

Negotiating Living Hadith in Public Spaces: The Case of Salafi Muslimah Religious Study Groups in Yogyakarta

Negosiasi Living Hadith di Ruang Publik: Studi Kasus Kelompok Kajian Keislaman Muslimah Salafi di Yogyakarta

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Abstract

This study examines how Salafi Muslimah in Yogyakarta negotiate the implementation of Living Hadith in public spaces, particularly in relation to gender roles. Using a qualitative case study approach, it analyzes interpretations of hadith concerning women's obedience to their husbands, hijab, and religious participation. Data were collected through six months of participant observation and in-depth interviews with twelve informants from four universities, whose identities were anonymized to ensure privacy. Methodological rigor was maintained through triangulation, member checking, and peer debriefing to enhance the study's validity. Data analysis was conducted using thematic coding. The findings indicate that many Salafi Muslimah participants tend to adopt a literal and conservative interpretation of hadith. However, instances of negotiation were also observed, reflecting internal discourse within the community. These results contribute to the broader discourse on how Muslim women engage with religious teachings in their daily lives, particularly within the Salafi movement, which is noted for its strict adherence to traditional religious texts. Despite its significant contributions, this study is limited by its narrow geographical focus and reliance on qualitative methods, which may not fully capture the diversity of interpretations across different Salafi communities. Future research should expand the geographical scope and adopt mixed-method approaches to provide a more comprehensive understanding of this phenomenon.

Keywords: *Living Hadith; Salafi Muslimah; Student Study Groups; Hadith Interpretation; Gender Issues.*

Abstrak:

Penelitian ini menganalisis bagaimana Muslimah Salafi di Yogyakarta menegosiasikan implementasi Living Hadith di ruang publik, terutama dalam kaitannya dengan peran gender. Menggunakan pendekatan studi kasus kualitatif, penelitian ini menelaah interpretasi hadis mengenai ketaatan istri kepada suami, hijab, dan partisipasi perempuan dalam ibadah. Data dikumpulkan melalui observasi partisipatif selama enam bulan dan wawancara mendalam dengan dua belas informan dari empat universitas, yang identitasnya dirahasiakan untuk menjaga privasi. Validasi metodologis dijaga melalui triangulasi, member checking, dan peer debriefing untuk meningkatkan validitas penelitian. Analisis data dilakukan menggunakan thematic coding. Hasil ini menunjukkan bahwa sebagian muslimah salafi cenderung menafsirkan hadis secara literal dan konservatif. Namun,



terdapat pula beberapa negosiasi yang mencerminkan adanya diskursus internal dalam komunitas tersebut. Temuan ini berkontribusi pada diskursus yang lebih luas tentang bagaimana perempuan Muslim mempraktikkan ajaran agama dalam kehidupan sehari-hari, khususnya dalam gerakan Salafi yang dikenal dengan kepatuhannya terhadap teks-teks keagamaan tradisional. Meskipun memiliki kontribusi yang penting, penelitian ini memiliki keterbatasan pada cakupan geografis yang sempit dan penggunaan metode kualitatif, sehingga belum sepenuhnya mencakup keragaman tafsir di komunitas Salafi yang berbeda. Penelitian di masa depan diharapkan dapat memperluas cakupan geografis dan menggunakan metode campuran untuk memberikan pemahaman yang lebih komprehensif mengenai fenomena ini.

Kata Kunci: Living Hadis; Muslimah Salafi; Kajian Mahasiswa; Interpretasi Hadis; Isu Gender .

Introduction

Religious practices in public spaces play a significant role in contemporary social life, particularly in Muslim-majority societies.¹ One of the key frameworks for understanding individual and communal behavior in these societies is the Hadith, the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad as applied in everyday life. The concept of “Living Hadith” refers to how the Prophet’s teachings are brought to life through practice in public spaces, integrating religious principles with modern life.² This study focuses on the implementation Living Hadith by the Muslimah Salafi study group in Yogyakarta, examining how literal interpretations of religious texts, particularly the Hadith, shape behavior in public spaces.

This research is significant as it addresses an academic gap regarding how Hadith influences social and religious behavior, particularly in public spaces. While Hadith is often studied as a guide for private life, its role in shaping public conduct remains underexplored, especially in educational settings. The Salafi movement emphasizes returning to the practices of the first three generations of Muslims (*ṣalaf al-ṣāliḥ*) and considers a literal interpretation of Hadith as the most authentic model for Islamic life.³ This study seeks to answer fundamental questions about how Living Hadith is applied in public spaces by the Muslimah Salafi community and what implications this has for social life, particularly in the Yogyakarta context.

Although extensive research has been conducted on the Salafi movement and the role of Hadith in shaping religious norms, significant gaps remain in understanding how these texts are applied in public spaces by specific groups, such as Muslimah Salafi study groups. This research contributes to filling that gap by examining how Living Hadith is used to structure public behavior, particularly in education and the social life of Muslim women in Indonesia. The Muslimah Salafi group in Yogyakarta is part of a broader global trend of using religious texts to regulate public life.⁴ In this

1 Muhammad Irsad, Abdul Mustaqim, and Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy, “Paradigm Shifts in Gender Narratives of Tafsīr Al-Ibriz through Oral Exegesis on Youtube,” *Jurnal Studi Ilmu-Ilmu Al-Qur’an Dan Hadis* 25, no. 1 (2024): 141–60, <https://doi.org/10.14421/qh.v25i1.5416>.

2 Hammam M Abdelaal, Berihan R Elemary, and Hassan A Youness, “Classification of Hadith According to Its Content Based on Supervised Learning Algorithms,” *IEEE Access* 7 (2019): 152379–87; Saqib Hameed et al., “Digital Hadith Authentication: Recent Advances, Open Challenges, and Future Directions,” *Transactions on Emerging Telecommunications Technologies* 33 (2020); S Z Qudsy et al., “The Making of Living Hadith: A New Direction of Ḥadīth Studies in Indonesia,” *Culture and Religion*, 2024, 1–20.

3 Itzhak Weismann, “Genealogies of Fundamentalism: Salafi Discourse in Nineteenth-Century

context, Hadith functions as a normative text and a performative tool that actively shapes social interactions and religious practices in public spaces.⁵

The Salafi movement in Southeast Asia, particularly in Indonesia, emphasizes applying Hadith in personal and communal life. This is evident in the dynamics of public spaces, such as education, worship spaces, and social settings. Salafi groups often stress a clear separation between secular and religious spheres in public life, aiming to “Islamize” these spaces through the literal interpretation of religious texts.⁶ Previous studies have demonstrated that Hadith shapes behavioral norms in various contexts, from daily rituals to broader societal interactions.⁷ However, there is a lack of focused academic inquiry into how Muslimah communities use Hadith to structure public spaces amid the demands of modern society.⁸ The Muslimah Salafi community in Yogyakarta offers a unique case study for understanding how religious texts, particularly Hadith, are used to shape public behavior.

