



Political Identity, Popular Culture, and Ideological Coercion: The Discourses of Feminist Movement in the Report of *Ummi* Magazine

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ABSTRACT

This research examines the rise of Islamic populism in Indonesia and understands it as an instrument to clear a new pathway for populism movement into popular culture. *Ummi* magazine is one of the religious media used to be political vehicles of stablishing constituencies, especially for the Tarbiyah movement in the Soeharto era to the current tendency to popularize the Tarbiyah identity as a new lifestyle. Historically, the Tarbiyah movement in Indonesia is a social and political movement among Indonesian *Muslimah* students, especially activists in the Suharto period. Muslim middle class entrepreneurs launched a campaign of 'economic jihad'. This research uses a qualitative approach by interpreting and studying the data contained in *Ummi* Magazine. Media studies were carried out in the January 2017 to 2018 editions. The data obtained were described and associated with the magazine's transformation as an ideological medium and Muslim women's lifestyle today. The result shows that the magazine's transformation from ideology magazine to lifestyle magazine can influence readers because there are more new readers. Whether *Ummi* as a media for da'wah and a women's magazine, it is still perceived by the readers to apply ideological coercion or simply provide an alternative lifestyle or consumption where religious independence is the main characteristic of the magazine. We argue that Islamic populism is mainly a medium for coercion ideology to gain tracks to power, while the poor remain as 'floating mass', and entrapped in many so-called 'empowerment' projects. Populism can be interpreted as a communication style in which a group of politicians considers themselves to represent the people's interests contrasted with elite interests. Nevertheless, the populism approach is gaining momentum.



Introduction

Populism is always anti-elitist. Billionaire Donald Trump, for example, portrays himself as being part of a kind of super-elite independent from the allegedly crooked Washington politicians. The opposite of populism is anelitism that considers the elite to be true and virtuous. However, populism related to the upsurge of identity politics? To Fukuyama, identity issues have dominated politics in recent years (Fukuyama 2018, 14). It is somehow paradoxical that the political right “has adopted the language and framing from the left: the idea that people are being victimized, that their situation and suffering are invisible to the rest of society, and that the social and political structures responsible for this situation—especially the media and the political establishment—need to be smashed “ (Fukuyama, 2018, 14).

One might see all the talk about identity politics as a diversionary tactic, since ethnicity and religion, for example, are often only used to divert and disguise class interests. The identification with the people against obscure, often unnamed enemies is a welcome opportunity not to talk about human right violations, systematic corruption, and oligarchies.

All in all, populism is connected to a polarization, dramatization, and moralization of politics. Populism is always a sub-type of identity politics. As a thin ideology it is combined with additional ideational fragments from traditions such as liberalism, conservatism, and socialism aiming at establishing or re-establishing a culturally and ethnically homogeneous society. At the same time, elites are frequently not excluded because of their ethnicities but on moral grounds.

The rising Islamic militancy in post-Suharto Indonesia has been studied widely by many scholars; only a few of them pay attention to Islamic media representation. According to Noorhaidi Hassan (2009),

a prominent scholar of Islam in Indonesia, the recent rise of Islamic militancy in Indonesia coincides with the increasing prominence of religious symbols and the proliferation of Islamic institutions.

During the Suharto period, media *dakwah* was distributed 'legally' for public consumption since it played an important role in transmitting radical Islamic ideas in Indonesia, primarily through its publications. However, William Liddle (1993) argues that disseminating radical Islamic perspectives may not have resulted in 'radical' political movements due to their ambivalent attitudes towards the regime. Unlike in the years before the Suharto era, during the Suharto era, the *Dakwah* movement published many radical Islamic books, including translated books from scholars and activists of the Egyptian *Ikhwanul Muslimin* (the Muslim Brotherhood). There thus began to circulate underground journals based on *Ikhwani* teachings among the *Dakwah* activists in Indonesia. According to a recent study by Syamsul Rizal (2005), in Islamic media in the post-Suharto era, there is an emphasis on specific *Dakwah*, namely the unification of the Islamic community into the political community of *Umma* and to some extent promoting '*Daulah Islamiyah*' or Islamic State.

The *Dakwah* method introduced by The *Tarbiyah* movement refers to the '*Tarbiyah* Movement or the *Ikhwanul Muslimin*. This method employs informal mentoring activities where religious lessons are taken within a circle called '*usrah*' to prepare young Muslims for the call to '*Islam ka'afah*' (total Islam). This mentoring is also differentiated according to gender within a small circle or '*halaqah*', which in Arabic literally means 'the circle'. Usually the mentoring consists of one '*murrabi*' (the mentor or the teacher) and five to ten '*muttarabbi*' (pupils/students). The *murrabi* is expected to be highly knowledgeable in Islamic teaching, the history of The Prophet Muhammad and the *Salaf al Saleh* or the companions of the Prophets, and the history of Islamic movements in the Muslim world

(Bruinessen, 2002).

