

The Economics of Salafi Feminism: Portrait of Social Construction and Entrepreneurship of Salafi Women in Lampung Indonesia

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Abstract

This study intends to reveal the economy of Salafi feminism, social construction and entrepreneurship of Salafi women in the cities of Metro, Central Lampung and East Lampung. Salafi women are a cultural variant of Muslim society that claims to be puritanical on ideology. They embrace Islam using syar'i mean and are strongly committed to realizing noble and religious goals. In these complex rules of life, they follow the Prophet's sunnah, namely trading. In terms of the association of Salafi women in public, it does not prevent them from carrying out entrepreneurial movements. This study uses a phenomenological approach using Berger's theory, namely the social construction of reality. This research reveals that apart from women who are Salafi qanaah for every provision of their husbands, they also carry out economic activities. In these activities, they continue to practice every religious norm, recommended by scholars as salaf ash Salih and prioritize permission from husbands and parents.

Keywords: enterprenuership, salafi, social construction, woman

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Introduction

Although salafi women are known as private and exclusive individuals, it is not difficult to find women in Lampung Salafi groups (central Lampung, East and Metro cities) appearing in public for socializing and entrepreneurship. Indirectly, their existence is a figure in voicing women's rights and equality in the economy, which has so far been limited to the discourse of power and knowledge to remain in their domestic sphere (Hidayah, 2014; Fitrianita, 2019). Basically, women do not have to fully submit to the provisions of their husbands as leaders (functional) because the wife's duties are not completely structural in nature but are alternatives that can be agreed upon by husbands and wives who want them to change positions (Ibrahim, 2013). This phenomenon illustrates that women in Salafi are not entirely limited to taking care of household needs, serving husbands, taking care of children, and are limited to housework such as efforts to subordination because of the economy (Ridwan and Susanti, 2019), patriarchal culture (Nurmila, 2015), and biased interpretations of religious texts (Parvanova, 2012), but also have access to socio-economic.

Studies on the economic activity of Salafi women have so far been little done. Many experts highlight the activities of Salafi women on social media (Sunesti, Hasan and Azca, 2018a), the use of social media as a medium of da'wah that is recommended to Salafi women (Nurani, 2019), hijab as a discourse of women domestication (Fitrianita, 2019), domestication of women Salafi as social construction (Khotijah and Madkur, 2018), the role of women as online preachers is able to increase the number of new female members that men have not been able to reach so far (Nielsen, 2020), not looking at the contribution of salafi women in socio-economics.

The tendency of some of studies mentioned above could be caused by limited information and difficult access to salafi women, who so far adhere to religious norms and distance themselves from the public. The involvement of salafi women so far has only been limited to da'wah activities, for example, there are salafi groups that want salafi women to take part in carrying out da'wah through social media, such as Whatsapp, Instagram, Telegram and other

social media (Nurani, 2019). This phenomenon strengthens the public's view of the exclusive salafi group, separating themselves from the community. Even the phenomenon of women hijrah salafi are required to fully follow religious norms and follow what their predecessors (ash salaf ash shalih) did as a new identity without any negotiation (Sunesti, Hasan and Azca, 2018b).

This study aims to complement previous studies related to salafi women by examining more deeply why salafi women in Lampung, Indonesia, choose to practice economics when they are required to qanaah, close public access, and avoid ikhtilat? This study tries to reveal the different sides of the salafi group, namely the social construction and entrepreneurship movement of salafi women in Metro City, East Lampung and Central Lampung. This condition emphasizes that the life of salafi women is not limited to general provisions, but can be determined through negotiation efforts in the economy as well as in taking care of themselves in social life. Women have an important role in preventing acts of violence against women themselves (Bloom, 2011) and changing public perceptions of how they feel with their voices (Hirschkind and Mahmood, 2002).

