

BEHIND THE BURQA

(A STUDY ON IDEOLOGY AND SOCIAL ROLE OF SALAFI WOMEN IN SOUTH KALIMANTAN)

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ABSTRACT

One of the important doctrines of Salafism is its teaching on women position. This movement tries to return women khittah to a symbolic prophet era: bringing women back home, using burqa and robes, applying a very strict Muhrim system, and full obedience towards husband and family. This Salafi movement has attracted many educated women and becomes a challenge for all parties.

This paper tries to explore the Salafi movement in South Kalimantan, especially its doctrines dealing with the views on the position and roles of women in the family and social environment.

The paper will start with explanation how the women introduced Salafism, involved themselves, build and maintain the puritan, a-social, and Arabian-like ideology of Salafi among the people in South Kalimantan who are pessimistic towards them, include the conflict they face in their big families and dilemmatic choice between maintaining their job or staying at home

Then follows the analysis of salafis women life. How their enjoyed stay at home and full obedience for family. and also way to solve families salafi problem: the economic pressure, limited access to work, birth uncontrol, limited access education for their children, etc.

At the end, this paper will show how Salafi women build a good relationship and social activities with their environment, behind their burga and robes.

Using the approach of Resource Mobilization Theory and Framing, by Jhon Mc. Charty, I will argue how the power of issue developed by a movement can persuade women choose to stay at home, leave their careers and become Salafis who devote their lives for the religion and families.

Keyword: Salafi Women, Ideology, Burga



A. INTRODUCTION

Although not a new phenomenon in Indonesia, religious purification movements find a momentum in the late 80's when current transnational movement invaded Indonesia. In Post-Revolution Iran, Indonesia surprised by the emergence of extremist movements in the name of religion on achieving the comprehensive Islamic ideals. *Indonesian Mujahedeen Council*⁶¹⁷, *Laskar Jihad*⁶¹⁸, *the Islamic Defenders Front*⁶¹⁹ or movement toward "Islamic Khilafah" such as *Hizb ut-Tahrir* tint in radicalism in the name of religion in Indonesia. Ther coupled with the emergence of momentum acts of terrorism as a mean of resistance to the West, that also contributes to the series of black violence in Indonesia.

Salafism in Indonesia is rooted in Wahabi Movement. ⁶²⁰ Patterned as skriptualis- fundamentalist, the movement suceed a new phenomenon that its existence can not be denied. In addition it appears in the social movements, the ideology is also developed and disseminated through Salafi Islamic boarding schools ⁶²¹ that have sprung up rapidly in Indonesia. These are teaching an ideology that very different from major traditional boarding schools, such as *Nahdatul Ulama's salaf*, ⁶²² and of course,

⁶¹⁷Majlis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI) was formed after the congress Mujahidin I in August 2000 in Yogyakarta followers recognized as a container consisting of a number of Indonesian Muslim leaders Ahlul Halli wal-Aqli (Ahwa) an undertaking to continue the mission of enforcing Islamic laws. Abu Bakar Baasyir, the characters who is well-known as chairman. Men born 68 years ago in Mojoangung, Jombang. See, Jajang Jahroni, "Islamic Fundamentalism in Contemporary Indonesia", in *the journal Reflections*, Vol IV (1), 2002 (34-46), p. 42.

⁶¹⁸Laskar Jihad is basically a part of the organization of Forum Komunikasi Ahlus Sunnah Wal Jama'ah (FKAWJ) who was born in Solo on February 14, 1999 at Tabligh Akbar moment in Manahan Solo headed by Ja'far Umar Thalib. Laskar Jihad was mainly associated with violence when they are directly involved in the conflict in Ambon and Maluku, See; Jamhari and Jajang Jahroni, *Radical Salafi Movement in Indonesia*, Jakarta: PT. Rajagrafindo Persada, 2004, p. 85-96.

⁶¹⁹Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) declared right on August 17, 1998 headed by Habib Rizieq. FPI name stuck when the group involved in Ketapang event on 21-22 November 1998, a conflict that mixed with religious background. Jamhari and Jajang Jahroni, Ibid. p. 133-156.

