Middle-Class Islamist Women's Activism on Social Media: A Critical Study of #*Womenneedkhilafah*

Alifatul Lusiana Uswatun Chasanah[1] - lusiana2509@gmail.com
Mukhammad Zamzami[2] - m.zamzami@uinsby.ac.id

Abstract: This article critically discusses the content of tweets expressing Islamist women's activism on #*Womenneedkhilafah*, which is mostly followed by Indonesia's middle-class Muslimah. A qualitative method with Foucauldian discourse analysis approach is applied in this study. The findings have revealed that the hashtag #*womenneedkhilafah* is constructed through the knowledge-power relations of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia's Islamist ideology grounded in a literal-textual theological argument in which the propagation of Islamism and independent Islamic state or caliphate becomes the main goal. The manifestation of the power-knowledge relation is conducted by limiting women's role, mobility, and authority over their bodies. HTI limits women's mobility in "male" public space and considers women's primary role to be the family caregiver, particularly to educate their children and simultaneously to prepare a new and stronger generation of HTI.

Keywords: Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, Islamism, *Muslimah* middle-class, twitter.

Abstrak: Artikel ini menganalisa secara kritis konten twitter dengan hashtag #*Womenneedkhilafah* dimana mayoritas *follower*nya Muslimah kelas menengah. Metode kualitatif dengan analisis wacana Foucauldian digunakan untuk menganalisa *tweets* gerakan perempuan Islamis di tagar #*Womenneedkhilafah*. Studi ini menemukan bahwa tagar tersebut dibangun melalui relasi kuasa pengetahuan-ideologi Islamis kelompok Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) melalui argumentasi teologis literal-tekstual yang diorientasikan menyebarkan paham Islamisme guna menciptakan negara Islam atau *khilafah*. Pada konteks kaum *Muslimah,* implementasi relasi kuasa diwujudkan melalui pembatasan peran, mobilitas, dan otoritas perempuan atas tubuhnya, yakni HTI membatasi peran perempuan di ruang publik dan melakukan domestikasi perempuan untuk mengurus rumah tangga dan anak, khususnya dalam upaya menciptakan generasi HTI masa mendatang.

---

[1] Lecturer at UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya
[2] Lecturer at UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya

Introduction

Islamist ideology believes that Islam is a religion that regulates a political order which refers to ideological issues (Tibi, 2016, p. 48). Islamism rests on the principle and spirit of making Islam the ideological basis to cover political interests and to construct the political order of the Islamic State (Muzakki, 2009, p. 63). Islamist activists usually try to mobilise marginalised people, the Muslim middle class in particular, resulted from a global economic, political, or cultural hegemony (Bayat, 2007, p. 5). They consider any state administration systems and leadership that do not apply Islamic law formally are regarded negating the Islamic concept of politics. As a political ideology, Islamism abolishes all regional, ethnic, and group barriers. Therefore, this ideology is also commonly referred to as a transnational Islamic group.

One of the Islamist propaganda is the struggle for the unity of religion and state order. Some of the common slogans among them are *al-waḥdah al-Islāmīyah* (Pan-Islamism), *al-Islām dīn wa dawlah* (Islam is religion and state), and *al-Islām huwa al-ḥ}all* (Islam is the solution). In this regard, the Islamists view that the religious, social, economic, and political order must be based on Islam. Borrowing Sayyid Qutb's phrase, Islamists struggle to "renew the world" in another popular term, namely the Islamic world revolution (*al-thawrah al-Islāmīyah*). The words mean politicising Islam to enforce a *sharia* state (Qutb, 1964; A'la et.al, 2018, p. 160). The propagandist group is similar to the view of the *Salafi-Wahhabi* group, which seeks to purify Islamic thoughts, referring to the most authentic sources of Islam, namely returning to al-Qur'an and hadith in a literal-textual manner. They reject the ideas from the classical Islamic tradition sources, which they consider the deviation from Islamic teachings. In addition, they suspect democracy as a "foreign construction". They exclude the people's will and promote God's sovereignty (Bayat, 2007,p. 5). Thus, the Islamists will always reject any western products and ideologies regardless that these ideologies might have positive values. They leave the western and foreign influence because they believe that just social order can only be realized through Allah's laws (Hilmy, 2008, p. 35).

In the contemporary Indonesian landscape, a new stream of Islamism has been increasing as a discourse and movement. The Islamic movements in the Middle East somehow have influenced Islamism in Indonesia. The movements in the Middle East inspire a wave of Islamism in Indonesia since the 1980s. In the notes of M. Imdadun Rahmat, at least Islamism in the Middle East was driven by three main axes: the Iran's Islamic revolution axis in 1979; the axis of *al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn* (Egypt); and the *Wahhabi/Salafi* axis (Saudi Arabia) (Rahmat, 2006). Tarbiyah organization is the inspiration for the establishment of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) in Indonesia, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, *Salafi da'wah* faction, *Laskar Jihad* faction, the Indonesian Mujahidin Council (*Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia*, MMI), and the Islamic Defenders Front (*Front Pembela Islam*, FPI).

These new actors are different from the old Islamic movement actors such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah, Persatuan Islam, al-Irsyad, al-Washliyah, and Jamaat Khair. Their movements are outside the mainstream of the political process and discourse in the dominant Islamic movement. The emergence of these new actors is often called the "New Islamic movement," which played a role during and after the Reform Era (*Era Reformasi)* in Indonesian political history.

Additionally, the propagation of Islamist ideology in the digital era uses online media to communicate and exchange ideas. In the Indonesian case, the Islamists utilise social media to spread their ideas and ideologies. Sidney Jones (2015) stated that the radicalism movement in Indonesia began to change its *da'wah* strategy after the fall of the New Order, from conventional *da'wah* to the digital one. Jones said that Imam Samudra was the first person who succeeded in igniting the spirit of *cyber-jihad* in Indonesia. As Jones stated, Samudra founded websites such as *tibb.beritaislam.com*[3], *istimata.com*[4], and *muharridh.com*[5] to promote his radical ideology (Jones, 2015, p. 5).

---

[3] The pronunciation of *tibb* is an abbreviation of the Badr Battalion Islamic Army. The Battle of Badr was one of the great battles in early Islamic history. The site is controlled by Imam Samudra behind the prison. Most Indonesians never knew that

Among the Islamist groups, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) is one group that massively spread its ideology through social media. Although the Indonesian government dissolved this organization through a government regulation (*Peraturan Pemerintah Pengganti Undang-Undang/Perppu No. 2/2017)*, their ideological dissemination in social media has remained intensive. Through their propaganda in the printed and electronic media, they provoke and bring religious issues into their political movements (Muqtada, 2018, p. 3).

In this regard, Twitter is one of the social media that they use for ideological campaign as it is considered this platform has the potential to support the rapid dissemination of information. Twitter is a social media in which a person can share views, stories, and opinion through text, images, and videos to their followers.

As part of the Twitter users, the Muslim middle class is considered capable of being agents of social change. Their conversations on social media about digital politics have sprung up on social media and have turned into public discussions. The fact that the Indonesian middle class is active users of social media and is highly attached to the internet and social media supports the phenomenon (Jati, 2016, p. 29).

In recent years, Twitter often shows trending content with hashtags and sentences containing Islamist-extremist propaganda that carries caliphate ideology. In this case, extremism is an understanding of political groups that tend to be interpreted as a struggle to quickly

---

Imam Samudra was responsible online for Jemaah Islamiyah's (JI) biggest pre-Bali attack.