The involvement of Salafis in economic policy making through their participation in politics (Cavatorta and Resta, 2020). This situation will have macro, meso, and micro impact on economic development. At the same time, the involvement of women in economic development can not be underestimated because of their potential. Therefore, this paper will carry out enrichment about Salafi women and their economic activities with the assumption that *first*, women are the subject of economic development that has the potential to create new economic spaces amidst the threat of an economic recession. *Second*, salafi women are not included in the trend of women in general to work in the public sphere, because the industrial revolution 4.0 provides open opportunities for all parties to carry out economic activities. *Third*, the social construction of salafi women is able to elaborate between needs and adherence to religion. The Salafi women's movement shows that they have realized that they have the potential and opportunity to work in certain spaces.

Literature Review

Salafi Women's Social Construction

The knowledge in society, social interactions in society will form a reality of truth if done continuously even though this is not entirely true. Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman believed that it is a social reality which is formed from an action and interaction that runs continuously so as to create a reality of truth (Paloma, 2007). Community interactions have the potential to form new knowledge that is believed to be the truth, for example, the industrial revolution 4.0 theories which many emphasize that the presence of this era will make it easier for humans to interact and work. In Muhammadiyah, they suggested to the rich group to give little fortune to the poor as the mainstream of al-Ma'un teachings (Rahman, Syukur and Jumadi, 2021). However, Salafi as a puritan Islamic movement by calling for purity and rejecting the forms of heretical teachings (Wiktorowicz, 2000), it has confirmed the position of Salafi on conservatism, separate from state intervention, and exclusive as an Islamic group (Yakin, 2018).

The social and religious life (group) of Salafi is described as a conservative group by applying Islamic values that are relevant to previous teachings (Brown, 2015). Waters stated that *"they start from the premise that human beings construct social reality in which subjectives process and become objectivied"*. This is the forerunner of the contemporary sociological theory of social construction, Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luchman saw a knowledge developing dynamically in society. Par excellence obtained from social routines in this stage is called a paramount (Paloma, 2007). Controversies in the process of establishing truth often occur. The reality that is awakened among the salafi community is that the position of women refers to many religious texts and interpretations of as-salaf ash salih. In Islamic studies, many interpretations of religious texts are biased and able to form a social construction that women are the second party in a family. Global reality sees women as an object. Plumwood in his study explained that "A necessary object, woman, who is needed to preserve the species or to provide food and drink" (Plumwood, 1993). Islam clearly aligns the position of men and women as creatures, but misinterpretation makes women

not considered as subjects who have the same roles, rights and positions as men (Enginer, 1994). That is why there are still many problems related to equality between men and women that have not been achieved, which has led to disputes. Muslim feminist thinkers try to bring up a new understanding that men and women are the same in the Al-Quran and Hadith (Ilyas, 1997).

Salafi Women's Economy

Muslim-majority countries did not have a large participation of women in economic activities. When compared with non-Muslim countries with the same economic level (Weeks, 1988; UNDP (United Nations Development Programme), 2004), many Muslim countries did not receive economic support from women. In Muslim majority countries there is a culture that emphasizes that women should be at home as a domestic area. Gender inequality data shows that there is a surprising relationship between women and the economy. Women in contemporary times who make up nearly half the world's population had a thousandth of wealth and make up 10 percent of the world's total salary (Antrobus, 2004). The restriction of women in activities outside the home is merely a cultural reality that has been developed in various places. Biased and patriarchal-based interpretations of religious texts reinforce that there is no special place for women outside home activities. The current economic recession of the 20th century shows a chaos in the household economy that focuses only on men.

The religious text interpretations above show a patriarchal bias. This situation is seen in the concept of classical fiqh (historical sharia) related to the construction of women's rights. The historical conflicts that have arisen between Sharia and women's rights have made patterns of discrimination, intimidation, domestication and gender violence occur frequently. Historical events give special emphasis to cases of gender inequality and women's rights that have been taken away from the concept of qawamah and hijab (Campbell and An-Na'im, 1990).

