Women, Piety, and Religious Behavior (Case Study of the Muslimah Ummahat Sholehah Community in Sukodono Tahunan Jepara)

Ahmad Saefudin

Universitas Islam Nahdlatul Ulama, Jepara, Indonesia
ahmadsaefudin@unisnu.ac.id

Mahmud Arif

Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta, Indonesia
drmahmud.arif@uin-suka.ac.id

Karwadi

Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta, Indonesia
karwadi@uin-suka.ac.id

Affiyah Rahmawati

Universitas Islam Nahdlatul Ulama, Jepara, Indonesia
affiyahrahmawati@gmail.com

Wanamean Paduka

Arunsat Wittaya Foundation School, Khankalong, Thailand
wanhonest@gmail.com

Santi Andriyani

Universitas Islam Nahdlatul Ulama, Jepara, Indonesia
santi@unisnu.ac.id

Abstract

This study aims to describe the manifestation of piety constructed by women who are members of the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community. Also, to analyze the level of their religious behavior. This research is a qualitative descriptive study that emphasizes field research. Researchers used observation techniques, interviews, questionnaires, and documentation to collect data. It turns out that the manifestation of women's piety is manifested by being obedient to the commands of Allah and His Messenger through the intermediary of teachers, covering their genitals and wearing the hijab, obeying their husbands, balancing ritual worship with social activities, and participating in religious activities. Meanwhile, the level of religious behavior of members of the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community based on the results of the distribution of the questionnaire is categorized as high. Thus, the symbol of piety that they carry has absolutely nothing to do with conservatism, even radicalism, as some observers have alleged.

Keywords: piety, women, religious behavior, Muslim community

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mendeskripsikan manifestasi kesalehan yang dikonstruksi oleh perempuan yang tergabung dalam Komunitas Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah. Pula, untuk menganalisis tingkat perilaku keagamaan mereka. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian deskriptif kualitatif yang menekankan pada penelitian lapangan (field research). Peneliti menggunakan teknik observasi, wawancara, penyebaran angket serta dokumentasi untuk menggali data. Ternyata manifestasi kesalehan perempuan diwujudkan dengan taat terhadap perintah Allah dan Rasul-Nya melalui perantara guru, menutup aurat dan berhijab, taat terhadap suami, menyeimbangkan ibadah ritual dengan sosial, dan mengikuti kegiatan keagamaan. Sedangkan tingkat perilaku keagamaan anggota Komunitas Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah berdasarkan hasil penyebaran kuesioner dikatagorikan tinggi. Jadi, simbolisasi kesalehan yang mereka usung sama sekali tidak ada hubungannya dengan gelagat konservatisme, bahkan radikalisme sebagaimana yang dituduhkan sebagian pengamat.

Katakunci: kesalehan, perempuan, perilaku keagamaan, komunitas muslimah

Introduction

The term piety is always interesting as an object of study because it is an integral part of the embodiment of religious teachings. In Southeast Asia, Islam, Christianity, and at some point Buddhism, compete with each other to show the intensification of piety in religion, which is then closely related to the term "pietization" (Nasir et al., 2010). Likewise in European countries, research on piety has received serious attention, such as in Canada, France, England, and northern Europe (Fulbrook, 1983; Jarlert, 2012; Jennifer Hillman, 2014). In fact, in Guatemala, religious piety is used as an instrument of

liberation theology and the spirit of nationalism through the role of religious leaders (Douglass Sullivan-Gonzalez, 1998, p. 2). It is not surprising that Elaine A. Peña, an anthropologist of religion, places piety not only as a topic of conversation but more than that, leaning toward everything one should do (Peña, 2011, p. 1).

The phenomenon of pietization among Muslim women is increasingly reaching Indonesian women. The pietization discourse reaches urban communities through social media such as the Facebook community of *Islam Yang Syar'i*, the Instagram Community of *Hijrah Muslimah Indonesia, Project Kebaikan Muslimah*, and similar social media groups that are loved by many followers. (Afifah, 2018, p. 52). Similar symptoms also occur in Malaysia. The measure of piety is displayed in Arabic attributes as a symbol of Islamic identity which by some observers has come to be known as Arabization (Liow, 2009, p. 164). For example, the use of headscarves, Muslim women dress with loose models, and embedding the *niqab* or veil (Machmiyah, 2020, p. 52; Yulikhah, 2016, p. 97).

This study wants to continue the observations of previous scholars about the construction of piety according to the Muslim women community. The researcher chose the Muslimah Ummhat Sholihah Community in Sukodono Village Tahunan Jepara as the focus of the research for three fundamental reasons. First, all of the community members are women who intensively conduct routine religious studies every week. This routine is an effort to increase the piety level of its members. Second, the recruitment of new members who are not veiled is always accompanied by cupping and *ruqyah* rituals. The latter term is oriented to the treatment of the soul (non-physical) and body (physical) (Hayat, 2020, p. 212). These two types of healing therapy are considered by the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community as an expression of piety exemplified by the Prophet Muhammad. As stated by one of the informants, S, " *Cupping and ruqyah are self-cleaning processes by removing dirty blood from the body. The goal is to clean oneself and leave all the bad deeds that were previously done.*" *(results of an interview with S, Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community Manager, Jepara, 26 July 2020).*

Third, this community was consciously formed by its administrators purely because of the encouragement of a high religious spirit. The members of this community are concerned about the mainstream women's recitation group in the Jepara area, which in their perspective, is no longer based on the intention of reading the Koran. However, worldly activities such as social gatherings are often included.

The RRW informant said, "In Jepara, it is rare for women's associations to purely carry out recitation activities without any lottery activities. The majority of women's associations in Jepara carry out religious learning activities accompanied by lottery clubs. *If the name in the social gathering is out, then mothers rarely or don't want to study religion anymore,*" (results of an interview with RRW, Chair of the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community, Jepara, 26 July 2020).

This study aims to describe the embodiment of piety constructed by the Ummahat Sholehah Muslim Community. In addition, it is also oriented to analyze the level of their religious behavior. This research uses a qualitative case study approach (Bassey, 1999). The object of this research is the construction of women's piety and religious behavior and the factors that influence the construction of women's piety and religious behavior in the Ummahat Sholehah Muslim Community located in the Jepara Annual Sukodono Village. The case study is included in the single case category, namely the construction of women's piety, whether pious, social, or substantial piety. Field data was taken from June 2020 to February 2021 in Sukodono Village, Tahunan District, Jepara Regency. However, data analysis requires a longer time. Data collection techniques include observation, interviews, and documentation. As a participant observer, the researcher participates in activities carried out by the Muslimah Community Ummahat Sholihah and at the same time researches its activities.

