



The Muslim Feminist Movement of the Indonesian Women Ulema Congress (KUPI) on Women's Issues in Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

KUPI Muslim feminists are born from religious leaders who are sensitive to women's issues. They examine religious texts from a gender perspective, balancing the roles between patriarchal traditions and equality education, on the basis that Islam teaches inclusive justice for all humans. This paper uses a qualitative method with a social approach through Coleman's rational choice theory as an analytical tool on the data findings. The findings in this paper show that the KUPI Muslim feminist movement is based on rational choices constructed through Islamic religious values sourced from sacred texts with a scientific and experiential lens. Rational choice based on religious values raises the concept of rational religion choice. Their movement aims to reconstruct patriarchal domination in religion, and promote gender-inclusive religion through re-reading sacred texts with various holistic and contextual approaches to develop a new epistemology in Islam in feminism. To optimize their goals, they utilize human resources through organizations affiliated with KUPI, as well as online media to spread their ideas. The KUPI Muslim feminist movement reconstructs gender-inclusive Islam through religious rationality, organizational advocacy, and the use of digital media.

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Introduction

Religious leaders have a role and influence in shaping society's views regarding the position of women. Society's views on the role of women are constructed by a deep-rooted patriarchal culture, and even thrive with the support of religious leaders. Patriarchal culture positions men in a higher position than women (Asy'ari & Zuhriyah, 2024). There is even a myth that women are *konco wingking*, or they only have the role of *masak* (cooking), *macak* (dress up), *manak* (give birth). This culture has an understanding that men have an important role in the social system to raise the dignity of women.

This view is certainly different from the teachings of Islam. In Islam, the role of women is not only limited to the domestic sphere, but they are supported to take responsibility in the public sphere in the life of the social community (Pawitasari, 2015). Islam teaches that men and women are equal in gender relations, emphasizing mutual respect and responsibility. The teachings of Prophet Muhammad advocate fair treatment, recognizing the rights and roles of women, thus promoting equality in social society without demeaning either sex (Jirzanah & Budisutrisna, 2023).

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In Indonesia, Muslim feminists from religious leaders have emerged. They disagree with the concept of patriarchy in the social order. They refute the views of the majority of Islamic religious leaders who perpetuate and nourish patriarchal culture through the approach of reinterpreting references to Islamic religious sources (Roibin, As-Suvi, Abdullah, & Ashari, 2023). They mobilize for equality through efforts to reinterpret Islamic sources that aim to achieve gender equality and social justice within the framework of Islam. They seek to transform the legal, political, and social rights of Muslim women through new interpretations of scripture, contributing to the continued evolution of women's rights (Mirza, 2008).

Muslim feminists play an important role in reinterpreting Islamic texts through *ijtihad* and *tafsir* to promote gender equality, social justice, and liberation in Islamic societies (Ribeiro, 2014). They advocate for gender equality, reinterpret religious texts to promote women's rights, and challenge conservative ideologies that limit women's roles (Akhtar, Khan, & Khan, 2022). By reinterpreting the Quran and other religious texts, Muslim feminists aim to promote gender equality, challenge patriarchal norms, and combat marginalization in the cultural, social, and political domains (Ahmad & Mustafa, 2020).

Indonesian Muslim feminists, such as Musdah Mulia, Husein Muhammad, and Nur Rofiah, play an important role in redefining religious understanding and advocating for gender justice in Indonesia. These feminists emphasize the convergence of Islam and feminism, placing women's experiences at the core of Islamic interpretation (Fina & Wahyuni, 2022). This approach is evident in their works that integrate feminist perspectives with Islamic teachings to advocate for gender justice. This convergence is further supported by methodological interventions in Qur'anic interpretation, such as intertextuality and intratextuality, which aim to promote gender equality by considering the broader context of justice and equality in the Qur'an (Iqbal, 2023).