During the time of the Prophet, women had the opportunity to run economic businesses to support them financially. Some women during the time of the Prophet, such as Khadijah, was a

female figure who was able to manage her finances so that she became successful female entrepreneurs at that time. This history is certainly a clarity of the role of women in the economic process in Islam. The involvement of women in the public sphere is also noted for Rafidhah Aslamiyyah who was the manager of the first Islamic Hospital and Samra 'binti Nuhyak al-Asadiyyah who was also a hisbah officer who oversaw trading activities in the market (UN-Habitat, 2005). The hadith of the Prophet narrated by Aisyah that the Prophet gave permission to women who left the house to meet their needs. The need for women to work is to make ends meet. However, when they are married, the results they get are not only to meet personal needs, but also to meet the needs of family members (Solihatin, 2017).

The ability of women in the bargaining process in economic activities was also carried out by the Prophet's wives. At that time, Caliph Umar with his policy wished to provide financial support to the Prophet's wife as a pension contribution to each Prophet's widow. The debate occurred when Umar wanted to provide a pension contribution of 12,000 Dirhams for Aisyah, while for others it was only a smaller amount according to the need, up to the smallest reaching 5,000 Dirhan. The rejection occurred because of the mismatch between the pension money and the daily needs for a year. In the end, Umar agreed and increased pension support of 10,000 Dirhams for the widows of the Prophet, except for Ayesha who still received 12,000 Dirhams (Abbott, 1985). Muslim women have the power to play an important and dynamic role in dialogue in determining a legal provision, both subject and object to fight the dominance of patriarchal law. Women in history have the freedom to choose and determine their lives. During the Ottoman era, apart from women having freedom in choosing schools and judges, judges also gave freedom to women and protected women (Christelow, Sonbol and Fernea, 1997; Wurth and Tucker, 2000; Rapoport, 2005).

Salafi Women's Movement

The massive salafi Islamic movement in Indonesia was not solely caused by the globalization or transnationalization of Islam, but also because of the collapse of the new order (Rahmat, 2017). Salafi, which is an understanding that was brought and developed to

invite the values of Islamic purity, has many opportunities with the increasingly massive student exchanges at several universities in Saudi Arabia (Hasan, 2006). In the end, these activities have been able to widen the domestic movement through Islamic organizations in several universities (see, Syukur, 2001). International funding sources coming from countries that develop salafi teachings make it easier to do salafi da'wah, for example, the Kuwaiti Charitable Foundation, Jamiyyat Ihya 'al Turast al Islam, The Qatari Sheikh Eid Charity Foundation (Wahid, 2014b) foundation donations and individual donations.

Salafis are people who follow the various Salafush Salafi ways of understanding Islam (Akhyar, 2008; Yazid, 2008). However, the teachings developed by countries affiliated with Salafis have different teachings, for example in Saudi Arabia there are dakwah salafi and salafi jihadists, in India there is the al-Islami congregation, in Lebanon there is Hizb al Tahrir who tries to realize the teachings of the caliphate ala minhaj al-nubuawah (Mufid, 2009). Salafi is basically not a movement that rejects modernity but tries to combine modernity with an authentic Islamic context (Duderija, 2007).

A biased interpretation of the Islamic text supports the domesticating activities of women, including salafi women. The domestication can be caused by patriarchal system (Akgul and Akgul, 2017; Muhammad, 2019). This is not solely in Islam but also in other religions and countries (see, Bouhours and Broadhurst, 2015). Women are increasingly limited in their space and they achieve the work-life imbalance (Adisa, Abdulraheem and Isiaka, 2019). This conditions is caused by the understanding of gender discourse is not the same since it is limited to their knowledge and social dimensions (Qibtiyah, 2018). This condition is basically caused by power, economy, politics and social realities that are formed in a family and local community (Parvanova, 2012). In the salafi family, there is a growing teaching that women are the party who must follow what their husbands said because they believe that Allah's pleasure is the pleasure of their husbands, so every activity is based on the provisions of their husbands or guardians. That the duty to work is the duty of the husband and the duty of women to take care of the household is a historical reality (Parvanova, 2012).