Yon Machmudi (2006) says that mentoring not only teaches students a more purified Islam; it also serves to recruit cadres for the Tarbiyah movement. The recruitment of the new cadres is conducted according to the main principles derived from Hasan al Banna's teaching called *Arkan al Bayah* (The Principles of Allegiance). Members (or cadres) are examined through several processes of mentoring so that they gain the required qualification, which includes following uncontaminated faith (*Salim al A'qidah*), right worship (*qadirun 'ala-al kasb*), wide knowledge (*muthaqqafah al fikr*), punctually (*harisun 'ala waqtih*), and self-usefulness for others (*nafi'un li ghayrib*) (Mahmudi, 2006). Thus, the influence of The *Ikhwani* teachings is undeniable. However, the *Tarbiyah* movement in Indonesia does not directly resemble the direction of The Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood (*Ikhtwanul Muslimin*) that historically used violence to legitimize its movement (Bruinessen, 2002). Within the 'Tarbiyah' frame, individual conversion to more proper Islam means not only accepting the moral value of Islamic teaching unequivocally but also adopting a new identity that distinctively distinguishes themselves from others (so-called secular modern and traditional Muslims).

Although Brenner supports the Foucauldian argument that veiling is women from expressing sexuality, she admits that the motivation to wear the *jilbab*, especially among female Tarbiyah activists (in the Suharto period), were more likely autonomous and voluntary rather than compulsory decisions (Bruinessen, 2002). In the Suharto period, wearing *jilbab* was somewhat problematic in public spaces such as school or work. The ban on wearing *jilbab* at public school by the government in 1990 provoked strong protests against the Suharto government throughout Indonesia. Although the ban was eventually lifted, Brenner found that the norm to restrain the wearing a veil remained effective in public at that time (Brenner,

1996). Hefner (1993) argues that the Suharto regime viewed ‘veiling’ as a form of adopting a ‘radical Islamic identity. Thus, wearing the jilbab was also a made of resistance and a source for grievance that mobilized sympathy for the female *Tarbiyah* activists as victims of state repression (Hefner, 1993).

Unlike in the Suharto period (where expressions of new identity associated with the label of ‘radical Islam’ such as the practice of veiling were strictly restrained), the cultural landscape of everyday life is now expanded through the tremendous use of religious symbols. A new lifestyle based on the obedience life in Indonesia. Typical Muslim fashions such as jilbab (headscarf/veil) for women with trendy colorful style have turned into a preferential consumer item and are legitimized as an emerging symbol of modernity. Later in my analysis on the transformation of *Ummi* magazine in the post-Suharto era. It means that femininity is no longer negated within veiling practices but negotiated through various modes, including colors and styles.

As an example of using media to mobilize a social movement collectively, the case of *Ummi* shows how women were initially integrated as an inseparable part of The *Tarbiyah* movement, especially since the early 1990s. As briefly described in this introduction, *Ummi* was established in 1989 during the Suharto period and was the first monthly magazine to become a basis of support for The *Tarbiyah* movement in Indonesia. In its early publication, the magazine was only a stencil—print operated underground during the female *halaqah* (mentoring sessions) by the *murrabi* as a supplementary reading to attract the *muttarabi* (pupils).

The analysis of the production of *Dakwah* media and its subsequent reception will provide a broader meaning of ‘*Dakwah*’ that is about labeling Islam and ‘constructing *Dakwah*’ to form a subjective understanding of *Dakwah* as a religious mission. In my case study of

Umni, *Dakwah* media deliberately social activists (*Tarbiyah* activists) to educate Muslims and propagate Islam.

Popular culture suggests that we have a true self, namely an identity that we possess and can become known. Such a notion assumes that identity has a timeless core, or an essence of the self, that is expressed as representations recognizable by us and others and thus signifiable through beliefs, attitudes, tastes, and lifestyles. Yet, identity is not a fixed category capable of describing the self as a stable entity. Media culture texts for instance, are neither a vehicle of a dominant ideology, popular culture, media texts are complex artifacts that embody social nor political discourses produced, circulated, and received within particular political environments (Kellner, 1995). The text produces 'meaning' that different audiences (readers) perceive them in various interpretive ways. In other words, it is also essential to locate the textual aspects of the readers 'positioning by focusing on examining' preferred readings' offered for readers 'consumption (Kellner, 1995).

