**Gender Equality of *Salafi* Family in Dieng**

Sukron Mazid dan Sholihul Hakim

Universitas Tidar

**Abstract**

This study aims to identify gender equality of *Salafi* families in Dieng’s social life that urge the existence of men and women’s roles in the *Salafi* families. This study applied descriptive qualitative method using case study approach in Kepakisan Village, Batur District, Banjarnegara Regency. The results indicate that the *Salafi* family's social life includes the social environment, education, and occupation. The Salafi familes are fairly treated without being discriminated such as in social activities and community works. All *Salafi* children are given equal access and opportunities in education, in which the main focus is religious education. In terms of occupation, *Salafi* men and women are also given equal access and benefits especially in agricultural sector where husband and wife can work together and help each other.

**Keywords:** gender equality, *Salafi* family

**INTRODUCTION**

Indonesia is a country with major Muslim population and based on Pancasila. However, the growing and increasing Muslim population in Indonesia has made Indonesian Muslims a target for activists and even *mujahid* (Islamic activist) of Islamic Transnational movement’s agenda to campaign their movements in Indonesia. Transnational Islam that has been developed in Indonesia generally has an ideology based on the state-nation concept. However, it tends to focus on the concept of religious ideology which emphasizes the benefit for the people. This movement is dominated by the paradigm of scripturalist fundamentalism thought and it sometimes partially adapts modern ideas and instruments.

Islamic movements or organizations during the *Orde Lama* (Old Order) era grew rapidly. Moreover, during the *Orde Baru* (New Order) era they also grew and developed throughout the nation, especially in remote areas that lack of religious knowledge. The doctrine from various schools was massive that lead to diverse Islamic movements. They came from Arab, Persia, and Egypt lands brought by immigrant scholars and students in the Middle East. They spread over the Asian region especially in Indonesia.

One of the Islamic movements is *Salafi*. This movement grew rapidly in the mid-1980s. *Salafi* movement gained more attention during the Soeharto era (the New Order Regime) which ruled for 32 years from 1966 to 1998 (Handayani, et al. 2004: 4). *Salafi* were restricted in their movements and *da'wah* scope. These affect all aspects of the *Salafi* movement in *da'wah*.

The *Salafi* movement reached its peak of growth after the Suharto regime ended in 1998 (Rahmad, 2017: 25). The growth began with freedom of speak during the postreformation. *Salafi* adopt the *da’wah* model of study such as in brochures, magazines, television, radio, internet, also daily and monthly routine religious studies model. Rahmad (2017: 124) explained *Salafi* is the first group to call for a return to the purity of Islam and to the *Qur'an* and *Sunnah*. It was implemented with the agenda of eradicating local culture (*‘urf* and *‘adah*) manifested in the Islamic rituals and Sufism spiritual tradition.

The *Salafi* community tends to restrict themselves from social environment and activities. It seems that they create their own closed small community showing their desire to purify Islam in accordance with the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad and isolate their life from politics matters. They always discuss about the purification (*tasfiyah*) of Islam in terms of worship such as *qauliyah* and *amaliyah*. *Salafi* family activities are restricted to domestic space where a wife should serve her husband and take care their children. Women have the role as a wife who must obey her husband, educate their children, and do domestic works. Meanwhile, men make a living to support their families. The *Salafi* families live it as an implementation of natural obedience and piety (*tawakkal*).

The *Salafi* populations are not only in urban areas, but also exist in remote villages and mountains. For them, living in mountains area will lead to calm and solemn worship. One of the *Salafi* communities lives in Kepakisan Village, Dieng. Dieng Mountains is tourism and horticultural crop areas. Most people there do farming and trading. Agriculture is the main source of income for local people. The *Salafi* family in Dieng is different from the others. Works and activities are done together by both men and women. Women have major role in *Salafi* family, but still, men dominate in almost every job. Gender equality in Indonesia is still debatable. One of the factors that argue gender equality Indonesia is male domination where women are still underestimate in many aspects. Therefore, women demand equal rights.