The observation method is used by researchers to get an overview of the process of construction of piety and religious behavior of women and the factors that influence it. Interviews were conducted with research informants consisting of 1) Members of the Muslimah Ummhat Sholihah Community, namely Sakinah, Ema, and Anita. From these informants, the researcher intends to dig up information about the activities carried out in the Muslimah Ummhat Sholihah Community and their effects on members both on themselves and on their environment, 2) Ustazah in the Muslimah Ummhat Sholihah Community, namely Ustazah Iim. From these informants, the researcher intends to explore information about the material in religious studies that are taught to members of the Ummahat Sholihah Muslim Community and other activities that are taught outside of religious studies material in building piety and religious behavior of women, 3) The manager of the Muslimah Ummhat Sholihah Community. They are Rinda and Seqolbu. The researcher intends to explore the origins of the establishment of the Ummahat

Sholihah Muslim Community and the active activities carried out by the Ummhat Sholihah Community in the Jepara Annual Sukodono Village. Then, the researcher completes it with documentation techniques. The documentation method is used by researchers to obtain documents or data about the number of members of the Ummahat Sholihah Muslim Community and their weekly activities.

Women and Piety: Theoretical Studies

Based on a review of the results of previous literature relevant to this topic, studies on women's piety can be classified into five categories. First, piety is closely intertwined with popular culture (Barendregt, 2011a; Daniels, 2013; Hoesterey & Clark, 2012; Pinault, 1992; Triantoro, 2018). Piety, for some people in Indonesia, is reflected in the behavior of characters in Islamic films, such as Fahri in Ayat-Ayat Cinta Movie (Hoesterey & Clark, 2012, p. 221). In Malaysia, films directed by Yasmin Ahmad, several television dramas, and Nur Kasih film, coloring the battle of ideas about the term piety (Daniels, 2013, p. 10). This phenomenon further confirms the thesis that popular culture, especially through the medium of film, has become a field of contestation in seizing the idea of the meaning of piety. In addition to films, Muslim youth in Indonesia also use magazines to refer to the profile of pious people. In Sukabumi, for example, D'rise magazine is quite popular among teenagers because it is considered to be able to answer their anxiety about the threat of the increasingly swift current of secularization. With a touch of language style that represents popular culture, also supported by a cover design that is familiar to the millennial generation, D'rise magazine is considered authoritative as a popular Islamic reference. In fact, this magazine is considered to have contributed to the spread of conservative Islamic ideology, caliphate campaigns, and opposition to the legitimate government (Triantoro, 2018, p. 1).

Second, the issue of piety is analyzed using gender and feminism perspectives (Amir-Moazami et al., 2011; Arimbi, 2017; Bangstad, 2011; Davis, 2008; Jacobsen, 2011; Peña, 2011; Rinaldo, 2013). The pietization movement carried out by Muslim women's groups can not necessarily be simplified as a form of rivalry against liberalism. In the workings of feminist theory, the subjectivity of individual women in understanding piety and the various agencies that "play" behind it also affect tactical strategies against liberal ethics (Jacobsen, 2011, p. 79). Surprisingly, the pietization movement through

the formation of a Muslim women's community is much in demand by urban circles as a marker of identity, which functions more precisely to strengthen their position as the middle class (Rinaldo, 2013, p. 62). As for rural Muslim groups, this kind of pietization movement model is not very prominent. Perhaps, one of the factors is the agency that "plays". Urban Muslim communities are closer to Islamic revivalist groups, such as Salafi-Wahhabi, while rural Muslims are more inclined to traditionalist Islamic organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). The first group is persistent in fighting for religious revival to respond to backwardness by "returning to the Qur'an and Sunnah". Unfortunately, the meaning of the slogan has a textual nuance so it seems rigid and rigid in expressing Islamic doctrine in everyday life. In contrast to the second Islamic group. In interpreting religious teachings, their impressions are more flexible and contextual.

Third, scholars who discuss piety discourse in the religious normative domain (Leng) et al., 2011; Mekhert, 2002; Rozario, 2011). In the view of Islam and Confucianism, piety plays an important role in developing personality, forming family resilience, and maintaining social order (Leng) et al., 2011, p. 149). Naturally, every adherent of the two religions competes to be pious even though sometimes they have to go against the authority of the family, especially parents. This symptom is rife in urban youth who join the religious revivalism movement (Rozario, 2011, p. 285).

Fourth, research on piety is overshadowed by using conventional media lenses, such as television, and digital ones such as social media (Afifah, 2018; Al-Zaman, 2020; Kazi, 2018; Machmiyah, 2020; Sa`idah, 2019; Shirazi, 2018). Digitization on all fronts has a major impact on religious outbursts in the public sphere. The realm of social media is no exception. The mass media seems to be a religion itself, which some observers call cyber religion (Al-Zaman, 2020, p. 71). Naturally, religious fervor is shown vulgarly on television and social media by celebrities (Machmiyah, 2020, p. 51). The construction of piety is packaged in such a way by the media with various labels, such as syar'i clothing, hijrah, (Afifah, 2018) religious film format (Sa`idah, 2019), and religious talk (Kazi, 2018).

Fifth, piety is examined from the landscape of Islamic political disciplines (Adrain, 2008; Barendregt, 2011b; Bryner, 2013; Douglass Sullivan-Gonzalez, 1998; Hasan, 2009, 2012; Liow, 2009; Nasir et al., 2010; Raqib, 2020; Talmon-Heller, 2007; Turner, 2008). The revival of Islam in Indonesia is marked by an emphasis on religious symbolism as a new mode of piety, such as

the hijab, veil, Islamic banking, halal tourism, and other consumer products labeled syar'i (Hasan, 2009, p. 247). A similar phenomenon also occurs in Malaysia with the proliferation of Arabic clothing as a marker of one's Islamic identity and piety (Liow, 2009, p. 164).

From the literature listed above, the researcher sees an academic gap regarding piety discourse that can still be filled. Mainly on the aspect of religious symbolization and the motives of the pietization movement of the Muslim community. Under the umbrella of the theory of symbolic expression from Susanne K. Langer, this research aims to analyze the construction of piety perceived by the Ummahat Sholehah Muslim Community in Sukodono Village, Jepara. Does the symbol of piety that they carry have anything to do with signs of conservatism, even radicalism? Why is the existence of this community still sustainable even though it is only followed by a minority of like-minded Muslim women? These two crucial questions will be answered in this paper.

The Manifestation of Women's Piety from the Perspective of the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community

The Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community has been formed since 2015 in Sukodono Village, Tahunan District, Jepara Regency, Central Java. The name of the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community is based on the mutual agreement of its members. The main motive for the formation of the community is driven by the belief that the mother figure (ummahat) must be a pious human figure in the family and community. In the initial phase, the activities carried out were limited to learning about Islamic material which was carried out once a week every Monday. In its development, then penetrated social activities. This is as stated by the informant, RRW, the Chairperson of the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community below:

> The word Ummahat means a mother. So the mother must be pious. Mother is like a doctor. If a family member is sick, he must run to his mother. Mother is the best madrasa. The destruction of the family because of the fragility of a mother. Just look at Islamic figures! If the woman is good, the family must be good. They became great because of the mother factor (interview with RRW, Chair of the Ummahat Sholihah Muslim Community, January 28, 2021).

The organizational structure of the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community is informal. In contrast to community organizations in general, this community only consists of a coach, chairperson, treasurer, and a team of

ustazah as teachers. In determining the management system, they use a deliberation system to avoid friction between members. The material for Islamic studies focuses on the topics of fiqh, morals, Islamic history, and the science of hermeneutics.

