

## CRITICAL STUDY ON THE DA'WAH MOVEMENT OF THE MUSLIMAH OF HIZB UT-TAHRIR INDONESIA IN ESTABLISHING AN ISLAMIC SOCIETY IN INDONESIA

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**ABSTRACT:** *This research is a scientific paper arising from a thought of the big amount of women population along with their roles in building society and human civilization. However, empowerment of women, as the subject of da'wah, is still less, both in terms of the quality and the quantity. Hence, women as the da'wah object have not been properly managed. For that reason, the reseachers are interested in studying the activities of the da'wah movement of the Muslimah of Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia. The da'wah movement the Muslimah of Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia is chosen as the research object since building an Islamic society is related to their central issue of establishing an Islamic Caliphate. For analyzing such an issue, the researches determine the problem formulation, namely: how does the da'wah movement of the Muslimah of Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia realize an Islamic society? The method of the research is qualitative, namely by conducting observation along with interviews, library researches, and an analytic description method. The discussion result was obtained through a study of the da'wah movement of the Muslimah of Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia by utilizing da'wah approaches, both in terms of the manhaj, da'wah elements, and da'wah objectives, and then analyzing them. The result discloses that the da'wah movement of the Muslimah of Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia focuses on the da'wah of thoughts only. Therefore, those who have a vision of realizing an Islamic Caliphate and leading Indonesia will not be able to realize an Islamic society, or even to lead the country or to realize an Islamic Caliphate.*

**Keywords:** *Da'wah, Establishing the society, Muslim Wower, Hizbut-Tahrir Indonesia*



## A. Introduction

Human beings, both men and women, need da'wah that may lead them to salvation, hence able to make them to become a man who merely worships Allah in conformity to His Shari'ah. Historical facts prove that the Prophet performed the da'wah not only in words but also in acts by establishing a specific civilization, which contained utmost blessings under the tawhid, which subsequently spread to all over the world and successfully established a solid Islamic society. Such a success could not be separated from the roles of muslimah in da'wah at that time.

At present, the da'wah cannot be separated from the roles of women as well, both as the subject of da'wah and as the da'wah object. The 2013 statistic data elaborates that the number of women in productive ages of 30-34 is 10,388,500 persons, whereas the number of men is 10,111,600 persons. Within such big population, there are so many women problems, such as having a lack of *aqidah*, being far away from religious guidance, and experiencing large exploitation widely and systematically. Data of the social development index says that the condition of women is really miserable. In Indonesia, for example, the number of illiterate women is two times higher than the number of illiterate men. Such condition is more ironic at the low and medium levels of people, which can be seen from commonly unreasonable acts of employers to Indonesian workers abroad, higher number of prostitutes, and many more. The other problems are: sexual abuses and rapes, which are getting higher every year, and violence against women, either before the public or inside the households, as well as the roles of feminism people that glorify gender equality for insulting Islam. For that reason, muslimah may not stay calm and keep busy on their household matters only.

In view of the urgency of women roles in da'wah, the researchers are interested in raising the theme of women da'wah. Specifically, the researchers are interested in studying the activities of da'wah movement of the Muslimah of Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia in realizing Islamic society. Such interest was based on a thought that the establishment of Islamic Caliphate, which was the central issue of the Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia, is very related to the Islamic society. As the women wing of the Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), the da'wah movement of the Muslimah of Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia is specifically performed for Indonesian women in conformity with the vision and missions and da'wah *manhaj* of Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI).

## B. Method

This research is qualitative research, by carrying out observations and completed with interviews and library research. Hence, the researches performed observations on sites against

the da'wah activities of the Muslimah of Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia (MHTI) in relation to women.

The researches also use the analytic descriptive method, namely describing the existing data and subsequently analyzing them proportionally, which results in clear details of answers for any problems related to the current condition of da'wah. By having this descriptive analysis, it is expected that the researches may disclose, clearly and fully, the da'wah activities of the Muslimah of Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia (MHTI) in realizing an Islamic society.

For this research, the researchers use primary and secondary sources. The primary sources consist of da'wah books, Hizb ut-Tahrir's books, and any other books on Islamic society. Secondary sources contain various literatures that are in connection with all matters studied in this research.