[4] In Arabic, *istimāta* means "suicide".

[5] This media regularly broadcasts sermons on global jihad, especially those delivered by Imam Samudra. This website is directly influenced by the al-Qaeda media unit in Pakistan, which came online around April 2004. Other sites are www.perangsalib.cjb.net; www.irhaby.co.nr; and www.istimata.cjb.net. Muharridh.com is more sophisticated, partly because Abdul Rahim Ba'asyir, Abu Bakar Ba'asyir's youngest son, was involved in its creation. Abdul Rahim has visited al-Qaeda's media unit in Pakistan and wants to develop higher capacities in Indonesia to promote jihad through electronic media.

create change against opposing political groups (Udin, 2018, pp. 172-173, Munhanif, 2018, p. 422).

This article focuses on Twitter content of *hashtag #womenneedkhilafah*. This is because *#womenneedkhilafah* regarded as popular hashtag and was listed many times as the trending twitter hashtag in 2020, namely on October 3 and December 23 reaching 16.7 thousand tweets in texts, images, and other accompanying media.

Alongside, the hashtag #womenneedkhilafa is the most of the accompanying tweets containing the importance of the caliphate, including for women. The discussion amongst followers the hashtag has mentioned that through the caliphate system women are likely to be treated with dignity. Moreover, the survey results by IPSOS has revealed that the hashtag *#Womenneedkhilafah* is part of the plan of the Islamist group to carry out propaganda on Twitter media targeting middle-class Muslim women. The reason is that the urban middle class can be the center of social change that has quite an impact occupying a strategic position as a connector between the upper and lower class (Rofhani, 2013, p. 198).

Methodology

This article is a critical analysis of the hashtag *#Womenneedkhilafah* as Islamist propaganda on Twitter. To analyse tweets content (texts, images, and videos) posted on the hashtag *#Womenneedkhilafah* concerning on a power relation to the Islamism a qualitative method with Foucauldian discourse analysis approach is conducted in this study.

According to Foucault, the archeology of knowledge and genealogy of power are interrelated. They are two interrelated substances. The archeology of knowledge is an attempt to observe history to understand the current state and processes. The way archeology works is limited to

comparisons of different discursive formations (Kali, 2013, p. 36). The three aspects in his archaeological method are mapping occurrences, describing limiting authorities, and analyzing specification networks. At the same time, the genealogy of power is an attempt to uncover the diversity of factors behind events by revealing a specific knowledge that produces power (Wiradnyana, 2018, p. 29). Thus, these two principles reveal the relation between science and power. Michel Foucault's genealogy of knowledge shows a tendency to discuss the nature of one's power over himself and others through knowledge (p. 35).

Literature Review

Social Media: Two Sides of a Coin

Amid the freedom to disseminate information via social media, the landscape of Indonesian public spaces has opened up both opportunities and threats related to the teachings of moderate Islam. Indeed, the phenomenon of cyber religion brings a positive and negative impact due to the easy access to add religious insight. On the one hand, social media is now considered the primary source for learning religious knowledge (Hatta, 2018), but on the other hand it somehow creates a form of *taqlid* (following what is literally said about religious doctrines) that kills critical reasoning and generates the phenomenon of radicalism. In this regard, Imam Fauzi Ghifari (2010) pointed out that millennial are a group targeted by radical groups in spreading their ideologies. Further, according to the Yayah Khisbiyah and M. Thoyibi (2018), many fake accounts produce and distribute radical Islamic messages on many social media platforms such as *Instagram, Twitter, Facebook*, and other social media. .

However, two major Islamic organizations in Indonesia, Muhammadiyah and NU, are significantly engaged in mainstreaming moderate Islam through digital platforms as the antithesis of radical **z**

Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia and the Role of Women

Ideologically, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) carries the political idea of a global Islamic state with the Islamic caliphate system. Thus, their ideology contradicts Pancasila as the basic foundation of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). The political idea of an Islamic state that offers *shariatization* is blasphemy towards the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia as they desire to replace the state system (Arif, 2016, p. 92). Therefore, in 2017, this group was officially disbanded based on Perppu No. 2/2017 because they reject Pancasila as the basis of the Indonesian state (bbc.com, 2018).

Before the disbandment, their *da'wah* activists openly carried out through several printed publications such as books, magazines, and bulletins circulated in the community. Currently, their activities are primarily on electronic media such as websites and YouTube (Shobron, 2014, p. 57).

The disbandment of the HTI organization does not mean Indonesian government has succeeded entirely eradicating its ideology in the ground. Indeed, HTI activists have still committed conveying the Islamist ideology through social media. Additionally, their social media accounts continue to criticise the government's policies, including legal, economic, social, health, education, and political issues (Khisbiyah dan Thoyibi, 2018, p. 250).

The hashtag *#Womenneedkhilafah* on Twitter has become one alternative social media that brings various ideas from this caliphate-bearing group to deliver *da'wah* actively. This hashtag is also linked to other social media that are ideologically similar, such as *muslimahnews.com,* the youtube channel of HTI figure Rokhmat S. Labib, or even the YouTube channel of Muslimah Media Center studies.

The position and contribution of women in the HTI community are indeed quite limited. HTI activists reject some western discourses and ideologies such as emancipation, gender equality, or feminism on the assumption that all these ideologies are misleading and contradictory to Islam. The position and primary role of women in the HTI Islamist group are homemaking that traditionally constitutes

mother tasks, particularly upbringing their sons and daughters to become cadres of HTI's political successors and prevent them from secular thoughts (Fathina, 2010, p. 63).

Islamist Women's Voice on *#Womenneedkhilafah*

Twitter is a social media networking and micro-blogging (Putri, 2018, p. 43).[6] It is a service that allows users to share text-based information or data up to 140 characters long, known as tweets. Twitter provides communication services with various features that make it easier for users and various other facilities to expand the communication network without the limitations of space and time. Therefore, it is now easier for social media to meet the increasing needs of consumers and support the creativity of future generations (Rusli, 2013, p. 5).

The provision of the Twitter feature as a communication service without space and time limits allows for two-way communication that opens up opportunities for discussion from various groups and individuals. Two-way communication has good potential in generating responses and feedback from Twitter users. In addition, the distribution of information on Twitter is made more accessible by the trending topic feature.

Trending topics on Twitter are a summary of topics, which can be explained as an accumulation based on the frequency of the same busy topics that are intensively referred to and talked in a certain period in real-time. The topic of conversation is classified from a more general group. Several topics are categorized as the same topic of conversation or equated in specific other categories (Lu and Yang, 2012, p. 327.). Trending topics usually use short sentences with simple wording, and some use hashtags prefixes.

This study examines one of the trending topics on Twitter, the hashtag *#womenneedkhilafah*. The research in the communication

---

[6] Microblogging (online microblog). Microblog is a relatively new phenomenon in the form of blogging activities where users upload their daily lives by updating text, instant messages, electronic mail and the web with messages usually less than 200 characters long.

journal Kareba in 2017 revealed an influence in using hashtags on Twitter social media. The result shows a positive effect on the delivery of information or campaigns using hashtags as it can attract many interests to the information in the hashtag (Meladia, et.al., 2017, p. 245).