From the aspect of age range, members of the Ummahat Sholihah Muslim Community are between 23 – 53 years aged. The average is over 40 years old. The education they take is very diverse, some members study up to junior high school (SMP) and most of them study at the high school level (SMA) or its equivalent. Some members also have an education up to college. Regarding work, members of the Ummahat Sholihah Muslim Community are housewives, some are teachers in formal or non-formal educational institutions, and some are administrative staff (TU).

In observing the phenomenon of women's piety in the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community, the researcher borrows the theory of symbolic expression from Susanne K. Langer. Theoretically, symbolic expressions, in this study, are interpreted as semiotic signs to conceptualize and compare various forms of representation (Liu & Taber, 2016; Richardson, 2015). In the context of the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community, symbolic expressions are all forms of symbols or labels that mark their Islamic identity to construct a narrative of piety in various religious activities.

The religious symbolism, following the principle offered by Susanne K. Langer (Langer, 1967, p. 62), serves to avoid wrong suggestions and shows the uniqueness, cohesiveness, and simplicity of the community in building the terminology of piety. The definition of piety, according to the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community, is the practice of religious teachings by the commands of Allah and His Messenger. The researcher interviewed with the following information:

> *Piety is a person who practices [religious teachings] according to the commandments of Allah and His Messenger. Women can be considered pious when they try to obey orders and stay away from Allah's prohibitions as stated in the Qur'an (interview with FH, Ustazah in the Ummahat Sholihah Muslim Community, February 2, 2021).*

At first glance, the definition of piety seems problematic. The phrase "obey the commands and stay away from Allah's prohibitions" has the potential to give rise to a variety of interpretations and its application is not single. However, this perception is believed to be true by members of the Ummahat Sholihah Muslim Community because it comes from Islamic studies

led by one of the ustazah in the form of liqa' or limited physical meetings. FH said that in the process, the material presented by the ustazah was not immediately accepted by the recitation congregation. Members of the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community are allowed to ponder, try to understand, and filter every piece of information before it is put into practice. When the study material is considered difficult to understand, an opportunity is opened for dialogue with the ustazah. The liqa' method is believed to be effective for them to avoid misunderstanding the teachings of Islam caused by subjective interpretation and dependence on information from social media alone.

Figure 1. Submission of Islamic Study Materials Through the *Liqa'* System'

There are various expressions of symbolizing piety practiced by the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community. In detail, the symbols of piety include:

Wearing Hijab

Expressions of piety applied by members of the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community include wearing the hijab. In the discipline of Political Islam, the study of the hijab or niqab is not only associated with the embodiment of religious doctrine. For some Islamic groups, such as Salafi Muslims, the use of the niqab is part of a symbol of piety as well as a confirmation of Islamic identity. Through the niqab, they inflame the spirit of resistance to the hegemony of mainstream culture in the dress that is practiced by Muslims in Indonesia (Ahmad et al., 2021, p. 424).

However, for the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community, the motive for wearing the hijab is purely religious. Limitations in wearing the hijab and wearing clothes must follow the criteria of teachings in Islam. For example, not wearing tight clothes, avoiding clothing made of levis, the size must be loose so that it does not show the curves of the body, is not transparent, and only the face and palms are visible on the body. This applies both inside and outside the home. For women who do not want or do not wear the hijab because they believe that the obligation to wear the hijab for women is still debated by scholars, in the view of the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community, let it be the business of each individual. After all, they will be held accountable for their actions before God (interview with R, member of the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community, 9 June 2021).

The motive for Muslim women to wear the hijab is not singular. At a certain point, the use of the hijab is believed to be the implementation of the practice of religious teachings. At another point, the wearing of the hijab is rejected by some Muslim women because it is considered merely a cultural practice. Not a few of them are resistant to the hijab because it is synonymous with radical and terrorist groups (Dewi, 2019).

Figure 2. The use of the hijab as a symbol of Women's piety

Obedient to Husband

Obedience to husbands is an expression of female piety practiced by the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community. The compliance in question is of course within normative limits, which is appropriate and does not deviate from religious teachings. This is like the results of an interview with a research

informant, S., a member of the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community on February 10, 2021. She said:

> When my husband ordered me to save, I refused because it is not allowed in Islam. there is an element of usury. For religious matters, I automatically obey while it is for good. Another example is when I participate in an organization in the village. I consider first. If my husband doesn't allow it, even though the environment needs my strength, then I force myself to come along. The condition is not to neglect the duties of a wife. Work at home must be done first, then join the activities. In this case, the husband knows and does not prohibit (interview with S, Member of the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community, 10 February 2021).

In husband-wife relations, Islam teaches women as wives to obey the orders of their husbands. However, the level of obedience must not violate religious provisions (Malik & Ummah, 2021). This belief is held by members of the Ummahat Sholihah Muslim Community. They consciously consider their husbands as leaders in the household so they must be obeyed. Thus, a wife is obliged to obey her husband as long as the act is good and in accordance with Islamic law. Even if a husband's orders are very simple, like making coffee. By hastening the order, Ibu S. believes that this form of obedience is one way to reach God's heaven.

The balance between ritual and social worship

The next symbol of women's piety in the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community is the balance between ritual and social worship. Research informant, R. said:

> Ritual piety and social piety are interrelated. But in my opinion, the first one was a ritual, a direct relationship with God. But ritual piety must also be supported by social piety because the two are interrelated and cannot stand alone, there is the term habblun minallah, habblun minannas. Prioritize relationships that are vertical (with Allah) and then horizontal (with humans or society) (results of an interview with R, a Member of the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community, 11 February 2021).

From the results of the interview, it can be understood that piety must be carried out in a balanced way between ritual piety and social piety. However, what is more, important is always istiqamah in carrying out ritual piety supported by social piety. As Muslims, human relations are not only with Allah (habblun minallah) but also relationships with fellow humans (habblun minannas) so that ukhwah Islamiyah can be established towards fellow

Muslims. As Mustofa Bisri explained in Islam there is only one piety, namely muttaqi piety (devout servants of Allah), which includes ritual piety and social piety (Bisri, 2016, p. 37).

This discourse on ritual and social piety, especially for urban Muslims, is indeed quite interesting. Found some ambivalence in the pursuit of the meaning of social piety. As a form of acknowledgment of social piety, urban Muslims feel the need to express it to other Muslims, it is not enough to only express it to God. As a result, various kinds of religious products have emerged that represent the identity of a person's or group's social piety. They believe that being a pious Muslim is not always practiced in an ascetic form, but also in other, more instant forms, such as open alms and donations to orphans (Jati, 2015, p. 347). As told by the informant:

> *Initially, the activities we did were only to fortify ourselves and strengthen our faith, such as studying Islamic studies which are carried out every Monday by reading a prayer led by an ustazah. At the end of the study, we memorized the letters in the Qur'an, for example, we memorized Surah Ar-Rahman, Yasin, al-Waqiah, and al-Mulk. We also visited members who were stricken with disaster and illness, natural tadabbur which was carried out every 3 months, and Friday alms given to the poor, the poor, and orphans. The funds are not from activity money but from community donations. It can be in the form of money, basic necessities, or other goods (results from an interview with RRW, Head of the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community, January 28, 2021).*

Religious Behavior of Women in the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community

Religious attitude or behavior is a condition that exists within a person that encourages him to behave following the form of his faith. It can also be said, religious behavior is a person's reaction in response to the environment (Azis, 2018; Hamali, 2011). In the context of this study, indicators of religious behavior of the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community are divided into two classifications, namely religious behavior that is intertwined with ritual worship and social worship. Ritual religious behavior includes praying maktubah on time, performing voluntary prayers, observing voluntary fasting Monday-Thursday, reading the Qur'an every day, wearing the hijab wherever you are, and paying zakat once a year. While social religious behavior includes being polite, helping, prioritizing collective interests, and helping neighbors.