The study of the theme of Muslim feminists has been widely discussed by academics, for example, Rahman (2017) about Husein Muhammad in the approach of reinterpretation and Islamic tradition on gender issues; Karimullah, Mukhid, & Muhajir (2024) about the feminist hermeneutic approach in studying traditional Islamic law; Putra, Ma'arif, Yahya, & Pangestu (2023) about the Qur'an emphasizing gender equality in basic rights; Ahmad & Mustafa (2020) discusses Islamic feminist methodology in interpreting the Qur'an and Hadith for gender justice; Qibtiyah (2018) who discusses feminist understanding of gender issues in reading and interpreting religious texts through three approaches, namely: textual-conservative, semi-textual-moderate, contentual-progressive; Kloos & Ismah (2023) examine KUPI feminists who move to find the meeting point of secular and Islamic thought through the interpretation of religious sources and the development of new ideas on the position of women in society; and Mulia (2022) reveals that the Indonesian Muslim feminist movement seeks to empower women spiritually and morally, fight gender injustice, and promote equality based on Islamic teachings.

The author offers a distinction in this paper which examines that the KUPI Muslim feminist movement is based on rational choices based on religious values in Islam. The ideas and ideas expressed through their movement are the construction of knowledge and experience gained by KUPI Muslim feminists in contributing to alleviating problems, issues and problems faced by women in the name of harassment, marginalization, and injustice in society.

Muslim feminists' rational choices build arguments that link women's issues with Islamic principles, creating space for dialogue between religion and feminism and enabling more inclusive social change. Their actions also reflect a consideration of the long-term consequences - both in terms of social acceptance and structural change - that can improve women's position in society without contradicting the teachings of Islam (Anwar & Sof'i, 2024). Based on the arguments above, it shows that the KUPI Muslim feminist movement can be understood as a rational calculation that integrates religious

values with efforts to realize gender justice (Hidayati, 2018), which not only prioritizes women's rights, but also adapts to the norms prevailing in Muslim society.

The KUPI Muslim feminist movement has played a very strategic role in redefining the relationship between religion, feminism and gender justice in Indonesia. By choosing to articulate women's issues through a religious lens, they have succeeded in creating a space that allows Muslim women to be more critical of patriarchal norms without having to feel alienated from their religious identity (Fauziyah & Farisi, 2024). This movement shows that feminism and religion do not need to be seen as contradictory, but can support each other in realizing a more inclusive and just society. Through their rational choices, KUPI Muslim feminists are able to prove that the struggle for gender equality does not have to sacrifice religious values, but can actually strengthen and enrich the understanding of both.

While various studies have discussed Muslim feminism from the perspectives of reinterpreting religious texts, feminist hermeneutics, and the role of Islam in gender equality, there is still a gap in understanding how the KUPI Muslim feminist movement bases its actions on rational choices based on Islamic values. Previous studies tend to focus on interpretative and advocacy approaches, without exploring how rational calculation plays a role in integrating religion and feminism for social change. This study fills the gap by analyzing KUPI's Muslim feminist movement as a religious expert movement in using rational choice as a basis by accommodating religious and social norms, creating a unique approach in fighting for gender justice in Muslim societies.

The urgency of this discussion lies in the need to understand KUPI's Muslim feminist movement as a rational choice-based strategy that integrates Islamic values with the struggle for gender justice. Studies of Muslim feminism have so far focused more on the reinterpretation of religious texts (Muqtada, Istianah, & Sharifuddin, 2024) or the hermeneutic approach (Al-Sharmani, 2023), but not many have examined how this movement operates in the context of religion-based rational choices. By examining the KUPI movement through this perspective, this research can make a theoretical contribution to understanding the relationship between religion and feminism, and offer a model of gender struggle that is compatible with Islamic values without antagonizing prevailing social norms (Fina & Wahyuni, 2022). This study has the potential to enrich the literature on Muslim feminism and pave the way for inclusive social change.

Method

This paper uses qualitative research. The researcher attempts to reveal and describe the thoughts and actions taken by Muslim feminists sheltered by KUPI on the issue of women and gender equality. The most suitable approach for this material is a case study (Hamzah, 2020). The case study approach allows researchers to deeply explore the experiences, thoughts, and actions of Muslim feminists affiliated with KUPI in the context of women's issues and gender equality. The case study will focus on a specific phenomenon, namely the KUPI Muslim feminist movement, which can be analyzed with James Coleman's rational choice theory, to reveal the dynamics of their decisions and actions based on Islamic values constructed through the interpretation of sacred texts. This approach is suitable for exploring the social and cultural context that shapes the movement.