The Global Gender Gap Report (1989) data on four sub-indexes wrote that education in the Philippines has achieved an extraordinary progress among health, domestic works, participation, and opportunity in economics. Its political empowerment sub-index is also higher than Indonesia which is at the 6th rank among ASEAN countries. National Socio-Economic Survey (2012) wrote the numbers of male and female higher education graduates are almost equal to 6.43 percent for men and 6.11 percent for women. However, the percentage of women who do not have a diploma certificate is 27.66 percent; higher than men 22.38 percent.

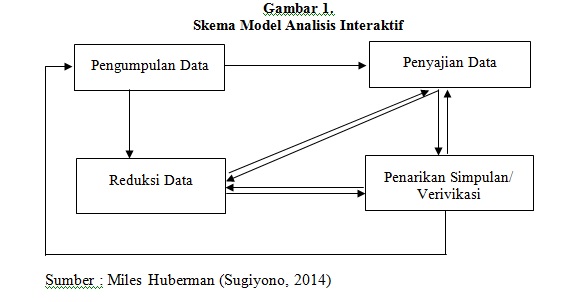
Benedek (2006: 147) explained that even though the conditions of gender equality and justice in the world have grown a lot, in a particular level, social structure is still a major obstacle to achieve gender equality and justice in some parts in the world. The society structure changes in a life, especially in interpreting the functions and duties of men and women that restrict the role of women. Kusumawardhana and Jarwo (2018: 158) described gender differences are actually not a big deal as long as they do not lead to gender injustice. However, it turns out that gender differences through myths, socialization, culture, and government policies have led to injustice for women.

The life of *Salafi* family itself is less exposed, especially in gender mainstream and it tends to be exclusive. Therefore, it is important to conduct a comprehensive study on gender equality in terms of economics, social, and culture. Based on the background of the problem the researcher is interested to study gender equality in the social life of the community of *Salafi* families in Dieng area of Kepakisan Village, Batur District Banjarnegara.

**RESEARCH METHOD**

This study applied descriptive qualitative method using case study approach. Qualitative research is a research to describe and analyze phenomena, events, social activities, beliefs, perceptions, and thoughts of individuals or groups (Syaodih, 2011: 60). This study aims to reveal the phenomena that describe gender equality of *Salafi* families in Dieng.

This study took place in Dieng mountains area; case study in Kepakisan Village, Batur District, Banjarnegara Regency. The data were collected through interview, observation, and documentation. The data were then analyzed using triangulation of three interacting components: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/ verifying by Milles and Huberman’s interactive analysis model as shown below.



**RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

**Social Environment**

*Salafiyah* is a stream of thought that emphasizes the *sharia* texts of thought both methodically and systemically, commited to the instructions of the Prophet both scientifically and practically, rejecting various *manhaj* that contradict the instructions related to worship and *sharia* provisions (Zainal Abidin, 2009: 26). The Salafi family in Kepakisan lives together with other local residents. Their social interactions can be seen from how to respect and treat the guests, community works, marriage, birth, death, and other activities.

The researcher found that the family is kind and friendly when interviewing them at their home. They showed good attitude during the interview session, opened for any discussions related to this study, and served the guest well. They have participated in community works together with local people in Kepakisan such as in the renovation of Baitul Makmur which is the religious activities center in Kepakisan.

Islamic identities are clearly seen in Kepakisan. *Salafy* families always wear Islamic outfit. Women always wear robe, *niqob*, gloves and socks in dark colors. Meanwhile, men wear Muslim clothing such as *koko* shirt and grow their beard (*jalabiyah*). Men and women of *Salafi* families do the activities separately, but they maintain good social relationship with their non-*Salafi* neighbors.