Figure 1:

'The hashtag *#womenneedkhilafah* became a trending topic on Twitter on December 23, 2020'.
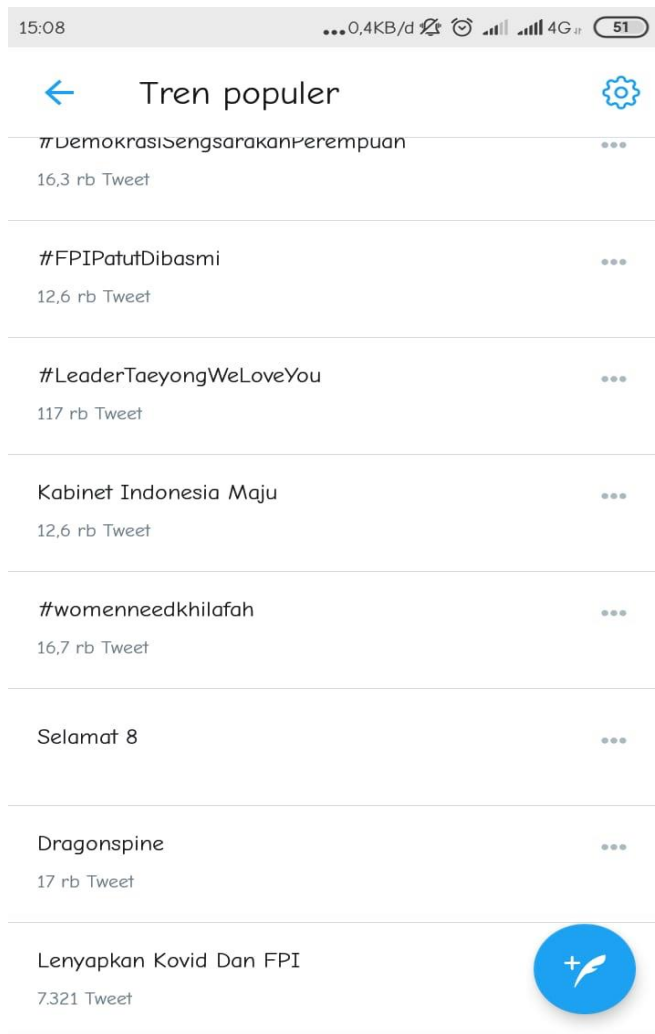
The use of hashtags can lead to searches to several sources, making it easier to find out the meaning, intention, and purpose of related hashtags. This article researched the hashtag *#womeneedkhilafah*, by tracing tweets of related-hashtags since the trending date, which is on December 23, 2020, to find out which tweet the hashtag was originated. This research found out that the hashtag was first posted in a tweet on September 25, 2020.
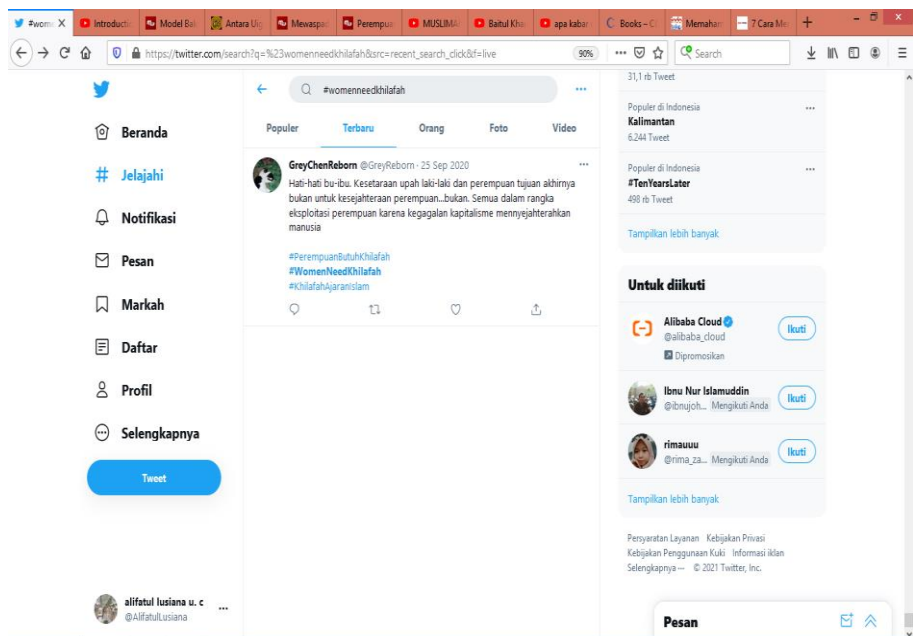

In addition, the writers have also explored several hashtags based on other things that need attention. The following are some of the captures of tweets with the hashtag *#womenneedkhilafah* on several categories, such as the narration, reading sources, and the media attached to the tweets.

Figure 3: 'A tweet by @GreyReborn'.

The selection of the captures is based on the tweet's date, where the tweet was the first tweet with the *hashtag #womenneedkhilafah*. The tweet by the @GreyReborn account contains an invitation to Muslim women, especially mothers, to be careful about equal salaries for women and men. The concept is not for women's welfare but aimed to exploit women as capitalism has failed to prosper humans.

**Figure 4**: 'A tweet by @yenni1453'
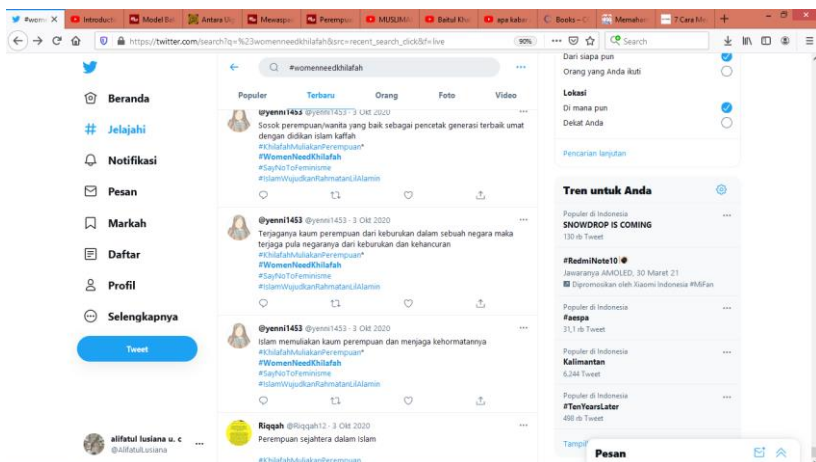
The account @yenni1453 posted three tweets in a row. Her first tweet contained a statement that Islam honors women and maintains their honor. The second tweet pointed out the idea that the women's nature determines a country progress. If a country protects women, the country will be protected from evil and destruction. The third tweet containing a statement that a good woman is the maker of the best generation with a *kāffah* Islamic upbringing. The three tweets were followed by the hashtags *#KhilafahMuliakanPerempuan #WomenNeed-Khilafah #SayNoToFeminism and #IslamWujudkanRahmatanLilAlamin.*

Further, the tweets by *@Yesi_Sifa* narrating that equality is not reality. According to her, equality is just a discourse based on a weak human mind. The follow-up tweet containing an invitation to reject the feminist movement, which is said to destroy the nature of women. The following tweet told about women's double burden: carrying out men's tasks such as earning living and becoming government leaders. Then, the following tweet stated that the honor of women in Islam lies in protecting their private parts.

The tweet by *@Yesi_Sifa* continued with the statement that a real woman has heaven at the soles of her feet, that is, an economic supporter. Meanwhile, he said that the fate of life in a democratic system is unjust. Then, a reply tweet stated that female workers such as sales girls who peddle certain products are a form of colonialism because girls are hired for their sexy and sensual physical appearance to promote a product.