The call for a return to the purity of Islam made salafi movements move puritanically (Wiktorowicz, 2000). They even chose to separate themselves from Muslim groups in general. Their belief in religious interpretations often rests on their imams and it is not uncommon for salafi Islamic groups to have differences with one another. This difference gives an understanding that the purity value recognized is purity based on the group's interpretation and the imam or ash salaf ash salih as the reference. The restriction of salafi women from carrying out economic activities is a social reality that is formed in the salafi family. In economic activity it is not allowed to avoid ikhtilat that have the potential to cause slander. That is why salafi women get a restriction from leaving the house without their mahram accompanying them. This prohibition makes salafi women less involved in public activities. In fact, women during the Prophet had the freedom to do activities in the public sector, for example, Ibn Sa'd explained that the Prophet had a number of female friends, 529 of whom played hadiths as narrators (Roded, 1994).

The Prophet's journey before leaving had discussed women's rights in the economic and property fields. Some women during the time of the Prophet, such as Khadijah, was a female figure who was able to manage her finances so that she became successful female entrepreneurs at that time. This history is certainly a clarity of the role of women in the economic process in Islam. The involvement of women in the public sphere is also recorded in the name of Rafidhah Aslamiyyah, who was the manager of the first Islamic Hospital, Samra 'binti Nuhyak al-Asadiyyah, who was also a hisbah officer who oversaw trading activities in the market (UN-Habitat, 2005).

Methods

This research is a field research using a phenomenological approach and social construction. The design of this research is descriptive-qualitative which tries to relate variables and tries to reveal natural events in a holistic manner. Sources of data used in this study are primary data sources taken directly from the activities of salafi women in Metro, Central Lampung and East Lampung and secondary data sources obtained from literature and documentation sources related to salafi women. The sampling technique in this study used

a purposive sampling method using interview and documentation methods. After the data is received with certain components, the data is then analyzed using descriptive-analytical methods, which is a method of examining the status of human groups, objects, situations and conditions, and systems of thought. Data analysis carried out in this qualitative research, there are three main components that will be followed by researchers, namely data reduction, display data, and a conclusion drawing (Sutopo, 1988).

Results and Discussion

The Social Reality of Salafi

The teachings that the Salafis propagate are orthodox because they try to re-teach ancient or ancient teachings. That is because salafi which is taken from the word salaf means taqaddam wa sabaq (former or ancient) (Ahmad, 1979: 95). This term was interchangeable with the terms reform (islah) and renewal (tajdid). This fundamental concept was the basis for the spread of salafi Islamic da'wah. Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905) and Muhammad Rasyid Rida (1865-1935) defined salafi as renewal and purification. From this phenomenon, Salafis are then clashed with Islamic teachings that follow the provisions of the salaf (Ali, 2012).

The salafi movement had developed a lot in the Middle East, especially in Saudi Arabia and had spread to many countries through economic, educational, political and transnationalization channels. The group that relied on the ideology of the religious movement and thought on Abdul Wahab made them even more puritanical by criticizing the ways and methods of Islam of the Muslims of his time (Rachman Assegaf, 2017). This movement often criticizes parties who do not agree with and do not understand Abdul Wahab's teachings. In the 18th century AD Islamic groups that did not rely on the Islamic salaf movement would be considered apostates, kafirs, and others (Wahid, 2009).

As a da'wah movement, there are four purposes of preaching salafi. First, teach the teachings of the truth. Second, straighten all forms of irregularities that occur. Third, revive and practice what the Prophet did. Fourth, fostering a sense of unity and brotherhood of Muslims based on their love for the Prophet's (alwala') sunnah

and hating things that smell of heresy and kufr (al-bara') (Ali, 2012). Islam, which is able to present pure teachings by presenting monotheism and carrying out the Prophet's sunnah, will achieve peace and purity. This is how the salafi teachings developed. In an economic context, salafi groups have followed the Prophet's actions and did not leave the prevailing Shari'a.