The purpose of linking media (mainly Islamic media) to form identity politics is to analyze how media may promote identity-based movements as a contested 'Muslim public sphere'. Concerning the construction of identity as a social-based movement, Castells introduces three types of identity constructs. First is the 'legitimizing identity' imposed by the dominant political structure as commonly found in the theories of nationalism. Second is the 'resistance identity' generated by actors who are devalued or disadvantaged by the dominant power; and who thus build up and or opposition to permeate social institutions. The third is the 'project identity' created by social actors based on particular cultural materials that redefine their social positions to transform larger social structures (Castel, 2009). By altering other activities beyond reading activities such as creating real events and managing fandom, and combining

the print magazine by utilizing new social media such as Facebook and Twitter, *Ummi* in the Post-Suharto era seemed to manage its readers as another ‘*Tarbiyah* Community’ in fashionable ways of communication rather than the usual traditional way of mobilizing *Tarbiyah* members in ‘previous decades’.

Methods: *Ummi* Magazine as the Case Study

This research uses a qualitative approach. The study was conducted from January 2017 to 2018. The monthly Muslim women’s magazine, *Ummi* exemplifies *Dakwah* media linking Islam, media, and popular culture in contemporary Indonesia. *Ummi* was the first popular Islamic magazine rooted in the *Tarbiyah* movement, and this has a stable market drawn from the adherents of the *Tarbiyah* movement. Nevertheless, *Ummi* nowadays is not only subscribed by members of the *Tarbiyah* movement. Indeed, a survey by AC Nielsen in 2016 shows a growing number of new readers, *Ummi*-presumably those who did not belong to the *Tarbiyah* movement or participate in its activities during the authoritarian Suharto era. This suggests that both *Ummi* (as producer) and its readers (as consumers) are engaged in constructing a newly acquired meaning of ‘*dakwah*’.

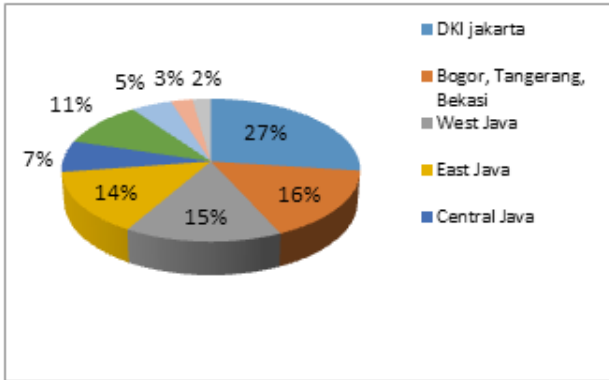
Result and Discussion

A Survey of Distribution to *Ummi* Magazine Readers

There is no official survey indicating how many *Tarbiyah* members belong to *Ummi*, but since 2002, the circulation of *Ummi* is estimated to be between 80,000 and 100,000 copies per month. According to AC Nielsen Research Indonesia, an international news-rating agency, based on its media survey in 2015, *Ummi* has 300,000 loyal readers concentrated mostly in cities in Indonesia (Jakarta, Bogor, Tangerang, Bekasi, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Surabaya, Medan, Makassar). Most

importantly, according to AC Nielsen, 96% of these readers are women.

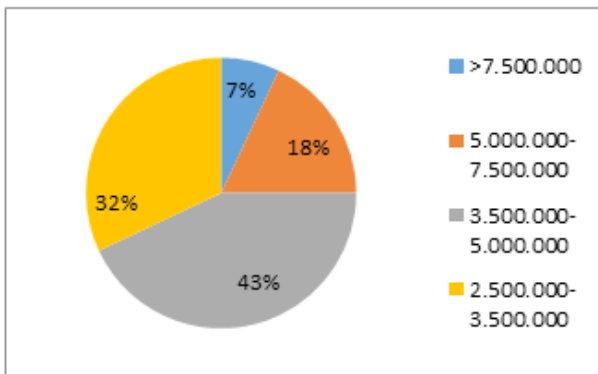
Table. 1. The Distribution of *Ummi*'s readers in Indonesia regions



Source: *Ummi* media regular kit, p. 9, 2017

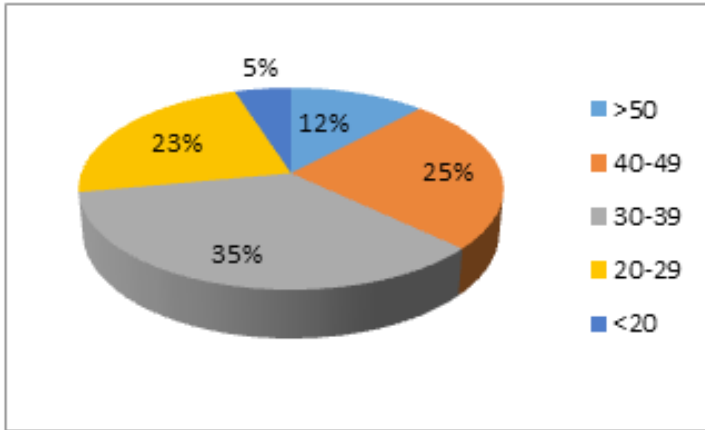
The survey of AC Nielsen in 2017 found that 58% of *Ummi* readers are between 31 and 49 years old and mostly come from the middle class, as more than 44 % of them spent IDR 5.000.000,- per month (BPS, 2017).