In detail, the results of the questionnaire on ritual religious behavior practiced by the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community are shown in the image below:

Punctuality of Performing *Maktubah* Prayers

- Always
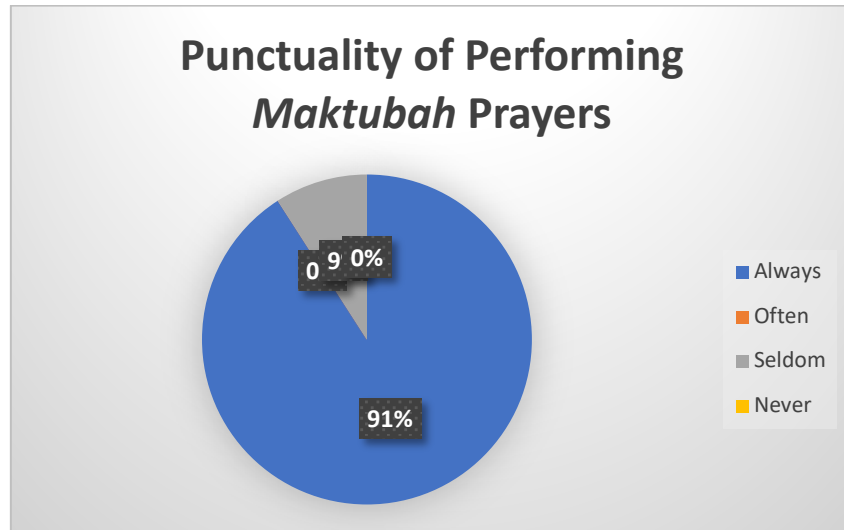- Often
- Seldom
- Never

0 9 0%
91%

Figure 3. Graph of Religious Behavior about Punctuality in Performing *Maktubah* Prayers

Of the 11 informants who returned a questionnaire about religious behavior, namely punctuality in performing the maktubah prayer, 10 (91%) of the informants answered always, and 1 informant (9%) answered rarely. This means that the punctuality of performing the maktubah prayer for the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community is in the high category.

***Qabliyah-Ba'diyah* Sunnah Prayers**

- Always
- Often
- Seldom
- Never

0%
27%
0%
73%
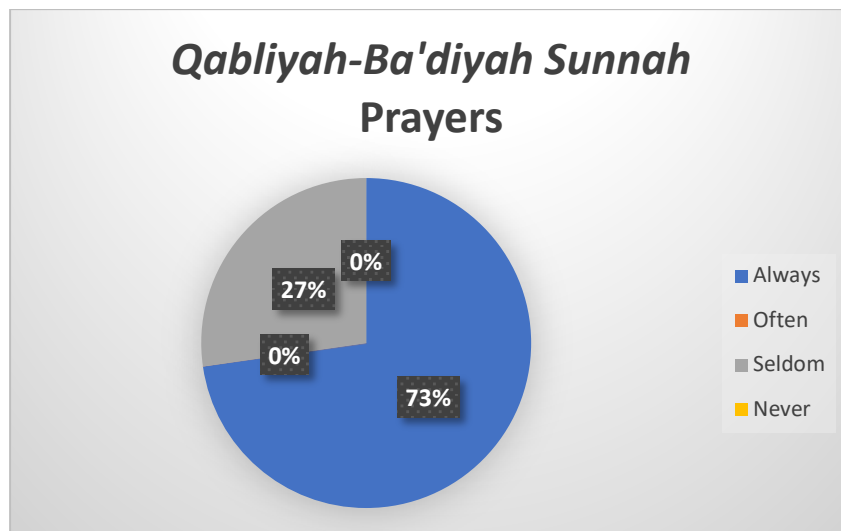
Figure 4. Graph of Religious Behavior regarding Sunnah *Qabliyah-Ba'diyah* Prayers

Of the 11 informants who returned a questionnaire about religious behavior, namely performing the sunnah *qabliyah–ba'diyah* prayer that accompanies the *maktubah* prayer, 8 (73%) informants answered always, and 3 informants (27%) answered rarely. This means that the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community is included in the low category in the implementation of the *qabliyah–ba'diyah* sunnah prayer.
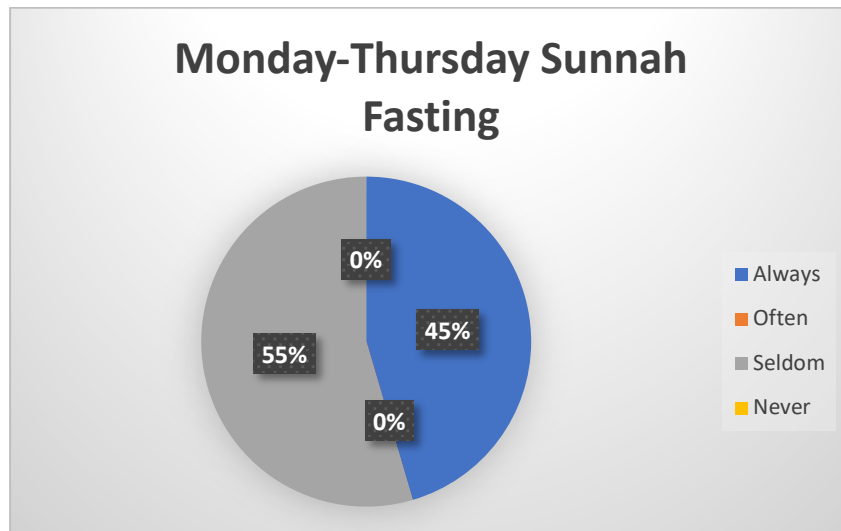