The Salafi movement is initially a purification religion movement whose roots can be traced back to the Wahabi ideology developed by Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab in the late 19th century that stressed the importance of returning to the Sunnah. Ideology is then developed by Ibn Taymiyah who initiated the movement of the Salaf and Ahmad ibn Hanbal, the founder of the Hanbali school which teachs the virtue of the Sunnah than qiyas. In the next period, Wahabi doctrine taught by Abdul Aziz Abdullah ibn Baz and Muhammad Nasr al-Din al-Albani.

⁶²¹Salafi pesantren mainly grown in areas outside Java and some other. An-Nur in Ciamis, Al-Furqan in Gresik, Minhajusunnah in Bogor, Ihyausunnah in Tasikmalaya, Assunnah and Dhiyausunnah in Cirebon, Al-Irshad in Salatiga, Imam Bukhari in Solo, Makassar are Wahdah Islamiyah, Abu Dhar in Mataram.

⁶²² According to Martin van Bruinessen Salafi Islamic schools using the book of al-Tawheed and al-Ushul-Thalasa, a bouquet of Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahab and Al-Aqidah a bouquet of Ibn Taymiyah. The sources are very different from books that have been used in the salaf pesantren among NU in general. View; Martin van Bruinessen, Yellow Book: Books in Arabic Script Used in The Boarding School Milieu, BKI, 149, 1990.



producing new generation that very different from what is produced by "old boarding school".

One of interesting part in ther movement is the ideology of the position they are trying to restore for women. The movement tries to restore women in early era of prophetic women as highly symbolic. It is reflected in bringing women back home, wearing a burka and robes, very tight mahram system, full obedience to the husband and sacrifice totally for the family. Through *Tartib an-Nisa*⁶²³ or *Nasihati li Nisa*, certain educated women in campuses led to wear burkas and robes⁶²⁴, breake away from the public association, stopped work of their professions, even willing conflicted with their families and parents for being a devout woman.

In Kalimantan, purification movements is engaged in local-recitals doctrine at some point in the South and East Kalimantan. In South Kalimantan, the Salafi movement moves from campus. Teaching books such as *al-Usul a-Tsalatsa* by Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahab, *al-Aqidah al-Wasithiyyah* owned by Ibn Taymiyyah, based on Baitul Hikmah, a campus mosque in Banjarmasin⁶²⁵, which then spread to several mosques and form local communities at the growing number of mass. More and more, these communities show significant progress. There are, at least, seven points of *Salafi Ta'lim* in Banjarmasin, a settlement Salafis neighborhood in Banjarbaru, and dissemination of their Bulletins periodically every Friday Prayer at some areas in Banjarbaru and Banjarmasin.

B. Make Friends and Build Salafism

Compared with other regions, the development of Salafis in Banjarmasin was not significant than other areas, such as Java and Sulawesi. When preparing ther paper, in Kalimantan, at least, there is only one known school develops a pure Salafi doctrine, namely Hidayatullah Islamic School in Balikpapan. Beyond that, Salafi just developed from several *ma'had* (Islamic boarding schools) and lectures-recitals at various mosques that filled by the salafi clerics. In South Kalimantan, Salafi teachings spread in Banjarmasin, Banjarbaru, and Landasan Ulin, and Pemurus Baru. In each region there are at least two to four points of lectures. Religious Salafi teachings vary, some use mosques, *langgar*/mushalla, or shop houses. All used interchangeably with several

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⁶²³ *Tartib an-Nisa* is one curriculum that is used in Islamic Salafi, while *Nasihati li al-Nisa* taught in Salafi community lectures in general in South Kalimantan.

⁶²⁴Salafi Movement in South Kalimantan largely driven by UNLAM students.

⁶²⁵Salafi schedule assessments in Banjarmasin Banjarbaru can be accessed at "www. Darussalaf.or.id."

⁶²⁶In addition to the campus mosque, salafi studies then extend in some areas of the mosques belong to the government, such as as-Syifa Mousque in government hospital "Ulin" Banjarmasin and some point in the local community level. In Banjarbaru region, community lectures for Salafi women are no less than 4 points, and does not include regular studies conducted at the residence of students.



Islamic studies teaching outside the schools of the Salaf. Only in Landasan Ulin and Pemurus Baru regions, Salafi teachings use a place owned by Salafi community itself.