In this study, the data used includes the thoughts, actions, and efforts of KUPI Muslim feminists documented through writings and discussions that form the basis of each step of their movement. The main sources of data are Husein Muhammad, Faqihuddin Abdul Kodir, and Nur Rofiah, who are central figures in the Muslim feminist movement. Their thoughts, which refer to the interpretation of sacred texts and Islamic religious values, become the basis for analysis in understanding this movement through rational choice theory.

Data collection in this paper uses documentation and direct structured interviews with the speakers. The documents used by researchers as the main data for this study are

the results of KUPI's religious deliberations, the works of resource persons, and notes on KUPI congress activities that can be accessed through Kupipedia. Structured interviews were used to explore the background and rationality of the main speakers in fighting for gender equality through KUPI. Questions to the interviewees discussed the reasons for the birth of KUPI, the selection of women's issues in religious deliberations, the process of drafting and reviewing KUPI fatwas, and references and rational considerations in formulating KUPI fatwas.

The researcher uses the Miles Huberman & Saldana Model as a data analysis technique in formulating, describing and drawing conclusions in this study through the stages of data collection, data condensation, data presentation and conclusion drawing (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2019). In ensuring the validity of the data obtained, the author uses triangulation, both source triangulation obtained through cross-checking the results of interviews with the main informants, as well as cross-checking with supporting sources such as Farida Ulvi and Arifah Millati who are active in Fahmina and Rahima organizations which are organizations affiliated with KUPI. Triangulation techniques are used by researchers for the validity of data obtained from interviews with main and supporting sources through cross-checking with existing documentation on Kupipedia, or from cross-checking documents with interview results.

Results and Discussion

The analysis of the data results of this paper uses Coleman's rational choice theory which concentrates on the actions of an individual who has goals that are formed through values (Ritzer 2012). This theory bases its thinking on two things, namely: actors and resources. The results of data collection and discussion of the results of the study of the KUPI Muslim feminist movement are detailed as follows:

KUPI as a Muslim Feminist Forum

Kongres Ulama Perempuan Indonesia (KUPI) emerged to discuss women's issues through an Islamic feminist anthropology approach, bringing together diverse backgrounds to study and discuss women's issues based on Islamic teachings, aiming for a moderate and fair interpretation of gender that promotes human well-being (Arwani & Hannase, 2024). Its emergence is rooted in the controversial Indonesian history of secular activists and Islamic scholars collaborating to reinterpret religious sources, aiming to challenge patriarchal authority and improve the position of women in society, thus expanding the global Islamic feminist movement (Kloos & Ismah, 2023). It aims to respond to the challenges posed by patriarchal culture and conservative religious views, aiming to shape the narrative of Islamic feminism and influence public policy on gender issues in Indonesia (Kabir, 2023).

The objectives of the implementation of KUPI activities are oriented towards: 1) the birth of a form of affirmation of the existence of women scholars recorded in the history of Islam and the national history of the Indonesian nation (Yafie, 2017); 2) to make this activity a space for meeting women leaders and scholars at the national and international levels with the aim of discussing real experiences in the discussion of women's empowerment and strengthening social justice as a form of practice of Islamic, national and human values; 3) to equalize views related to the construction of knowledge about women's ulema and their role to encourage women's independence and the advancement of human civilization. 4) to propose the views of Indonesian women scholars and formulate the results of religious deliberations through fatwas related to contemporary Islamic issues within the principles of Islam rahmatan lil 'alamin (Kusmana, 2019).

KUPI attaches importance to the representation of women scholars in gender-based knowledge discourse within pesantren, challenging patriarchal dominance and fostering new perspectives on post-reform fiqh ethics and rules (Ma'ruf, Wilodati, & Aryanti, 2022). Its movement aims to respond to social stigma and discriminatory interpretations of religious texts that limit women's roles. It addresses critical issues such as sexual violence

and child marriage, advocating for women's rights and empowerment (Hidayatulloh & Syifa, 2022). In line with such goals, KUPI is rooted in the need to challenge the masculine and patriarchal nature of official Islam in Indonesia, providing a platform for women Islamic scholars to reinterpret the law and promote gender equality and justice in Islamic law (Mun'im, Nasrudin, Suadi, & Hasanudin, 2024).

