PERPETUATION OF RADICAL IDEOLOGY: DEPERSONALIZATION AND AGENCY OF WOMEN AFTER THE BANNING OF HIZBUT TAHRIR INDONESIA

Inayah Rohmaniyah

Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta

Kata Kunci:
Ideologi radikal, Hizbut Tahrir, Identitas, Depersonalisasi

Abstrak

Studi ini mencoba melihat eksistensi perempuan Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia di Gorontalo pasca terbitnya Perppu No. 2 Tahun 2017. Dengan penelitian kualitatif, di mana data diperoleh melalui wawancara dan focus group discussion, hasil studi menemukan bahwa anggota dari kelompok Muslimah HTI, sebagai individu mengalami proses depersonalisasi. Proses ini mendapat legitimasi dari pemahaman keagamaan, terutama terkait kepercayaan terhadap konsep takdir yang fatalistik, telah berkonstribusi pada upaya pelanggengan penafsiran patriarki. Keteguhan mereka memegang kitab Taqiyuddin an-Nabhani sebagai sumber ajaran tunggal, telah berkontribusi secara efektif dalam memperkuat proses depersonalisasi. Pembubaran HTI ternyata tidak melemahkan identitas kelompok dan depersonalisasi anggotanya. Pembubaran hanya menggeser ruang dakwah mereka; dari ruang publik ke ruang terbatas, dari target kelompok besar ke ranah individual dengan cara door to door, memanfaatkan jaringan pertemanan dan persaudaraan, dan menempatkan peran perempuan secara lebih signifikan. Meski demikian, terjadi pula perubahan tingkat depersonalisasi dan kepatuhan mereka akibat dari terbukanya akses terhadap teknologi dan pengetahuan baru yang mendorong ke arah critical thinking, modalitas dan kekuasaan untuk memilih pengetahuan dan identitas yang lebih relevan.

Corresponding author:
e-mail: rochmaniyah@yahoo.com

Abstract

Keywords:
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Ideology,
Hizbut
Tahrir,
Identity,
Depersonaliza
tion

This study tries to see the existence of women in Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia in Gorontalo after the issuance of Perppu No. 2 of 2017. Based on qualitative research, wherein data is obtained through interviews and focus group discussions, the results of the study found that members of the HTI Muslimah group, as individuals undergo a process of depersonalization. This process gained legitimacy from religious understanding, especially related to belief in the concept of fatalistic destiny, which has contributed to the perpetuation of patriarchal interpretation. Their determination to hold the Taqiyuddin an-Nabhani book as a single source of teachings has contributed effectively in strengthening the process of depersonalization. The banning of HTI did not weaken the group's identity and depersonalize its members. The ban only shifts their *da'wah* space; from the public to limited space, from large group targets to the individual using a door to door, utilizing networks of friendship and brotherhood, and placing the role of women more significantly. However, there has also been a change in the level of their depersonalization and compliance due to the access to new technologies and knowledge that encouraged them to have critical thinking, modalities, and power to internalize more relevant knowledge and identity.

Introduction

Women, in the radical Islamic movement group, are generally placed in an inferior position[1] with their primary role in the domestic sphere. The division of workspaces and rigid roles between women and men based on the principle of binary opposition, generally becomes one of the characteristics of radical Islamic groups. The Saudi Wahhabism Movement, for example, always segregates and discriminates against women.[2] Women in the domestic sphere have various complementary jobs and roles while men have a big role in the public sphere with various privileges.

But this is not the case with *Hizbut Tahrir* (HT), since this organization placed women in important positions and roles, both in the domestic and public spheres. If we study from the portrait of the movement of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), women had the same access

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[1] Eva F. Nisa, "Women and Islamic Movements," in *Handbook of Islamic Sects and Movements*, ed. Muhammad Afzal Upal and Carole M. Cusack (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 151–175.

[2] Inayah Rohmaniyah & Mark Woodward, *Wahhabi Perspectives on Pluralism and Gender: A Saudi – Indonesian Contrast* (USA, 2012).

as men in public spaces even though they get different privileges from men.

HT was an organization considered radical.[3] HT's focus on radicalizing societies was at the heart of the theory of change laid out by its founder. HT believed that transforming societies, rather than individuals, was important because the system HT opposed consists of various elements that must all be challenged; therefore, an anti-system revolt should be carried out by an equal entity, that was, by the society as a whole.[4] Even its existence was threatening the sovereignty of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI).[5] HTI aimed to change the ideology of the state and wants to replace it with the system of *Khilafah Islamiyah*. Therefore, the government, through the Minister of Law and Human Rights Decree No. AHU-30 officially dismissed and revoked the status of HTI legal entities in 2017.[6] But the threat from this radical organization does not necessarily stop just by revoking its legal status.