The followers of Salafi women in Banjarmasin, especially those who have married and older, nearly eighty percent are Banjar ethnic. The rest is Java and a little bit of Sulawesi. However, most of them, or almost half, once go abroad, study, or live long outside the region. While the youth Salafi, mostly printed by the Islamic studies campus, or by their access on friendships, relationships and social networks.

Tuti, for example, knows Salafi Movement when she was studying master degree in Bandung. Tuti, intensively, studied the teachings of the Salaf there, and after returning to Banjarmasin, she became Salafi women steady, retiring from the social environment. She developed Salafi teachings in Kalimantan with her husband. Letty another case, he became salafi after marrying her husband extending Salafi teachings. After marriage, they serve as salafi totally. Female Salafi in Kalimantan, which is normally the first generation of Salafi adherents. They know salafi from the social environment, such as friendship, community and media. In ther case, hard to find followers of Salafi ideology inherited by their parents.

Being a Salafi woman, is not an easy matter. Compared with other Islamic streams, a Salafi requires strong determination, especially because they have to secede from the social environment, family, work and the way of dress. In addition, to live ther movement, some is strong, but the most are can't survive. Some leave off when they can not perform social etiquette and dressing guidance, especially within the campus. From about twenty participants of Salafi intensive study, only about two people who eventually in the final semester, can wear "burka" and "jubbah" when they in campus. Differ from the younger generation, the working women or those have married already, usually proceeds much longer to be a fanatic Salafi women, even some of them practice the teachings as best they could be, and leave the teachings that deemed severe. At Kawamara, a Salafi village, there are at least three Salafi women with such patterns: Aisha, Ummu Amar, and Fatimah. They studied Salafi teachings, followed the intensive study, relocated their own place to Kawamara, adopting the Salaf life, but still works as a State employee in their respective institutions. Ummu Amar and Aisha, was not wearing burka and jubbah, either in the workplace or when following the lectures and on the day-to-day activities at their homes. Fatimah, however, only when at the work wears daily office attire, beyond that, she wears burka, jubbah, and practices life and etiquette of dress according to the guidance of the Salaf.

The social environment, the study groups, the role of teachers and families, greatly influence the growth of ideology of salaf women. Communications among salafi women needed to share their experiences, find solutions together to the internal problems they face, and most importantly, to strengthen the practice of Sunnah. The strong Salafi women practicing Sunnah guidance, are usually those who can maintain



and build a strong and continuous communication to their friends and follow the salafi recitation (ta'lim).

The intensity of follow recitation is another key factor due to planting of the ideology. Teaching schedule distributed in sequence. In ta'lim, salafi women obtain "all" they need to be a strong Salaf woman. Not just about the science and the strengthening of the Salafi creed, by salafi ta'lim, salafi women build social and economic networks. Only in the event, they can meet directly with fellow salafi worshipers, includes get salafi new colleagues, exchange households experiences directly, and get ghirah satisfaction as worshipers of salafi group. In addition, ideologically and socially, groups of recitation are also an economic event, especially for Salafi women. In ther event, Salafi women generally buy and sell their goods. Umm Aisyah sells bread, Umm Zaid hawks underwears, nightgowns and processed foods, Umm Khansa sells shoes and sandals, Umm Enda recieves and brings such orders, stitches and cakes, and so forth. Ta'lim is a never-ending blessing for salaf group, therefore, the first Salaf group coming from out of town, move slowly nearly ta'lim point. It is not only because mileage consideration, but living in groups with fellow Salaf is apparently easier for them in practicing sunnah than living at "foreign" environment.

1. Metamorphosis to Salafi Women

Umm Zaid was one, who chose to live as Salafi and steady left "a brilliant" past. Before becoming salaf, she was called by her name, Tuti. Tuti works as lecturer at a State University in Banjarmasin. She had completed graduate school and had family background of established employees. Now she chose housewife as her dedication.

Tuti met Salafi movement when he was studying master degree in Bandung. Begining from a preaching to preachings, Tuti found the values of life that she was looking. Because according to what she lived, it is not fulfilling what she wants. Questions about who and for what it was, and why she must undergo all. All is not answered, although she learned a lot of the teachings of the various groups and other Islamic groups. Especially with clerks family background which more focused on careers and jobs, she did not find the deep religious values at home.