The presence of KUPI is an alternative way to connect the network of scholars, especially women scholars both in Indonesia and in the world. The scholars present have a concentration in efforts to reform Islamic law that is relevant to gender discourse. The construction of KUPI is built through the literacy of classical Islamic knowledge through pesantren science. Then the knowledge is combined using a contemporary scientific approach. In its studies, KUPI hopes that women will get the same partners and recognition as male scholars without the intention of marginalizing men (Rengkaningias, 2018).

KUPI Muslim Feminists as Actors

The actor referred to here is the individual who takes action. Actors here are people who are able to maximally utilize resources, both human resources and natural resources. KUPI Muslim feminists who are actors in this study are Husein Muhammad, Faqihuddin Abdul Kodir, and Nur Rofiah. They have views and sensitivity to women's issues that are certainly based on empirical and scientific experience in making rational choices in moving and responding to these issues.

KUPI Muslim feminists believe that there is no difference in the role and potential between men and women in society. The notion of patriarchy that prevails in society is deviant and is not taught in Islam. However, Muslim feminists consciously admit that what causes inequality against women in the social sphere in the form of marginalization and violence are religious interpretations that are used as normative references, so that patriarchal culture still thrives among Muslim communities in Indonesia.

They are of the view that women's issues are a serious humanitarian problem that places fellow human being unequal based on gender, in addition to men being the dominant determinant in a social life. The reason the patriarchal ideology thrives is due to three things, namely: First, the customs and traditions that have developed in our society make women the number two creature with the label *konco wingking*, and the label *wanita* with the meaning of *wani ditoto* - daring to be governed by men in their lives. Women are expected to uphold traditional customs (*adat*) but have no decision-making power, resulting in their marginalization (Munthe & Sudarwati, 2020).

Secondly, the country's constitutional law as reflected in Indonesia's recent Marriage Law still leaves gender discrimination in place, especially regarding the minimum age of marriage and child custody. Although the minimum age of marriage for women has been increased to 19 years, the provision of dispensation for child marriage still allows early marriage, which is more prevalent among women. In addition, women are often disadvantaged in divorce cases, with courts tending to award child custody to men. Provisions regarding the division of domestic responsibilities also often overlook the role of men, reinforcing unequal gender stereotypes (Qibtiyah, 2018).

Thirdly, religious views perpetuated by religious leaders that place women at the mercy of men. Islamic religious leaders often enforce patriarchal interpretations of texts, reinforcing male superiority and limiting women's rights, which perpetuates structural and cultural violence against women (Suleman, 2017). Traditional interpretations of the Qur'an by Islamic religious leaders often reinforce patriarchal norms, legitimizing male authority over women. Such interpretations have historically marginalized women's roles, confining them to the domestic sphere and limiting their participation in the public sphere (Nasrulloh & Hidayat, 2022).

The ideas and views of KUPI Muslim feminists on the issue of protecting women through rational choice are based on Muslim feminist reasoning, especially in the context of rejecting patriarchy, rooted in the reinterpretation of Islamic religious sources and the

assertion of women's rights within the Islamic framework. They argue that traditional interpretations of the Qur'an and Hadith towards women have been skewed by patriarchal influences, which have historically marginalized women's rights. The movement emphasizes the need for *ijtihad*, or personal reasoning, to challenge these interpretations and advocate for gender equality.

For this reason, Muslim feminists choose to study the relationship between religion and women, based on their belief that religion should not treat women in a way that demeans, negatively labels, oppresses, or commits violence against living beings, especially women. Gender equality efforts are carried out by raising ideas of defense for women in the context of religion, namely by trying to deconstruct religious texts that contain gender bias. In reading and understanding texts that contain gender bias, we need to dive into them with full awareness of the deepest meanings contained therein. A holistic and rational approach is necessary, as these texts cannot be understood in isolation from the time and space context that shaped them. Religious texts, in essence, are not static or isolated entities; they are reflections of the ever-changing dynamics of life, reflecting the events and social conditions that surround them (Roibin, Rahmawati, & Nurhayati, 2021). Each text also carries a deep humanitarian purpose and spirit, which should always lead to respect for human dignity and equality, including women (Muhammad, 2022).