## C. Results and Discussion

### Da'wah Movement Of Muslimah

#### 1. Definition of the Da'wah Movement of Muslimah

The term "movement" means *harakah* in Arabic. It is mentioned that the word "el-harakah" (الحركة) is derived from the word *haruka* (حرك), which contains an opposite meaning from the phrase "stay still or not moving" (ضد السكون). Linguistically, *harakah* means to move, be active, do charity, and to perform. According to this meaning, it can be comprehended that a movement is recognized in case of there is displacement from one place or condition to any other place or condition.

Meanwhile, linguistically, *da'wah* is derived from the word دعاء - دعوة (asking for presenting). In terminology, da'wah has a wider understanding, which not only means inviting and calling human beings to believe in Islam, but also means an effort to develop Islamic society to become a more quality society constructed under *tawhid* spirit and honorable Islamic values. As a movement, da'wah must be oriented on the development of Islamic society by performing total reform (*islah*) against all the social life aspects, both related to individuals, families, (*islah al-fard*), societies (*islah al-mujtama'*), and states (*islah al-daulah*).

In reference to the aforesaid explanations, the researches conclude that the da'wah movement of muslimah shall be performed systematically in a planned manner by *muslimah* as the *da'wah* subject (*da'iyah*) for inviting women into Islam as a whole (*kaffah*), both in terms of individual, family, society, and state in conformity with the guidance of Allah and His

Messenger. In the researchers' opinion, *da'wah* movement as the activity to change the condition of a society planned systematically cannot be performed individually by a *da'iyah*.

## 2. Management of Muslimah Da'wah Movement

Essentially, *da'wah* is not an individual *da'iyah* business. Nevertheless, *da'wah* is a movement to reach bigger results in the form of an Islamic society that is able to build civilization. *Da'wah* movement as a system must be managed professionally. Professional means that the *da'wah* activities should be programmed or planned, performed and evaluated. Therefore, management in *da'wah* activities is required. Managerial activity means the effort to realize certain objectives by using human resources along with taking into account the *da'wah* elements.

## 3. Elements and Objectives of Muslimah Da'wah

The elements of muslimah *da'wah* consist of *da'iyah*, *mad'u*, *maddah*, *wasilah*, *thariqah*, and *atsar* of *da'wah*. According to the researchers, the *da'wah* subjects (*da'iyah*) must comprehend the condition of *da'wah* targets. This becomes the determining factor for the success of their *da'wah*. For *dai'yah*, having comprehension of women *da'wah* targets coming from various people as the abovementioned on all the aspects of their lives in relation to their belief, whorships, attitudes, commercial affairs, education, politic, culture, etc. is absolutely required. Moreover, women as part of society, whose number is statistically almost a half of the total number of society members; therefore, at least a half of society problems are women problems.

Studying and knowing the condition and statuses of the *da'wah* targets (*mad'u*) is one of the meanings of *al-hikmah* in performing *da'wah*. By knowing the *mad'u*, *da'iyah* may place human beings in accordance with the portions already determined by Allah. Hence, the *mad'u* will be easier in having Islamic teachings submitted by the *da'iyah*. The *da'iyah* must understand about the *maddah* or materials of *da'wah*. The materials of *da'wah* are the Islamic teachings themselves as a whole, which consist of the belief, laws, attitudes, whorships, commercial affairs, life system, and statutory regulations. Such themes of *da'wah* should be mainly thought to women. In general, there are no differences between the *da'wah* themes for men and women. In *da'wah*, women shall receive the same themes as men. They shall receive themes of belief, laws, attitudes, whorships, commercial affairs, life system, and statutory regulations, as well as *da'wah* and the whole Islamic themes existing in the Qu'an and Hadiths.

The *da'wah* movement of muslimah is required for having the ability to use those *wasilah* in its *da'wah* activities. Along with the development of current era and its complex problems,

the use of da'wah *wasilah* in accordance with the condition and needs will surely also determine the success of *da'wah* in the society, specifically in the milieu of women society. The use of *wasilah* remains to take into account the *thariqah* or *uslub* of methods of da'wah, namely: *bi al-Hikmah, al-Mau'izhah hasanah, al-Mujadilah bi al-Lati Hiya Ahsan* in order that the da'wah movement performed may have feedbacks from the *mad'u* for the submission of da'wah materials carried out by the da'iyah.