"I found that the teachings of Salaf is the doctrine that match what I was looking for, from collage to work, and studying at graduate school, in fact I am often involved in various groups and religious thought. During that time I was in the process of looking. There is a secular takes us all, there should also make us not like other groups, so first, I joined the group, participate and unparticipate again, meet new doctrine, engaging, and then did not fit, so on. I felt what had been I live not satisfying. Everything is like a mirage which makes us thirsty. Well,



teaching of Salaf is different as long as I have learned, it is really pure lead us to God, no-earthly-frills, therefore, I was with my husband, believe that ther is the right way, and we are firmly covered it together."⁶²⁷

Tuti admitted that the initial process of undergoing salafi is not easy. Especially because he was working on her dissertation. Salaf doctrine demands that require it to limit contact with the social environment, especially the opposite sex, making Tuti dilemma. In process, that is not easy. Tuti's dissertation writing tutors are male lecturers. Tuti then approve the request for consultations by phone and email only. And luckier still, she also allowed, in undergoing the trial process dissertation, wearing a burka and jubbah. Something she felt God's amazing grace.

"The promise of God is, there will never wrong. If we are sure to walk in goodness, we would have helped. I can not imagine if I had not allowed to consult by phone and email, could be I can't finish my master process. Whereas study that I take in a bond with so many agreements that requires me to finish it in the agreed deadlines. Not to mention it was swept study. If everything's backwards, it will be so worse. But it's called God's help, everything went smoothly."

When Tuti completed her study and returned to Banjarmasin to work at the University, the views and lifestyles of Tuti as Salafi, reap many problems. Tuti transformed into a new figure after returning from studies in other region. First, it is very striking in appearance. Although initially she was not wearing a burka, but long jubbah she always wore dark colors, making she look different from other faculty lectures. Her attitude is also gaining loner, difficult addressed, and avoid communication with the opposite sex, making Tuti increasingly alienated.

Slowly, Tuti started hearing "oblique" conversations of herself. Although it is acknowledged as not to disturb, because she understands the consequences of living as Salafis. However, a few things related to the duties and teaching process, already not running smoothly. Some male students should consult with Tuti started complaining with her usual lack of transparency, Tuti did the opposite, often feels uncomfortable when having to face male students who requested consultation. Tuti also often avoids having to deal with the dean or other supervisor, for a variety of university purposes that should be her duty. Tuti increasingly uncomfortable with the atmosphere of her work. Demands to being a salafi woman and difficulties burden conditioned work environment, making Tuti eventually have to choose. A year after finishing her master study, she chooses to quit as a lecturer, takes care of her resignation, choosing house field as her dedication.

⁶²⁸ *Ibid*.

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⁶²⁷ Personal interview with Tuti, 42, housewife, Banjarmasin.



Not much different experience shared by Ellis, in proceeds to be Salafi. As a student in the final semester at the University of Lambung Mangkurat Banjarmasin, Ellis dilemma is much more.

First known Salafi, she was very interested. Because before knowing it, she was Islamic movement activists at the campus. Salafi teachings captivates herself because these are totally carry pure devotees to God alone. Sell entire life and devotion, and then exchanged for happy and eternal afterlife.

Ellis initially only use jubbah, acquainted with the Salafis then pushed her very strongly for wearing a burka and limiting her social area. In her campus, Ellis robes and wears a burka, in addition to the love, still more were taunting her. Almost always she founds comments spicy and naughty of fellows in lectures, including an uncomfortable insinuations of her friends in boarding home. In the early days, Ellis claimed crys every time he heard a negative response, but some fellow Salafi women strengthen her: that it is consequences that must be faced as a test case.

When preparing this paper, Ellis was in the final semester, completing the final project and she is in a *ta'aruf* process (know each other before marriage) with a brother facilitated by Salafi cleric. All of that is not known by her family in the village.

2. Alienated from Family

In addition to the social environment, the hardest thing faced by salafi women is her big family rejection, especially if the women are educated or have a steady job.