When visiting the *Salafi’s* house, male and female guests are separated in different rooms. It also happens in wedding ceremony that male and female guests are placed in different rooms. If there is a woman visits *Salafi* family to meet the *Salafi* woman’s husband, his wife will accompany her husband to meet the guest. If the guest wants to meet the *Salafi’s* wife, then the husband does not need to accompany his wife unless the guest is someone he already knows or belongs to his family. There is an exception when visiting elderly people who are sick, both men and women are allowed to visit together without any barrier.

The *Salafi* people always lower their gaze and voice when they walk and meet the opposite sex. They believe that eye contact and voice are the things that should not be exposed. However, they don’t mind with the Javanese tradition to greet each other as a sign of frendliness by keep lowering their gaze and voice.

**Education**

Most of the *Salafi* families graduated from elementary school. It is their daily routines for women to take their children to schools, both formal and non-formal education. The children usually go to school at 7 a.m. If they want to pursue their study to the secondary school, they need to go to Dieng, Batur, or Wonosobo. Children of the early childhood education and elementary school wear Muslim uniform, both for male and female students. Students of the early childhood education study at 07.30-10.00, elementary school students study at 07.30-12.00, and secondary school students study at 07.30-13.00.

There are 85 students of Islamic elementary school and 15 teachers. This school prioritizes Islamic learning method to educate the students with Islamic values and Arabic language. The teachers never teach the students to sing and to draw human and animals. The classroom is also divided into male students and female students to teach them about the principles of *Salaf* (*manhaj*) related to *aurot* (physical appearance) and *muhrim* (male and female interaction).

*Tarbiyatul Ibtidaiyah* (TI) was established in 2012. TI is equal elementary school. The teaching and learning activities are done at 07.00-13.00 located in PNPM building for female students and in local people’s house for male students. There are 28 female students, 25 male students, and 25 teachers. The teaching materials for general subjects such as Indonesian language, science, mathematics, and social science are accessed from the *Salafi* School in Jember while other materials are focussed in Islamic lessons.

The highest education level established by the *Salafi* community is *Tahfidzul Qur’an* (TQ) which is equal to secondary school. This school is located in Serangan village and it has own building. The materials are mostly focussed in religious lessons, while materials for general subjets are also accessed from the *Salafi* School in Jember. In TQ, all students have to stay at the school dormitory for three years. The students are allowed to go home once in a week every Friday and on holiday after the exam. After the students graduate, they pursue their study to TR or TU in Al Huda Krajan or to other town recommended by their family. Most of the students usually go to *Al Furqon* Kroya Cilacap, *Al Anshor* Yogyakarta, *Bin Baz* Giwangan Yogyakarta, *Diaussunah, takdzimussunah* Jogoyitnan Wonosobo, dan *Al Autsat* Solo to pursue their education.

*Ibnul Mubarok* Foundation has own policy to manage the teaching and learning activities, learning materials, days of learning, and teachers. TA students start to study at 07.30-10.00 and 07.30-13.00 for TI students while TQ students stay at the dormitory. The students call their teacher *ami* (uncle) and *amah* (aunty) to make them feel convenient instead of *ustad/ustadzah*.

**Occupation**

The *Salafi* family work as farmer, tailor, broker, and entrepreneur. The people who work as broker usually help to distribute the vegetables from local people in Kepakisan to big cities such as Jakarta, Surabaya, Semarang, and Bandung (interview with Iben’s family). Some of them also work as civil servants of education and tourism in Wonosobo and Banjarnegara. Dieng is also famous for carica fruit. This fruit is usually processed and distributed to tourism spots in Dieng or shipped to Wonosobo, Banjarnegara, Purwokerto, Magelang, Yogyakarta, Semarang, Bandung, Jakarta, and Surabaya.

Kepakisan is located in tourism spots among Sumur Jalatunda, Candradimuka Crater, Telaga Sidringo in Pekasiran, Sileri Crater, D’Qianos hotspring swimming pool, Telaga Cebong, and Geothermal Power Plant (GEO DIPA). Some local residents create their own business such as car rent, tour travel, home stay, and tour guide. They join the Tourism Awareness Group (POKDARWIS) to discuss tourism management, service, and marketing.