This research also draws on Talal Asad’s (2017) concept of “*Islam as a discursive tradition*,” where Hadith is understood as a set of religious instructions brought to life through social practices in public spaces. In this study, Living Hadith is viewed as a practice actively revived by the Muslimah Salafi community, particularly about gender roles, the wearing of the hijab, and women’s participation in religious life.⁹ Through this lens, Hadith is understood as informative and performative, actively shaping the community’s thoughts and actions in public spaces.¹⁰

Law and Society 19, no. 4 (2012): 416–57, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1163/156851912X603210>; Fuad Thohari et al., “The Implications of Understanding Contextual Hadith on Religious Radicalism (Case Study of Darus-Sunnah International Institute for Hadith Sciences),” *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam*, 2021.

5 Adrika Fithrotul Aini, “Living Hadis Dalam Tradisi Malam Kamis Majelis Shalawat Diba’ Bil-Mustofa,” *Ar-Raniry, International Journal of Islamic Studies* 2, no. 1 (June 30, 2015): 159, <https://doi.org/10.20859/jar.v2i1.35>; Chris Chaplin, “Salafi Activism and the Promotion of a Modern Muslim Identity,” *South East Asia Research* 26, no. 1 (March 18, 2018): 3–20, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967828X17752414>.

6 Akel Ismail Kahera, “Two Muslim Communities: Two Disparate Ways of Islamizing Public Spaces,” *Space and Culture* 10, no. 4 (November 2007): 384–96, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1206331207305829>.

7 Hira Amin and Azhar Majothi, “The Ahl-e-Hadith: From British India to Britain,” *Modern Asian Studies* 56, no. 1 (2022): 176–206, <https://doi.org/DOI: 10.1017/S0026749X21000093>.

8 Sabine Damir-Geilsdorf and Mira Menzfeld, “Who Are ‘the’ Salafis?: Insights into Lifeworlds of Persons Connected to Salafis(m) in North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany,” *Journal of Muslims in Europe* 6, no. 1 (2017): 22–51, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1163/22117954-12341337>; Zunly Nadia Nadia, “Perilaku Keagamaan Komunitas Muslim (Pemahaman Hadis Dalam NU Dan Salafi Wahabi Di Indonesia),” *Jurnal Living Hadis* 2, no. 2 (March 2018): 141, <https://doi.org/10.14421/livinghadis.2017.1327>.

9 Talal Asad, “The Idea of an Anthropology of Islam,” *Archives de Sciences Sociales Des Religions* 17, no. 2 (2017): 117–37, <https://doi.org/10.4000/assr.29724>; Chris Chaplin, “Communal Salafi Learning and Islamic Selfhood: Examining Religious Boundaries through Ethnographic Encounters in Indonesia,” *Ethnography* 21, no. 1 (August 2020): 113–32, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1466138118795988>; N Moutmaz, “Refiguring Islam BT - A Companion to the Anthropology of the Middle East,” 2015, 125–50.

10 Sri Purwaningsih, Thiyas Tono Taufiq, and Muhammad Faiq, “Living Hadith in the Bari’an Ritual

This study explores how the Muslimah Salafi community in Yogyakarta interprets and applies Hadith, focusing on a literal and conservative approach. This is evident in practices such as women's obedience to their husbands, modest dressing according to Islamic principles, and active involvement in public religious activities. Here, Hadith serves as both an authoritative source and a guiding tool for shaping social behavior in public spaces.¹¹

Overall, this research aims to address the gaps in academic understanding of the role of Living Hadith in public religious practices. By focusing on the Muslimah Salafi study group in Yogyakarta, this study explores how religious texts like Hadith shape public and social behavior and their implications for the lives of Muslim women in Indonesia. It not only enhances our understanding of how religion influences public spaces in Indonesia but also contributes to global discourses on the role of religion in modern public life.

This qualitative study adopts a case study approach to explore how members of Muslimah Salafi study groups in Yogyakarta interpret hadith related to gender issues. The research was conducted at four major universities—three public and one private—selected for their high levels of student involvement in Salafi study groups. Data collection spanned three months and included participant observation and in-depth interviews with 12 key informants, all anonymized to ensure privacy. These interviews focused on their interpretations of hadith concerning women's roles, including obedience to husbands, the hijab, and participation in worship. All informants were university students in Yogyakarta who had participated in Salafi study groups for at least two years.

The 12 informants varied in their roles and religious knowledge. Some held leadership positions within the study groups, while others were active participants with less formal religious training. The texts central to their studies included *Riyāḍ al-Ṣāliḥīn*, *Bulūgh al-Marām*, and *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyyah*, supplemented by thematic discussions integrating Quranic verses and hadith. This diversity in roles and religious backgrounds led to differing interpretations of gender-related hadith, reflecting individual engagement levels and the educational contexts of each informant.

Below is the table of informant codes and universities:

of Sidodadi Society," *Jurnal Studi Ilmu-Ilmu Al-Qur'an Dan Hadis* 22, no. 2 (2021): 391, <https://doi.org/10.14421/gh.2021.2202-06>; A Rafiq, "The Living Qur'an: Its Text and Practice in the Function of the Scripture," *Jurnal Studi Ilmu-Ilmu Al-Qur'an Dan Hadis* 22, no. 2 (2021): 469–84.

11 Asad, "The Idea of an Anthropology of Islam."

Table 1. Informants and Universities

Informant	University
M1	U1
M2	U1
M3	U1
M4	U2
M5	U2
M6	U2
M7	U3
M8	U3
M9	U3
M10	U4
M11	U4
M12	U4

The analysis used a descriptive-analytical approach, with thematic coding to identify key themes from interviews and observations. Themes were categorized to explore how informants interpreted hadith and the social and cultural factors influencing their understanding. Triangulation was applied by comparing findings from observations, interviews, and documentation to enhance research validity. Credibility was further ensured through member checking, peer debriefing, and critical reflection by the researcher to mitigate potential bias.

This research contributes to global discussions on hadith interpretation within Salafi communities, particularly regarding gender issues. While the study focuses on a local context, the findings offer valuable insights into how Muslim women navigate their understanding of religious teachings in daily life. Ethical considerations were rigorously followed, with participants' consent and confidentiality maintained throughout.

The study conducted in Yogyakarta among Muslim women in Salafi study circles explores how they interpret hadith on marital obedience, financial provision (*nafaqah*), female-led prayers, and hijab. Interviews with twelve university students revealed a spectrum of interpretations, often dominated by a literal and conservative perspective, yet allowing room for contextual negotiation.. The findings indicate that while strict adherence to traditional interpretations prevails, some participants adapt these teachings to align with their social and cultural realities. This diversity of perspectives highlights an internal discourse in which individual interpretations reflect a dynamic interaction between religious adherence and contemporary challenges.

Interpretation of Hadith on a Wife's Obedience to Her Husband

This study examines how Muslim women in Salafi study circles in Yogyakarta interpret, incorporate, and navigate hadith related to a wife's obedience to her husband in their daily lives. Two primary interpretations emerged through interviews: one reflecting a literal and stringent view of obedience, and the other adopting a more moderate and contextualized approach, allowing for adaptation to social and personal circumstances. These perspectives provide insights into how religious teachings are internalized differently, shaped by factors such as educational background, social environment, and personal experiences within the Salafi framework.