Table 2. The survey of *Ummi* reader's income (in Rupiah)



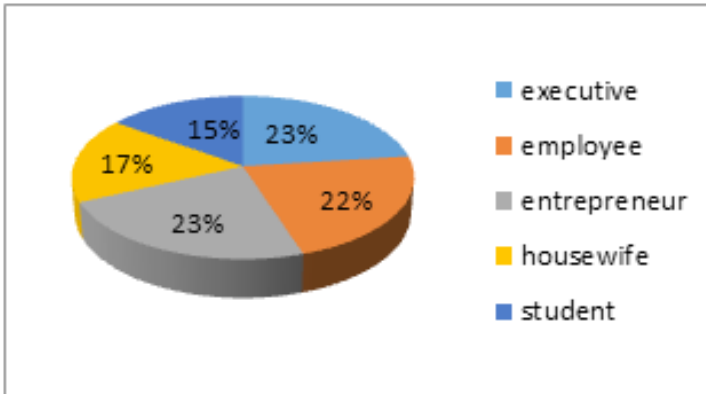
Source : *Ummi* media regular kit, p. 9, 2017.

Table 3. The survey of *Ummi* readers surveys by age



Source: *Ummi* media regular kit, p. 9, 2017.

Table 4. The survey of *Ummi* readers by profession



Source: *Ummi* media regular kit, p. 9, 2017.

In general, it can be seen from the survey that the *Ummi* readership in the post-Suharto era is predominantly characterized by the middle-class women who pursue a public role through professional works. Only a relatively small number of readers are housewives who consume *Ummi*.

Ummi is an example of how popular culture in mass-mediated forms may generate new activities to express a new identity. *Ummi* nowadays appears not only in a 'traditional' fashioned way of popular Muslimah magazine but shares similarities with other 'secular' women's magazine. It has encouraged fandom by creating a community of *Ummi* members of *Keluarga Sakinah* that introduces a new mode of societal relationship by ordering family based on *Shari'a* principles. Another approach adopted by *Ummi* is social media such as Facebook and Twitter due to a massive demand to transform traditional printed materials into a condensed form for digital distribution.

Examining the Islamic Agenda: The Study of *Ummi* in The Suharto Period

Suharto's promotion of Islamic piety from the mid-1980 also gave birth to the first Muslim women's popular magazine called *Amanah*. *Amanah* was a prominent Muslim monthly magazine in the quarto format (A4), similar to other popular magazines targeting women. Expanding consumer society in Indonesia began in the 1980s, evidence by a growing number of consumer products, advertisements, and pop content such as lifestyle advice in the mass media. It was characterized by the emergence of popular literature found in paperback books, fiction, and magazine catered towards a more affluent and educated society (Hartley, 1998). However, the production of pop culture had already taken place in the earlier period of the New Order regime in the late 1960s. A process of burgeoning 'western' influences in Indonesia culture accompanied by industrialization in Suharto's era contrasted with the previous patriotic national movement pioneered under the old regime of Sukarno the despised the importing of western civilization by mobilizing propaganda of 'the national revolution' against the

imperialist western culture (Hartley, 1998). During the New Order, the everyday life of Indonesia was to be seen in print and electronic media (e.g. TV shows that furnished entertainment, as well as the availability of Hollywood movies, etc.).

However, integrating female *Tarbiyah* activists into cultural production of the *Tarbiyah* movement, did not come spontaneously from the female *Tarbiyah* activists 'initiative'. Instead, it was a historical process that eventually required all members of the *Tarbiyah* movement to multiply its mobilized ideology's influence outside of the political realm. It is because the primary actors of mobilizing the *Tarbiyah* movement reside in masculine characteristics presumed to be the privileged male *dakwah* (*Tarbiyah*) activists, especially in its earlier period, before the establishment of the justice and prosperous party. On the other hand, the male *Tarbiyah* activists were aware of culture production, especially in fabricating social norms and values in everyday life. Islam become an ideological axis first established in 1989, not by female *Tarbiyah* activists but by male *Tarbiyah* activists.