Figure 5: 'The tweet that attached the youtube link of K.H Rokhmat S.
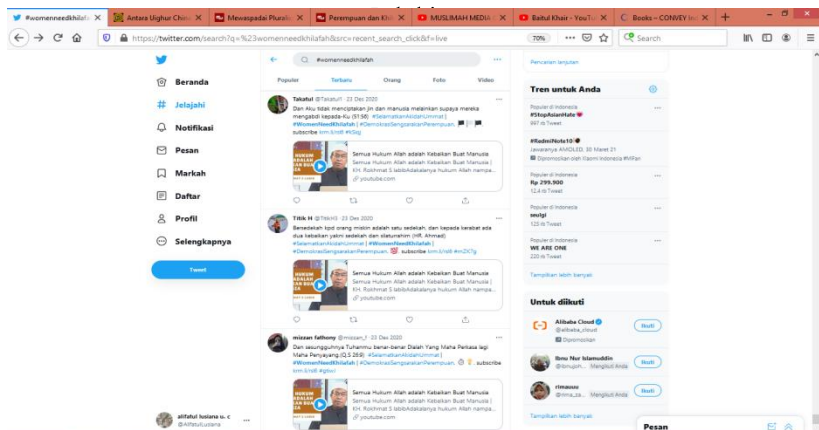
The pictures show the *#womenneedkhilafah* hashtag accompanied by a reference link of the Youtube account. More than a hundred tweets also include the same youtube link similar to the one in figure 5. We can see the video above in Baitul Khair youtube channel (https://www.youtube.com/c/BaitulKhair/videos) entitled, "Semua Hukum Allah adalah Kebaikan Buat Manusia" presented by KH. Rokhmat S. Labib.

In the video, Labib said that God's law is inevitably good, and there is a good reward behind the law. God's law might look harsh when seen from the *fiqh* perspective. Labib gives an example of the law of *qisās*, which might look fierce, but there is the good thing behind the law.
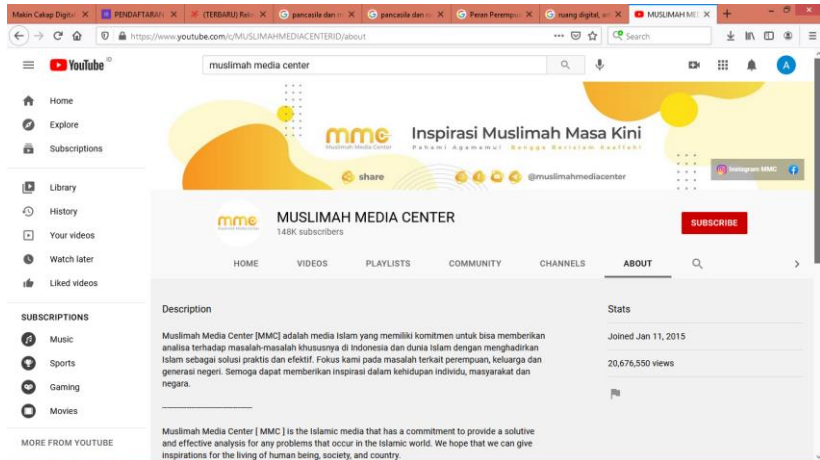
Figure 6: 'Rokhmat S. Labib is preaching on youtube "Khilafah Channel".

Labib himself has his YouTube channel with the name "Rokhmat S. Labib". In addition, he often actively became the speaker in some study forums on other Islamic YouTube channels such as the "Khilafah Channel" (See figure 6).

Figure 7: The tweets attached the MMC youtube link

The image is a tweet of the hashtag *#womenneedkhilafah* accompanied by a youtube link from the Muslimah Media Center channel. This channel is often referred to in other tweets with the hashtag *#womenneedkhilafah* (*See figure 7*).

The Muslimah Media Center (MMC) channel is one of the Islamic channels with 143,000 thousand subscribers. MMC is committed to analyzing problems in Indonesia and the Islamic world by presenting Islam as a practical and effective solution. MMC focuses on issues surrounding women, families, and the nation's future generation.

Figure 8:' The Muslimah Media Center Telegram channel'
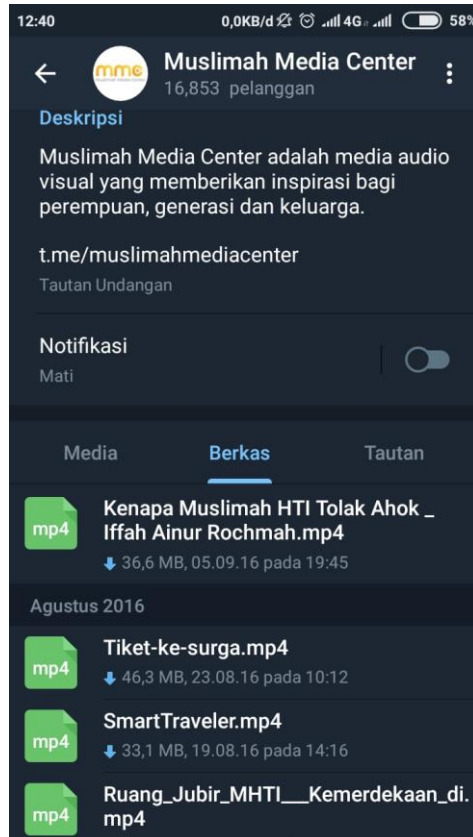
In addition to being active on youtube media, MMC also has a channel on telegram media and has 16,853 subscribers. The MMC channel presents content by discussing various issues, especially those related to women's problems. Presentation of content in several videos in text and image slides accompanied by a voice-over and several other videos by presenting female characters who answer and explain related issues raised from followers. Below are the presenters with their scientific and organizational backgrounds:

First, Rif'ah Kholidah Wahyuni. She is a female preacher from East Java. Her name has repeatedly appeared in studies conducted by

several Islamic channels, such as the Muslimah Media Center (MMC) and the East Java Muslim Defenders of Islam (MPI);

Second, Erma Rahmayanti. She is a HTI organization figure who serves as the chairman of the Central Leadership Council (DPP) of HTI Muslimah.

Third, Irena Handono. She is a character who is famous in cyberspace because of her involvement in the blasphemy case that dragged Basuki Tjahaja Purnama to prison in 2017 (Beware of the Dangers of Christianization in Indonesia: 2005).

Fourth, Iffah Ainur Rochmah. She is a Muslim political activist. Her activities have been as a spokesperson for Muslimah HTI (Sasongko, 2015).

Fifth, Dedeh Wahidah Achmad. She is an HTI administrator who is in the position of chairman of the Lajnah Tsaqofiyah Muslimah HTI. Dedeh is also active in writing about children, women, and family issues.

Sixth, Ismah Cholil. She is one of the DPP Muslimah HTI as Lajnah Fa'aliyah Muslimah HTI.

Seventh, Asma Amnina. She is mentioned in several articles on the *muslimahnews.com* page as a national preacher and an expert on Islamic politics. Asma Amnina was once compared to Sinta Nuriyah in one of her writings regarding Sinta Nuriyah's statement about the obligation of hijab for women (Mnews, 2020).

Figure 9: Asthma Amnina, the writer of the referred article in this study

The link attached by the tweet—the muslimahnews.com— is a famous Islamic reading group with the slogan "Inspiratif dan Mencerdaskan." It consists of various writing columns. Exploring this Islamic reading portal, I joined their *WhatsApp* group. They already have 75 groups that have reached the maximum number of members permitted by the application.