The hadith concerning a wife's obedience to her husband often serves as a foundation for interpretations of marital relationships in Islam. Informants referenced the hadith narrated by Abū Hurayrah, in which the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) said: *"If I were to command anyone to prostrate to another besides Allah, I would have commanded a wife to prostrate to her husband"* (Al-Tirmidhī), understanding it as emphasizing the importance of obedience in maintaining household harmony. Additionally, the hadith narrated by Ibn 'Umar states: *"If a woman prays her five daily prayers, fasts during Ramadan, guards her chastity, and obeys her husband, it will be said to her, 'Enter Paradise through whichever gate you wish'"* (Ahmad). Informants interpreted these hadiths as underscoring that a wife's obedience must align with religious principles and that the husband must fulfill his responsibilities toward his wife.

The discourse on this topic among hadith scholars reflects diverse views shaped by social, cultural, and intellectual contexts. Classical scholars, such as Imām al-Ghazālī and Imām al-Nawawī, emphasized the importance of a wife's obedience but noted that it is not absolute and must be exercised within the framework of justice, compassion, and respect for the wife's rights.¹² This dynamic approach considers the spiritual and ethical dimensions of the marital relationship, allowing for more contextual interpretations to maintain balance within the Muslim household.

In contrast, Salafi scholars such as al-Albānī and Bin Bāz typically emphasize a more conservative and hierarchical view, advocating a literal interpretation of the husband-wife relationship, with the husband as the leader and the wife expected to

12 Reno Ismanto, "Maqasid Pernikahan Perspektif Imam Al-Gazali Berdasarkan Kitab Ihya 'Ulum Al-Din," *ISLAMITSCHE FAMILIENRECHT JOURNAL* 1, no. 01 (December 13, 2020): 46–65, <https://doi.org/10.32923/ijf.v1i01.1569>; Aldi Susanto et al., "Husband's Support and Virtuous Wifeness: Literary Analysis of Al Bantani's Thoughts on Women's Legal Protection in Indonesia," *NEGREL: Academic Journal of Law and Governance* 3, no. 1 (December 12, 2023): 63, <https://doi.org/10.29240/negrei.v3i1.7667>.

submit as long as this does not violate Islamic law.¹³ This more textual interpretation reflects a stricter view of family structure, though it still imposes limits in the form of justice toward the wife. These differing interpretations demonstrate how social and cultural contexts shape the discourse on a wife's obedience to her husband. However, what is often absent from these hadith scholars' perspectives is an analysis of the transmission and transformation of hadith within the ever-changing realities of society. This highlights the importance of studying Living Hadith to better understand how these teachings are applied in contemporary contexts.

In one interview, M1 (2024) from U1 stated that a wife's obedience to her husband is an absolute duty, leaving no room for compromise. She referred to a hadith frequently quoted in Salafi circles: *"If I were to command any person to prostrate before another, I would command the wife to prostrate before her husband."* According to her, *"A wife's entry into paradise after marriage depends on her husband's satisfaction, so she must prioritize his commands, especially when it comes to leaving the house or working. A working wife must obtain her husband's permission and should not work in mixed-gender environments, as women are considered sources of fitnah in public spaces"* (M1, 2024). Her perspective is heavily influenced by the conservative Salafi ideology, which emphasizes strict adherence to traditional gender roles and obedience within the family structure.

M2 (2024) from U1 supported this view but added that obedience should be dynamic, depending on the family's situation. *"While obedience is important, there must be communication between husband and wife. The husband should consider his wife's circumstances and discuss decisions with her, especially regarding work and domestic responsibilities."* Her perspective reflects a balance between religious teachings and practical realities, acknowledging the challenges women face in managing both professional and household duties.

M3 (2024) from U1 offered a more moderate perspective, emphasizing that *"a wife's obedience to her husband does not mean blind submission. A wife's voice should also be heard, and family decisions should be made through mutual consultation, not unilaterally by the husband."* She highlighted that harmony in marriage is best achieved through communication and equality, reflecting a more contextual understanding of spousal relations. However, it would be an oversimplification to conclude that progressive interpretations of gender equality purely shape M3's views. While M3 demonstrates a more open approach, her perspective remains influenced by the literal teachings of hadith and the traditional interpretations within her Salafi community, which

13 Muhammad Nasiruddin Al-Albani, *Adab Az-Zifaf Fi As-Sunnah Al-Mutabbarah*, Third edit (Beirut, Lebanon: Maktabah al-Islami, 1996); Abdul Aziz bin Abdullah Bin Baz, *Majmu' Fatawa Wa Maqalat Mutanawwi'ah*, First edit, vol. 13 (Riyadh, Saudi Arabia: Dar al-Qasim, 1993).

generally upholds conventional roles for wives.

Further interviews with other informants reveal that interpretations of a wife's obedience are often shaped by local religious authorities and conservative values embedded within the community. This broader context suggests that M3's stance represents a negotiated balance between her exposure to traditional teachings, local cultural norms, and a personal openness to broader gender equality discussions. Thus, M3's views reflect a blend of influences rooted in a conservative framework and a nuanced engagement with contemporary perspectives on gender relations

From a different standpoint, M4 (2024) from U2 stated: *"A wife's prostration of her husband is not literal worship but a symbol of obedience and respect."* She stressed: *"The concept of equality in the Qur'an applies to the husband-wife relationship, where both have rights and responsibilities that protect and respect each other."* However, she acknowledged the husband's superiority as the head of the family, ensuring the wife always remembers her duties (M4, 2024). Her view reflects cultural norms that reinforce the husband's traditional role as the household leader.

M5 (2024) from U2 explained that a wife's obedience to her husband is not a form of enslavement. *"Obedience to the husband doesn't mean the wife has no voice. They should discuss household matters together, and the wife should have the space to express her opinions."* Her view emphasizes the importance of consultation and openness in a marriage, reflecting a more moderate ideology that supports a balance of roles within the relationship.

M6 (2024) from U2 added that obedience is an expression of love, not coercion. *"Obedience reflects love and mutual respect in the husband-wife relationship. The husband must also fulfill his responsibilities, not just make demands."* Her view illustrates that obedience, for some women in this community, is a two-way commitment based on love and respect rather than unconditional submission.

These factors collectively contribute to the emergence of the discourse presented by the informants. Their views on obedience are not solely personal opinions but are shaped by the religious, cultural, and social environments in which they are embedded. This context is essential to understand before applying Asad's (2017) theory of Islam as a discursive tradition, which highlights how their discourse is deeply influenced by a network of religious teachings, cultural expectations, and authoritative interpretations within their community.¹⁴

Interviews with Salafi Muslim women in Yogyakarta reveal varied understandings of the hadith regarding a wife's obedience to her husband, shaped by their religious background, social and cultural norms, education, and the influence

14 Asad, "The Idea of an Anthropology of Islam."

of religious authorities within their community. Their religious education, rooted in literal interpretations of religious texts like hadith, reinforces traditional gender roles in marriage. In conservative Salafi circles, social norms further emphasize women's subordinate roles within the family, making obedience not just a religious expectation but also a social one. Although many of these women are university students, their views remain primarily influenced by their Salafi community, leaving little room for negotiation on obedience in marriage.