Figure 5. Graph of Religious Behavior on Monday-Thursday Sunnah Fasting

Of the 11 informants who returned a questionnaire about religious behavior, namely performing sunnah fasting every Monday and Thursday, 6 (55%) of the informants answered always, and 5 informants (45%) answered rarely. This means that the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community is in the moderate category in carrying out sunnah fasting on Mondays and Thursdays every week.
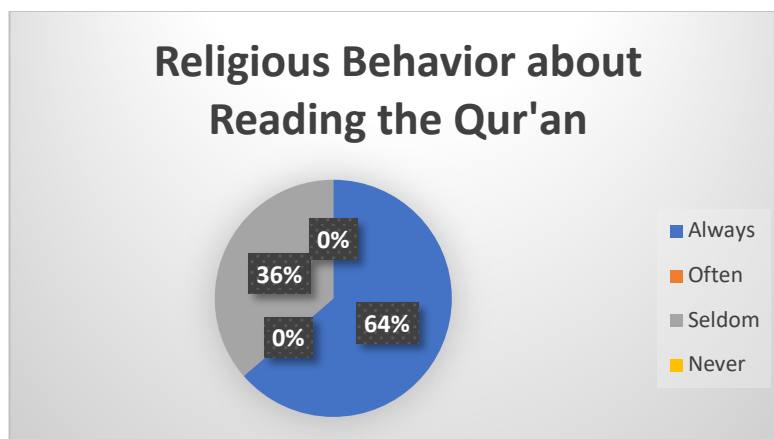

Figure 6. Graph of Religious Behavior about Reading the Qur'an

Of the 11 informants who returned a questionnaire about religious behavior, namely the routine of reading the Qur'an, 7 (64%) of the informants answered always, and 4 informants (36%) answered rarely. This means that the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community is included in the high category in carrying out the routine of reading the Qur'an every day.
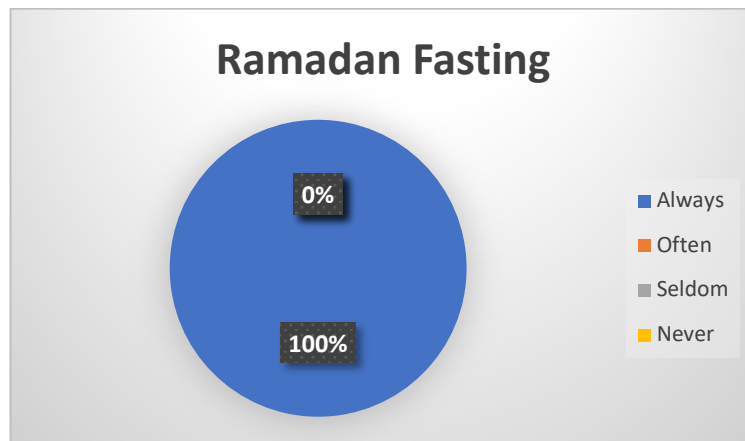

Figure 7. Graph of Religious Behavior on Ramadan Fasting

Of the 11 informants who returned a questionnaire about religious behavior, namely fasting during Ramadan, 11 (100%) of the informants answered always and none answered rarely or never. This means that the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community is included in the high category in the implementation of fasting in the month of Ramadan.
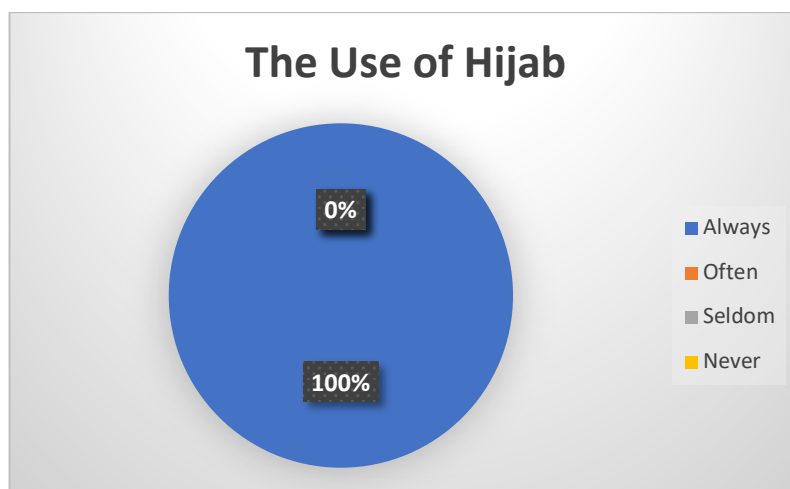

Figure 8. Graph of Religious Behavior on the Use of Hijab

Almost the same thing happened to the aspect of wearing the hijab as a symbol of the religious behavior of the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community. Of the 11 informants who returned a questionnaire about religious behavior, namely fasting during Ramadan, 11 (100%) of the informants answered always and none answered rarely or never. That is, the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community is included in the high category in the use of hijab.

The results of the questionnaire on religious behavior related to social worship of the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community are as shown in the image below:
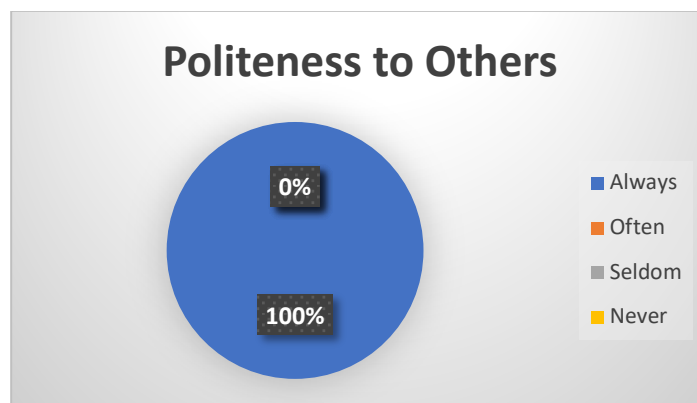

Figure 8. Graph of Religious Behavior about Courtesy to Others

In the aspect of politeness towards others as a symbol of religious behavior of the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community, of the 11 informants who returned the questionnaire, 11 (100%) of the informants answered always and none answered rarely or never. This means that the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community is in the high category of polite behavior toward others.
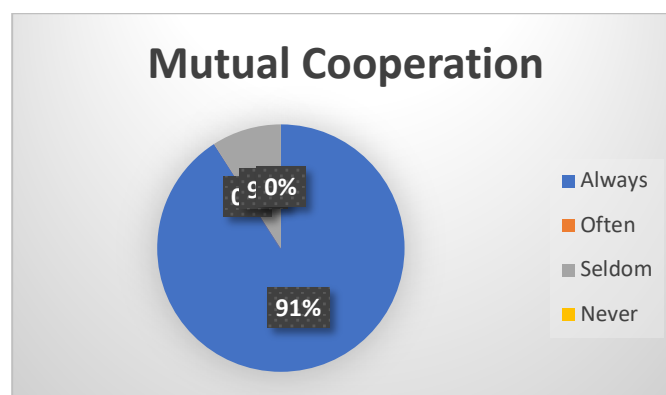

Figure 9. Graph of Religious Behavior about Mutual Helping

On the aspect of the attitude of helping others, 10 (91%) informants answered always and 1 informant (9%) answered rarely. It can be said that the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community is in the high category in helping behavior toward others.
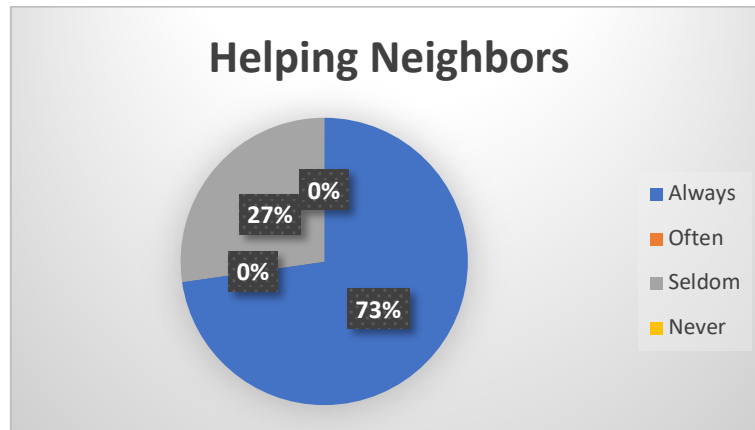