Tuti decision to withdraw from her profession as a lecturer, shook her family. Of course its not because of economic problems, but Tuti so far, is a role model for her younger siblings and also become a pride in her family. By her decission, Tuti was not accepted in her family. Even if, at least every weekend, she went visiting her parents house, Tuti and her family were ignored.

"Once, I came home, my mother closed the door tightly, we waited in the middle room until afternoon, and mama is not at all willing to meet us. Certainly its very painful. Ther happened almost two years. They are not willing to be contacted. Papa, especially mama, and also several brothers keep some distance and communication. Two years we isolated in our own hometown. Now, after nearly five years, everything's starting melt. Moreover, now I had four childrens, they grandchildren. But only, Dad often remarked, whether you do with my grandchildren? A Tone indicates that even now my family has not been fully accepted the way of life that we go through."

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Unlike Tuti, Khalida mets rejection harder from her family. Khalida core families, especially her husband, are not willing to accept her decision to become a Salafi. The decision, she had is to leave her house, because it was not willing to let go of Salafi teachings. Khalida leaving her two youngs elementary school, and settled in Kawamara singly. Khalida family in the area, responded louder. She not recognized as a child by her parents as long she still remains the Salaf. If wants to visit her parents, Khalida should be without jubbah and burka.

"Now I live only for God, obey God's law is above than to husband and parents. I believe that God set. I'm happy with what I went through, and I always pray that one day my children, husband and my family, their hearts opened and we could be together in achieving the blessing of God." 630

In contrast to Tuti and Khalida, Letty, Salafi women who now changed her name to Samratul Jannah, proceeds more comfortable when being Salaf. Although there is no clear statement of their support, Letty claimed parents were not banned when it is revealed to be the Salaf and wearing a burqa, just to be cool when she decided to no longer teach as a lecturer. For Letty, silence means agreement. And she and her husband are now more determined to live as a Salafi.

C. Establishing and maintaining Salafism

1. Economic Pressure Against: Heaven is Cheap Price

One of the most drastic change of life women transforming into a salafi, is the change in the economy. Families who originally had double income, being pursed for variety of conditions, can because her wife stopped working, or because the family had to leave the job that has an established place of origin, and resettled near salafi study groups, and there also a householder who stopped his professional work early for reason that do not fit the Sunnah.

Tuti, for example. Tuti economic life changed frontally when she decided covering herself and leaving her career. When the first child born, everything is still under control, the second child, is under control, but when the third and fourth child was born, the prassure increasingly felt. Currently, Tuti activities focused on taking care of all five of their childrens: Siti Fatimah, Zahratunnisa, Ummi kulsum, Siti Aisyah, and smallest, Muhammad Zaid. In addition to her husband and four childrens, there is khadijah, Tuti's sister-in-law, who opted to stay with them. She is also a Salafi.

Tuti family live in a house measuring 45 m², with three rooms, a living room and a middle room that insulated stretch of patchwork, but thick enough so that the activity is not visible in the people outside, for example if there are guests. Although

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⁶³⁰ Personal interview with Khalida, 36, mother households, Banjarmasin.



their homes are residential region, its quite permanent and made of brick, some parts of Tuti house is not completely finished. The floor, for example, is still a rough cast cement without ceramic. To anticipate that, Tuti put plastic mats in some places that generally used for major activities of her family. The middle room is used for eating and praying, as well as reception room, because her husband, who is also respected among Salafis, often receives guests.

Tuti kitchen section looks very potluck. There are two medium-size buckets, a basin, a large plastic barrel to hold water. There is a small plastic dish rack for drying cutlery. All activities such as washing clothes, ablution and washing dishes are fuzed. A lot of activities with minimal equipment, make Tuti's kitchen never got dried and always arranged. Three bedrooms filled with simple tools. In fact, even of them only have one seedy mattress without couch, and a pile of clothes without cabinet.

Due to economic constraints, in a week, there are only one or two scheduled meals with menus of side dishes such as fish or chicken, but in the rest, the meals more dominated by vegetables such as tempe or tofu. Often she sells household appliances for covering various needs that can not be postponed. Tuti kids also live in simplicity, with humble clothing, simple food and education. This condition is much different when she was still able to work outside.