The willingness of HTI followers to obey the decree, to accept the ideology of Pancasila, and to maintain the integrity of the NKRI is still

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[3] The term radicalism has been known earlier than the term extremism, since the 18th century. The term, which originally appeared in the world of medicine, began to be used to describe political behavior in the late 1790s. Historically, radicalism refers to the political doctrine adhered to by pro-individual and collective social-political movements and liberation from authoritarian regimes of government and society that are hierarchically structured. Radical political parties were initially the main drivers of progress towards a broader democracy. Radicalism as an ideological mindset tends to be very critical of the existing status quo, aiming to restructure or overthrow political structures that are considered inappropriate. Radical movements tend to use political violence pragmatically about certain matters. Astrid Bötticher, "Towards Academic Consensus Definitions of Radicalism and Extremism," *Terrorism Research Initiative TRI and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies* 11, no. 4 (2017).

[4] Mohammad Iqbal Ahnaf, "Hizb Al-Tahrir: Its Ideology and Theory for Collective Radicalization," in *Expressions of Radicalization:Global Politics, Processes and Practices*, ed. Kristian Steiner Andreas Önnerfors& (Switzerland: Palgrave Macmilan, 2018), 295–320.

[5] Mohamed Nawab Mohamed Osman, "Insight: Is Hizbut Tahrir a Threat to Indonesia?" *The Jakarta Post*.

[6] Editorial Kompas, "Pembubaran HTI Berdasarkan Data dan Fakta," *Kompas* (Jakarta, 2017).; Masdar Hilmy, "The Rise and Fall of 'Transnational' Islam in Indonesia: The Future of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI)," in *Rising Islamic Conservatism in Indonesia: Islamic Groups and Identity Politics*, ed. Sya!q Hasyim and Alexander R. Ari!anto Leonard C. Sebastian (New York: Rouledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2021), 133–145.

problematic. For this reason, it is necessary to know their strategy in maintaining their collective identity after HTI dissolution, especially in terms of gender construction,[7] depersonalization process,[8] and normalization of gender ideology. It is the urgency of this study to see and map the position and role of women as well as various supporting factors and, further, to break the chain of this radical ideology.

The active involvement of women in the public sphere,[9] especially in politics, is not new.[10] Many names of women fighters have been recorded in the history of Indonesia's struggle for independence.[11] But history also notes that the process of political modernization that took place in Indonesia opened an opportunity for the emergence of various

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[7] From the sociological perspective, gender is interpreted as a concept that is theoretically differentiated from gender, to explain the social construction of differences between men and women. The concept of gender is used to detect constructs about differences between women and men, both in relation to their ontological status as creatures, characters, roles, responsibilities, work division, and other differences that constitute social formation. Inayah Rohmaniyah, *Gender dan Konstruksi Patriarkhi dalam Tafsir Agama: Sebuah Jalan Panjang* (Yogyakarta: Jurusan Sosiologi Agama Ushuluddin dan Pemikiran Islam UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2017).

[8] The term depersonalization occurs when individuals arrive at the stage of seeing themselves as the embodiment of the group prototype and overriding their distinctive individual characteristics. When depersonalization occurs, an individual will identify himself with a certain group and use group identity, resulting in a uniform perception and thought. Peter Burke and Jan E. Stets, *Identity Theory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 118-119). Depersonalization creates clear segregation and differentiation between "us" and "them," even without knowing other groups.

[9] Seniwati, "Indonesian Muslim Women: Jihad, Radicalism, Terrorism," *Global Journal Al-Thaqafah* 11, no. 1 (2021): 134–142, http://www.gjat.my/vol11issue1/11l.pdf.

[10] Richard A. Nielsen, "Women's Authority in Patriarchal Social Movements: The Case of Female Salafi Preachers," *American Journal of Political Science* 64, no. 1 (2019): 52–66, https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/ajps.12459.

[11] There are many references that describe the involvement of women in the struggle for Indonesian independence. The Ministry of Education and Culture published a book entitled "The Role of Indonesian Women in the National Movement Period, which describes the role of women, their growth, and development that cannot be separated from the struggle of the nation. Much. Taruddin Ibrahim G.A. Ohorella Sri Sutjiatiningsih, *Peranan Wanita Indonesia dalam Masa Pergerakan Nasional* (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Direktorat Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional Proyek Inventarisasi dan Dokumentasi Sejarah Nasional, 1994); Wulan Sondarika, "Peranan Wanita dalam Perjuangan Kemerdekaan Indonesia Masa Pendudukan Jepang," *Jurnal Historia* 5, no. 2 (2017); Saskia Wieringa, "Pasang Surut Gerakan Perempuan Indonesia," in *Relasi Agama dan Negara* (Jakarta: Komnas Perempuan, 2010).