#### **4. Objectives of the Muslimah Da'wah**

The objectives of Muslimah da'wah consist of changing women attitudes in order to make them willingly receiving the Islamic teachings and actualizing them in their daily life, both in relation to private issues, families, and social affairs in their societies, hence they are able to put themselves in their real position as the slave of Allah, and to honor their dignity along with their rights and obligations in balance manners, as well as to apply any rules on relationships between men and women for maintaining women existence from the exploitation of man carnality and their societies. Moreover, the objectives also contain giving space and ways for women to become a strength element for Islam and da'wah together with men in realizing the general objectives of Islamic teachings. Within such objectives, the *da'wah* of Islam views women as important as men and puts them as an active element (subject) in the missions of da'wah for constructing Islamic society and civilization.

### **Islamic Society**

#### **1. Definition and Characteristics of Islamic Society**

In etymology, the word "society" is derived from the Arabic word "*el-mujtamaa'u*, which is the *ism maf'ul* of *اجتمع – يجتمع* whose meaning is a group of people. In terminology, Islamic society means a group of people who live as a unity and work and live together for a long time under the principles of the Qur'an and the Hadiths, which are open for any human beings without differentiating their genders, ethnics, skin colors or languages, and even accept the existence of other religions.

The characteristic of Islamic society, mostly special and prominent, covers being a society established on the basis of worship to Allah, both in terms of the belief, conception, social system, and laws, as well as the worship, universal and compatible affairs with pragmatic human aspects, justice, equality, anti-tyranny and injustice, *wasathiyah*, and moderate.

#### **2. Constructing an Islamic Society**

Constructing a society constitutes organized efforts in groups for improving people condition to be better, which covers various sides of life. Meanwhile, constructing an Islamic

society means a process carried out systematically and well organized and performed sustainably in order to change a society, which is formerly far from the Islamic values to become a society that applies the Islamic values in each of their life aspects by fully involving the society itself, a society that is open for any race, religion, and language based in their worship to Allah. For that reason, the stages for constructing an Islamic society are as follows:

- a. To provide muslim personality education, in order to become a model of good deeds in accordance with the Islamic values.
- b. To establish muslim households on the basis of Islamic principles.
- c. To realize Islamic groups that bind the believers with Islamic brotherhood.
- d. To uphold Islamic governments that are bound by the Islamic law completely and universally.

### **3. *Manhaj* of the Prophet *Sallallahu Alayhi Wasallam* in Constructing an Islamic Society**

The establishment of Islamic society was firstly performed by the Prophet *Sallallahu Alayhi Wasallam* by building the *aqidah* and then strengthening it, both when he was in Mecca and when he was in Medina. The next stage is strengthening the internal relationships of Islamic groups by means of creating brotherhoods between the Muhajirin and the Anshar. Such a strategy of creating brotherhoods between the Muhajirin and the Anshar (*ta-akhi bainal muhaajiriina wal anshaar*) was bound by the Islamic *aqidah* sourced from Allah. Such binding *aqidah* places human beings into one force of *'ubudiyah*, which is only to Him without any differences unless *taqwa* and good deeds, and results in solid aggregation and unity among the muslims.

Subsequently, the Prophet *Sallallahu Alayhi Wasallam* placed the foundation of Islamic statutory regulations (*tasyri'*) for establishing a society and for arranging the relationships between society members. The *tasyri'* placed in Medina already reached a perfectness degree and able to meet the needs of human beings forever. This became real evidence that since at the beginning, the Islamic society was established under perfect statutory regulations.

In the event that *muakhah* successfully unified the muslims, then such regulations aimed to unify and realize an Islamic society. The Prophet gave his concerns not only to the muslims, but also to the non muslims who were the members of such a society in Medina.

The other *manhaj*, which played an important role and influenced the effort of realizing the first Islamic society, was the good example existing in the personality of the Prophet *Sallallahu Alayhi Wasallam* as the society leader, in which he provided a direct example in various issues to the society as the application of the Quran.