Seeing Tuti and her family conditions, with persistence of Tuti to continues approaching their parents for years, her big family anger melts. Slowly, they can begin to communicate each other.

"Now our relationships are much better than before. Sometimes, mama and papa visit their grandchildrens in my house. Each visit, they must bring groceries, rice, sugar and fishes. Somewhile, mom also helped and encouraged me to indulge again. She lent me a venture capital. Because my brother sells handbags and clothing, he often brought goods to my place that can I sell at ta'lim moment. Although I still often see a long face of my parents, especially to their grandchildrens. Papa often wants to bring them for a walk or stay at his home, but it was not authorized by me. In public places, I affraid my children, especially the girls, hanging out with the opposite sex. In their grandfather home, they're like watching TV, so many display inappropriate content will seen. I have to keep them, not contaminated by bad values."

With assistance of her extended family, now Tuti can help her family economy by selling at ta'lim. She was carrying bags, house dress and girls underwears. House dress models that sold by Tatiani were long robe model with long sleeves that match Salafi women needs, they does'nt like clothes with minimalist models. Some of the children's clothes models were such things. According to Tuti, pretty hard to find model that she

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⁶³¹ Loc. cit



wishes in the market, if any child negligee models suitable, sometimes the pictures instead of living things, that their child should not wear.

Tuti, do not get these wares straight from the market, because as a Salafi women, it was impossible she did. The goods were supplied by her brother who sells clothes. Beside clothes, handbags, wallets for women, Tuti also sells processed food, such as meatballs, packaging sausages and tomatoes, and the same. Despite that, she often receives orders beyond the goods she sells, usually via *short message service*.

Umm Aisha, an other Salafi woman, shared in the economic changes dramatically after becaming Salaf. In advance, Umm Aisha and her husband live in Buntok, about 60 Km from their current residential home. In the origin place, Umm Aisha husband manages the workshop and spare parts store largh enough. Theretofore they only have a child. They enjoyed life as a successful trader. But when their life acquainted with the teachings of the Salaf, Umm Aisha family initially only commute from their homes to the study group. Sometimes they stay a day or two in the area using a private car. In line with increasing of Salaf *ghirah*, Umm Aisha eventually move from Buntok to Kawamara to follow intensive ta'lim and the teachings of the Salaf. They sell all assets, homes and works. Hoping that in the new place with the existing capital, Umm Aisha and her family start a better life and in accordance with the sunnah.

In the early years, Umm Aisha still live worthily with the rest of her family money. But for businesses, it turns out they're not as lucky as before. Her husband had opened the garage business in the area nearby, but then closed for silent enthusiasts. In addition to a garage business, he also tried to sell the building equipment, selling electrical equipment. But all that does not work, Umm Aisha husband could only work odd jobs.

Meanwhile, increasingly household demands can not be held. Their childern born with poorly controlled. For three years in Kawamara, Umm Aisha had three babies. To help the family economy, Umm Aisha made bread and sold in the market by her husband. Occasionally she also brought bakery wares to the study groups. Her efforts are very helpful. The results are even greater than her husband's work were just in odd jobs.

But making bread while carying of the house and keeping the three toddlers at once, without any help from other except her husband, mades Umm Aisha overwhelmed. Often she can not make bread because one sick toddler, or homework already piling up or herself lying exhausted.

"Selling bread was not certain how many in a day, depending on the circumstances at home. Yesterday, I wanted to build fifteen seeds, new make six, the butter is ready burnt, suddenly my least son fret and can not be left. Finally the dough was not neglected. As it often happens, sometimes there is



pain, or three day unwashed laundry and could not make bread. So sometimes, my husband vends, sometimes not, depending on circumstances at home."⁶³²

Umm Aisha's life is very different from what she've lived before becoming Salafi. But way of life now steadily passed by her. According to her, the price of paradise is not cheap, and she was determined to make it up to remain through all the challenges and trials.

2. Overcoming Problems of Salafi Family Education

Along with women and families Salafi exclusivity on the environment, it is also accompanied by a rigorous education election for children of Salafi family. Thd adherents do not carelessly put their childrens into public education institutions. Because of considerations of mixing between men and women, public education institutions are rated by their as full faults and sinners. The negative effects of education generally considered greater than the positive impact it causes. Ultimately, they just stay away from the general education provided by the government and choose schools that in Salaf methodology.