The existence of the Salafist Islamic group can blend with the social realities of society (Setiawan and Midia, 2020). However, global assumptions about Salafis make it difficult for building interaction because it is known as a variant of puritan Islam (Wahib, 2017). The reality make Salafi achieve a rejection in various places (Nurish, 2020). In the other hand, Salafis in principle have strong personal values and also modern religious ethics to accommodate shared life as Salafi subjectivity (Chaplin, 2020). To minimize friction between Islamic and other religious elements and groups, some Salafi groups also integrate with local community groups and elements (Abidin and Hafizah, 2019). In addition, they have developed and are able to fuse with the values of nationalism, although they also put forward Islamic norms and ignore non-Islamic dogmas (Chaplin, 2018).

Portrait of Salafi Women in Lampung

So far, salafi women have also acted as economic subjects with the work they do. Studying the economic activities of salafi women is an interesting study because of course there are issues that must be answered before they, salafi women, enter the world of economy. Salafi women are limited to domestic affairs (Munir, 2010) who act as a wife who is submissive and obedient to the power of a man or her husband. Puritanical teachings such as those developed by many salafis become a barrier for salafi women to appear in public. The husband's permission is the main thing in women's activities because salafi women think that the husband's approval is a blessing in every woman's activity. If the husband does not give permission from the start and at the same time the wife is rebellious and disobedient to the husband, then what a wife is likely to get is *istidraj*. *Istidraj* means a pleasure given with the aim of getting pleasure so that they forget, neglect, and get destroyed (Makhluf, 199; Damanhuri, 2010; Shihab, 2002). This *Istidraj* also serves to punish humans gradually or gradually (Al-Jazairi, 2015).

Salafi women uphold the four rules of salaf (Jannah, 2013), namely *First*, carrying out the creed of tawhid as a unity of God. *Second*, consider that learning Arabic is compulsory. This interpretation is born from a belief that Arabic is the holy one that was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad as the language of heaven and the Koran. *Third*, use clothes that cover the whole body and are jet black. *Fourth*, they try to withdraw from social activities that involve many people who are not mahrams as an exclusive attitude in understanding salaf. It aims to avoid activities that have the potential to cause sin and waste (Hasan, 2006). The economic activity of salafi women often becomes a tension in the salafi family itself. They believe that the best place for salafi women is at home to avoid slanders that will be addressed to salafi families. However, this belief is a topic of conversation that there are some salafi women who also carry out economic activities individually or with their husbands or mahrams, both in economic activities that are practiced virtually or not. This belief is solely seeking the pleasure of Allah and applying the life system of the ash salaf ash salih. Several salafi women responded that the economic activities of salafi women could be carried out with several conditions, they received permission from their husbands as mahrams and did not leave their obligations at home. There is no prohibition in this case because we all know that Rosul's first wife who is one of the noble women who is guaranteed to enter heaven, namely Khadijah is a very successful businessman and after marrying the Apostle even after the Apostle was appointed as a prophet there was no order for Khodijah to stop. of his business. However, most importantly in economic activity in Islam, it is necessary to apply the Islamic Work Ethic (IWE) as a guide on how to carry out economic activities. The application of IWE in work activities can create a balance between work and social life. Besides that, it can also build Islamic job satisfaction (Sugiyanto, Rahman and Santoso, 2020).

Even though salafi teachings are orthodox or in Islamic studies they are puritanical, they still realize that technological development is a facility that needs to be utilized, especially for economic activities, communication and education. They believe that the use of industrial revolution 4.0 facilities ahead of 5.0 is good for economic interests.

Optimizing internet facilities has also made it easier for saalfi Islamic groups to raise charity funds. This shows that even though they are orthodox and doctrine and attitudes, salafis use internet facilities to succeed their missionaries (Iqbal, 2014). Being rich is a test and the way to deal with it is to be grateful by diligently giving alms, paying zakat, giving assistance to people in need and channeling their assets to things that are beneficial to Islam. So manhaj salaf does not forbid to be rich in the world as long as his wealth is useful and not only in the hoard. There are motives behind Muslim entrepreneurs deciding to do entrepreneurship, including because there are economic and religious motives that are based on rational choices (Nurohman and Muafiah, 2021).