The muslimah da'wah and the Islamic society have very close connectivity. The muslimah da'wah, which is well managed through actuating under programs properly arranged,

is able to result in the establishment of Islamic society building. Conversely, any muslimah da'wah not properly managed will be difficult to establish an Islamic society. An Islamic society, both in the Prophet era in the present time, successfully realized and developed cannot be released from the roles of Muslimah *da'wah*. Muslimah *da'wah*, in this matter is the MHTI, contributed in bringing Indonesian women into better directions for their lives in this world and in the hereafter. As part of a society with big population, women determine the good and the bad of societies. If the MHTI with its da'wah movement is able to become a solution for the life of Indonesian women, then at that time, its da'wah movement will lead to an established Islamic society in Indonesia.

## **Hizb Ut-Tahrir Indonesia**

### **1. History of the Establishment of Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia**

The Hizbut Tahrir was a revolutionary Islamic political party established in 1952 in Jerusalem by Taqi al-Din al-Nabhani (1909-1977). As a trans-national movement, Hizbut Tahrir opened its branches in some Arabic countries, such as Jordan, Shiria, Lebanon, Iraq, and Kuwait. Such a party, having headquarters in Jordan, successfully spread to all over the Middle East, England, France, Germany, Austria, Netherlands, Pakistan, Malaysia, Singapore, Australia, Japan, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, several states of the United States of America, and Indonesia.

The Hizb ut-Tahrir entered Indonesia in 1982-1983, namely when K.H. Abdullah bin Nuh or famously known as "Mamak" invited Sheikh Abdurrahman al-Baghdadiy to Indonesia, specifically to Bogor. Sheikh Abdurrahman al-Baghdadiy taught at the el-Gazali boarding school and had interactions with the Islamic activists of Masjid al-Ghifari, IPB, Bogor. The Hizb ut-Tahrir's thoughts introduced by al-Baghdadiy were able to attract the attentions of those activists. Subsequently, al-Baghdadiy formed some *halaqah* (small groups for teaching and learning Islam) in order to explore the Hizb ut-Tahrir's ideas. Some Hizbut Tahrir's books, such as seperti Syakhsiyah Islamiyah, Fikrul Islam, and Nizham Islam began to be studied seriously. From Bogor, through the network of *Lembaga Da'wah Kampus* (Campuss Da'wah Institution), the Hizbut Tahrir started to spread to other universities beyond Bogor, such as Unpad, IKIP Malang, and Unair and even spread to outside Java such as Unhas.

For the first time, the Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia openly disseminated its ideas before the public in an international conference on Islamic Caliphate held in Istora Senayan, Jakarta. This conference was attended by Hizb ut-Tahrir's domestic and foreign public figures, such as KH. Muhammad Utsman, SPFK (Indonesia), *Ustadz* Ismail al-Wahwah (Australia), *Ustadz*

Syarifuddin M. Zain (Malaysia), and KH Muhammad Al-Khatthath (Indonesia). The latest name became the Chairman of the Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia, subsequently called as the Sabab of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (SHTI). The conference also became the starting point of the second stage of Hizbut Tahrir's struggle in Indonesia, namely the stage of having interactions with the people (*marhalah tafaul maa al ummah*).

## **2. Activities of the Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia**

All the activities performed by the Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia are political affairs. Politics (*Hizb*) in their definition means taking into account the people affairs in conformity with the Shari'ah law and solutions. This is because politics means taking care of people affairs under the Islamic law and solutions.

Such political activities can be seen from the aspects of thought upheavals and political struggles that disclose Islamic thoughts along with the law to be applied, performed, and realized in the real life together with the people in the country.

## **3. Method of the Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia**

The Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia determines its operational steps in three stages in reference to the da'wah stages of Hizbut Tahrir, namely:

- a. The *tatsqif* (conducting development and establishing cadres).
- b. The *tafa'ul* (having interactions) with the people.