Educational exclusion also occurs in Salafi families in Kalimantan. The view of the national education system full of "faults" and "immoral" and the selection of strict educational institutions make their childrens are no longer forced to attend public schools. As the first generation of Salafi adherents in Kalimantan, there is no pure affiliated Salafi pesantren in their environment and are able to accommodate all the educational needs of their generation. There are only one ma'had with two classrooms were built and fostered self-reliance, the Salafi community in Kawamara, which accommodate the needs of the Salafi current family education.

A year since then, Ma'had al-Manshuroh built independently by the Salafi community. Currently, Ma'had al-Manshuroh has two classrooms are in use each for male and female students alternately. Morning for Madrasah classes, and afternoon for kindergarten-class. In Madrasah class, until now students only up to grade two.

⁶³³In view of the Salafi, its forbidden for a Muslim studying in such schools. Whether it's in the land of the Muslims or in countries. This due to mixing between women and men, damaging morale, and also public schools have spread *mafsadat* for youth and confused the education system. http://ibn-jebreen.com/ftawa.php? view = vmasal & subid = 11754 & parent = 31 564, see also Shaykh Muqbil ibn Hadi Tuhfatul Mujiib 'ala' asilatil Hadhir wal Qhorib things. , Quoted from *al-Fatawa al-Muslimah mar'ah things*. 266-268, Darul Atsar, Shon'a, 2th Edition/1432 h.

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⁶³² Personal interview with Umm Aisha, 34, housewife, Banjarmasin.

⁶³⁴Abu Zaid family for example, has five children, three of whom should be sitting in elementary school. However, as a devout Salafi adherent, three of her daughters are just learning to read, write, and some other basic knowledge from her mother at home. They can not go to school because all the nearest schools mixed boys and girls in one class. A similar case occurred in Halima, a 15 year old. Before her family became followers of Salafi, she spent het early education in elementary school nearby, after graduating, she went to a boarding school in Solo Female Salafi, but due to limited funds, two years later she came out, back to Kalimantan, lived with her sister, and its undergoing the process of *ta'aruf* for the wedding.



Umm Aisyah, a family previously lived in Buntok, about 60 km from Landasan Ulin. Aisyah, her first daughter, she was in elementary school. A year ago, they moved to Landasan Ulin, but because of the cleric, they also attend their children to ma'had. Aisyah is currently 10 years old, she should have been the fourth grade, but since moving to Ma'had, Aisyah now only in the second grade.

In addition to slowly building ma'had, independently of educational activities are also conducted in the homes of Salafi families. At Ummu Zaid home, for example, the mom that previously a lecturer at one of the public universities in Banjarmasin, choose to teach her own childrens at home, or that she is often referred to as home schooling system. For a certain time, some children from salafi families also learn at her home. Beside teaching reading and writing, she also teach some basic knowledge, Bahasa Indonesia, natural sciences, social sciencies, and so on. Currently when Ma'had has over establishment, she devoted herself there.

3. Fostering Social Life

Salafi women although generally build on social life through the hijab and burka robe, to some extent, they also build a dynamic social relationship with their surroundings.

Salafi family social context in Borneo, in general, are family mingle with other families besides salafi from various levels of education, social and religious residence. They do not live in groups in a residential area or a particular settelment, but spread and blend with the surrounding vast Kawamara. In Kawamara, in particular, salafi women also attended the wedding invitation, celebration, conducted economic transactions, and established interactions with nearest neighbors.

For salafi women, attend the wedding reception is a natural. Tuti said that they often attend to wedding receptions. But it certainly can not mingle with the other guests, especially men, as done by many other. Then, they usually come early, early in the morning before many guests coming, or in night before a day of celebration, or they can come after the event has ended. Usually for weddings, salafi womens come in groups. Using SMS, they agree on a time and place to gather for the event.

In addition to attending the reception of other social activities are also often done is to attend the event for safety (*selamatan*), aqiqah and other invitations from residents. For small events like this, the only closest salaf women who came. Specially, for selamatan who are usually for female-only, there a few of salafi women who are ready to mingle with other invitees in the event. Some said, often chooses to sit in the kitchen or in the other corner and lefts early.