Rational choice moves KUPI Muslim feminists to take strategic decisions and rational actions even if they oppose patriarchal interpretations of religious texts by considering various factors - especially the potential long-term benefits that can be obtained by women in Muslim societies and the social costs that may arise from the changes they propose (Arwani & Hannase, 2024). In the context of this discussion, Muslim feminists consider that efforts made in criticizing or constructing established patriarchal interpretations have the potential to cause conflict with conservative religious authorities (Dao-Sabah, 2023). Protection of basic rights - outweigh the costs. The integration through the feminist paradigm, the benefits - namely women's empowerment and of rational choice theory with feminism makes it possible to understand how gender norms influence the strategic decisions and actions taken by Muslim feminists (Driscoll & Krook, 2012).

The rationality of Muslim feminist decisions is shown through reading and reinterpreting the main reference sources of Islam - the Qur'an and Hadith - as well as Islamic traditions and scholarly opinions on the position of women (Bahar, 2021). Interpretation of references by understanding the context of Islamic teachings and times will provide legal decisions that are fair to women and can create an equal and harmonious society (Haneef, Mohd Yunus, & Al-Fijawi, 2018). The rational consideration of Muslim feminists if they maintain the status quo which tends to harm and corner women, it will hinder more inclusive social development, hindering the formation of a harmonious, equal and gender-just society.

Following the paradigm shift based on rational choices in addressing women's issues through the reading and interpretation of religious texts, KUPI Muslim feminists consider several approaches in their interpretation, such as intellectual-conservative, moderate, and contextual-progressive (Qibtiyah, 2020). Of the three approaches offered, KUPI Muslim feminists are more inclined towards a moderate approach where they accept the views of western feminists as long as they do not contradict Islamic values, but there are also those who use a contextual-progressive approach that reinforces that women are equal to men in all aspects of life, the only difference is in their biological aspects, such as the ultimate justice approach offered by Nur Rofiah.

The effort to reinterpret religious sources emphasized by KUPI Muslim feminists is not only done by considering rational arguments alone, but also through a more holistic and contextual approach. The argument is that the interpretation of the ethical-legal content of the Qur'an needs to consider social changes to maintain a close relationship between the Qur'an and Muslims. Qur'anic interpretations to date, which are largely philological in nature, need to give way to more sociological, axiological and

anthropological interpretations to relate them to the contemporary needs of Muslims (Saeed, 2006), especially those concerning the protection of women's rights and gender equality. By adapting the understanding of religious texts in the context of modern life through a contextualization approach, KUPI Muslim feminists try to show that the principles contained in Islamic teachings can actually support gender equality and women's empowerment without having to sacrifice core religious values.

The second approach is *qira'ah mubadalah* offered by Faqihuddin Abdul Kodir. *Qira'ah mubadalah* is an approach that has the paradigm of the necessity of a cross. The essence of this approach is an effort to present a view of partnership and reciprocity in a certain relationship between two parties, human relations in general and specifically (Kodir, 2019). In simple terms, understanding *qira'ah mubadalah* is a paradigm of reading sacred texts that refer to the main sources of Islam, namely the Qur'an and Hadith, which are oriented towards the equal position of men and women in giving meaning to the text, and making partnerships between the two in life (Wagianto, 2021). The purpose of this approach is to respond to the strong paradigm of masculinity in various interpretations and legal texts in sacred texts. The use of this approach in interpreting religious texts must present three basic values: justice, human dignity and benefit (Kodir, 2022a).

Some scholars see this approach as a progressive attempt to deconstruct the dominance of masculinity in traditional tafsir and emphasize gender equality in the reading of sacred texts. This approach is considered to make a significant contribution in reviving a more just and equal interpretation, eliminating inequality between men and women. However, criticism has been raised regarding the challenges in its implementation, given the resistance to change in interpretation among some conservative scholars. The rejection of *qira'ah mubadalah* as a new method of interpretation on sacred texts tends to prioritize personal or cultural ideologies over the Mutawatir status of Quranic texts, which are considered authentic and divinely revealed and not authentic (Saad, Mohamad, Mazlan, Zainol, & Nur, 2022). Nonetheless, *qira'ah mubadalah* has the potential to strengthen the Muslim feminist movement by upholding the justice and dignity of women in religion.

Ultimate justice is one of the formulations of reading religious texts initiated by Nur Rofiah. This approach is a perspective of interpreting the Qur'an with intense consideration of the unique experiences of women, both those included in biological and social experiences (Rofiah, 2020). The use of this approach in interpreting sacred texts must take a holistic and macro view of the benefits and goodness received through women's unique experiences that are not experienced by men. In simple terms, true justice is interpreted as the creation of social transformation based on the real experiences of women who are different from men (Kodir, 2022b).