Figure 10. Graph of Religious Behavior about Helping Neighbors

In the aspect of helping neighbors who are having difficulties, 8 (73%) informants answered always, and 3 (27%) answered rarely. It can be said that the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community is in the high category in helping behavior toward neighbors.
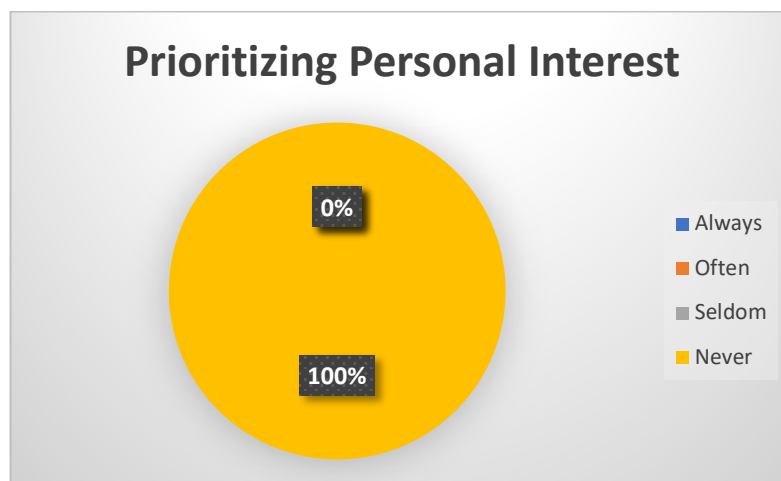

Figure 11. Graph of Religious Behavior on Prioritizing Collective Interests

In the aspect of prioritizing personal interests, 11 (100%) informants answered never. This means that the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community always prioritizes collective affairs.

From the data on religious behavior above, it can be concluded that the Ummahat Sholihah Muslim Community practices ritual and social worship in a balanced way. The balance between ritual worship and social worship, as some observers argue, causes the heart to calm down and place itself in a comfortable position about fellow creatures (Yudi Arianto & Rinwanto, 2019, p. 49). The Muslim community Ummahat Sholihah may have implemented the pietization movement through the embodiment of social monotheism, which considers worship to have less meaning without paying attention to aspects of relations with others (Riadi, 2014, p. 54).

Factors of Piety and Religious Behavior of Women in the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community

In the Qur'an, Allah describes two categories of indicators of human piety, namely individual piety and social piety. Individual piety is the ability to be grateful to Allah for all the blessings given to him or his loved ones and firmness in doing righteous deeds (hablun minallah). Social piety is a form of high social sensitivity starting from his desire to empower the people around him. Social piety is a form of one's religious behavior that is born from religious attitudes, while religious attitudes are born from one's understanding of the values that are understood, felt, and practiced. (Istiqomah, 2019, p. 120).

The factors that influence piety and religious behavior include two factors, namely internal factors, and external factors. Internal factors, namely the will according to his own will. Many human actions are based on their own will and cannot be solely based on determinant factors as in psychoanalytic theory. Humans have the awareness to always introspect, dialogue with themselves, and always be in touch with the physical natural environment. The external factor that influences piety and religious behavior is the environment. Humans always interact with the surrounding environment and spiritual nature. Humans are the only creatures in which there is a divine spirit in their creative element and social piety is part of a person's interaction with his spiritual experience.

The factors that influence the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community in Sukodono Village to build women's piety and religious behavior are as follows:

Internal factors

Factors that influence women's piety and religious behavior from an internal perspective are awareness and heart desires. As stated by S, as a member of the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community:

> *I can get closer to God because it is the pure intention from the heart. When I took part in Islamic studies, it was also my desire that I wanted to be better and understand religion. I feel, that if the urge comes from one's own heart and desire, the journey will be comfortable. It's different when you're forced to. Later it will not be able to last longer and the actions that are carried out will also not be a blessing because it is not sincere (results of an interview with S, Member of the Ummahat Sholihah Muslim Community, February 10, 2021).*

In the theory of motivation, the intention is an action-oriented will to achieve the pleasure of Allah and carry out His laws. To achieve the pleasure of Allah, sincerity is the key. Sincerity is only to Allah, not to humans (Rudi Ahmad Suryadi, 2012, p. 61).

The second internal factor that influences women's piety and religious behavior is the family, especially the husband. As stated by R, as a member of the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community:

> *My family is very supportive, especially my husband. If it is not supported, it is impossible for me to send my child to a pesantren. The husband is the captain. If we want to go to heaven together, let's support each other, and compete with each other in goodness. For example, if there are religious studies outside the home, I always have permission. I want to recite. There is a study. My husband allowed and even took me to the location of the study (interview with R, Member of the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community, 11 February 2021).*

In Javanese culture, the position of the wife usually follows the slogan *suwarga* nunut *naraka katut*. The term shows that the husband is the captain who determines whether the wife's life will go to heaven or hell. If the husband goes to heaven, it means that the wife also *nunut* (ride) to go to heaven. But if the husband goes to hell, even though the wife has the right to go to heaven because of her good deeds, the wife does not have the right to go to heaven because she has to follow (*katut*) her husband to go to hell (Putri & Lestari, 2015, p. 74).

External factors

The external factor that influences women's piety and religious behavior is that the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community environment always provides new lessons and materials about everyday life for its members. Research informant, S said:

> *A woman should be able to provide free time for herself. At least once a week, you can take part in Islamic studies to strengthen your faith. It is like "awak dewe kudu dices" so that they can walk on the guidance of Islamic law (results of an interview with S, Member of the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community, February 10, 2021).*

Social environment support has a positive and significant influence on increasing religious awareness. Social support for each individual can provide the understanding and recognize the strengths and weaknesses that exist in him, and obtain the important and appropriate information to achieve self-development and a strong personality (Hasanah, 2015, p. 220).

The next external factor that influences women's piety and social-religious behavior is social media. As stated by R:

> *We listen to studies on Youtube. I do not set ustaz A or ustaz B. There are Ustaz Abdul Somad, Gus Baha', Ustaz Adi Hidayat, all of whom I follow. As long as it is in the Qur'an and Sunnah, we follow their opinion. I do not judge the background of ustaz, Muhamadiyyah, or NU (results of interview with R, Member of the Musliah Ummahat Sholihah Community, 11 February 2021).*

Today, the use of internet-based social media in religious studies has become a trend, both among teenagers and adults. Media technology has created a revolution in society. With the help of the media, da'wah activities will be more accelerative and effective in conveying religious messages to the public (Rohman, 2019, p. 126). This is supported by the statement of ES:

> *In my opinion, social media has a role in building piety. If I can't take part in the study because of an obstacle, I usually re-follow via social media Youtube, and Telegram. Like Ustaz Adi Hidayat and Ustaz Hanan Attaki. Social media can provide convenience in religious learning by not meeting in person (results of an interview with ES, a Member of the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community, February 9, 2021).*

Rapid technological advances in the field of communication have given birth to many innovations and new ideas. Social media facilitates the process of human communication to be more effective and find a lot of information in the social and religious fields (Elianur, 2017, p. 1).