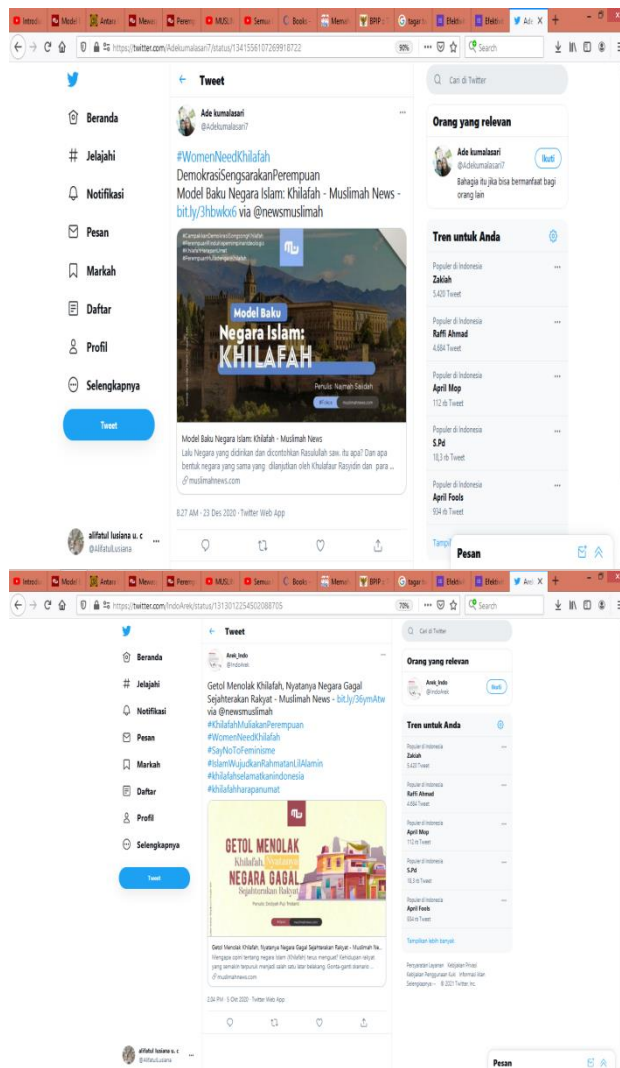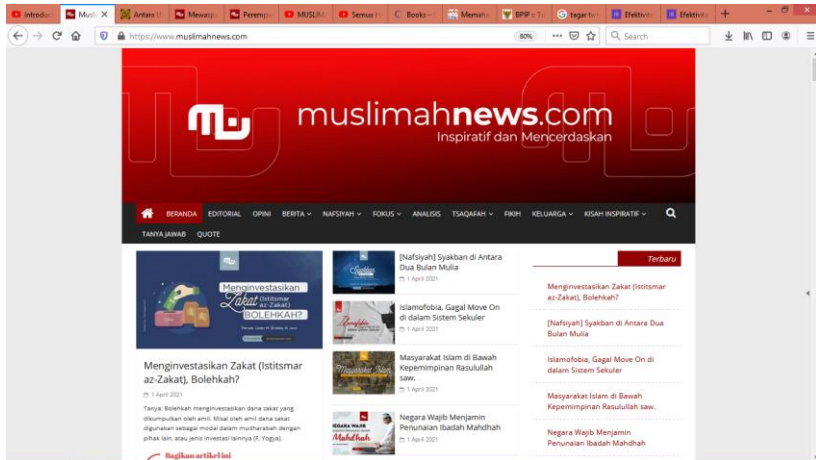**Figure 10:** 'A tweet with the link *muslimahnews.com*'.

Figure 11: 'Islamic reading portal *muslimahnews.com*'

The *Muslimahnews.com* community held discussions through 75 weekly *WhatsApp* groups hosted by several Muslim figures as presenters. Some key speakers in the following regular online talks, along with their backgrounds, are:

1. Najmah Saididah, a member of Lajnah Tsaqofiyah Muslimah HTI.
2. Arini Retnaningsih, a researcher on Islamic thought at the Indonesian Islamic Doctoral Forum. Arini Retna is also active in writing on several Islamic portals such as *hajinews.id* Noor Afeefa, an education practitioner. Afeefa is actively writing in the media. She has her blog and shares her writings there. Many of his writings discuss Islam and criticize popular issues such as women, children, and sexual problems.
3. Iin Eka Setiawati, a political policy observer.
4. Dyah Hikmawati, a lecturer at Airlangga University Surabaya.
5. Dedeh Wahidah Achmad, an HTI administrator who is in the position of chairman of the Lajnah Tsaqofiyah Muslimah HTI. Dedeh is also active in writing about children, women and family issues.
6. Andi Detti Yunianti, a lecturer at Hasanuddin University.

The Historical-Theological Basis of the Hashtag #*Womenneedkhilafah*

This study found that the hashtag is a part of the essential information for women to live under the auspices of the caliphate system. Several tweets with the hashtag #*womenneedkhilafah* state that the caliphate system can protect women's dignity. The way is by handing over the care of a woman from their births to adulthood to their parents, but once she married, the responsibility goes to their husbands. Further, the responsibility for economic fulfillment belongs only to men. They consider this concept as a form of protection provided by Islamic law to women.

Then, they insisted that the caliphate system is necessary, even mandatory, because this system will correct the errors of the capitalist system and ideology that does not respect women's rights. They point out an obvious example that the capitalist system exploits women's bodies and treats them as advertisement models in the economic marketing strategies (Juanmartin, 2021). The caliphate system, as they argued, will eliminate human trafficking. Only through the implementation of the Islamic economic system under the caliphate system, the prosperity, security of citizens and foreigners, a fair employment system will occur. Hence, the world will be free from transnational crime. Having the *kāffah* (complete) dignity under the association, women will be safe from kinds of *ikhtilāt* and *khalwah* and are away from sinful adultery (Sunardi, 2012). Ratu Erma Rahmayanti commented that the current system is not the right system because it cannot fulfill women's rights. The system that can meet the needs and rights of women is the Islamic (*khilāfah*) system. When the system is applied, the fulfillment of women's needs and rights will be fulfilled. Therefore, the system

must apply Islamic laws (Muslimah Media Center, 2021). The HTI activists, through social media, also put the hashtag *#womenneedkhilafah* on a religious normative basis, namely the verses from the Qur'an and the prophet's hadith. These normative sources are sometimes based on arguments presented by HTI leading intellectuals such as KH. Rokhmat S. Labib through his youtube channel. Labib said that God's laws are all good. Thus we are obliged to apply the laws in daily life. He strengthened his view by quoting the Quranic verse (QS. An-Nahl: 97), as follows:

> *"Whoever does righteousness, whether male or female, while he is a believer—We will surely cause him to live a good life, and We will surely give them their reward [in the Hereafter] according to the best of what they used to do".*

Moreover, another actor around the discussion of the hashtag *#womenneedkhilafah* is the Muslimah Media Center youtube channel that uses the foundation of a book entitled *Muqaddimmah Dustūr* chapter 11 by Taqiyyuddin an-Nabhani:

> "In public life, women may live with women, men who are *mahram* or not; as long as it doesn't show its nakedness except the face and palms, it's not *tabarruj* and it's not *mutabādhilah* (wearing clothes that are usually used in the house). A woman may not live in a special life except with other women or with a man who is her *mahram*; and she must not live with foreign men. In these two lives, women are bound by all sharia laws." (Muslimah Media Center, 2021).