There were two significant themes incorporated in the production of *Ummi* during the Suharto period. Firstly, the theme of engaging women's inseparable factors elevates the *dakwah* (*Tarbiyah*) movement. Secondly, was the theme of emphasizing women's primary role as 'pious' persons for accompanying their male spouses to achieve the objective of *Dakwah*. The first theme of engaging women in the *dakwah* movement was featured by *Ummi* through the introduction of '*Marhalah Dakwah*' (the *dakwah* strategy), which provides a summary of stages to achieve the *Dakwah* mission. It includes practical guidelines for Muslimah in following the paths of *dakwah*. Meanwhile, a second theme of emphasizing the moral value of 'pious women' was narrated by *Ummi*. Such narratives were built up through a combination of prophetic texts (that referred to the Qur'an and Hadith or the prophetic's sayings), a fundamental *Ikhwani*

doctrine of ‘*Mar’ah Muslimah*’ thought by the founding father *Ikhwanul Muslimin Hasan al Banna*, and a new interpretation of the narratives of the ‘*Salaf al Shalih*’ (the first generation of The Prophet companion) that stressed the roles of ‘*Ummu Shalihah*’ (the pious women of the *Salaf al Shaleh* generation).

The data which appears here is taken from textual analysis of *Ummi* from 1991-1995 and earlier editions in 1998 prior to the downfall of Suharto in May 1998. In particular, it also pinpoints *Ummi*’s early narratives on ‘constructing *dakwah*’ as a medium of mobilizing *Tarbiyah* collective action, for example, by persuading its readers to join the paths of *dakwah*. The narratives exemplified in this sub-chapter are frequently used by *Ummi* to justify the meaning of *dakwah* for Muslimah (Muslim women) manifested in the ideal type of loyal housewife.

The obligation of women to stay and remain at home was actually not too popular an idea given the fact that most *Ummi* readers at that time were female *Tarbiyah* members who studied at some leading secular state campuses. *Ummi* contextualized the notion that women should remain at home by encouraging women (especially those who were already married) to spend their time mostly ‘at home’ to gain knowledge (especially about Islam) rather than going out gossiping or shopping with their peers —being-- ‘athome’ contextualized by *Ummi* by attending to the mentoring classes or *halaqah* sessions.

Framing Pious Identity in Islamic Women’s Magazine during the Suharto Era

Suzanne Brenner (1999), in her study of the image of women in the popular print media in Indonesia during the Suharto regime, argues that the development of the popular magazine, especially those that targeted women, was characterized by a primary concern

with how 'the intimate sphere of the family came to replace an active politics of the public sphere' (Brennen, 1999). Such quality of female representation in popular magazines in the Suharto era was very much in contrast with the proceeding era of Sukarno when there were only a few popular magazines. In the Sukarno area, there was one leading women magazine called *Majalah Trisula: Majalah Untuk Wanita Pejuang* (Trisula Magazine, The Magazine for Struggling Women), which was first published in 1959 and was strongly in favor of political activism. This magazine was very active in campaigning for women's struggles for equal opportunity, especially in relation to political participation. Women were normally portrayed as apolitical subjects experiencing the new transformation to middle-class status and pursuing modern lifestyles. Thus, Brenner further argues that the representation of the stable, harmonious, apolitical society of an urban middle-class family found in the popular magazine in the Suharto era appropriated the political agenda of the regime by which women were positioned merely to pursue 'modernity' and thus become an integrated part of a developing consumer society. Branner also finds that *Amanah* presented an image of a modern society built on Islamic values where families come first. Women should be fulfilled in the sense of motherhood and Islamic piety, not in the search for satisfaction of personal desire. Nevertheless, *Amanah* also shared something in common with other secular women's popular magazines, as Branner argued.

"Each study as a market departure from more conventional images of Indonesian women, suggesting itself of being modern" (Suzanne Brenner, 1997, p. 20).

About the interest of the Suharto regime in promoting the image of a harmonious family, as argued by Suzanne Brenner, *Amanah* also expressed its support for government policy, especially the family planning program. It can be traced to *Amanah*'s regular consultation column for 'using appropriate contraceptive methods. *Amanah*'s

special column on ‘Family Planning Consultation’ supervised by Dr. Kantono Muhammad, a former head of IDI (*Ikatan Dokter Indonesia*, or The Indonesian Medical Association), was also upheld by the top muslim clerical body called MUI (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia*) or The Indonesian Ulama Council.

In stark contrast to *Amanah*, *Ummi* during the Suharto era remained outside public attention. Unlike *Amanah*, published in the format as a glossy monthly magazine, *Ummi* was only an irregular series of stenciled off-prints. In its early incarnation from 1989 to 1990, it contained only 36 pages. It had limited distribution to the members of the *Tarbiyah* movement in three major urban cities in Java: Jakarta, Bandung, and Yogyakarta. *Ummi* began to appear regularly as a community magazine for the *Tarbiyah* members from 1991. During that period, *Ummi* was very much determined to propaganda the idea of ‘*hijab*’ as a moral duty for women to support men for lowering their gaze or avoiding sexual intentions.