> *I often take part in studies near my home. Rarely do studies away from home. The study in the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community is close to home, so I joined. On the sidelines of homework, I often listen to tausiyah via social media. I used to join Ustaz Adi Hidayat's WhatsApp group. But it's been vacuumed. I like Ustaz Adi Hidayat's presentation, easy to understand, and always touching. Besides Ustaz Adi Hidayat, I also listened to Sheikh Ali Jaber's study of the Koran (results of an interview with SSH, Treasurer of the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community, 10 February 2021).*

Social media serves as a means of online study in disseminating religious understanding. Educational content that is simple and easy to capture as a characteristic of social media ensures that its users avoid ambiguity (Novia & Wasehudin, 2020, p. 105). Naturally, along with the rapid development of information technology, religious studies are conveyed through social media through *ngaji online* (Fitriana & Ridlwan, 2021, p. 215).

Conclusion

The piety of women based on this study is symbolized through the form of obedience to the commands of Allah and His Messenger. Among them are covering the genitals and wearing the hijab, being obedient to their husbands, balancing ritual worship with social activities, and participating in religious activities. From the questionnaire distributed to informants, it was found that the level of religious behavior of members of the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community was categorized as high. The pietization expression practiced by them is also purely intended to worship Allah. Members of the Muslimah Ummahat Sholihah Community are not picky about clerics when participating in religious studies in social medicine. They don't care about the background of the speaker, whether from NU or Muhammadiyah. As long as the material presented does not go out of the corridor of the teachings of the Qur'an and Sunnah. So, the symbol of piety that they carry has absolutely nothing to do with conservatism, even radicalism, as some observers have alleged.

Referensi

Adrain, L. (2008). *Democratic Piety: Complexity, Conflict and Violence.* Edinburgh University Press Ltd.

Afifah, N. (2018). Pakaian Syar'i, Media dan Konstruksi Kesalehan Perempuan. *Jurnal Sosiologi Reflektif*, *13*(1), 51–63. https://doi.org/10.14421/jsr.v13i1.1544

Ahmad, M., Muniroh, S. M., & Nurani, S. (2021). Niqab, Protest Movement, and the Salafization of Indonesian Islam. *Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies*, *9*(2), 423–462. https://doi.org/10.21043/qijis.v9i2.8195

Al-Zaman, M. S. (2020). Islam and Online Piety in Bangladesh. *IJISH (International Journal of Islamic Studies and Humanities)*, *3*(2), 67–73. https://doi.org/10.26555/ijish.v3i2.2222

Amir-Moazami, S., Jacobsen, C. M., & Malik, M. (2011). Islam and Gender in Europe: Subjectivities, Politics and Piety. *Feminist Review*, *98*(1), 1–8. https://doi.org/10.1057/fr.2011.9

Arimbi, D. A. (2017). Politicizing Piety: Women's Rights and Roles in the Tarbiyah Movement in Indonesia. *Religious Studies and Theology*, *36*(2), 228–244. https://doi.org/10.1558/rsth.35160

Azis, A. (2018). Pembentukan Perilaku Keagamaan Anak. *Jurnal Pemikiran Dan Ilmu Keislaman*, *1*(1), 197–234. http://jurnal.instika.ac.id/index.php/jpik/article/view/86

Bangstad, S. (2011). Saba Mahmood and Anthropological Feminism After Virtue. *Theory, Culture & Society*, *28*(3), 28–54. https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276410396914

Barendregt, B. (2011a). Pop, Politics and Piety: Nasyid Boy Band Music in Muslim Southeast Asia. In A. N. Weintraub (Ed.), *Islam and Popular Culture in Indonesia and Malaysia* (pp. 235–256). Routledge.

Barendregt, B. (2011b). Pop, Politics and Piety: Nasyid Boy Band Music in Muslim Southeast Asia. *Islam and Popular Culture in Indonesia and Malaysia*, *18*, 235–256.

Bassey, M. (1999). *Case Study Research in Educational Settings* (Vol. 4, Issue 3). Open University Press. https://doi.org/10.1080/13664530000200293

Bisri, A. M. (2016). *Saleh Ritual, Saleh Sosial*. Diva Press.

Bryner, K. (2013). *Piety Projects: Islamic Schools for Indonesia's Urban Middle Class.* Columbia University.

Daniels, T. P. (2013). *Performance, Popular Culture, and Piety in Malaysia and Indonesia* (T. P. Daniels (ed.)). Palgrave Macmillan.

Davis, S. J. (2008). The Cult of St. Thecla: A Tradition of Women's Piety in Late Antiquity. In *Journal of Biblical Literature*. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/3268177

Dewi, P. A. R. (2019). Niqab Sebagai Fashion: Dialektik Konservatisme dan Budaya Populer. *Scriptura*, *9*(1), 9–15. https://doi.org/10.9744/scriptura.9.1.9-15

Douglass Sullivan-Gonzalez. (1998). *Piety, Power, and Politics: Religion and Nation-formation in Guatemala, 1821-1871.* the University of Pittsburgh Press.

Elianur, C. (2017). Pemanfaatan Aplikasi Whatsapp Sebagai Sarana Diskusi antara Pengawas dan Guru Pendidikan Agama Islam. *Jurnal As-Salam, 1*(2), 1–14.

Fitriana, E., & Ridlwan, M. K. (2021). NGAJI ONLINE: Transformasi Ngaji Kitab di Media Sosial. *ASANKA: Journal of Social Science And Education*, 2(2), 203–220. https://doi.org/10.21154/asanka.v2i2.3238

Fulbrook, M. (1983). *Piety and Politics: Religion and the Rise of Absolutism in England, Wiirttemberg and Prussia* (Vol. 2, Issue 4). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1300/j265v02n04_01

Hamali, S. (2011). Sikap Keagamaan dan Pola Tingkah Laku Masyarakat Madani. *Al-Adyan*, 6(2), 77–100. http://ejournal.radenintan.ac.id/index.php/alAdyan/article/view/498/0

Hasan, N. (2009). The Making of Public Islam: Piety, Agency, and Commodification on the Landscape of the Indonesian Public Sphere. *Contemporary Islam*, 3(3), 229–250. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11562-009-0096-9

Hasan, N. (2012). Piety, Politics, and Post-Islamism: Dhikr Akbar in Indonesia. *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, 50(2), 369–390. https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2012.502.369-390

Hasanah, H. (2015). Faktor-Faktor Pembentuk Kesadaran Beragama Anak Jalanan. *Sawwa: Jurnal Studi Gender*, 10(2), 209–228. https://doi.org/10.21580/sa.v10i2.1432

Hayat, M. (2020). Ruqyah Syar'iyah: Upaya Mencari Kesembuhan. *Jurnal Emik*, 3(2), 206–222.