In addition, they also refer to the Quranic verse (Q.S. al-Nūr: 27, 28 and 31) as follows:

> *"O you who have believed, do not enter houses other than your own houses until you ascertain welcome and greet their inhabitants. That is best for you; perhaps you will be reminded [i.e., advised]. And if you do not find anyone therein, do not enter them until permission has*

been given you. And if it is said to you, "Go back," then go back; it is
purer for you. And Allah is Knowing of what you do". [27-28]

"And tell the believing women to reduce [some] of their vision and
guard their private parts and not expose their adornment except that
which [necessarily] appears thereof and to wrap [a portion of] their
head-covers over their chests and not expose their adornment [i.e.,
beauty] except to their husbands, their fathers, their husbands' fathers,
their sons, their husbands' sons, their brothers, their brothers' sons, their
sisters' sons, their women, that which their right hands possess [i.e.,
slaves], or those male attendants having no physical desire, or children
who are not yet aware of the private aspects of women. And let them
not stamp their feet to make known what they conceal of their
adornment. And turn to Allah in repentance, all of you, O believers,
that you might succeed". [31]

In addition, they also base their ideology on the explanation of
Abu Bakr al-Ansārī al-Qurthūbī in *al-Jāmi' li Ahkām al-Qur'ān*
regarding the interpretation of the verse above. The explanation states
that Allah honors the son of Adam with houses to protect it from the
eyes of others and to prevent the entry of others into private life
without the permission of the homeowner. Another source of reference
is from the hadith in *Sahīh* Bukhārī, narrated by Abū Hurayrah the
following hadith,*"The Prophet SAW said: Whoever peeks (sees) a person's
house without the owner's permission, the owner of the lawful house pierces
his eye."*(H.R Bukhari).

This study also found the arguments above in a video posted by
MMC as the theological basis showing an Islamic glorification and
protection towards women that only exists within the caliphate system.
This discussion was mentioned and published in an opinion article
entitled"The *Kāffah* Islamic System Protects Women's *Marwah*" by
Naira Asfa Kamila (Indonesian Muslimah Forum) (Kamila, 2021).

#*Womenneedkhilafah,* HTI *&* Women: A Foucauldian Perspective

This study confirms the Foucauldian archaeological method as an
analytical   technique   in   understanding   the   issue   of   the

#Womenneedkhilafah hashtag, including for grouping process of several elements embedded in the hashtag for the data interpretation purposes.

The Foucauldian archaeological method is a method of compiling and transforming statement documents into discursive form.Moreover, Foucauldian archeology aims to determine and define the discourse to form the rules applied in practice. Therefore, the direction of this analysis is to define the hashtag *#womenneedkhilafah* as part of the discourse of Islamism by investigating how the hashtag forms a rule in carrying out the ideological operations of Islamism.

The three aspects in his archaeological method are mapping occurrences, describing limiting authorities, and analyzing specification networks. The aspects will be used to describe the occurrence context of the hashtag *#womenneedkhilafah* as well as the authoritative institutions that play role in the hashtag, and the relation between the hashtag and other statements from the referred sources.

Additionally, the elements of the archaeological method are statements, discourses, relations, subject statements, and material existence. In this regard, the hashtag *#Womenneedkhilafah* is considered as a statement in which it functions to show the presence of signs based on a person's decisions, either through institutions or intuition. Further, the meaningfulness of a statement depends on the rules for its preparation and formulation (Anwar, 2020, p. 16). In this case, the hashtag *#womenneedkhilafah* is a statement showing that it is part of a discourse on the spread of Islamism/Islamic-political ideas. The next grouping is the relational elements that contain the sender and the recipient of the hashtag *#womenneedkhilafah* as a statement.

In regard, with the relational elements of the *#womenneedkhilafah* statement are Twitter users who share posts in hashtags and other forms and the other Twitter users who read and act further upon them, like applying the meaning of the hashtag into daily life. The material existence—the hashtag *#womenneedkhilafah*—formulates a question so that the statement, the hashtag, can be read and conveyed to the recipient subject (Foucault, 2012, p.159). After identifying the relational elements of the hashtag, this study examines the occurrence of the hashtag *#womenneedkhilafah*. In short, this study found out that

the hashtag has fulfilled the conditions for a statement to occur, as shown in the figure 12:

Figure12: 'Requirement of conditions for a statement occurrence of #*womenneedkhilafah*'.
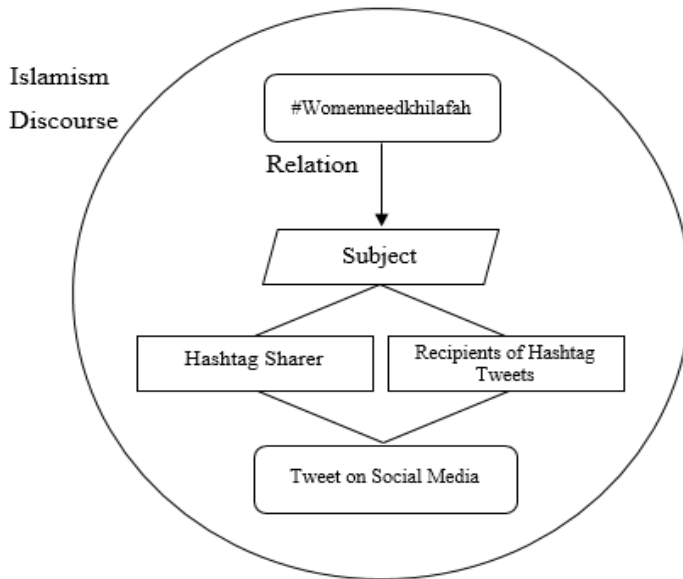
As mentined above, the focus of archeology—to make a statement an object of further research— requires (1) an explanation around the authoritative institutions that play role in the *#womenneedkhilafah* hashtag and (2) their relation to other statements from the referred sources. To find out which authoritative institutions play a role in the hashtag, we need to identify the relationship between this hashtag and the accompanying narrative, including media references.

Some tweets around the hashtag *#womenneedkhilafah* represent the same topic. Thus, we took the related tweets as the data because they represent the hashtag as one statement and linked to the reference discourse as another related statement. The reference discourse includes the *Muslimahnews.com website,* Rokhmat S. Labib's youtube channel,

and the Muslimah Media Center. They have the same ideology that voices the importance of building a caliphate system in Indonesia.

The researchers traced these various sources and found several figures and the authoritative institutions behind the emergence of the hashtag *#womenneedkhilafah*. Based on the figures and their backgrounds mentioned above, we concluded that the institution behind this hashtag is a group that carries the ideology of Islamism. The group was a member of HTI before the the Indonesian government dissolved the organization.

The hashtag *#womenneedkhilafah* has links that clearly show the political actors of the caliphate system, as the following data conveys. For instance, Rokhmat S. Labib YouTube channel that has been shared on Twitter repeatedly is the chairman of the HTI Central Executive Board (DPP). It is also the Islamic portal *muslimahnews.com* which has links to Rokhmat S. Labib. In several narratives, *Muslimahnews*.com has become a bridge for Rokhmat S. Labib's *da'wah* containing criticism toward the existing system and calls for the caliphate establishment. Several statements in various comment fields on Rokhmat S. Labib's youtube, the *Muslimahnews.com* portal and Muslimah Media Center channel show the agreement of HTI Muslim women on the caliphate system. Muslim women believe that the caliphate guarantees a better life for women.