In this stage, the activities performed consist of:

- 1) *Tsaqafah Murakkazah* (intensive study) through halaqah among the believers and the Hizb members, hence they are able to perform da'wah with thought upheavals and political struggles.
- 2) *Tsaqafah jama'iyah* (general study), which is delivered to the people in general in masjid and public halls, public buildings, and public premises, and also through the mass media, books, and leaflets in order to build people awareness.
- 3) *Shira' al-fikri* (thought upheavals) to fight against any *kufir* beliefs/ideologies, rules, and thoughts.
- 4) *Kifah al-siyasi* (political struggle), in the form of the struggle to face any *kufir* countries that rule and dominate Islamic countries, both in the forms of thoughts, politics, economy, and military. The other form is to fight against the leaders of Arabic countries and any any other Islamic countries.
- 5) Adopting the ummah advantages and serving its affairs as a whole according to the Shari'ah law.
- 6) In delivering its thoughts explicitly, by attacking and challenging, the Hizb does not perform such delivery in ways of faking, fawning, making faces, confusing, or meandering. The Hizb fights politically without viewing the results to be achieved and not influenced by any current condition.



c. The *Istilamu al-hukmi* (accepting the power) in order to apply Islam in practices and as a whole and at once spreading Islamic teachings to all over the world.

#### **4. Profile of the Muslimah of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (MHTI)**

The Muslimah of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (MHTI) is a Muslimah da'wah movement that becomes part of the *harakah* of *da'wah* of Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia. As the women wing of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, this movement focuses on working on Indonesian women and any issues related with Indonesian women. Therefore, the memberships of Hizbut Tahrir are also open for women as specified in the Mafahim of Hizbut Tahrir.

The MHTI started its existence as from the entering of Hizbut Tahrir into Indonesia. After the Hizbut Tahrir was officially registered at the Ministry of Domestic Affairs in 2000, the existence of the MHTI was recognized as well. Even though at that time, the name of Muslimah of Hizbut Tahrir had not been set forth in the Certificate of Registration of the Ministry of Domestic Affairs and subsequently registered under the name of the MHTI. The granting of such a name seemed important as confirmation of the existence of da'wah belonged to the division of the muslimah of Hizb ut-Tahrir, taking into account the higher interest of the people in the MHTI. This was reflected when the Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia held the International Caliphate Conference in 2000 in Istora Senayan, Jakarta, attended by 5,000 men and women.

As the muslimah division of the Islamic movement “Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia”, the MHTI was researcherized to develop women cadres and to carry out the da'wah activities to the people by establishing *lajnahs*. In the organizational structure of the MHTI, there is a mechanism of selecting leaders performed in autonomy in certain periods. Members from various regions give their votes to choose their representatives who also serve as the members of a committee to choose a leader at the central level. In addition, the organizational structure of the MHTI is as follows:

- a. Chairman
- b. Secretary General (Spokesperson)
- c. Members of the Central Executive Board coming from regional representatives
- d. Functional Organs, consisting of some *lajnahs*, namely:
  - 1) *Lajnah Fa'aliyah*, whose one of its duties is to connect institutions and partners with the same thoughts to collectively raise certain issues or for only having good relationships between mass organizations and political parties coming from various fields.
  - 2) *Lajnah Khashah Lil Mubalighah*, whose function is to have good relationships with Islamic boarding schools, specifically with the master female teachers, female teachers, and female students.
  - 3) *Lajnah Khashah Lil Mutsaqafin*, whose one of its duties to relate thoughts, to raise basic thoughts existing in the people, such as the thoughts about genders, religion plurarism, democracy, short veils, etc. This *lajnah* also highlights and

counters any statements of public figures that are suspected to harm the ummah thoughts. This *lajnah* also takes care of da'wah in universities all over Indonesia.

- 4) *Lajnah Maslahiyah*, which is directed to the opinion of public advantages by studying and criticizing the public rights, which actually should be fulfilled but not yet fulfilled, such as transportation services, health services, etc.
- 5) *Lajnah* that takes care of da'wah at schools, which is performed through student workshops, Rohis development, student bulletin publishing, and teacher workshops.