Another significant factor is the influence of religious authority and study group leaders within their community. In the Salafi tradition, scholars hold substantial authority in interpreting religious texts, and their views often serve as guiding principles for issues such as a wife's obedience. The perspectives shared by the informants reflect the strong influence of this authority. Understanding these factors allows for a more in-depth analysis of Asad's (2017) theory of Islam as a discursive tradition. Asad argues that Islam, as a discursive tradition, shapes the thoughts and actions of Muslims through fundamental texts like hadith.¹⁵ M1's perspective illustrates how this tradition is accepted literally, while M3's view demonstrates negotiation with modern concepts of gender equality. This suggests that, despite their higher education, their views remain deeply shaped by their conservative religious community, especially concerning gender roles in Islam.

In this context, Asad's concept of "discursive tradition" is evident. Hadith as a source of authority in Salafi study circles, is received and internalized by Muslim women but with varying degrees of understanding and acceptance. This suggests that a discursive tradition does not always result in uniformity of knowledge and practice but involves negotiation and reinterpretation based on social and cultural contexts.

Comparing the results of this study with other research reveals that Salafi communities are not monolithic in their interpretations of religious texts. The diversity of views on a wife's obedience to her husband, ranging from strict literalism to contextual negotiation, aligns with findings from studies on the Ahl-e-Hadith in the UK and Jordan, where interpretations of hadith vary according to cultural and social contexts.¹⁶ This study supports the argument that religious texts, even within conservative movements such as Salafism, are subject to reinterpretation based on local circumstances, challenging the notion of a singular, unchanging religious authority.¹⁷

¹⁵ Asad.

¹⁶ amin And Majothi, "The Ahl-E-Hadith: From British India To Britain"; Wiktorowicz, "The Salafi Movement In Jordan."

¹⁷ Samira Tabti, "The Charisma of Script: The Quran and the Hadith in Neo-Salafi Online Community," *Journal of Religion in Europe* 12, no. 2 (2019): 191–216, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1163/18748929->

This variability in interpretation can be explained through the broader concept of a discursive tradition, which posits that religious practices are constantly negotiated within specific social and historical contexts.¹⁸ The findings of this study highlight how, even within a conservative framework such as Salafism, individuals engage with religious texts in ways that reflect their personal and social realities. This is particularly relevant in the context of gender relations, where women in Salafi communities may adopt, resist, or modify traditional interpretations of hadith to suit their circumstances.¹⁹ Thus, the study contributes to the growing body of literature that emphasizes the fluidity of religious practice within Salafi groups.²⁰

In conclusion, the interpretation of hadith concerning a wife's obedience to her husband within Salafi Muslimah study circles in Yogyakarta reveals a wide spectrum of perspectives, from strict literalism to more moderate and contextual understandings. Based on interviews, several informants expressed views that emphasize obedience and traditional gender roles while also reflecting efforts to align religious texts with gender equality values. This is evident in their arguments, which underscore the importance of equal rights and roles, particularly in education and women's empowerment.

These progressive views are not limited to one or two interviews but are consistent across multiple informants, suggesting an openness to re-reading religious texts in a ways that respond to social developments. In line with Talal Asad's theory of Islam as a "discursive tradition," Islamic practices within this community are not static but continuously evolve in response to social and cultural contexts. Even within the conservative Salafi framework, there is room for negotiation and reinterpretation, demonstrating that religious practices can adapt to contemporary circumstances. This adaptability is evident in the perspectives of some informants who advocate for equality and consultation within family relationships.

Interpretation of Hadith on the Concept of Provision

The reception of Salafi Muslim women regarding the concept of provision

01202005; Roshimah Shamsudin and Nurdina Dahlan, "Wife Prostrating Upon The Husband From The Perspective Of Fiqh Al-Hadith," in *INCoH 2017 The Second International Conference on Humanities (The European Proceedings of Social & Behavioural Sciences, 2019)*, 65, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.15405/epsbs.2019.09.65>.

18 Asad, "The Idea of an Anthropology of Islam."

19 Nurul Fadhilah Faisal et al., "Otoritas Istri Perspektif Akademisi Hadis: Analisis Resepsi Exegesis Terhadap Hadis Rā'iyah," *Al-Izzah: Jurnal Hasil-Hasil Penelitian* 16, no. 2 (December 19, 2021): 87, <https://doi.org/10.31332/ai.v0i0.3102>.

20 Damir-Geilsdorf and Menzfeld, "Who Are 'the' Salafis?: Insights into Lifeworlds of Persons Connected to Salafis(m) in North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany."

(*nafkah*) in hadith reflects a robust internalization of traditional gender roles, where the husband is seen as the sole provider. This is reinforced by the view that a wife who wishes to work outside the home must obtain her husband's permission, with the rationale that domestic responsibilities, particularly child-rearing, should not be neglected.

The hadiths regarding a husband's obligation to provide for his wife serve as the foundation for informants' interpretations of a husband's responsibilities in Islam, emphasizing both material and moral duties. A key hadith, narrated by Al-Bukhari and Muslim, states: "*The wife's right over her husband is that he should feed her when he eats, clothe her when he clothes himself, not hit her in the face, and not insult her.*" This highlights the need for a husband to fulfill his wife's basic needs while treating her with respect. Another hadith, narrated by a Muslim from Jabir bin Abdullah, reinforces this: "*Their right upon you is that you provide for them and clothe them in a manner that is honorable.*" These teachings emphasize that a husband's obligation goes beyond financial support, encompassing just and honorable treatment by his means.²¹

Scholars like Imām al-Ghazālī and Ibn Taymiyyah interpret the hadiths on marital duties as emphasizing the husband's responsibility to provide for the wife's basic needs, such as food, clothing, and shelter. Both scholars highlight the wife's duty to obey her husband, viewing this as part of a traditional, hierarchical family structure.²² However, they also stress that the husband must treat his wife fairly and respectfully, upholding her rights according to Islamic teachings.

Modern scholars like Amina Wadud and Fatima Mernissi advocate for egalitarian interpretations of marriage in Islam, emphasizing justice and equality in marital relationships. Wadud posits that marriage should be founded on mutual respect and reciprocity, where both partners share responsibilities.²³ Additionally, she underscores the significance of valuing single mothers as sole breadwinners, encouraging a broader appreciation of their role in society. Mernissi also calls for reinterpreting traditional views, arguing that Islam fundamentally promotes justice and equality in marital dynamics and challenging patriarchal norms to favor gender

21 Muhammad Tasnim Taheras, Jumni Nelly, and Zulfahmi, "Nafkah Istri Dalam Perspektif Hadits," *Jurnal Pendidikan Tambusai* 6, no. 2 (2022): 12826–34; Ahmad Yani Nasution and Moh Jazuli, "Nilai Nafkah Istri Dalam Pandangan Ulama Klasik Dan Kontemporer," *TERAJU* 2, no. 02 (September 24, 2020): 161–74, <https://doi.org/10.35961/teraju.v2i02.164>.