Most people in Dieng work as farmers. The area is surrounded by Batang in the north, Wonosobo in the east, and Banjarnegara in the south. Potatoes are the main crop in this area that can earn profit in 100 days and lead to wealth for the society. They can go *umrah* and *hajj* for several times, build a magnificent house and buy luxury cars. These can be seen along the way to Dieng.

The farming activities are done together by men and women. Women go to the farmland in the morning to cultivate the land. In Kepakisan, *Salafi* and non-*Salafi* women also involve in farming activities from morning to afternoon. There are four economic activities done by *Salafi* women: farming, trading, garment, and farm workers.

**Salafi Family Gender Equality**

Gender equality is the equality conditions of men and women to obtain opportunities and rights as human beings, to be able to play a role and participate in national political, economic, socio-cultural, defense and security activities. It can be interpreted as the equality in enjoying the result of development as well (INPRES No. 9 of 2000). The same rights between men and women and harmonized in order to be able to play an active role in every activity in the community, nation and state. According to C, Nyman *et al* (2018: 36) women still do more household chores compared to husbands. According to Azisah et al, (2016: 16) gender equality is the same treatment for men and women in the same conditions in obtaining opportunities, involving or participating and decision making as well as affordability of development and welfare benefits. The differences are seen between men and women in terms of values and behavior (Victoria Neufeldt (ed.), 1984: 561). Gender can be defined as cultural expectations of men and women (Hilary M. Lips, 1993: 4).

Men in the Salafi family in Kepakisan are the leaders of the family and provide the main livelihood for the family. The existence of men is not merely a complement to a woman's life. His position as leader, made him have a series of obligations that must be fulfilled by his wife and children. The dependence of the wife on her husband in livelihood and economy, causing the husband is considered to have more authority. Husband's power can be strengthened by the existence of the norm that the wife must defer and depend on her husband economically.

The leadership authority of the *Salafi* head of household can be seen from their way of providing recommendations to his wife to join for propaganda activities at *Ibnul Mubarok* foundation. The husband prefers his wife teaching in TA, TI, TQ, TU and TR after completing her household activities. In fact, the Muslim clerics’ wives are willing to follow them to continue the *Salafi* propaganda at *Ibnul Mubarok* foundation. From the point of exchange theory, the wives get recognition of the needs provided by her husband. Wives get recognition from relatives and *peer group* based on their husband. As is related to social status, the ups and downs of the wife's social status follow the husband’s social status. The wife gets support and recognition from others because she has carried out her wife's job properly.

**The role of women**

The role of women is important in the social life. It becomes a special thing in Kepakisan Village. *Salafi* women in the community get the same access and benefits as the general society. It means that *Salafi* women can always live in harmony and side by side with other community members without discrimination. The role of Salafi women is very good in every social and work activity. As stated by Mrs. Iben's :

*We Salafi family also live in harmony side by side with others, such as in weeding party, visiting babies, and visiting sick people. Women also play an important role in every activity or job.* *I also work to help my husband in the field to ease the husband's work, to help the family's economy.*

From the above statement, the position and the function of women in social life not only have recognition but also obtainin rights and equality from community. Then in work field, the women work to help the family economy. However, when it entered the realm *Shari'a*, Salafi women limit themselves. *Shari’a really runs* according to the rules*,* if it is prohibited by religion, Salafi family do not implement. However, in the social life in Kepakisan Village, Salafi families live side by side and get along well without discrimination. For instance, Salafi women also have meeting in Neighbor Association, Family Welfare program, and Integrated service post. For Salafi women, the most important thing is to ask permission from parents or husband and do not break the *Shari'a* law as their guideline.