In contrast to the narratives showed by *Amanah*, *Ummi* also demonstrated dogmatizing narratives. Such disobedience was shown in persistent narratives suggesting women allow their husbands to practice polygamy and also refuse any means to prevent the possibility of pregnancy (including medical contraceptive methods). In its narratives for allowing husbands to practice polygamy. In particular, *Ummi* also suggested its readers have more children. At the same time, the government advocated the family planning program of having only two children in every Indonesian family.

The Dakwah Magazine in a Pop Style (The Transformation of *Ummi* in Post Suharto Era)

On the front cover of the magazine, *Ummi*’s mottois captioned by a cacthphrase, ‘*Ummi Identitas Wanita Islami*’—*Ummi*, the identity of pious Muslim women. In this way, *Ummi* employs a symbol of

piety in order to differentiate itself from other popular women's magazines. Therefore the representation of 'pious women' is *Ummi's* essential *Dakwah* messages. Anna Gough Yates (2003) underlines that women's magazine did not simply provide innocent pleasure for its readers but a site for identity construct through which oppressive feminine identities are constructed and disseminated. Two important historical events underlay the transformation of *Ummi* in the post-Suharto era. Firstly is the establishment of the PKS (the Justice and Prosperous Party) in 1998, and secondly is the implication of post-September 11 and, most significantly, the Bali bombings in 2002. Likewise, in the Suharto era, *Ummi* consistently disseminates the *Ikhwani* teachings on '*Maratus Shalihah*' in public. The involvement of the female *Tarbiyah* activists into a political realm, especially since the birth of the PKS.

Therefore since 2003, as a response to the implications of the Bali bombings and in order to allure new readers who presumably do not belong to the *Tarbiyah* movement, *Ummi* has embraced a new approach of a pop magazine, especially by allocating more pleasure contents.

Since 2003, *Ummi* has not only visible employed an exterior format of a popular women's magazine but has differentiated itself from other women magazine, particularly by renewing the image of modern pious women (*maratus shalihah*) as its appeal. In general, *Ummi's* transformation into a pop style in the post-Suharto era includes several exteriors and interior characteristics of a women magazine as identified as follows:

- The emergence of advertorial pages,
- Female depiction
- A quality an emphasizing femininity: the construction of motherhood
- More articles based on the genre's classification that also include leisure activities

- An adoption of journalist style in the magazine
- More articles for accomodating readers responses and readers opinions
- An application of a rhetorical device obscures the ‘*Ikhwanī*’ (*Tarbiyah*) terminology used to be employed in the magazine prior to the 2003 editions, particularly in the significant columns under the genre of moral virtues.

Table 1. Transformation of *Ummi* 1998-2002 (the early time of reform era-the early development of the newly PKS prior to the impacts of September 11 and the Bali bombings)

Cover caption	Frequently Appeared Themes (Headlines)	Visualization
<i>Maratus Shalihah</i> (a pious/faithful women)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Propaganda a <i>marhalah dakwah</i> with emphasis on <i>tanfids</i> the persuasion of joining the PKS 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Female depictions ● Cartoons are introduced especially in the supplement part for children
Framing <i>Maratus Shalihah: Ummi's</i> Representation of Islamic Activism and Public Morality (2003-2009)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <i>Manhaj Dakwah</i> a combination of preaching and movement (notions on the Jahiliyya System and Jihad) ● Female <i>Tarbiyah</i> public role: The Muslimah NGOs and the reinforcement of public morality ● Popularization of the practice of hijab in public ● Anti-Liberalism (American or West Economic and cultural domination) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Caricature, sketches and comics, or illustrations in the articles ● Some pictures show the reportage of ‘<i>tarbiyah</i> movement’ and the PKS activists throughout Indonesia

Cover caption	Frequently Appeared Themes (Headlines)	Visualization
Framing Maratus Shalihah: <i>Ummi's</i> Representation of Islamic Activism and Public Morality (2003-2009)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Public Morality: (1) Against the widespread pornography in the media; (2) Against so-called 'permissive' lifestyles and sexual misbehaviors (unIslamic sexuality); adultery, promiscuity, premarital sex or non-marital sex, homosexuality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Some pictures represent Islam or Muslims as a minority in foreign countries (reproduced from other Islamic magazines, copyright not mentioned)