However, there are some counter-understandings regarding the statement that women's lives and their rights will be guaranteed and fulfilled under the auspices of the Islamic system. In this regard, the author obtained data on the occurrence of violence toward women in several Islamist organizations. Among these incidents is the violence against women and children within the ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) organization[7] (BBCnews, 2020). Another fact revealed the function of women as weapons of extremist action also indicate a power relationship between a group and women. It means the reality

---

[7] The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) is an Islamist group that focuses on Iraq and Syria. Like the HTI-style Islamism group agenda, the goals and agenda of the ISIS are establishing an Islamic caliphate and establishing an Islamic state.

that the caliphate will guarantee a better life for women has fallen short.

These facts then lead to a genealogical analysis of power. The #*womenneedkhilafah* shows two forms of power relations built from knowledge, namely the relationship of rejection of power and the relationship of power formation from the knowledge contained in the statement #*womenneedkhilafah*. Rejection of power occurs—according to Foucault's power relation—because every power breeds rejection.

The production of power by the government that issued the government regulation (Perppu) to dissolve HTI gave birth to a rejection. The rejection manifests criticism toward the government and its policies while quietly carrying out the plan and organizational activities. The relationship of power formation in the hashtag #*womenneedkhilafah* is formed on the dominance of knowledge over women.

The HTI Islamist group has a narrow view of women's contributions because of their literal-textual understanding of their position. HTI does not provide important roles for women in the public sphere, such as positioning women in the government and political representatives. The reason is that only men can make decisions and policies. The main task of women that should not be neglected is doing main household tasks and educating children (Chaidaroh, 2017, p. 500).

The HTI ideology on women above is a manifestation of power formation over knowledge and the power of sexuality over women bodies. So, in this case, women's bodies are managed to pursue a particular goal by positioning women as agents of educators and cultivators of HTI ideology. They insist on the nature of women who give birth to children and give birth to the next generation of HTI.

The women's body becomes a system used to perpetuate a power of knowledge (Kali, 2013, p. 85). To analyze the power of sexuality, it requires identifying the important elements of the problem as shown in the table below:

Table.1 'Power relation of sexuality'

Sexuality Subject	The subject of sexuality in the hashtag *#womenneedkhilafah* is HTI women and figures who voice the position and role of women as individuals and members of society.
Morality	Women have good manners if they occupy positions, carry out their duties and roles appropriately. In this case, the public sphere is not for women. Their main duty is limited to domestic issues, children education, and childbearing to become the next HTI generation to create an independent Islamic state or caliphate.
Strategy/Discipline Control	Strategy and discipline control is carried out by holding discussions among Muslim women. The knowledge is about Islamic studies with dogmatic and undeniable arguments from al-Qur'an, Hadith, and HTI reference books. The knowledge is dogmatic because the HTI group tends to interpret and explain the Qur'an, hadith, and other laws textually and not open to any denial and debates
Meaning/Truth of Sexuality	The sexuality formed is the power of the HTI group toward their Muslim women followers over the functions and roles of the women's body, which unconsciously becomes the area of operation of the power to realize the plan and goals of the HTI group.

The power relation created by the HTI group and Hizbut Tahrir Muslim women resulting the death of HTI's Muslim women's reasoning. The women encounter the ironic situation between the knowledge taught to them and the reality that the women's protection is neglected in the Islamist organization. Nevertheless, HTI Muslim women agree and affirm the statement of the importance of the caliphate for women's lives, so the hashtag *#womenneedkhilafah* becomes an authority and has power as a statement that contains a relationship of knowledge and power.

Discussion

The ideology of Islamism does not consider Islam the aspect of faith and spirituality *per se*. They make religion as the ideological basis of state life to apply to the Islamic *nizām* (Islamic system), namely the Islamic state/caliphate. The HTI ideology that only under the auspices of the caliphate women's rights are fulfilled and guaranteed is not the right solution, mainly when the women's role is limited to access public sphere and is only to become household caretakers.

Indonesia adopts democracy with the Pancasila and the Constitution as the foundation of the state because Indonesia is a country full diversity, home to various religions, ethnicities, races, and cultures. Furthermore, spirituality in the first precept of Pancasila shows that religious life is an important issue in Indonesia. However, we do not make one religion the foundation of state life in a pluralistic and diverse country (Latif, 2018, p. 239).

Regarding the Islamist ideology, the authors argue that the implementation of the caliphate system and its law in Indonesia is not relevant to Indonesia's pluralistic society. On the other hand, Indonesia guarantees the protection and fulfillment of Indonesian women's right in the laws and legal entities listed in the Constitution. The laws on women protection are adapted to Indonesian culture. In practice, the wished values in the caliphate system are mostly similar to the ideas of modernity that promote the welfare and protection of women, such as emancipation, feminism, and gender equality. Meanwhile, Indonesian people like to learn, assimilate, and acculturate new knowledge and cultures. Indonesians have an open attitude, while Islamists tend to reject any perspective coming from outside their group. Indonesian society can accept the ideas of modernity and the idea of women's right protection.

The caliphate is not the right solution for women. Emancipation, gender equality, and feminism can be adopted without eliminating the Indonesian culture. These values will empower women's better life from passivity to active participation in the modern world such as the opportunity to occupy positions in the public sphere and the freedom to voice and make decisions.

Conclusion

The hashtag *#womenneedkhilafah* is an Islamist propaganda that targeting the female community as the recipient subject. The spreading of the hashtag *#womenneedkhilafah* is carried out massively by providing various supporting arguments of HTI religious ideology. The goal is to make the hashtag *#womenneedkhilafah* on the trending list and reached the Twitter users.

The hashtag *#womenneedkhilafah* has been formed through the knowledge-power relation propagated by HTI ideology. The power limits the authority of women's right to control their bodies, to restrict women's mobility, and to limit their access to public sphere in order to. HTI spread their ideology on the female body issues based on their literal interpretation of the Qur'an and hadith. In this case, the power relation over women's bodies deals with the HTI strategy to make women give birth to the next generation ready to support their Islamic political agenda to create an Islamic state.

In short, HTI's political goal that to establish a caliphate is not reasonable. Borrowing al-Banna's term,"Islam is religion and people, not religion and state" (Zamzami, 2011, p.111). Hence, the implementation of sharia *values* depends on each individual's awareness in creating positive social and religious life.

References

A'la, A., Zamzami, M., Udin, N.H.W., & Aniq, A.F. (2018). Islamism in Madura: From Religious Symbolism to Authoritarianism. *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 12(*2*), 159-194. DOI: 10.15642/JIIS.2018.12.2.

Akmaliah, W. (2020). The Demise of Moderate Islam: New Media, Contestation, and Reclaiming Religious Authorities. *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, 10(*1*), 1-24. DOI: https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v10i1.1-24.

Arif, S. (2016). Pandangan dan Perjuangan Ideologis Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) dalam Sistem Kenegaraan di Indonesia. *Aspirasi: Jurnal Masalah-Masalah Sosial*, 1(*1*), 93-104. DOI: https://doi.org/10.46807/aspirasi.v7i1.1282.

Bayat. (2007). *Making Islam Democratic: Social Movement and the Post-Islamist Turn*. Stanford: Standford University Press.

BBCNews. (2019). Kebrutalan ISI': Saya Tidak Ingin Punya Bayi dari Orang-Orang Itu - Perempuan dan Anak-Anak Yazidi Masih Dihantui Kekerasan. Diaases dari https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia-53591111

BBCNews. (2019). Perempuan Hamil Petempur ISIS Asal Indonesia Tewas Dibunuh Setelah 'Dipukul dan Disiksa' di Kamp al-Hol. Diakses dari https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia-49169386

Foucault, M. (2012). *Arkeologi Pengetahuan* (I.R. Muzir, Terjemahan). Yogyakarta: IRCiSod.