Other salafi womens are sometimes unable to attend at invitation or reception held by citizens. Because some other things that are considered "ikhtilath", they came up just before the event, and bring "a souvenir", usually a potluck which is required in the event.

Some nearby neighbors admitted very comfortable for hanging out with salafi family, especially the women. Though wearing the hijab, salafi womens are very friendly and often say hello first when meeting. Awiyah (Grandmother, 87 years), for example, who live alone with no family near house of Umm Zaid confesses that some salafi women often visits her, asks for her health, brings food, and helps her for doing what she could not do it herself.

D. CONCLUSION

Referring to the concept of *framing* in Resource Mobilization Theory, mobilization of the Salafi movement in South Kalimantan built with the intact model. Womens invited to build a new identity on the ideal life in the world and the hereafter. The best women is able to keep her life from *mafsadat*, who volunteers her fun world to be replaced by the pleasures of the hereafter. In this process, individual identities previously removed, strengthening the ideology addition, it is also important to minimize conflicts. A beginning career woman, unified with vision of the social environment full of mafsadat, her aurat must be kept, the values of a noble woman behind the burka jubbah. The result, woman are formerly active and involved in social and professional milieu, being continually haunted with the concept of sin and corruption, so the climax, they are strong enough to abandon their social lives then cover theirself at home. That frame was formed in fellow Salafi community which they keep it strongly. Therefore, only women who actively communicates with fellow Salafi and diligently follows ta'lim, will be ables to be a militant Salafi woman.

Salafi ta'lim centers who conducted periodicly and continually the most powerful factor for the emergence of salafi women who are willing to "spend life" at home to be a devout Salafi, even though most of their decisions are not approved by the family. Even paper discovered a woman willing to live Salaf separated from her husband and shunned by her family, only weeks to live life as a devout salafi woman.

In the case of the salafi women's movement in the South-Kalimantan, the framing process works well, but due to asset resources are still very limited, the movement is runs slowly. Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT) explains that the ability to access the ownership of these resources, allowing them to perform social movements. In South Kalimantan, ownership and the ability of resources walk out of

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⁶³⁵In the Resource Mobilization Theory, Framing is an effort to build awareness and relate personal ideology to be implanted. In this process, each individual in the directed movement to find common ground, eliminating the personal identity, creating a new identity and maintain a collective identity.



balance. Some Salafi cleric may have ability to build character and ideological framing for shaping an ideal woman, but it is not accompanied by a stable ownership. The availability of places to perform permanent ta'lim is very limited, some other places must alternate with other Islamic streams, so some times the Salafi movement is involved in the conflict of "grabbing" the mosque, or displaced by the other. Educational institutes art still very limited, so the Salafi ideology coaching can not be fully done through educational institution.

The Salafi women, most experienced drastic economic and social life shocks. But it is reinforced them life as Salaf. Salafi doctrine of simplicity and *wara*, has further strengthen the eternal live. It is linear with the RMT which explained that individual participation in social movements will be tracked from the point of view of the behaviorist. Individuals will do something if their attitudes are rewarded.

Social communication models of Salaf womens in one area to others are not same, depending on the social context and responses of the surrounding community. In Banjarbaru, salafi women are more capable to blend with their environment and more able to communicate broadly, rather than the Salafis women in Banjarmasin. This because, the Salafi Womens in Banjarbaru live in groups with fellow followers of the Salaf, even if the scale is not too large. Groups are mixed with the other followers of the Salaf, at least it is more strengthen and enable them to able for establishing a broader external communications. In fact, besides carry out social relationships and communication, these womens are also able to engage in economic activities and trades in order to help sustain the family economy, but of course, the scales are indeed limited. This is very different from the Salafi women in Banjarmasin. Living apart at the other salafi, they are so difficult to be able for performing wider social activities. This is mainly due to closed physical appearance and manner of dress that salafi women who are dressed. Even found, some of them who do not wear the burka, when they lived in Banjarmasin. Just when her family settled in Banjarbaru and mingle with other salafi, she can wears the Salafi clothes with more convenient and flexible.



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