The September 11 and especially the Bali bombings in 2002 had a greater implication among Muslim societies in Indonesia that evoked bitter public debates on the meaning and the practice of *Jihad* in the Indonesia context (Bachtiar, 2009). Since September 11 and the Bali bombings in 2002, the term *Jihad* has a pejorative meaning associated with 'terrorism'. The Bali bombings in 2002 was an exceptional case given the fact that this out of terrorism on behalf of Islam was conducted in

Table. 2. The Transformation of *Ummi* 2003-2009

Cover caption	Frequently Appeared Themes (Headlines)	Visualization
Pious women (<i>maratus shalihah</i>)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Ummu madrasah</i>: women as active educators, family caretakers, and moral gatekeepers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Female depictions Cartoon in the supplement part for children

Cover caption	Frequently Appeared Themes (Headlines)	Visualization
Pious women (<i>maratus shalihah</i>)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Public morality: against pornography and “<i>pornoaksi</i>” an ‘invented’ term by the dakwah activists) which refers to cultural expressions (especially live performances) of explicit sensuality or eroticism and public displays of un-Islamic sexuality (sexual misbehaviors) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Caricature, sketches, and comics or illustrations in the articles Some pictures showing dakwah activities sponsored or associated with the PKS or Tarbiyah movement throughout Indonesia Some pictures showing dakwah activities in other places worldwide (pictures reproduced with permission or with copyrights).

The transformation of *Ummi* also gives a sign that there is a dynamic shift of the ideological orientation within the *Tarbiyah* movement itself. A prevailing moral guide based on the revitalization of Hasan al Banna’s teachings by Yusuf al Qaradawi (who is acted as a more ‘moderate’ *ikhwani mufti*) is the evidence of this ideological shift in the *Tarbiyah* movement. In his moderate interpretation of the importance of Islamic education according to Hasan al Banna’s teachings, Yusuf al Qaradawi expressly acknowledges that Muslims must not negate a sense of ‘nationalism’ as an inseparable part of *dakwah* practices—but when the term nationality comes to an interpretation of imposing identity framed within territorial borders (or applies to citizenship). He asserts that on this account, territorial borders should be considered as the place where the *Aqida*. (The Islamic six fundamental beliefs) is upheld by society (Qaradawi, 1980). To some extent means that Muslims are encourage to reside in

the 'muslim' majority society. Additionally, according to al Qadarawi, Muslims should yield their sense of nationalism following their faith and because Islam rejects all forms of fanaticism (Qaradawi, 1980). Regarding the invitation to join the *Ikhwanī's Manhaj* (system) of *Dakwah*, al Qadarawi urges all the ikhwani followers not to impose a coercive method for the struggle of transforming a society into *Ummi* (Islamic polity). By contrast, it should be based on a combination of persuasive and affectionate approaches (Qaradawi, 1980).

“Cantik dan Shalihah” (Beautiful and Pious): Visual representation and Female Images in *Ummi's* Post Suharto

Ummi in post-Suharto era made a significant shift by gradually capturing a broader idea of '*maratus shalihah*' (pious women) from previously exemplifying a focus on '*al zaujah muthi'ah*' (a loyal housewife) as a role model of righteous women. Since that period, the shift has resulted in various ways, such as in the visualization or depiction of female figures and increased readers participation in *Ummi's* textual production. In dealing with this shift, *Ummi* has refined the discourse of *maratus shalihah* that attempts to create a more dignified image of pious women who follow the path of *dakwah*.

Hijab in *Ummi's* post-Suharto not only represents a practice of veiling as a form of a religious obedience. Indeed, it connotes a freedom to express an identity that symbolically conveys the meaning of chastity. This is exemplified by a renewed discourse of '*Maratus Shalihah*' in *Ummi* post-Suharto. The importance of the discourse implies an idea that being pious women is about showing obedience to God, and gaining respect from society.

On another side, therefore, a space for allocating reader's concerns becomes another project of *Ummi's* advice especially on the complexities of personal relationships. This is, for example, appears regularly in the *Ummi's* classic column '*Ya Ummi*' (Oh My Mother).

In the reform era, the column response anonymous readers who shared their ‘private’ secrets that were previously in *Ummi* considered taboos. These personal problems in a relationship, for instance are identified as follows: having a violent husband, a husband has sexual affairs with other women, having a brother or even a husband who is gay (or bisexual), a temptation to meet ex-lover, having a mean mother in law, a husband married secretly without asking for the wife’s approval, etc.

Attempting to provide moral virtues in harmony is this *Ummi*’s religious package to represent its renewed image of *Maratus Shalihah*. Based on the *Ikhwani (Tarbiyah)* teachings, Islamic moral virtues are rhetorically placed in the magazine’s genres. The construction of feminine identity is also operated in genre. The genre provides a broad spectrum of religiosity and femininity through which serves *Ummi*’s project on disseminating the *Ikhwani* ideology and continuously propagating the *Tarbiyah*’s interests.