radical-conservative movements. The Reformation Movement that produced freedom of expression for every citizen was used by several radical and extremist groups to rise and take part in the public space freely. Reformation seemed to be a momentum of revival and the birth of new groups with the basis of religious movements,[12] which in the New Order era were banned because they were considered having state-opposing ideologies.[13] Although they argued that their emergence was a form of freedom of expression, they placed women as an inferior party and their role in the public sphere was also limited.[14]

Ironically, along with the strengthening of democratization in Indonesia, especially after the emergence of the policy of democratic decentralization, various Sharia Regional Regulations *(Perda Syariah)* arose which were considered to have helped to limit the role of women in public. The example is regulations related to the women's dress code in public as a collective identity in Aceh[15] and the case of young *Salafi-niqabi* have experienced *hijrah* as a form of negotiation of their millennial identity in Surakarta.[16] Except for being a sign of the strengthening of the process of

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[12] Nur Kafid, "Political Clientelism as the Way of Survival of Radical Islamic Group Movement in Cianjur, West Java," *Walisongo: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan* 26, no. 1 (2018): 67–93.

[13] Lihat, Greg Felay, *Islamic Radicalism in Indonesia: The Faltering Revival?* (Southeast Asian Affairs: ISEAS, 2004). 104-121; Masdar Hilmy, "Radikalisme Agama dan Politik Demokrasi di Indonesia Pasca Orde Baru," *Miqot* 39, no. 2 (2015): 407–425; Ahmad Asrori, "Radikalisme di Indonesia: antara Historisitas dan Antropisitas," *Kalam: Jurnal Studi Agama dan Pemikiran* 9, no. 2 (2015): 253–268; Zaki Mubarak, *Geneologi Islam Radikal di Indonesia* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2008).

[14] Jakana L. Thomas, "Wolves in Sheep's Clothing: Assessing the Effect of Gender Norms on the Lethality of Female Suicide Terrorism," *International Organization* 75, no. (2021): 769–802, https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/international-organization/article/abs/wolves-in-sheeps-clothing-assessing-the-effect-of-gender-norms-on-the-lethality-of-female-suicide-terrorism/D9BFE04ECEDC0DC9E96818C0FBA6DE8B.

[15] Editorial BBC, "Wajibkan Warga Berbusana Syariat Islam Saat Urus Administrasi, Bupati Aceh Barat Bisa Dilaporkan ke Ombudsman," *BBC*, last modified 2018, https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-46470805.

[16] Muhammad Najib Azca Yuyun Sunesti, Noorhaidi Hasan, "Young Salafi-Niqabi and Hijrah:Agency and Identity Negotiation," *IJIMS: Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 8, no. 2 (2018): 173–197, https://www.ijims.iainsalatiga.ac.id/index.php/ijims/article/view/2155.

Islamization, the regulation also discriminates against women. The National Commission on Violence Against Women *(Komnas Perempuan)* noted that there were 421 discriminatory regulations in 2018, of which 333 targeted women.[17]

The emergence of discrimination by radical-conservative Islamic groups is understood as a failure of the democratic system and modernization. Even democracy practiced in Indonesia, according to them, was considered to only produce corrupt officials.[18] As a solution, they offered to return to the spirit of the Divine order by totally applying the Islamic law *(kaffah)*. The concept of *reward and punishment* that is transcendent and the literal-ahistorical understanding of religious texts became their justification, including addressing issues that were androcentric, patriarchal,[19] and placing women and men in a binary-opposition that gives birth to gender injustice.

HTI was a part of the *Hizb ut-Tahrir* (HT), a transnational Islamic movement founded by Taqiyuddin Al-Nabhani in Baitul Baqdis, Palestine, in 1953, along with the idea of Islamic revival in the Arab world.[20] This movement was established in response to the emergence of nationalism, patriotism, and other Islamic and moral movements in Muslim countries which were considered to divert the attention of Muslims from efforts to establish the *Khilafah Islamiyah*.[21] HTI was believed to be a forum capable

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[17] Fikri Arigi, "Komnas Perempuan: Ratusan Perda Diskriminatif terhadap Perempuan," *Tempo.Com*, last modified 2018, accessed August 20, 2011, https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1147997/komnas-perempuan-ratusan-perda-diskriminatif-terhadap-perempuan/full&view=ok.

[18] Mohammad Iqbal Ahnaf, "Between Revolution and Reform: The Future of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia," *Dynamics of Asymetric Conflict* 2, no. 2 (2009): 65–85.