The *lajnahs* mentioned above spread the thoughts of Hizbut Tahrir to the public by conducting discussions, training, mass actions, etc. in order to form public opinions, thus the public supports the thoughts and movements of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia. They also utilize mass media as a means to spread their thoughts, specifically carried out by the Muslimah of the Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia. As a modern organization, the MHTI appropriately understands the importance of public relations for its organization. They do realize that to influence and form public opinions, they cannot be free from the activities of public relations. For such interest, the Muslimah of the Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, as admitted by Iffah Ainur Rochmah, thinks that it needs to appoint a spokesperson.

During a certain period, the MHTI held a national amicable discussion to determine some activities, which were national in nature. In such a discussion, there were *lajnah* representatives coming from the branches of the MHTI spread all over Indonesia, except Manado and Papua. One-year agenda of da'wah was discussed in such an event, which contained hot issues existing in the public related to women, families, and children. All the issues already discussed and agreed became their movement steps in the public, which were subsequently derived to the regions. In addition, the technical implementation, including the funding thereof, was up to the regions.

The members of the MHTI are estimated amounting to a half of the total number of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia members. However, the Spokesperson of the MHTI is unwilling to clearly mention their number. Iffah Ainur Rahmah only gave a picture that whenever Hizbut Tahrir holds an event, a half of the attendees are muslimah. Since there are no membership cards, as any other organizations, it is difficult to mention their number.

In general, the memberships of the MHTI are differentiated into three groups, namely:

- 1) Members,
- 2) *Dirasat* (any member who has not mastered the HT principal books),
- 3) Those who join the MHTI, but cannot be committed to attend their Islamic study groups regularly. Their number is higher than those who are in the other groups. However, the MHTI does not want to claim that this third group is the member of the MHTI.

# Analysis Of The Da'wah Movement Of The Muslimah Of Hizb Ut-Tahrir Indonesia (Mhti) In Realizing Indonesian An Islamic Society And Its Relevance With The (Islamic) Caliphate In Indonesia

## 1. Analysis of the Da'wah Programs of the Muslimah of Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia (MHTI)

In the da'wah management, da'wah programs shall be closely related to the da'wah activities and elements, which consist of: *da'i*, *mad'u*, *uslub*, and *wasilah*. Therefore, in the analysis of da'wah programs of the MHTI, the researchers submit some da'wah elements to be analyzed.

### a. The da'wah activities of the MHTI

The da'wah activities of the MHTI cannot be released from the main movement, namely the Hizb ut-Tahrir, which is political in nature. They perform their activities through operational steps, which cover three stages, namely:

- 1) The stage of *tatsqif*
- 2) The stage of *tafa'ul ma'al ummah*
- 3) The stage of *istilamu al-hukmi* (accepting power) in order to apply Islam in practices and as a whole and at once to spread Islamic thoughts to all over the world.

At the stage of *tatsqif*, the Muslimah cadres of Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia who are ready to take part in regular studies every week for development. In this stage of *tatsqif*, the activities of the MHTI are limited to the aspect of *tsaqafah* only. The attention of activity in the stage of *tatsqif* focuses on building the body of the party, multiplying members and nurturing them in the various *halaqah tsaqafah* intensively adopted, and then merging it with Islam, making it free from any corrupt *aqidah*, wrong thinking, and misperceptions, while releasing it from the influence of *kufir* ideas and opinions.

These Muslimah development and cadring are expected to emerge Muslimah who believes in the *fikrah* of Hizb ut-Tahrir and strives to realize such *fikrah*. At this stage, their da'wah program is to study the books sustainably. These books are *Nizham al-Islam* (Rules of Life in Islam), *Takattul al-Hizbi* (The Process of Forming Kutlah/Da'wah Party), *Mafahin Hizbu al-Tahrir* (Concepts of Hizb ut-Tahrir), and *Muqawwimat al-Nafsiyyah al-Islamiyah* (Pillars of Nafsiyah's Characterization).

Based on a statement delivered by the spokesperson of Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia, currently, their da'wah activities have entered the second stage of three existing stages, namely *Tafa'ul ma'al Ummah*. This stage was built on the previous stage. Therefore, the success in the first stage was decisive for the success of the second stage. However, the success of the first stage does not automatically results in success for the second stage. Success occurs if the society knows them as da'wah bearers and also recognizes their da'wah activities, completed with their efforts to influence the society.