**Men as leaders**

Men in the Salafi family in Kepakisan are the leaders of the family and provide the main livelihood for the family. When the researchers have interview with the several Salafi women at home, the husbands were in the field until dzuhur and continued the work after dzuhur to asr. It can be seem from Mrs. Torasmi's statement:

"*The married men here become heads of families and leaders of their children and wives. The husband is obliged to provide for his family. Husbands work in the fields, be sellers, or drivers. The husband has right to give permission for his wife's activities outside. Most of the Salafi men here strongly encourage their wives to always obey their husband's orders.*

From the results of the interview, it can be seen that husband became a priest in the family. As stated by Ustad Arif, the Salafi figure, he mentions Qur'an surah An-Nisa Verse 34 “*men are leaders for women*". The existence of men is not only as a complement for woman. His position as leader, made him have a series of obligations that must be fulfilled by his wife and children. Besides, husbands have responsibility to fulfill his family's living needs.

The dependence of the wife on her husband in livelihood and economy, causing the husband is considered to have more authority. Husband's power can be strengthened by the existence of the norm that the wife must defer and depend on her husband economically. The main task of men is become the priest in the social life of the Salafi family. For women, interaction is limited, due to the source of disobedience or slander. They limit the interaction with the opposite sex who is not a close relatives. Therefore, in the pattern of life in Salafi family environment, men and women must be separated except fellow close relative*.*

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**Position of Men and Women**

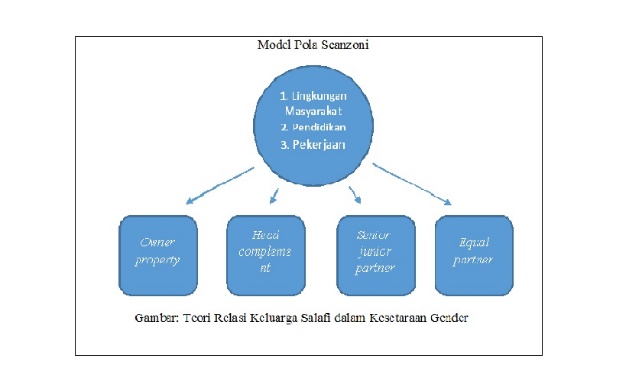
The position of men and women in the social environment is equal. For the most women or wives, the important thing is to have permission from parents and husband to do the activities. This also applies in the social environment, occupation and education for instance, in educating children as stated by Mrs. Iben.

*The position of men and women is equal in society. They struggle each other, help and socialize. Their life is not restricted or dominated. For Salafi women, the most important thing is getting husband's permission and do not break the Shari'a. The problem of our men and women in education is undifferentiated. It is hoped that our children will become pious and piety children.*

From the results of the interview, men and women get equal access in social life. Moreover, the education for Salafi family children, both boys and girls, is same. For Salafi families, the main education is religion because it becomes a guide for them to live in the world and the hereafter. Thus, Salafi families assume formal education for children is only elementary school / TI. After graduatitng from elementary school, they study in boarding school to study religion. Gender equality in Salafi family both in social life and education get equal access.

The position of men and women in salafi families is equal. In Salafi families, working responsibility and children's education are carried out on an equal basis. Gender theory is to differentiate roles between women and men which results in difference treatment between women and men in society. (Squire 1989: 34). From the interviews, observations and documentation related to the gender equality of Salafi families in Dieng Mountain such as in social environment, education and occupation by using the analysis of Scanzoni's family relationship theory (1981) as follows.