[19] Inayah Rohmaniyah, "Gender, Androsentrisme dan Sexisme dalam Tafsir Agama," *Welfare: Jurnal Ilmu Kesejahteraan Sosial* 2, no. 1 (2013).

[20] Lies Marcoes, Lanny Octavia, Inayah Rohmaniyah, *Kesaksian Para Pengabdi: Kajian tentang Perempuan dan Fundamentalisme di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Rumah Kitab Bekerjasama dengan *Norwegian Centre for Human Right*, 2014), 15.

[21] Kurniawan Abdullah, "Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (Gerakan Politik Islam Ekstra-Parlementer)," in *Gerakan Keislaman Pasca Orde Baru, Upaya Merambah Dimensi Baru Islam*, ed. Imam Tholkhah dan Neng Dara Afifah (Jakarta: Balitbang & Diktat Keagamaan Depag, 2005), 103.

of uniting and resurrecting the Islamic world and liberating Muslims from the domination of the infidels. This vision had become a political identity that differentiated Hizbut Tahir from other radical Islamic organizations.[22]

In its developments, Hizbut Tahrir became an international-scale Islamic-based political movement,[23] with a dominant activity in politics *(da'wah siyasi)* and carried a jargon that opposed modernism, nationalism, secularism, pluralism; and campaign for a government system based on the *Khilafah Islamiyah*.[24] This movement indicated the existence of the transformation of an Islamic movement with ideological and political orientation, as reflected in the political dynamics of Indonesia in the 1950-1960s, and re-emerged after the collapse of the New Order.

In Indonesia, HT was introduced by Abdullah bin Nuh from the Pesantren Alghazali in Bogor, as a result of his acquaintanceship with Abdurrahman Albaghdadi, an HT activist who migrated to Australia.[25] Abdullah was interested in HT's ideas and ideology that provided answers to his anxiety in searching for an ideal model of Islamic activism and thought. Although HT was adopted from Palestine, its main socio-political characteristic remained; it was the establishment of an Islamic state and its tendency to reinforce Arab identity.[26]

In Indonesia, *Hizbut Tahrir* began to do *da'wah*, disseminating its religious understanding, and political ideology through educational institutions, especially at campuses since the 1980s. Although in this era, the New Order government applied a policy of Islamic depoliticization; prohibited religious symbols in the public domain and organizations that are not in line with Pancasila. But the success of the Iranian revolution in

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[22] Sadek Hamid, "Islamic Political Radicalism in Britain: The Case of Hizbut Tahrir," *Riset Gate*.

[23] Nidia Zuraya, "Syekh Taqiyuddin Alnabhani: Sang Pendiri Hizbut Tahrir."

[24] Sapto Waluyo, *Kebangkitan Politik Dakwah* (Bandung: Harakatuna Publishing, 2005), 58

[25] Burhanuddin Muhtadi, "The Quest for Hizbut Tahrir in Indonesia," *Asian Journal of Social Science* 37, no. 4 (2009): 623–645.

[26] Masdar Hilmy, "Akar-Akar Transnasionalisme Islam Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI)," *Islamica* 6, no. 1 (2011): 1.

1979 became the spirit of the Islamization movement in Indonesia to become relatively massive.[27] Then the collapse of the New Order regime seemed to be a fresh air for religious group movements, including HTI to re-emerge in the public sphere to win the contestation and obtain social and political recognition. Since then, HTI then spread into various regions in Indonesia, including in Gorontalo.

Ihsan Sibali was the first person to bring and introduce HTI in Gorontalo. Previously, he only became an active member of HTI in Makassar in 2009.[28] In the beginning, Ihsan Sabili only focused his missionary activities on campus, a place which he believed was the most strategic area for the development of *da'wah*. Starting from organizing a small *halaqah* to study the books of Taqiyuddin Al-Nabhani to various other studies. Some of the campuses targeted by Ihsan Sibali, among others, were Gorontalo State University (UNG), Sultan Amai Gorontalo State Islamic Institute (IAIN), Ihsan University of Gorontalo (Unisan), University of Gorontalo (UG), Gorontalo Polytechnic (Polygon) and Muhammadiyah University of Gorontalo (UMG). From these campuses, HTI then expanded to the wider community, through various preaching forums and studies. Apart from being spread by university activists, the development of HTI was also supported by Gorontalo culture that is open in accepting differences. Again, the philosophy of life of Gorontalo people; *"Adati Hula-hulaa to Saraa ', Saraa' Hula-hulaa to Kur'ani"*, which means the same as the Minangkabau people's philosophy of life, *"Adat bersendi Syara', Syara bersendi Kitabullah"* by HTI cadres and activists had been used as a 'weapon' to spread the ideology of the *Khilafah Islamiyah*. This is how HTI was capable in raising issues and mobilizing so it was considered the key (most dangerous) movement against the ideology of Pancasila.[29]

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[27] Inayah Rohmaniyah, *The Social Origins of Fundamentalism and its Contextualization in Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2014).