The Hakiki Justice approach initiated by Nur Rofiah has been criticized by some exegetes for overemphasizing women's subjective experiences in the interpretation of sacred texts. The main criticism revolves around the potential bias that can arise in interpreting Qur'anic verses based on women's biological and social experiences. Some scholars consider that interpretations that focus on women's experiences may ignore the universal context of Islamic teachings that apply to the entire Ummah. Nonetheless, this approach is recognized as providing room for interpretations that are more inclusive and sensitive to issues of gender equality, although care needs to be taken to ensure alignment with the overall context of Islamic teachings (Afifi, 2022).

In the context of rational choice, the decision to initiate this reinterpretation is driven by the belief that a renewed understanding of religion that is more friendly to women will open up greater opportunities for women's empowerment in various aspects of life, including education, employment and social roles. The movement also saw that changes in religious interpretation would strengthen women's bargaining position in the family and society, as well as foster a wider awareness of the importance of protecting women's rights within the Islamic framework. As such, they sought to build collective

awareness that the change they were striving for was not a rejection of religion, but rather a form of interpretation more in line with the principles of justice taught by Islam.

Organizational Empowerment and Online Media as Resources

Resources are a crucial factor in the effectiveness of the Muslim feminist movement, including KUPI. As an actor fighting for gender equality in Islam, KUPI relies on resources in two main forms: individual and organizational human resources, and the use of digital media. Human resources in KUPI come from individuals and affiliated organizational resources that include women scholars, academics, activists, and practitioners who have scientific authority and advocacy experience. The existence of strong human resources allows KUPI to develop credible arguments based on religious texts and build extensive networks with educational institutions, community organizations, and the government.

Digital media is a strategic resource in disseminating Muslim feminist thought and expanding the reach of da'wah. By utilizing digital platforms, KUPI can effectively convey its ideas, reach a wider audience, and counter patriarchal narratives in religious interpretation. KUPI understands that the effectiveness of its struggle is highly dependent on resource optimization. By strategically managing human resources and digital media, KUPI is able to increase the bargaining power and legitimacy of Muslim feminism discourse in Islamic discourse and public policy.

1. Human Resources Through Organization

The Islamic feminism movement in Indonesia has strong roots in Islamic traditions, pesantren, and religious studies based on sacred texts. Its existence not only aims to build awareness of women's rights in Islam, but also to review gender relations that have been rooted in social structures and religious interpretations. A number of Muslim feminist organizations affiliated with KUPI act as a driving force in the fight for gender equality with approaches based on Islamic scholarship, education, policy advocacy, and social transformation, such as Rahima, Fahmina, Alimat, Aman Indonesia.

In practice, by utilizing human resources in organizations with the aim of gender equality and the protection of women in Indonesia can carry out various strategic programs. First, Islam-based education and awareness about gender and women's rights (Affiah, 2017). This is realized through study centers, training, and a review of the yellow book, which for centuries has been the main reference in shaping gender relations in Muslim societies. This program aims to emphasize that religious interpretations are dynamic and can be contextualized in accordance with evolving social realities.

Second, social transformation through gender justice advocacy in pesantren and Muslim communities. As an educational institution based on Islamic tradition, pesantren have an important role in shaping people's Islamic understanding (Casram & Dadah, 2019). Therefore, the Islamic feminism movement seeks to reconstruct an understanding of fiqh and muamalah that is more inclusive of women, as well as changing the entrenched patriarchal culture. Third, strengthening networks and synergies between Muslim feminist organizations. The existence of this network allows for a more effective exchange of ideas, research, and movement strategies in responding to various women's issues, both on a national and international scale (Ishaque & Alblowi, 2012). This synergy is also important in supporting legal policies that favor gender justice in the family, education, and the public sphere. By synergizing activists within the organization, it strengthens networks and synergies among Muslim feminists, facilitating collaboration and collective action. This network promotes empowerment, increases visibility, and transforms the Muslim public sphere (Bahi, 2008).

With these various strategies, Islamic feminist organizations in Indonesia are not only engaged in the academic realm, but also in the level of social praxis. The existence of organizations that fight for gender equality based on Islam shows that Islam is not an obstacle to women's rights, but a religion that can be interpreted fairly and inclusively. Through a sacred text-based approach that is contextual and based on women's experiences, this movement continues to strive to create a more just and civilized society.