Ghifari, I.F. (2017). Radikalisme di Internet. *Religious: Jurnal Studi Agama dan Lintas Budaya*, 1(*1*), 123-134. DOI: https://doi.org/10.15575/rjsalb.v1i2.1391.

Hatta, M. (2018). Media Sosial Sebagai Sumber Keberagamaan Alternatif Remaja dalam Fenomena *Cyberreligion*. *Dakwah: Jurnal Kajian Dakwah dan Kemasyarakatan*, 22 (*2*), 1-30.

Hilmy, M. (2008). Konstruk Teologis Islamisme Radikal di Indonesia Pasca Orde Baru. *Miqot: Jurnal Ilmu Ilmu Keislaman*, 32 (*1*), 32-49. DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.30821/miqot.v32i1.155.

Jati, W.R. (2016). *Cyberspace*, Internet, dan Ruang Publik Baru: Aktivisme *Online* Politik Kelas Menengah Indonesia. *Jurnal Pemikiran Sosiologi*, 3(*1*), 25-35. DOI: https://doi.org/10.22146/jps.v3i1.23524.

Jones, S. (2015). Online Activism and Social Media Usage among Indonesian Extremists. *IPAC Report*.

Juanmartin. (2021). Bukan KG Juga Kapitalisme, Kaum Perempuan Hanya Butuh Khilafah. *MuslimahNews.com*. Diakses dari

https://www.muslimahnews.com/2021/02/20/bukan-kg-juga-kapitalisme-kaum-perempuan-hanya-butuh-khilafah/

Kali, A. (2013). *Diskursus Seksualitas Michel Foucault.* Yogyakarta: Ledalero.

Khisbiyah, Y., & Thoyibi, M. (2018). *Kontestasi Wacana Keislaman di Dunia Maya: Moderatisme, Ekstremisme, dan Hipernasionalisme.* Surakarta: Pusat Studi Budaya dan Perubahan Sosial Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta.

Latif, Y. (2018). The Religiosity, Nationality, and Sociality of Pancasila: Toward Pancasila through Soekarno's Way. *Studia Islamika*, 25 (*1*), 207 -246. DOI: 10.15408/sdi.v25i2.7502.

Meladia, dkk. (2017) Penggunaan Hastag (#) Akun Twitter Direktorat Jenderal Pajak dalam Upaya Membangun Kesadaran Membayar Pajak. *Jurnal Komunikasi KAREBA*, 6(*2*), 241-248. DOI: https://doi.org/10.31947/kjik.v6i2.5321.

MNews. (2020). Kontroversial, Sinta Nuriyah Menyatakan Jilbab Tidak Wajib. Pakar Politik Asma Amnina: Corong liberalisasi Islam. Diakses dari https://www.muslimahnews.com/2020/01/20/kontroversial-sinta-nuriyah-menyatakan/

Munhanif, A. & Dahlan, M. (2018). Lineages of Islamic Extremism in Egypt: Ikhwan al-Muslimun, State Volence and the Origins of Radical Politics. *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, 6(*2*), 421-460. DOI: https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2018.562.421-460.

Muqtada, M.R. (2017). Hadis Khilafah dan Relasinya terhadap Kontestasi Politik Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) Pasca-Perpu Nomor 2 Tahun 2017. *Mutawatir: Jurnal Keilmuan Tafsir Hadis*, 8(*1*), 1-21. DOI: https://doi.org/10.15642/mutawatir.2018.8.1.1-21.

Muzakki, A. (2010). Islamisme dan Politisasi Agama Model PKS dalam Pilpres 2009. Islamica: Jurnal Studi Keislaman, 5(*1*), 61-76. DOI:https://doi.org/10.15642/islamica.2010.5.1.61-76.

Putri, K.D. (2018). Optimalisasi Microblogging Twitter sebagai Alat Kehumasan dalam Perusahaan. *Jurnal Penelitian Komunikasi dan Opini Publik,* 22(*2*), 40-51. DOI https://doi.org/10.17933/diakom.v1i1.13.

Qutb, M. (1964). *Jāhiliyyat al-Qarn al-'Ishrīn.* Cairo: Dār al-Shurūq.

Rahmat, M.I. (2006). *Arus Baru Islam Radikal: Transmisi Revivalisme Islam Timur Tengah ke Indonesia.* Jakarta: Erlangga Press.

Rasyidah, F. (2010). Pandangan Aktivis Hizbut Tahrir Malang tentang Perempuan yang Bekerja di Sektor Publik. *Skripsi.* Fakultas Syariah Universitas Islam Negeri Malang.

Rofhani. (2013). Budaya Urban Muslim Kelas Menengah. *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf dan Pemikiran Islam,* 3(*1*), 181-210. DOI: https://doi.org/10.15642/teosofi.2013.3.1.181-210.

Rong, L., & Yang, Q. (2012). Trend Analysis of News Topics on Twitter. *International Journal of Machine Learning and Computing,* 2(*3*), 327-332.

Rusli, N. (2013). Spiritualising New Media: The Use of Social Media for Da'wah Purposes within Indonesian Muslim Scholars. *Jurnal Komunikasi Islam,* 3(*1*), 1-21. DOI: https://doi.org/10.15642/jki.2013.3.1.%25p.

Sasongko, A. (2015). Iffah Ainur Rochmah Ingin Perbaiki Kualitas Amal Ibadah. *Republika.* Diakses dari https://republika.co.id/berita/nqpjs7i/iffah-ainur-rochmah-ingin-perbaiki-kualitas-amal-ibadah

Shobron, S. (2014). Media Dakwah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia. *Profetika: Jurnal Studi Islam,* 15(*1*), 44 - 62.

Sunardi, F. (2021). Kapitalisme Global: "Lahan Subur" Perdagangan Perempuan. *MuslimahNews.com.* Diakses dari https://www.muslimahnews.com/2021/02/24/kapitalisme-global-lahan-subur-perdagangan-perempuan/

Syahputra, I. (2010). *Post Media Literacy:* Menyaksikan Kuasa Media bersama Michel Foucault. *ASPIKOM: Jurnal Asosiasi Perguruan*

Tinggi Ilmu Komunikasi 1 (*1),* 1-14. DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.24329/aspikom.v1i1.4.

Tibi, B. (2016). *Islam and Islamism*. (A. Adlin, Terjemahan). Bandung: Mizan.

Udin, N.W.H. (2018). Kontestasi antara Muslim Fundamentalis dan Muslim Liberal dalam Perebutan Makna Sosial Keagamaan di Indonesia. *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf dan Pemikiran Islam*, 8(*1*), 164-186. DOI: https://doi.org/10.15642/teosofi.2018.8.1.164-186.

Umi. C. (2017). Rigiditas dan Fleksibilitas Diskursus Fiqih Wanita Hizbut Tahrir. *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf dan Pemikiran Islam*, 7(*2*), 459-492. DOI:https://doi.org/10.15642/teosofi.2017.7.2.459-492

Wiradnyana, K. (2018). *Michel Foucault: Arkeologi Pengetahuan dan Pengetahuan Arkeologi*. Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.

Zamzami, M. (2011). Islam sebagai Agama dan Umat: Analisa Pemikiran Kenegaraan Jamâl al-Bannâ. *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf dan Pemikiran Islam*, 1(*1*), 93-112. DOI: https://doi.org/10.15642/teosofi.2011.1.1.93-112.