[28] Syukrin Thaib, "Demokrasi menurut Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia; Pemikiran dan Gerakan Aktivis Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia Kota Gorontalo" (UIN Alauddin Makassar, 2013).

[29] Markas Besar Tentara Nasional Indonesia Pusat Pengkajian Strategis,

To find out HTI's strategy in maintaining its collective identity after dissolution, especially in terms of gender construction, depersonalization process, and normalization of gender ideology, a qualitative approach was used in this study. The data were obtained through in-depth interviews and focus group discussions with activists, former activists, active members, and those who have left after dissolution, community leaders, and observers of religious social movements in the Gorontalo region. Then it was fulfilled further with an analysis of various related documents of HTI women's group in Gorontalo. In addition, identity and sexuality theory was also used as data analysis tools.

Identity is a set of meanings that define a person's role as a member of society or certain unique features.[30] Identity functions as a control system shaping the individual's perceptions and meanings as a member of the group, and organizing them to be in harmony with the group's characteristics. The process goes through three (3) stages i.e. social categorization, prototype, and depersonalization.[31] Among the prominent collective identities can be seen in gender patterns[32] and sexuality constructions, including the process of depersonalization and ideological normalization. While sexuality refers to social construction related to something considered "sexually attractive, or sexual life, or that arouses desire."[33] Sexuality is also often associated with something non-physical, such as thoughts, images, sounds, clothing, and movements. Sexuality is related to the sexual entities that govern bodily functions,[34] and therefore

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Menghidupkan Kembali Kekhalifahan di Nusantara: Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), Strategi Mobilisasi dan Dampaknya bagi Indonesia (Jakarta: Mabes TNI, 2010), 53,

[30] Peter Burke and Jan E Stets. *Identity Theory.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2009, 3.

[31] Michael A Hogg, "The Social Identity Pespective: Intergroup Relations, Self-Conception, and Small Groups," *Sage Journals* 35, no. 3 (2004).

[32] Rohmaniyah, *Gender dan Konstruksi Patriarkhi dalam Tafsir Agama: Sebuah Jalan Panjang.*

[33] Inayah Rohmaniyah, *Gender dan Seksualitas Perempuan dalam Perebutan Wacana Tafsir* (Yogyakarta: Suka Press, 2019), 38.

[34] Siti Ruhaini Dzuhayatin, "Pengantar," in *Islam dan Konstruksi Seksualitas* (Yogyakarta: PSW IAIN Yogyakarta dan The Ford Foundation, 2002), vi.

includes knowledge, norms, or rules that give status and role, and confine and regulate the behavior of[35] individuals and society. The construction of sexuality is subjectivity that cannot be separated from the power system of knowledge.[36]

Portrait of Muslimah *Hizbut Tahrir* Indonesia (MHTI)

As a wing organization, *Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir* Indonesia (MHTI) had the same vision as HTI. However, its target of the movement was more focused on Muslim women. This group, explicitly rejected female President, despite allowing women to hold other public positions, or be active in political parties. However, there were conditions for HTI women to be able to occupy public positions that must be in line with Islamic law and oriented towards the establishment of the *Khilafah* system in Indonesia.[37] It was in line with HTI's vision of promoting the *Khilafah* system in Indonesia.

HTI faced many challenges from various groups. The ability and persistence of its activists in carrying out various movements, even on a small scale, would harm the development of Indonesia's political system and state administration in the long-term.[38] The phenomenon of the global economic crisis, the high social inequality, and the emergence of various problems related to the role of Islam and the position of Muslims in Indonesia that are considered marginalized became justifications for the struggle of HTI. The chaotic political situation is always echoed by MHTI as a failure of the democratic system and the importance of establishing the *Khilafah Islamiyah* in Indonesia. The *Khilafah* system is considered by HTI to be important because it is only through the state that the process

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[35] Irwan M. Hidayana, *Seksualitas: Teori dan Realitas* (Jakarta: FISIP UI, 2004). 46.

[36] Michel Foucault, *The Use of Pleasure: Volume 2 of The History of Sexuality* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 4.