22 Mohamad Abdun Nasir, "Ibn Taymiyya's Fatwas on Polygamy in Medieval Islam," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 46, no. 2 (December 26, 2008): 303–24, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2008.462.303-324>; Kaoru Aoyagi, "Al-Ghazālī and Marriage from the Viewpoint of Sufism," *Orient* 40 (2005): 124–39, <https://doi.org/10.5356/orient.40.124>.

23 Amina Wadud, "Reflections on Islamic Feminist Exegesis of the Qur'an," *Religions* 12, no. 7 (2021): 497.

fairness.²⁴

Modern scholars such as Amina Wadud and Fatima Mernissi advocate for egalitarian interpretations of marriage in Islam, emphasizing justice and equality within marital relationships. Wadud argues that marriage should be founded on mutual respect and reciprocity, with both partners sharing responsibilities.²⁵ Additionally, she highlights the importance of valuing single mothers as primary breadwinners, encouraging a broader appreciation for their role in society. Mernissi also calls for reinterpreting traditional perspectives, asserting that Islam fundamentally promotes justice and equality in marital dynamics and challenges patriarchal norms to support gender fairness. These differing views highlight the ongoing debate within Muslim communities on how traditional Islamic teachings should be understood and applied in contemporary society.

The interviews revealed diverse perspectives. Informants from different universities provide their perspectives on financial provision within marriage, shaped by religious interpretation, socioeconomic conditions, and personal experiences. M7 (2024) from U3 shared a relatively conservative view: “An unmarried woman is financially supported by her father, while her husband assumes this responsibility after marriage. A wife wishing to work must seek her husband’s approval to ensure she doesn’t neglect her children.” This perspective emphasizes the husband’s role as the primary provider, grounded in a literal understanding of Islamic texts, particularly hadiths that outline a husband’s obligations. Salafi teachings, which stress strict adherence to religious doctrine, reinforce this viewpoint.

M8 (2024) from U3 echoed a similar stance: “A husband must fully provide for his wife financially and emotionally. If he cannot, the wife may assist, but only with the husband’s consent.” This further highlights the husband’s dominant role in both financial and emotional provision, deeply rooted in Salafi ideology.

In contrast, M9 (2024) from U3 offered a more flexible approach, noting, “Providing is the husband’s obligation, but in some cases, the wife can contribute financially as long as there’s an agreement. This is important to maintain balance in the family, especially in difficult economic situations.” Here, socio-economic realities shape a pragmatic outlook, allowing the wife to assist financially, provided mutual agreement is reached.

M10 (2024) from U4 stressed the role of communication and cooperation in the household, stating, “The husband must provide sufficiently for the wife, but the

24 Fatema Mernissi, *The Veil and the Male Elite: A Feminist Interpretation of Women’s Rights in Islam* (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company (English translation, 1991), 1987).

25 Wadud, “Reflections on Islamic Feminist Exegesis of the Qur’an.”

wife should also understand the family's financial situation and help when necessary. This shows cooperation and mutual understanding within the family." This view underlines the significance of dialogue to ensure family harmony, combining religious duties with practical considerations.

M11 (2024) from U4 highlighted the wife's right to provision while emphasizing the importance of household peace: "Provision is the wife's right, but in Islam, there's also a responsibility for the wife to maintain harmony with her husband. Therefore, dialogue between the husband and wife is crucial in determining who provides." This perspective balances religious teachings with the need for cooperation and respect in marital roles.

M12 (2024) from U4 introduced a more modern view, stating, "In modern families, the responsibility for provision doesn't necessarily have to fall solely on the husband. The wife can also work and contribute, provided they have mutual understanding." This reflects the influence of contemporary social norms, acknowledging the dual roles women often play as both caregivers and earners in modern families.

These findings align with the concept of provision in hadith, which emphasizes the husband's obligation to provide adequately for his wife. Hadiths discussing provision, as outlined by various scholars, assert that provision is a wife's right that must be fulfilled by the husband regardless of the wife's economic situation.²⁶ This strengthens the position that the husband's role as the provider is an inherent obligation, as explained in various commentaries on hadith and opinions of fiqh scholars.

Compared to previous studies, these findings align with and diverge from existing scholarship on gender and provision in Salafi contexts. For instance, the emphasis on the husband's role as the sole provider reflects broader Salafi views on the literal interpretation of Hadith.²⁷ This adherence to the authentic Hadith resonates with studies that discuss how Salafi communities maintain rigid gender roles based on early Islamic practices.²⁸ However, the flexibility in confident respondents' views,

26 Zunly Nadia and Niswatin Faoziyah, "Gender Equality within Family in Islamic Perspective: Insights from The Hadiths of Ummul Mukminin," *Jurnal Studi Ilmu-Ilmu Al-Qur'an Dan Hadis* 25, no. 1 (2024): 161–85, <https://doi.org/10.14421/qh.v25i1.5260>.

27 Aysha Hidayatullah, "Review of Adis Duderija, Constructing a Religiously Ideal 'Believer' and 'Woman' in Islam: Neo-Traditional Salafi and Progressive Muslims' Methods of Interpretation," *Contemporary Islam* 8, no. 1 (January 11, 2014): 75–78, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11562-012-0213-z>; Ina Alif Hamdalah and Shabrun Jamil, "Rights and Duties of Husband and Wife in the Perspective of Prophetic Hadiths in the Book of 'Uqūd Al-Lujayn: A Study of Hadith Syarah," *Jurnal Riset Agama* 2, no. 3 (December 31, 2022): 182–98, <https://doi.org/10.15575/jra.v2i3.19526>.

28 Richard A. Nielsen, "Women's Authority in Patriarchal Social Movements: The Case of Female Salafi Preachers," *American Journal of Political Science* 64, no. 1 (January 9, 2020): 52–66, <https://doi.org/10.1111/>

where a wife may work with her husband's consent, suggests an adaptation of traditional norms, akin to findings on Salafi communities in Western contexts that show pragmatism in navigating modern socio-economic realities.²⁹

The variations in perspectives among the women interviewed also parallel findings from studies on the diversity of Salafi interpretations across different geographical regions. In the British context, for example, Salafi communities have been shown to evolve in response to local socio-economic conditions while maintaining core religious principles.³⁰ Similarly, the results of this study suggest that while the literal interpretation of the Hadith remains a central principle, there is room for negotiation within the family unit regarding financial responsibilities (M10, 2024). This mirrors the trend observed in other Salafi communities that balance religious conservatism with the practicalities of contemporary life.³¹

The significance of these findings lies in their demonstration of how religious texts, particularly Hadith, are lived and practiced within a modern Muslim context. The internalization of gender roles reflects a deep commitment to Islamic authenticity, which Salafi communities often prioritize.³² However, the study also underscores the importance of communication and mutual agreement between spouses in adapting religious principles to practical circumstances, a notion supported by several respondents (M9, 2024; M10, 2024). This highlights the dynamic nature of religious interpretation within the Salafi community, where tradition and modernity intersect in complex ways. Such findings urge cautious interpretation, reflecting theological rigidity and cultural adaptability in family roles.