The political activity of the MHTI at the stage of *da'wah ta'amul ma'al ummah* is to form *lajnah Fa'aliyah* which works on figures, *lajnah maslahiyah*, *lajnah lil mubalighah*, *lajnah lil Mutsaqafin*, and *lajnah* for school *da'wah*. The main task of these *lajnahs* is to interact with women through the work programs they have designed. Based on the monitoring that the researcher did from the official website of Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia, since 2009 to 2013, there were no less than 180 *da'wah* activities that had been carried out by the MHTI.

The most prominent activity of the *Hizb* is the activity of attacking all forms of interactions that take place between the ruler and the *ummah* in all aspects. This is said by Taqiyuddin al-Nabhani in *Dukhul al-Mujtama'*. Therefore, the activities of the MHTI attack many government policies through the dissemination of thoughts carried out both verbally and in writing and through audiovisual media. This government-fighting activity actually represents their ideology, which adheres to the ideal Islamic political system. Through its activities, the MHTI intensively carries the issue of the establishment of an Islamic Caliphate. Therefore, they reject the foundation of Pancasila and the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. This rejection is clearly seen in the leaflet *al-banshasila Falsafah Kufr la Tattafq Ma'al Islam* (Pancasila is a Kufr Philosophy Incompatible with Islam). In their activities, they also reject the Republic of Indonesia and its political system, namely democracy and its products, namely elections.

In the theory of *da'wah*, this kind of activity is known as *nahi mungkar* activity. The *da'wah* of *nahi mungkar* will be very effective if it is done at the time when the subject of *da'wah* is in a strong position. Firmness in *da'wah* is also needed, especially when Muslims or *da'wah* are hindered and wronged. But no matter how firm the *da'wah* should be delivered, it remains to adhere to the principles of ease and not complicated things, cheering up before scaring, looking for common grounds or similarities, paying attentions to the staging of burdens and laws, considering the psychology of *mad'u idfa billatii hiya ahsan*. The Qur'an also commands *da'wah* activists to preach to the ruler especially with *qaulan layyina* (gentle words), not judgmental words.

#### *b. Maddah* of *Da'wah*

The theme of *da'wah* raised by the MHTI is diverse. The following are among the themes raised in their *da'wah* activities:

- 1) Miss World, A Wrong Deed that Must be Rejected
- 2) The Caliphate Protects Women from Poverty and Exploitation
- 3) Controversy on the Ad "Indonesian Migrant Workers on Sale": Provocation or Reality of Dehumanization of Indonesian Women?

- 4) Building the West Java to be Continuously Better.
- 5) Muharram's reflection brings the *ukhuwah* forces together and supports the Caliphate
- 6) Save Indonesia with Shari'ah and Caliphate
- 7) The obligations of Muslims shall be bound by Islamic law as a whole
- 8) Establish the *ukhuwah*, unite the steps, and establish the shari'ah and Caliphate
- 9) Back to Fitrah, Back to *Kaffah* Islam
- 10) Shari'ah and Caliphate, there are no doubts against them
- 11) Teens Get Smart with Islam: on the way to surgery, we are waiting for your actions
- 12) Condomization campaigns undermine generation
- 13) The strategic role of the family of threats and challenges
- 14) The Road to a Strong, Self-Reliant, Leading Country.
- 15) Strategies for Empowering Mothers to Welcome Islamic Life
- 16) The Caliphate guarantees the happiness and well-being of families
- 17) The Political Role of Mubalighah in the Great World Change Towards the Caliphate
- 18) Stop sending migrant workers abroad, glorify women with shari'ah and Caliphate
- 19) Nurturing tenderness in families
- 20) The locomotive of ideological movement of campus activists
- 21) Ramadan means shari'ah and Caliphate
- 22) Shine, O Muslimah for the rise of Islam
- 23) Save teenagers from the monsters of promiscuity with an Islamic Caliphate
- 24) Youth towards a Glorious Future in Caliphate Civilization
- 25) Teenagers Get Smart with Islam, We Miss a Caliphate

Looking at the overall themes raised by the MHTI, all of the themes boil down to one big theme, namely the rejection of capitalism and secularism. Capitalism and secularism for the MHTI are the sources of women mischief today. Therefore, the MHTI seeks to destroy capitalism and secularism and replace them with an Islamic system through the establishment of the (Islamic) Caliphate.