[37] Lies Marcoes, Lanny Octavia, Inayah Rohmaniyah, *Kesaksian Para Pengabdi: Kajian tentang Perempuan dan Fundamentalisme di Indonesia.*

[38] Markas Besar Tentara Nasional Indonesia Pusat Pengkajian Strategis, *Menghidupkan Kembali Kekhalifahan di Nusantara: Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), Strategi Mobilisasi dan Dampaknya bagi Indonesia.*

of enforcing Islamic law totally in social life will succeed.[39]

To make this happen, HTI uses the Islamic thought revolutionary movement pattern; through criticizing, debating, and attacking socio-political thoughts and conditions that develop with the frame and perspective of Islamic thought that they believe. This strategy is also carried out by the MHTI missionary activists, both formally (through various academic-scientific forums) and informally (through a mentoring system, family study, and other similar activities).

Categorization of HTI Women's Identity

One of the interesting phenomena that distinguished HTI women from other radical-conservative groups was their involvement in the public sphere. HTI women had to preach at least among the women's community as an ideologization effort to change women's thought to accept and follow HTI's ideology.

However, according to HTI women, the public role given to them was considered not a kind of gender equality like the view of gender activists and feminism but more because of a form of obligation for Muslim women. For them, the gender equality paradigm is a capitalist product that is harmful to women[40] as the fate of women in the world is still far from dignity and prosperity, even though the World Women's Day has been commemorated for a Century.[41] The women's movement, which has struggled for gender equality, is considered to have only produced artificial progress that brings women in worse condition. They think that the capitalist democratic system adopted by the Indonesian government had failed to free women from poverty, far from feeling safe and secure,

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[39] Khusnul Khatimah, "Hizbut Tahrir sebagai Gerakan Sosial (Pengaruh Hizbut Tahrir di Timur Tengah terhadap HTI di Indonesia)" (UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2012).

[40] Cholis Akbar, "HTI: Kesetaraan Gender, Jargon Kosong Kapitalis," *Hidayatullah.Com*, last modified 2011, https://www.hidayatullah.com/berita/nasional/read/2011/03/09/46878/hti-kesetaraan-gender-jargon-kosong-kapitalis.html.

[41] Awaludin, "HTI: Kesetaraan Gender= Jargon Kosong Kapitalis," *Okezone.Com*.

and failed to give a guarantee of respect and religious obedience.

Women as Agents of Establishment of the Khilafah Islamiyyah

The obligation of each individual to carry out jihad to uphold Islamic law under the system of the *Khilafah Islamiyyah* had become a religious duty for HTI groups, both men and women. HTI placed women in an equal position with men as agents in the effort to establish *Khilafah Islamiyyah*. Although HTI rejected the concept of gender equality, equality of agency, role, and women's access to establish *Khilafah Islamiyyah* had become a logical consequence of their mission. Yet, there were differences in the way of preaching between men and women. If men were allowed to preach among men and women, women were restricted to do jihad among their circle only. Although on certain occasions, women might appear in the public space attended by men.

For HTI, *Da'wah* was a form of jihad in the context of establishing Islamic law. It was through da'wah that they could guide the community so that they could criticize the state which was considered *kafir* (infidel), with the main goal of encouraging the community to jointly establish *Khilafah Islamiyyah*. HTI viewed that women, especially mothers, had an important role in carrying out a change of thought movement. Apart from educating children in the family realm, women also preach among mothers through various activities of the religious forum.

For HTI, women were regarded as important agents in the struggle to save the ummah. MHTI activists were commanded to actively give preaching in order to change the mindset of fellow women so that they had the same perspective on Islam and Islamic political ideas that lead to the establishment of the *Khilafah Islamiyyah*. The public was always given an understanding that the various social problems and political chaos happening so far such as corruption and LGBT were caused by the fact that the current state management system is not in accordance with Islamic law.

Public Sphere as the World of Women

HTI had a pattern of division of roles between men and women different from other radical-conservative organizations. For HTI, both the domestic and public spheres were considered as places to disseminate the understanding and application of Islamic law. Women were seen to have a strategic role and position in these two domains. In a glance, such HTI's view seemed to be gender-just. But the concept of gender equality was strongly rejected by HTI because it was considered incompatible with Islam. Gender equality will only worsen and make women uprooted from their nature.[42] So that for HTI, family (domestic sphere) and society (public sphere) have the same important position for women to be actively involved, because the enforcement of Islamic law must be carried out simultaneously, starting from the family to the general public.

From such a view, MHTI considered that women also had the same obligations as men, including in politics.[43] Women were also required to play an active role in preaching for the establishment of *Khilafah Islamiyyah*. To support this role, HTI conducted systematic political education for women. Except to make women had political abilities, they could actively participate in realizing HTI's political goals. Also, women were equipped with public speaking skills so that they could understand and apply various models of argumentation in responding to actual problems arising, and able to provide lessons for other women to had the same understanding as them. Therefore, the movement to increase capacity, social intelligence, and strengthen MHTI's vision and mission became an important part of the HTI movement agenda in Indonesia, especially in Gorontalo.