Furthermore, the study's findings raise important questions about the broader societal implications of Living Hadith. The conservative views on gender roles and family responsibilities may reinforce patriarchal structures within the community, thereby limiting women's autonomy in the public sphere. However, the emerging flexibility in some respondents' views suggests that this rigidity is not monolithic and that religious practices can evolve in response to changing socioeconomic conditions.

ajps.12459; Dwi Nugroho et al., "Media and Women's Economy: An Empirical Analysis of Gender Equality Construction of Salafi Congregation in Lampung," *Analisa: Journal of Social Science and Religion* 8, no. 1 (2023): 99–117, <https://doi.org/10.18784/analisa.v8i1.1940>.

29 Shavit, "The Wasatī and Salafi Approaches to the Religious Law of Muslim Minorities."

30 Amin and Majothi, "The Ahl-e-Hadith: From British India to Britain."

31 Saqib Hussain, "The Bitter Lot of the Rebellious Wife: Hierarchy, Obedience, and Punishment in Q. 4:34," *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 23, no. 2 (June 2021): 66–111, <https://doi.org/10.3366/jqs.2021.0466>.

32 Line Nyhagen, "Mosques as Gendered Spaces: The Complexity of Women's Compliance with, And Resistance to, Dominant Gender Norms, And the Importance of Male Allies," *Religions* 10, no. 5 (May 14, 2019): 321, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel10050321>; Aaron Rock-Singer, "Practices of Piety: An Alternative Approach to the Study of Islamic Movements," *Religions* 11, no. 10 (2020): 1–15, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel11100520>.

Thus, while the Salafi community in Yogyakarta remains anchored in traditional interpretations of the Hadith, signs of negotiation reflect the need to balance religious obligations with the realities of modern life.

Overall, this analysis reveals that the understanding and practice of provision within the Salafi Muslim women's community are heavily influenced by a literal interpretation of Hadith. This interpretation manifests in daily life, emphasizing the husband's role as the primary provider and control over his wife's activities outside the home. However, within the context of Living Hadith, it is essential to recognize that this literal interpretation is not the only approach. Some community members show a negotiation toward a more modern and progressive understanding, where Hadith is seen not only as a normative guideline but also as having a performative aspect. Consequently, Hadith functions both as a behavioral guide and an active tool in shaping the social identities and interactions of Salafi Muslim women in public spaces, creating interpretive space that accommodates modern challenges.

Interpretation of Hadith on Women's Hijab

The Qur'an and hadith clearly outline the boundaries of modesty (aurat) for Muslim men and women. In Sūrah al-Aḥzāb, verse 59, Allah commands women, including the wives of the Prophet, their daughters, and the wives of believers, to cover their bodies by extending their jilbab.³³ The purpose of this command is for them to be recognized as honorable women and protected from harm. Additionally, in a hadith narrated by Abū Dāwūd, the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) emphasized that for a woman who has reached puberty, only her face and hands should be visible.³⁴

In another hadith narrated by Muslims, the Prophet instructed women, including those who are menstruating, to participate in the Eid al-Fitr and Eid al-Adha celebrations, even though they do not pray. Women who did not have a jilbab were advised to borrow one from their sisters, highlighting the importance of wearing it. Thus, it is evident that the command to cover one's body is obligatory and originates directly from Allah and His Messenger, a command that every Muslim, especially women, must adhere to.³⁵

This study found that the Salafi Muslim women attending religious study

33 Indal Abror et al., "Cadaver and Women's Awrat In Indonesian Qur'an Literature," *Jurnal Studi Ilmu-Ilmu Al-Qur'an Dan Hadis* 22, no. 2 (2021): 455, <https://doi.org/10.14421/qh.2021.2202-09>.

34 Wadud, "Reflections on Islamic Feminist Exegesis of the Qur'an."

35 Ahmad Masruri and Stit Al-amin Kreo Tangernag, "Pandangan Ulama Klasik Dan Kontemporer Tentang Jilbab," *Andragogi* 3, no. 3 (2021): 431-47, <https://jurnalptiq.com/index.php/andragogi/article/view/238/159>.

groups in Yogyakarta internalize and negotiate the understanding of hadith concerning hijab and jilbab in a highly conservative and literal manner. They emphasize the importance of strictly covering the body as an act of obedience to sharia and as a marker of Islamic identity in public spaces. This understanding is shaped by the religious studies they participate in, which strongly emphasize traditional gender roles and strict adherence to the rules of sharia as interpreted by religious leaders within the Salafi community.

Interpretations of the hadith on hijab by scholars and Muslim thinkers vary widely, reflecting different approaches to understanding its meaning and context. Scholars like Ibn Kathir assert that hijab is a religious obligation for Muslim women to cover their entire bodies, including the face and hands in some interpretations, with the primary aim of preserving modesty and preventing *fitnah* (temptation).³⁶ Sheikh Bin Baz similarly emphasizes that women must cover themselves fully, citing the hadith narrated by Aisha (r.a.) in which the Prophet ﷺ instructed women to cover themselves when leaving the house. On the other hand, Sheikh Al-Albani allows the face and hands to remain uncovered while maintaining that hijab is a sign of piety that must be strictly observed.³⁷

In contrast, scholars like Amina Wadud emphasize that hijab is not just about clothing but attitude, ethics, and modesty. She argues that hadith on hijab should be interpreted contextually, considering modern women's social circumstances³⁸. Asma Barlas advocates for reinterpreting hadith and Quranic verses on hijab to promote gender equality and women's autonomy, rejecting the notion that hijab should be used as a tool of oppression.³⁹ Similarly, Fatima Mernissi, contends that traditional interpretations of hijab need to be understood within their historical context and that wearing the hijab should be a personal choice, informed by diverse social and cultural considerations.⁴⁰

These varying perspectives on hijab reflect the broader debates within Islamic scholarship regarding how religious texts should be interpreted and applied in

36 Nabilah Nuraini, Dinni Nazhifah, and Eni Zulaiha, "Keunikan Metode Tafsir Al-Quranil Azhim Al-Adzim Karya Ibnu Katsir," *Bayani* 2, no. 1 (July 23, 2022): 43–63, <https://doi.org/10.52496/bayaniV.2I.1pp43-63>.

37 Abd Majid Abror, "Antara Jilbab Dan Niqab Perspektif Muhammad Nāiruddin Al-Albāniy," *Ta'wiluna: Jurnal Ilmu Al-Qur'an, Tafsir Dan Pemikiran Islam* 2, no. 2 (October 23, 2021): 64–85, <https://doi.org/10.58401/takwiluna.v2i2.400>.

38 Amina Wadud, "Foreword Engaging Tawhid In Islam And Feminisms," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 10, no. 4 (2008): 435–38, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616740802393858>.