Hoesterey, J. B., & Clark, M. (2012). Film Islami: Gender, Piety and Pop Culture in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia. *Asian Studies Review*, 36(2), 207–226. https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2012.685925

Istiqomah, I. (2019). Validitas Konstruk Alat Ukur Kesalehan Sosial. *Jurnal Ilmiah Psikologi Terapan*, 7(1), 119.

Jacobsen, C. M. (2011). Troublesome Threesome: Feminism, Anthropology, and Muslim Women's Piety. *Feminist Review*, 98(1), 65–82. https://doi.org/10.1057/fr.2011.10

Jarlert, A. (2012). Piety and Modernity. In *The Dynamics of Religious Reform in Nothern Europe, 1780-1920*. Leuven University Press.

Jati, W. R. (2015). Kesalehan Sosial Sebagai Ritual Kelas Menengah Muslim. *Ibda' Jurnal Kebudayaan Islam*, 13(2), 336–349.

Jennifer Hillman. (2014). *Female piety and the Catholic Reformation in France.* Routledge.

Kazi, T. (2018). Religious Television and Contesting Piety in Karachi, Pakistan. *American Anthropologist*, 120(3), 523–534. https://doi.org/10.1111/aman.13061

Langer, S. K. (1967). *An Introduction to Symbolic Logic.* Dover Publications. Inc.

https://doi.org/10.2307/2311838

Leng), O. bin A. (Chuah H., Shukri, A. S. M., & Othman, N. (2011). Filial Piety in Confucianism and Islam: A Comparative Literary Analysis of Qur'an, Hadith, and Four Chinese Classics. *ICR Journal*, *3*(1), 133–153. https://doi.org/10.52282/icr.v3i1.584

Liow, J. C. (2009). *Piety and Politics: Islamism in Contemporary Malaysia*. Oxford University Press Inc.

Liu, Y., & Taber, K. S. (2016). Analyzing Symbolic Expressions in Secondary School Chemistry: Their Functions and Implications for Pedagogy. *Chemistry Education Research and Practice*, *17*(3), 439–451. https://doi.org/10.1039/c6rp00013d

Machmiyah, S. (2020). Mediasi Kesalehan Selebriti Perempuan Hijrah Di Media Sosial Instagram. *Widya Komunika*, *10*(1), 51–66. https://doi.org/10.20884/wk.v10i1.2586

Malik, M., & Ummah, A. A. K. (2021). Ketaatan Istri Terhadap Suami Perspektif Nabi SAW. *Jurnal Ushuluddin*, *23*(1), 94–104.

Mekhert, C. (2002). The Piety of The Hadith Folk. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, *34*(3), 425–439. https://doi.org/10.1017/S002074380200301X

Nasir, K. M., Pereira, A., & Turner, B. S. (2010). *Muslims in Singapore: Piety, Politics, and Policies*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203872550

Novia, W., & Wasehudin, W. (2020). Penggunaan Media Sosial dalam Membangun Moderasi Beragama di Masa Pandemi Covid-19 di Kota Tangerang. *Hanifiya: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama*, *3*(2), 99–106. https://doi.org/10.15575/hanifiya.v3i2.10017

Peña, E. A. (2011). Performing Piety: Making Space Sacred with the Virgin of Guadalupe. In *American Journal of Islam and Society*. University of California Press. https://doi.org/10.35632/ajis.v31i4.1074

Pinault, D. (1992). The Shiites: Ritual and Popular Piety in a Muslim Community. In *The Shiites*. Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-137-06693-0

Putri, D. P. K., & Lestari, S. (2015). Pembagian Peran dalam Rumah Tangga pada Pasangan Suami Istri Jawa. *Jurnal Penelitian Humaniora*, *16*(1), 72–85. http://journals.ums.ac.id/index.php/humaniora/article/view/1523

Raqib, M. A. (2020). 'Safeguarding Islam' in Modern Times: Politics, Piety and Hefazat-e-Islami 'Ulama in Bangladesh. *Critical Research on Religion*, *8*(3), 1–22. https://doi.org/10.1177/2050303220952869

Riadi, H. (2014). Kesalehan Sosial Sebagai Parameter Kesalehan Keberislaman (Ikhtiar Baru Dalam Menggagas Mempraktekkan Tauhid Sosial). *An-Nida: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam*, *39*(1), 49–58. http://ejournal.uin-suska.ac.id/index.php/Anida/article/view/864

Richardson, B. (2015). Spatiality and Symbolic Expression: On the Links Between Place and Culture. In *Geocriticism and Spatial Literary Studies*.

Rinaldo, R. (2013). Mobilizing Piety: Islam and Feminism in Indonesia. In

Contemporary Sociology: A Journal of Reviews. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1177/0094306116629410zz

Rohman, D. A. (2019). Komunikasi Dakwah Melalui Media Sosial. *Tatar Pasundan: Jurnal Diklat Keagamaan*, *13*(2), 121–133.

Rozario, S. (2011). Islamic Piety Against the Family: From "Traditional" to "Pure" Islam. *Contemporary Islam*, *5*(3), 285–308. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11562-011-0166-7

Rudi Ahmad Suryadi. (2012). Motivasi Belajar Persfektif Pendidikan Islam Klasik. *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, *10*(1), 53–65.

Sa`idah, Z. (2019). Preferensi Kesalehan Wanita Dalam Film Religi (Studi Analisa Framing Terhadap Film Khalifah Karya Nurman Hakim). *Representamen*, *5*(2), 1–8. https://doi.org/10.30996/representamen.v5i02.2934

Shirazi, F. (2018). Brand Islam: The Marketing and Commodification of Piety. *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, *35*(1), 103–108. https://doi.org/10.1093/jis/etx088

Talmon-Heller, D. (2007). *Islamic Piety in Medieval Syria: Mosques, Cemeteries, and Sermons under the Zangids and Ayyūbids (1146-1260)* (Vol. 7). Brill. https://doi.org/10.1080/09503110.2011.595942

Triantoro, D. A. (2018). D'RISE Magazine: Between The Piety, Popular Culture And Ideology. *Ulum Islamiyyah*, *25*(October), 31–40. https://doi.org/10.33102/uij.vol25no0.134

Turner, B. S. (2008). Introduction: The price of piety. *Contemporary Islam*, *2*(1), 1–6. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11562-007-0034-7

Yudi Arianto, & Rinwanto. (2019). Aspek Ritual dan Sosial Dalam Tipologi Perilaku Keberagamaan Masyarakat. *Tadris : Jurnal Penelitian Dan Pemikiran Pendidikan Islam*, *13*(1), 39–50. https://doi.org/10.51675/jt.v13i1.54

Yulikhah, S. (2016). Jilbab Antara Kesalehan dan Fenomena Sosial. *Jurnal Ilmu Dakwah*, *36*(1), 96–117. https://doi.org/10.21580/jid.v36i1.1627

This page intentionally left blank