Political education was what encourages the birth of "tough" women in HTI. Not a few HTI female members and activists often appeared as figures who were always active and vocal in various forums, as well as skilled in discussing various actual political issues. In fact, there

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[42] Angga Indrawan, "Muslimah HTI Tolak Kesetaraan Gender," *Republika.co.id*.

[43] Masnun Triantini, Zusiana Elly, Tahir, *Terpinggirkan di Tengah Perjuangan: Studi terhadap Peran Politik Perempuan Hizbut Tahrir* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2007).

were some HTI women who had become public figures in various public activities, such as *halaqah* (small group discussion), *pengajian* (religious preaching), seminars, mass actions, and other activities involving mothers or teenagers from various circles. They were very active in following developments in political discourse in the country and framing according to the HTI paradigm.

Politics was one of the important issues raised in the preaching of MHTI activists even the issues of daily life raised in preaching were always linked to the current political situation, starting from issues of religious life to issues related to the price increase of basic necessities. As a result, all of these problems were considered as the impact of a state system that did not follow Islamic law. As a solution to these problems, they offered a system of an Islamic caliphate.

Although they also actively played a role in the public sphere, the domestic sphere was never neglected by HTI women. Marriage, for MHTI, was believed to be a momentum that changes the main role of women. After a woman gets married, a woman's obedience to her husband is believed to be the main affair both sexually and socially. Obedience to the husband is believed to be destiny and absolute and even determines whether family life would be sakinah (tranquil) or not.[44] From this, the construction of thought among HTI women was emerging that polygamy is a divine destiny that cannot be denied or avoided.[45] Even polygamy is considered a right for men and at the same time a ticket to heaven for women.[46]

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[44] Interview with Tara (not real name), MHTI member Gorontalo, Gorontalo October 17, 2019.

[45] Interview with Dara (not real name), activist *(musrifah)* of MHTI Gorontalo, Gorontalo October 19, 2018.

[46] Interview with Tara (not real name), MHTI member Gorontalo, Gorontalo October 20, 2019.

Depersonalization and Women's Agency

Depersonalization of Women and Preserving Ideology

Depersonalization occurred in MHTI lied on the side of emphasizing a group view and gave little or even severely confined individual freedom. Normatively, the group viewpoint was regarded as an individual identity with the justification of God's will (destiny). Individual power and freedom were put aside. As a result, there was uniformity of views of its members and reinforced differences with individuals outside the group. This was what made HTI survive. Through this depersonalization process, a process of reification and perpetuation of collective identity simultaneously from generation to generation is happening.

Every individual in the MHTI organization could not have the power and will to fight or oppose group norms because they had been depersonalized and lost their active agency. Depersonalization was what made the shared ideology firmly planted and lasted for a long time. Therefore, the process of implantation of norms, knowledge, and life practices considered in accordance with Islamic law became smoother and bound each of its members. As a result, the goal of establishing *Khilafah Islamiyyah* became a latent ideology and automatically being eternalized, even without criticism or resistance from within. This is because various identities and consciousness had been accepted by its members as a single and final truth.

From a gender perspective, the perpetuation and strengthening of this depersonalization process were marked by the acceptance of the androcentric and patriarchal understanding of the values of gender and sexuality. Women were always placed as objects, and men as active subjects, had power and became the center of the socio-religious order. The conception of obedience and destiny further strengthened the process of forming group identities and smoothed the process of depersonalization in the name of *sharia*.

Fate as the Limit of Individual Expectations and Power

The depersonalization process occurred within the MHTI organization got its legitimacy from religious understanding, especially from the fatalistic concept of fate. Fate is seen as God's provision that limits a person to wish, hope, even dream about the future. Perfect depersonalization can be seen from MHTI's views and attitudes about mate and polygamy.

Mate and polygamy, in the construction of a patriarchal religious interpretation, are understood as the privileges of men, and part of the destiny that women must accept. The construction of a subjective understanding of polygamy is recognized as an irresistible divine truth. Meanwhile, *ikhtiyar* (effort) is understood as a recommendation to try in the context of *da'wah* in accordance with Islamic law. For this reason, a wife's obedience to her husband is understood as something absolute. Thus, an understanding emerges and at the same time becomes the basis and norm; that good women are those who are obedient to their husbands, whether psychologically, economically, and socially. Meanwhile, good men are those who obey Allah SWT, courageous to do polygamy, be able to do justice and be able to maintain family harmony. This understanding then became the means of control, mechanically perpetuated the prototype of the MHTI members, and strengthened the depersonalization process.