In muamalah such as buying and selling activities there is no difference between men and women because Islam comes to bring justice. However, in contrast to obligations and responsibilities, there is nothing that can be equalized between men and women. For example, in terms of distribution of inheritance, men and women are not the same. In fasting, there are relief that is only given to women and not given to men, such as if a pregnant woman does not fast for a month during Ramadan because of concerns for the safety of her fetus. Faqihuddin in his book explains that women are allowed to help their husbands in meeting economic needs. Even if the woman or wife works, this does not cancel the husband's obligation to provide a living. Marriage activity does not mean stopping the role and right of women to work. On the other hand, working women will be very helpful and have the potential to improve the family economy. One thing that cannot be left out is the culture of deliberation within a family bond. This will be an answer to all problems. Like the Ummah Khadijah binti khuwailid, who became a very successful woman at that time, helping to preach the Prophet sallallahu alaihi wa sallam with his assets, then of course the law is allowed. The ability of women to be entrepreneurial, of course by paying attention to how good muamalah is, knowing the boundaries of women in entrepreneurship and most importantly paying attention to things related to maintaining their own honor.

Broadly speaking, women working in Islamic studies are allowed, but there are several conditions that must be followed.

Women and men do not have specific differences. As servants of Allah, they have the same rights and positions. This happens because to create a just and prosperous life (Umar, 2001: 17). This becomes a general truth or a social construction created by the reality that exists in the salafi family. Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman in their book "The Social Construction of Reality, a Treatise in The Sociological of Knowledge (1996)" argue that if an action and interaction are carried out continuously it will create a subjective reality (Bungin, 2007; Berger and Luchman, 1966).

Several informants explained that they carried out economic activities such as selling kitchen tools offline and online. As a salafi woman, Ivo explained that the activities she carried out had received permission from her husband and still maintained puritanism. In this activity, apart from employing several Kariawan members, she also gets control from her husband continuously to guard against elements of slander and things that are not in accordance with Salafi teachings. This shows that even though it is puritanical, the presence of salafi Islam is able to provide a new color in economic and social activities. Ivo explained that if she and other women did not do this (do entrepreneurship by utilizing the available facilities) then exclusion would continue. The presence of industry 4.0 which is increasingly unstoppable has obliged everyone to be able to adapt quickly. Even though they present the teachings of puritanism, they do not prohibit salafi congregations from using existing facilities, such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, WhatsApp and others. Salafis in this case limit the value of benefits that lead to negative things. Salafi thinking, which has been synonymous with orthodox teachings, is in fact able to keep up with the times and technology. Many salafi women have carried out economic activities both online and offline. They emphasized that as women they should not be left behind from the developments of the times. But even so they have to keep the teachings so far studied and taught.

Conclusion

Social willingness is built among salafis, although they believe that women can work, they do not follow the phenomenon related to women working in the public sector. Salafi women's economy is

built from a social reality that is influenced by religious norms. First, based on the main source, namely the Koran and Hadith. Second, the scholars as-salaf ash-shalih and third, prominent figures in salafi circles such as Muhammad Abdul Wahab and Ibn Taymiyyah as well as contemporary salafi scholars. Women can work, but they must comply with the law and avoid ikhtilat and not forgetting their obligations as women. The economic activities of Salafi women's feminism are formed in several women's movements in economic activities. Salafi women in three regions, namely Metro, Central Lampung, and East Lampung show different incidents in that they are not only women who only focus on household affairs in accordance with the provisions of puritan Islam, but also carry out entrepreneurial activities. This reality is formed in women's circles as an effort to help husbands meet their daily needs. This study still focuses on the social reality that occurs in Lampung, Indonesia and has a weakness in terms of the scale of the research. To complement this research, topics or research focuses on the economic activities of salafi women in other areas and contemporary Islamic studies can be carried out in further research.

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