2. Utilization of Online Media as a Resource

The utilization of digital media as a resource by Indonesian Muslim feminists under the auspices of KUPI shows an adaptive and effective communication strategy in disseminating Islam-based gender justice discourse. Various online platforms, such as Ngaji Online Tadarrus Subuh, Mubadalah.id, Ngaji Keadilan Keadilan Gender Islam (KGI), and Kupipedia.id, are the main tools in disseminating inclusive and progressive Islamic thought. This media serves as a space for dialog, information dissemination, and advocacy on women's issues that are often ignored in mainstream Islamic discourse. By utilizing digital technology, KUPI not only reaches out to the academic community and pesantren, but also to the wider community who have access to the internet, thus allowing for an expanded audience and active participation in more equal and democratic religious discussions.

The media has the power to shape public perception of an issue by determining topics that are considered important (Anju, 2024). In the context of the Muslim feminist movement, digital media plays a role in reframing the Islamic narrative to be more in favor of gender justice. In the context of Uses and Gratifications Theory, the effectiveness of digital media as a campaign tool is highly dependent on audience needs and preferences. Programs like Ngaji KGI and Mubadalah.id offer text-based and visual information across multiple platforms, allowing audiences to choose the appropriate consumption format (Setiawan, Pawito, and Slamet 2019).

The existence of digital media as a resource in KUPI's Islamic feminism movement also faces challenges of ideological resistance. The narrative of gender equality in Islam promoted by these platforms is often confronted with conservative groups who have a more rigid and patriarchal understanding of religion. Noelle-Neumann's Spiral of Silence theory can explain how individuals who support the idea of Islamic feminism can feel intimidated to voice their opinions in an environment that tends to resist change (Naz, Khan, & Basit, 2024). Therefore, Gjerazi (2023) argues that while digital media can provide a space for expression, a more inclusive and dialogical communication strategy is needed, especially in popularizing the ideas of Islamic feminism so that they can be more widely accepted without causing further polarization.

Although digital media has become an effective tool in supporting the struggle of Muslim feminists in Indonesia, optimization of communication strategies is still needed to make the message more impactful. KUPI and its supporting organizations need to utilize interactive engagement approaches, such as two-way discussions, responses to criticism, and collaboration with moderate religious figures to bridge the understanding between Islamic feminism and the wider Muslim community. Thus, digital media is not only a tool for information dissemination, but also a vehicle for transformative dialogue that can embrace various groups in the fight for Islamic-based gender justice.

Conclusion

KUPI exists as a forum for Muslim feminists who aim to challenge patriarchy and fight for gender equality through a moderate interpretation of Islamic teachings. Through the collaboration of female scholars, KUPI discusses and formulates views related to women's empowerment, strengthening social justice, and reforming Islamic law. The movement focuses on the representation of women scholars in the scholarly discourse of pesantren as well as promoting equality in fiqh and Islamic law, with the aim of addressing critical issues such as sexual violence and child marriage. KUPI plays an important role in creating inclusive social change and strengthening the role of women in society.

Actors in the KUPI Muslim feminist movement, such as Husein Muhammad, Faqihuddin Abdul Kodir, and Nur Rofiah, play a role in fighting for gender equality through the reinterpretation of Islamic religious texts. They see patriarchy as a product of religious interpretation that ignores women's rights. The rationality of their thinking is rooted in a more inclusive and contextual interpretation of the Qur'an and Hadith, rejecting existing inequalities. They use moderate, context-progressive approaches and *qira'ah mubadalah*

to emphasize equality between men and women. These efforts aim to empower women in various aspects of life, strengthen their position in the family and society, and assert justice within the framework of Islamic teachings.

Human resources in the organization and the use of digital media are the main pillars in the Islamic feminism movement under KUPI. KUPI has successfully optimized the potential of individuals and organizational networks, as well as digital media to expand the discourse of Islamic-based gender justice. However, ideological challenges and limited access among some communities must be addressed with a more inclusive communication approach. Therefore, it is recommended that KUPI strengthen collaboration with moderate religious leaders and increase audience engagement through dialogues that build mutual awareness of the importance of gender justice in Islam.

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