Single Authoritative Source

Another factor that led to the perpetuation of depersonalization of women in the MHTI organization was the normalization of a single source of authority. Normalization was marked by the obedience of its members to refer to a single and authoritative source of knowledge that is the books of Taqiyuddin Al-Nabhani. Al-Nabhani's works were regularly read and reviewed in various *halaqah* with a textual approach,[47] recognized as the final source and the only reference for regulating religious, social, and

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[47] Interview with Tara (not real name), MHTI member Gorontalo, Gorontalo October 17, 2019.

political life. Sacredness and obedience to learn, understand, and teach them were effective mechanisms and dialectically encouraged the depersonalization process and the preservation of group identity and ideology.

Various arguments, both practical-pragmatic and ideological-political, were built with a uniform narrative among MHTI members, activists and sympathizers to justify the urgency of a single source. Among the practical-pragmatic reasons was the difficulty of reading and understanding Arabic literature. Because there were not many MHTI members, activists, and sympathizers who had good Arabic proficiency.[48] Meanwhile, the political reason was in order to minimize differences of opinion within the MHTI and HTI organizations in general, so that group solidarity and brotherhood would always be maintained.[49]

Resistance and Women's Agency

The hegemony of knowledge and a single source of reference was a significant factor that mechanically strengthened the depersonalization process and perpetuated the group's identity of the HTI members and activists in general. Except for cultivating and maintaining the obedience of members to their leadership, a single source was also a common ideological amplifier to realize the Islamic political goal. In fact, obedience to a single source was believed to be able to eliminate the differences in views and prevent the possibility of internal organizational conflicts.

However, as time went by, internal resistance had also emerged. It happened when there was a member who had critical thinking and could find other sources of knowledge that were stronger and more diverse. Such a member would critically question the knowledge and norms within the MHTI group. Besides, the development of information and communication technology that opened wide opportunities for each

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[48] Interview with Tara (not real name), MHTI member Gorontalo, Gorontalo October 17, 2019.
[49] Interview with Tara (not real name), MHTI member Gorontalo, Gorontalo October 20, 2019.

individual to access various information and knowledge easily enabled them to have more open-minded. So, it is not surprising if several members and activists had decided to leave MHTI. It is evident that there were dynamics and contestations of knowledge and norms within the MHTI organization that affected the depersonalization process, the sense of obedience, and the attachment of its members.[50]

Moreover, for individuals (members) who already had the critical thinking, independent, and different religious principles from HTI, they would resist to the way of thinking which was indoctrinal, normative, exclusive, textual, and partial especially related to religious belief that tend to be fatalistic such as the principle of polygamy, the use of a wide hijab as a common identity for MHTI, and the political ideals of the *Khilafah Islamiyyah*. Several individuals who decided to leave MHTI considered that the group's ideology was discriminatory and too fanatic.[51] Anyone who did not become a member of the group will be labeled as a liberal, infidel, and not in line with Islamic *sharia*.[52]

Conclusion

In contrast to conservative-radical groups in general, MHTI positioned and provided an important role for women in the public and domestic sphere. Women had the same jihad obligations as men to realize the struggle for the establishment of *Khilafah Islamiyyah*. Women did not only become preachers but also active agents in the public sphere to uphold Islamic law. Equal opportunities between women and men in the public sphere had become a unique prototype of MHTI. But the concept of equality was different from that of equality in the perspective of gender or feminism. Because the concept of gender equality was considered by

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[50] Interview with Erka, often took part in HTI activity, Gorontalo November 17, 2018.

[51] Interview with Lili, Kohati activist *(Korp HMIwati)*, several times joined HTI's religious gathering, Gorontalo October 21, 2018.

[52] Interview with Erka, a Government employee in Government institution (KUA/the Office of Religious Affairs) and the lecturer at Islamic college in Gorontalo, Gorontalo October 17, 2018.

MHTI as a capitalist product, and not in accordance with Islamic law. But clearly, this prototype had an impact on depersonalization. Due to the legitimacy of a fatalistic religious understanding, and a shared commitment to a single authority, that is Taqiyuddin Al-Nabhani, it had become an effective mechanism for the perpetuation of collective identity, ideology, and the perpetuation of the patriarchal interpretation.

Thus, shortly speaking, the dissolution of HTI did not automatically weaken the ideology and prototype of MHTI. Even the MHTI activists in the community still exist even though the people know their identity. The formal legal disbandment only affected the shifting of their *da'wah* space, from open to private, from targeting large groups to the individual level from door to door and utilize small networks through friendship or family. Although it should also be noted that the dissolution of HTI has also resulted in changes in the level of depersonalization, obedience, and individual attachment to group identities. It, among others, is due to the level of education and access to information obtained, which encourages the emergence of critical thinking, modalities, and personal power to choose knowledge and group identities that are considered more relevant.

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