Sharia: Separating Reality and Fiction". On March 22, 2015, Batam MHTI conducted a long march which was also part of the success of the international women's conference which was simultaneously held in five countries namely, England, Tunisia, Turkey, Palestine, and Indonesia. Maratika Handayani as chairman of DPD II MHTI Batam City said:

"In recent years, there has been a relentless attack by feminist movements and secular institutions on

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Islamic social laws, including Muslim dress, inheritance laws, as well as marriage rights and responsibilities that have been labeled as backward, unjust, and discriminatory against women. We call on all those who have a genuine concern for the welfare and rights of women to understand the truth about the status of women under Islamic Sharia to join and support this important campaign to create a positive, safe, and dignified future for women.”

Based on the statements above, MHTI firmly rejects feminist movements. With such awareness, MHTI feels the need to inform and invite all circles about the truth according to Islamic law. Then, MHTI Bengkulu also held a long march on the same date, March 22, 2015. With the same theme, they campaigned for Islamic sharia as the rule of law that would make women prosperous and noble. Chairman of DPD I MHTI Bengkulu, Indah Kartika Sari said in her speech:

"We condemn the allegations that Islamic Sharia discriminates and discredits women as alleged by the Western media and feminists. We must discard the Western capitalist system that only views women as commodities to be bought and sold. By Western capitalism, women are exploited for their bodies and used as promotional tools for economic products. Islamic Sharia contradicts the Western capitalist system. This is because the Islamic Sharia system seeks to glorify women and protect their rights as human beings.”

In addition, on the next day, March 23, 2015, MHTI Bandar Lampung and Makassar also took to the streets. MHTI Bandar Lampung oration was represented by Nur Aini as DPD II MHTI Lampung in front of Tugu Adipura Bandar Lampung. It was conveyed that women who become housewives according to feminists are very humiliating and the obligation to cover the veil is considered a restraint on freedom of expression and violates women’s human rights. According to Nur Aini, this understanding makes women forget their true nature. Meanwhile, Makassar MHTI voiced capitalist and neoliberal understandings were not in fitrah of women in Islam. They invite all women to improve their domestic duties.
This action was also carried out in 20 other cities in Indonesia.

Based on some of the actions mentioned, it can be concluded that MHTI is very active in organizing activities to implement Islamic law in a kaffah manner as their vision and mission. Especially their actions regarding women, MHTI does on certain commemorative days, such as Mother's Day and World Women's Day. These actions are also simultaneously carried out in various regions in Indonesia. With this, MHTI firmly not only rejects feminism by voicing thoughts in writing but also by moving directly on the streets.

Conclusion

Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (MHTI) as an organization that housed female members of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) actively responded to every development that happened. Regarding the role of women, MHTI believed that Islam has provided a balanced position and role for men and women. Women have the main role as housewives, who are tasked with caring for, fostering, and educating children to create a harmonious family. Women were allowed to play a role in various fields outside the home but prohibited from becoming leaders of the State because it was not by Islam Sharia.

MHTI held on Prophet's hadith which they understood textually and ignored the historical aspects.

With such thoughts, MHTI firmly rejected feminism. Besides as a part of Western products, they considered feminism was going to destroy the roles of men and women that had been determined by religion. To voice this opinion and rejection, MHTI intensively carried out actions. Some of the actions that the author summarized occurred in 2004, 2008, 2010, 2015, and 2016 were carried out simultaneously in various regions in Indonesia. Such as Solo, Central Java, Surabaya, Jakarta, Makassar, Banda Aceh, and others.

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