Table 3. The Distribution of Female Images in *Ummi* Editions of Post Suharto

	Classified Pages	2010-2015	2016-2018
Location/Visual formats	Front cover	Figure illustration (sketch, drawing)	Photographs
	Articles (including news reportage)	Figurative illustration (caricatures, sketch, and photographs)	Figurative illustration (caricatures, sketch, and photographs)
	Entertainment and lifestyle	Figurative illustration (sketches and photographs)	Figurative illustration (caricatures, sketch, and photographs)
	Advertorial	Photographs	Photographs
	Supplementary (children story)	Figurative illustration (comics)	Figurative illustration (comics and photographs)

Conclusion

In the Suharto period, *Ummi* was represented more as a mouthpiece for the *Tarbiyah* movement, especially in disseminating the Ikhwanī doctrines among the *Tarbiyah* members. Meanwhile, in the earlier reform era, *Ummi* showed its direct support for the *Tarbiyah* political party, the PKS (the Justice and Prosperous Party), and seemed to be a political party vehicle to include the female *Tarbiyah* activists to cultivate the PKS political interests, particularly in the realm of public morality. This was very evident in the case of the Pornography Act which was waged by the PKS for years was also part of *Ummi*'s heavy contents in the earlier reform era.

Unlike in the Suharto period, the *Ummi* now employ a popular or trendy version of Islamic representation. Despite the fact that the current editions of *Ummi* appear to systematically reduce the use of contention to the west and or to secular ideas, *Ummi* modifies its ideological imposition of public morality through rhetorical devices, especially by refining particular terminology a famous Ikhwanī doctrines such as *Jihad* and the *Manhaj Dakwah* (the dakwah strategy). In dealing with the ideological refinement, *Ummi* represents itself more as the symbol of pious women that connotes a more moderate ikhwanī interpretation on being pious by voluntarily practicing hijab and becoming an educator (*Ummu madrasah*) for the family first and the society. In its further development, *Ummi* focuses on the quality accommodating Islamic femininity.

In dealing with the accommodating of the Islamic femininity, there are some changes in the representation of *Ummi* in the post-Suharto era, namely; the appearance of the magazine that contain more topics on female muslim problems such a marital or private relationship and the cover of the magazine that allow female depictions as well as the representation of female images in the content of the magazine. More specifically, *Ummi* addresses its

readers as its *Mutarrabi* (students/pupils) and thus positions itself as the *Murrabi* (the teacher) for its readers. In this relationship, unlike in the Suharto period, where the *Murrabi* was very much represented as male characters, in the post-Suharto era, the quality of representing *Murrabi* is more feminine. *Ummi* exemplifies this through the accommodation of the readers responses and opinions in the content of the magazine that demonstrate actual problems when female muslim are going the path of *Dakwah*, especially on the private relationship such as marital issues concerning the practice of polygamous marriage and arranged marriage. In this context, *Ummi* situated its representation by encouraging reader's participation to signify their own feminine sense by referring to Islamic norms.

Therefore, in the post-Suharto era, *Ummi's* relationship with its readers is very important and has become the influence of the magazine's transformation into a more popular style. The technological advancement particularly through social media networks has helped the *Ummi* population the magazine core value on being *Maratus Shalihah* (pious women) and how to be holy women. *Ummi's* accommodation to popular style was possible. The new growing numbers of *Ummi* readers who do not belong—to the Tarbiyah movement have significantly motivated the magazine's transformation, in adopting a more moderate style to gain a broader market.

On this account through its media production, *Ummi* propagates *Dakwah* for proselytizing more Muslim women to be more righteous that transformed the contentious method of invoking Muslim supports into a piety movement for the emergence of private muslim identity in the public sphere. The quest for an authentic Islamic identity, especially among Muslim women today in Indonesia, becomes a battlefield for commodifying feminine Islamic identity and competition among other *dakwah* movements to further integrate

women in passive politics to establish a moral society.

The most significant impact of populism on democracy is polarization and conflicts, which may be dangerous for democracy because populist politicians usually despise intermediating institutions. Populism has multiple and often ambiguous understanding when populism is defined as the political mobilization of mass constituencies by personalist leaders—putting—populism as ideology is also not accurate because we saw how some elements of populism deployed nationalism, fascism, or some aspects of socialism.

The raised of the emergence of populism as an opposing force against democracy. Populism has multiple and often ambiguous understanding. Looking at populism as attaining only short-term goals is also inaccurate.

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Authors' contributions and responsibilities

The authors made substantial contributions to the conception and design of

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