**Figure 2. Theory of Relationships**



*First*, the marriage pattern is *owner property*. The wife is the husband's property like money and other valuables. The husband's job is to make a living and the wife's job is to provide food for her husband, children and complete other household tasks. Husbands work to earning themselves, children, wife and family. In this marriage pattern, the norms applied are as follows: 1). The wife's job is to make her husband happy and fulfill all the desires and needs of the husband's household. 2). The wife must obey her husband. 3). The wife must give birth. 4). The wife must educate the children so that the children can save their father face. *Second* is *head-complement* marriage pattern. In this pattern, the wife is seen as a complement for the husband. The husband is expected to meet the needs of his wife in the form of love and affection, sexual satisfaction, emotional acceptance, friends, understanding and open communication. *Third*, marriage pattern *senior-junior partner*, the wife's position is no more as a complement to her husband, but as a friend. This change occurred because the wife also made an economic contribution even though the main breadwinner was still the husband. *Fourth*, marriage patterns *equal partner,* there is no higher or lower position between husband and wife. Wife gets the same rights and obligations to develop themselves and perform household tasks. Husband and wife have the same position, rights and obligations.

From the results of the analysis using the theory of family relations patterns proposed by Scanzoni (1981), it can be concluded that in Salafi family life, especially related to gender equality, husband and wife are unity part that needs one another. Men as heads of households or priests have an important role in controlling a household. Meanwhile, women as wives follow and obey their husbands’ rules. In the context of access, participation, benefits, control and development benefits, husband and wife are complementary.

The results of interviews and documentation show that the Islamic concept is in accordance with *sharia.*  A man remains a priest means that his position is higher than a wife. However, the Salafi family usually has discussion to make a decision. As long as the environment does not break the Shari'a, the Salafi families can mingle and live harmoniously, peacefully and side by side without discrimination. The results of interviews with the Head of Kepakisan Village stated that Kepakisan people can live together with the various neighbor such as Salafi, Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama. The most important is how they interpret the meaning of life and they can go hand in hand together.

From the educational aspect, Salafi families have their own foundation to study together, i.e *Tarbiyatul Ibtidaiyah* as an institution run by Salafists with Islamic-based curriculum. An educational institution (IT) is the elementary school level institution owned by Salafis. Salafi’s children go to their own schools. The results of interviews and observations showed that educational activities is carried out every day, then every evening the students recite the Koran. Salafi family’s children get Islamic-based education rights. In the context of the gender equality, they get the access, benefits and control of educational activities. Education is the part of the rights and obligations that must be obtained especially for Salafi families’s children.

From the aspect of occupation, the Salafi family works as the members of the Kepakisan Village community do, such as farming and trading. The people mostly work in the fields to plant potatoes, carica, uncang leaves and others. Salafi family has identity which is the closed clothes. It can be seen when they do the activities in the fields. Trading is the occupation of Salafi family besides farming. In farming, they work in fields together. Husband is assisted by his wife and even his adult children. Regarding the concept of gender equality in ocupation salafi families do not limit their work in various sectors, but because the Kepakisan area is an agricultural area, the Salafi family works as farmers. From the results of observations and interviews, Salafi families were not selective and worked hand in hand with each other. In farming, husband and wife collaborate and work together on the agricultural land they own. Likewise the trading, the role of women of Salafi families is given freedom, most importantly permission to their husbands, and do not break *Shari'a.*

**CONCLUSION**

Based on the results of the gender equality research of the Salafi family in Kepakisan village, husband and wife are part of a unity that needs one another, men as head of the household or priest have an important role in controlling a household. Meanwhile, women as wives follow and obey the husbands’ rules. Salafi family has the equal access on participation control and the social life. Gender equalities in social life found in Salafi family are summarized as follows. *First is* social environment. Living side by side, getting along well, and working together becomes a Salafi family habit, as long as it doesn't break *Shari'a* taught by religion, Salafi families can blend and live in harmony, peace and co-existence without discrimination in social interaction. *Second* iseducation. Salafi family, both men and women, have the same rights in obtaining access, benefits and control of educational activities in Kepakisan. The main focus of education for boys and girls is religious education. *Third* isoccupation. Salafi families work in farming and trading. In farming, they work together with husband and wife even assisted by their children who have grown up. The role of Salafi women in occupation is to help their husbands and ease the burden on the family economy. Salafi families do not limit to work in any sector. However, it is recommended for women to stay at home so there is no slander and disobedience.

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