39 Muhammad Imdad Ilhami Khalil and A. Halil Thahir, "Hijab Dan Jilbab Perspektif Asma Barlas Dan Posisinya Dalam Tipologi Tafsir Kontemporer Sahiron Syamsuddin.," *QOF* 5, no. 1 (June 15, 2021): 75–88, <https://doi.org/10.30762/qof.v5i1.3730>.

40 Ida Novianti, "Konsep Hijab Dalam Pemikiran Fatima Mernissi," *Yinyang: Jurnal Studi Islam Gender Dan Anak* 6, no. 2 (April 9, 2023), <https://doi.org/10.24090/yinyang.v6i2.8044>.

contemporary life. This discussion parallels the findings from the Salafi Muslim community in Yogyakarta, where literal interpretations of the hadith on hijab remain dominant but are occasionally negotiated within specific modern contexts.

In discussions on hijab, M1 (2024) emphasized that “Covering the body is an absolute obligation for Muslim women, supported by the hadith of the Prophet. In public spaces, women must protect their modesty by wearing loose-fitting clothes that do not attract attention, in line with Islamic law.” M1’s strict adherence to a literal interpretation of the hadith is influenced by her commitment to Salafi teachings, which prioritize following the example of the earliest generations of Muslims (*ṣalaf al-ṣāliḥ*). Her understanding is rooted in the hadith literature and the traditional views of scholars who emphasize modesty as a fundamental aspect of a Muslim woman’s religious identity. This perspective reflects her belief in the necessity of maintaining clear boundaries between public and private spheres for women, as a means of protecting both personal piety and societal morality.

Similarly, M7 (2024) from U3 stated, “Jilbab is not just an obligation but also a symbol of a Muslim woman’s identity. Although there may be no requirement to wear jilbab in academic or professional settings, a Muslim woman must still adhere to sharia.” M7’s stance reflects the influence of Salafi thought, which strongly emphasizes the symbolic and practical importance of religious observance in all aspects of life. For her, wearing the jilbab transcends its role as merely a religious obligation and becomes a marker of religious and cultural identity. Her reasoning is shaped by a desire to reconcile modern life, particularly in academic and professional contexts, with her religious principles, showing a nuanced approach to balancing external social pressures with internal religious convictions.

In contrast, M12 (2024) from U4 offered a more moderate view, asserting that “Hijab is a personal choice that should be based on a deep understanding of religion. Every Muslim woman should feel free to decide when and how to wear the jilbab.” M12’s opinion is influenced by contemporary interpretations of Islamic teachings, which promote individual agency and contextualized understanding of religious texts. Her references likely include modern scholars who advocate for a more flexible approach to religious observance, considering the complexities of modern social realities. This reflects a more dynamic interaction with religious texts, where personal interpretation and contextual factors significantly shape her understanding of hijab.

These findings show that the Salafi Muslim community in Yogyakarta internalizes the hadith on hijab and jilbab in a literal and conservative way, largely shaped by their religious education and the teachings of prominent Salafi scholars. This aligns with Talal Asad’s theory of “*Islam as a discursive tradition*,” where fundamental

texts like hadith become the central basis influencing their religious practices.⁴¹ This literal interpretation reinforces their orientation towards the past as a source of religious authority to be followed in daily practice. However, it is essential to note that while the interpretation adopted by these Salafi women is highly conservative, they also demonstrate an ability to negotiate this understanding in modern contexts, such as in academic or professional environments. This indicates some flexibility in applying sharia, albeit within strict boundaries, reflecting the ongoing negotiation between religious obligations and contemporary realities.

These results correspond with earlier research on Salafi communities, where a literalist interpretation of Islamic texts, particularly the hadith, is central to religious identity. The emphasis on hijab as an outward expression of piety is consistent with the findings of studies on Salafi groups in Europe, which show a similar preoccupation with modesty and the preservation of religious values in public spaces.⁴² However, unlike some global Salafi movements that have been more resistant to modernity,⁴³ The Salafi women in this study demonstrate a measured negotiation with contemporary environments, reflecting a more adaptive approach. This negotiation aligns with findings from studies on Muslim minorities, where religious rulings are interpreted in ways that facilitate engagement with non-Muslim societies.⁴⁴

At the same time, the conservative stance of the Salafi women in Yogyakarta also diverges from the more progressive interpretations of hadith found in certain Islamic feminist discourses. For instance, scholars like Fatima Mernissi and Quraish Shihab argue for more contextual and progressive readings of hadith concerning women's rights and roles, particularly regarding hijab.⁴⁵ In contrast, the Salafi women in this study remain closely aligned with a literalist framework, prioritizing modesty as a religious imperative.⁴⁶ This divergence highlights the broader spectrum of hadith

41 Asad, "The Idea of an Anthropology of Islam."

42 Semiha Topal, "Female Muslim Subjectivity in the Secular Public Sphere: Hijab and Ritual Prayer as 'Technologies of the Self,'" *Social Compass* 64, no. 4 (December 5, 2017): 582–96, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0037768617727485>.

43 F Aidulsyah, "The Rise of Urban Salafism in Indonesia: The Social-Media and Pop Culture of New Indonesian Islamic Youth," *Asian Journal of Social Science* 51, no. 4 (December 2023): 252–59, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ajss.2023.07.003>.

44 Ahmed Al- Noaimi, "Religious Practices and Treatment of Muslim Minorities in Non- Muslim Countries Comparative Study," *College Of Basic Education Research Journal* 17, no. 4 (December 1, 2021): 415–59, <https://doi.org/10.33899/berj.2022.170306>.

45 Reimia Ramadana, "Hadis Hijab Pandangan Kontemporer: Studi Terhadap Pemahaman Fatima Mernissi, Quraish Shihab, Dan Muhammad Syahrur," *Jurnal Penelitian Ilmu Ushuluddin* 2, no. 1 (January 22, 2022): 86–112, <https://doi.org/10.15575/jpiu.13562>.

46 Subhan Abdullah Acim, "Interpretation of the Commandment to Women's Hijab Authorize According to

interpretation within the global Muslim community, where different contexts and ideological commitments shape distinct religious practices.⁴⁷

One explanation for the conservative adherence to the hadith on hijab within this community lies in the Salafi emphasis on returning to the practices of the early Muslim generations, the *salaf*. This orientation is reflected in the strict interpretations observed in the study, where hadith becomes a central source of religious authority.⁴⁸ The importance of textual authenticity reinforces this approach, as Salafi scholars often reject innovations and emphasize a purist understanding of Islamic law.⁴⁹ This strict adherence to the past serves as a marker of identity and a means of preserving religious authority in a rapidly changing world.⁵⁰ Nonetheless, it is essential to acknowledge this framework's limitations in accommodating women's evolving roles in modern society.

Another factor contributing to the conservative interpretation is the influence of local religious leaders within the Salafi community, who play a pivotal role in shaping the understanding of hadith. These leaders often act as gatekeepers of spiritual knowledge, transmitting a particular interpretation of sharia that emphasizes modesty and obedience (M1, 2024; M7, 2024). This top-down dissemination of religious knowledge reinforces the community's commitment to a conservative lifestyle, as seen in other Salafi communities worldwide.⁵¹ However, as some participants in this study suggested, there is room for personal agency, as evidenced by those who view the hijab as a personal choice (M12, 2024). This indicates that while conservative interpretations dominate, there remains space for individual interpretation and adaptation.

the Quran, Al Hadith and Ahlussunnah Waljamaah Ulama," *International Journal of Social Sciences* 6, no. 2 (April 29, 2023): 51–60, <https://doi.org/10.21744/ijss.v6n2.2112>.

47 Yulmitra Handayani and Mukhammad Nur Hadi, "Interpretasi Progresif Hadis-Hadis Tema Perempuan: Studi Aplikasi Teori Qira'ah Mubadalah," *HUMANISMA : Journal of Gender Studies* 4, no. 2 (December 31, 2020): 157, <https://doi.org/10.30983/humanisme.v4i2.3462>.

48 Asad, "The Idea of an Anthropology of Islam"; Weismann, "Genealogies of Fundamentalism: Salafi Discourse in Nineteenth-Century Baghdad."

49 Mustafa Macit Karagözoğlu, "Handling Theology in Footnotes: Salafi Editors on Hadith Commentaries from the Middle Period," *Die Welt Des Islams* 64, no. 1 (2023): 60–83, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1163/15700607-20230016>.

50 sokolovskiy et al., "Reconstruction of the Religious Paradigm in the Modern Globalized World," *WISDOM* 18, no. 2 (June 25, 2021): 153–60, <https://doi.org/10.24234/wisdom.v18i2.467>.

51 Syarif Syarif, Saifuddin Herlambang, and Bayu Suratman, "Quran Interpretation Methodology, New Media, and Ideological Contestation of Salafi in Sambas," *HTS Teologiese Studies / Theological Studies* 79, no. 1 (September 22, 2023), <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v79i1.8814>; Makroen Sanjaya et al., "Reinterpellation And Reimitation Of Conservative Ideology Of Salafi Through The Mediatization Of Religion On Instagram Rodja Tv.," *Eduvest - Journal of Universal Studies* 2, no. 10 (October 20, 2022): 1985–97, <https://doi.org/10.36418/eduvest.v2i10.615>.

For example, the study on Pondok Pesantren Tahfidz Harun As-Syafi'i shows that the Salafi community interprets and practices the hadith on *isbal* by emphasizing a strong commitment to the Prophet's Sunnah.⁵² This research reflects how the teachings of classical hadith scholars, such as Al-Bukhārī and Muslims, are transmitted and interpreted within the community, revealing a knowledge chain linking contemporary Salafi practices to these earlier scholars. Assegaf's (2017) study of the Islamic Center Bin Baz in Yogyakarta also demonstrates how this community maintains continuity with traditional Salafi scholars, such as Ibn Taymiyyah and Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, while adapting their teachings to modern challenges.⁵³ Chaplin's research (2018, 2020) further explores how these classical interpretations are negotiated within contemporary contexts, particularly among student activists, who balance strict adherence to the teachings of early hadith scholars with the demands of a modern Muslim identity.⁵⁴

Overall, while there are variations in how hadith is interpreted and applied, the Salafi Muslim community in Yogyakarta largely upholds conservative values in their public lives while adapting to modern contexts. However, it is essential to emphasize the role of hadith scholars in shaping these practices. The transmission of hadith knowledge from classical scholars to contemporary followers and the transformation of its interpretation in response to modern circumstances is a critical process in the study of living hadith, revealing how these teachings are internalized and adapted by the community over time. Without understanding this process, the evolution of hadith discourse among informants remains incomplete.

The implications of these findings suggest that the implementation of Living Hadith by the Muslimah Salafi Study Group in Yogyakarta reflects adherence to Sharia and provides insight into how Salafi Muslim women shape their identities in the public sphere.⁵⁵ Although literal interpretations are dominant, internal dynamics allow for negotiation in the application of hadith, indicating that this community is not entirely closed off to social change.

52 Yeti Dahliana, Ahmad Nurrohim, and Alfiyatul Azizah, "Pemaknaan Hadis-Hadis Isbal Oleh Kelompok Salafi Pondok Pesantren Tahfidz Al-Qur'an Harun As-Syafi'i, Yogyakarta: Analisis Teori Resepsi," *Diroyah* 5, no. 2 (2021): 94.

53 Abd. Rachman Assegaf, "Gerakan Transnasional Islam Dan Globalisasi Salafi Di Islamic Center Bin Baz Yogyakarta.," *Millah* 16, no. 2 (January 14, 2017): 147-72, <https://doi.org/10.20885/millah.vol16.iss2.art1>.

54 Chaplin, "Communal Salafi Learning and Islamic Selfhood: Examining Religious Boundaries through Ethnographic Encounters in Indonesia"; Chaplin, "Salafi Activism and the Promotion of a Modern Muslim Identity."

55 Istianah and Wahyuningsih, "The Hadith Digitization In Millennial Era: A Study At Center For Hadith Studies, Indonesia."

Conclusion

This study analyzes the “Living Hadith” implementation in public spaces by the Salafi Muslimah study groups in Yogyakarta. The findings indicate that hadith interpretation among Salafi Muslim women in Yogyakarta is generally literal and strict, especially concerning women’s roles in family and society. There are two main approaches to interpreting hadith on a wife’s obedience to her husband: a strictly literal approach and one more adaptive to certain social contexts. Traditional interpretations are also applied to concepts of financial support (*nafaqah*) and hijab. At the same time, female leadership in prayers for men is rejected based on conservative Sharia views, reflecting resistance to innovations that do not align with a literal understanding.

The implications of these findings indicate that the Salafi Muslimah study groups not only practice sharia rigorously but also use it to construct their Islamic identity in the public sphere. Although most interpretations are literal, some informants can negotiate in some cases, reflecting the group’s evolving internal dynamics. This shows that the community is not entirely static and remains open to responding to social changes, albeit within strict boundaries.

However, this study has several limitations. First, it focuses solely on the Salafi Muslimah community in Yogyakarta, so the results may not fully represent similar practices in other regions. Second, the study is limited to observations and interviews, which may not be sufficient to capture the more complex dynamics of Living Hadith implementation in public spaces.

For future research, it is recommended that this study be expanded to include other Muslim communities in Indonesia to gain a broader understanding of the variations in the interpretation and implementation of Living Hadith. Additionally, employing more comprehensive methods, such as critical discourse analysis or longitudinal studies, could provide a deeper understanding of the changes and negotiations in applying hadith in the public sphere.

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Authors’ Contribution

This article made by three collaboration authors. The first author contributed in initiating the idea of the research, collecting data and verifying the data. The second author contributed in translating the text from Bahasa into English and working on comprehensive review of the article. The third author ensured the coherence, narrative flaw and revising the article to enhance its overall quality. Further, the three-author collaborated in several focused group discussion to finalised the manuscript prior to be submitted into a journal.

Data availability statement

All data underlying the results are available as part of the article and no additional source data are required.

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The authors affirm that there are no conflicts of interest that could potentially influence the research outcomes or compromise its integrity.

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