The root of capitalism problem is the detachment of religion from people life, which leads to a tendency for economic practices that justify all means to get the maximum benefit for capital owners. Therefore, the primary solution for destroying capitalism must also begin with returning people to their religion (Islam). The first step to return people to their religion is to straighten and strengthen their *aqidah*. Thus, it is important for the MHTI to consistently carries out its da'wah steps by delivering materials about faith and galvanizing Indonesian women with strong and upright *aqidah* systemically and programmatically on an ongoing basis to women. The MHTI in many of their da'wah programs is still focused on attacking the capitalist system and secularism and is trapped on the issue of the Caliphate so that the da'wah material seems "the same issues". The following is an excerpt of the *maddah* of da'wah delivered by the MHTI on several occasions:

"Mothers, who are currently under the auspices of the capitalist system, are not in a condition that makes them prosperous. Quite the contrary, this system forces mothers to be unable to carry out their main role as *al um warabbatul*

*bayt*. Mothers are also faced with difficult economic conditions that make their role increases, namely being also as a breadwinner. In order to help her husband's role to make a living, mothers must be willing to leave their families thousands of miles away. Even though this country is very rich, Muslims have never felt it. Economic, educational, health, security, and other policies have never favored mothers in particular and Muslims in general. This condition is very different from the era when the Islamic system was under the auspices of the Caliphate."

On the basis a theory conveyed, in which the priority of da'wah theme to be conveyed to the da'wah object, especially women, is Islamic *aqidah*. Indonesian society presently in general can be categorized as a damaged society, Islamic values have not been fully established in it. In fact, today it can be said that the Indonesian Islamic society lives in the blackest times, experiencing weaknesses in various aspects of life. Some Muslims do not know Islam except for the name, do not know the Qur'an except its writings, are not known from their religion except for some matters only. Muslims have not only become a market for technological products, but have also become a market for ideological products beyond Islam, such as capitalism, secularism, and materialism. "It is from Abu Sa'id (al-Khudry) that the Prophet *Sallallahu 'alaihi wa sallam* said: "Indeed you will follow the sunnah (ways/methods) of those before you, inch by inch, cubit by cubit, until if they trace the entrance of '*Dlobb*' (a special animal of the Sahara desert, a type of monitor lizard), you will undoubtedly trace it, too". We (the sahabah) said: "O the Messenger of Allah! (Are they) Jews and Christians?" He said: "Who else (if not them)".

However, the MHTI considers that all the current problems of women can be solved by the establishment of an Islamic Caliphate. For the MHTI, with the establishment of the Islamic Caliphate, the problem of women capitalization which has an impact on discrimination against women, exploitation of women, shackles in poverty, ignorance, and various other problems will be resolved and lead women to live in peace and prosperity. In an action of national concerns that took place simultaneously throughout Indonesia, the MHTI raised the theme: "Prevent Hedonism with a Caliphate. In fact, Islamic Caliphates do not necessarily become a solution to every problem of women. Likewise, the hedonistic behavior of society. The histories of Islamic Caliphates from many centuries ago show that the brilliance of the Caliphates of *Khulafaur Rashidin* was based on the solid *aqidah* of Muslims and their leaders. When the *aqidah* of the ummah began to be weak, various problems began to arise in the people's lives under the Islamic Caliphates. The histories of Islamic Caliphates also tell us how the behavior of the dignitaries during the Umayyad Caliphate indicated hedonist behavior, as

well as during the Abbasid and Ottoman Caliphates. In the book “Abbasid Dynasty”, it is stated:

The people who surrounded the caliph and the elites felt the pleasure of abundant wealth. They made huge profits and generous salaries and squandered their wealth in vain. But the lives of the elites and the rich did not affect the whole society except for a few of people.

In fact, Taqiyuddin al-Nabhani in the book “Islamic State”, says that there is a common thread between the glory of Islamic Caliphates in the past and the strength of the people's *aqidah*:

"When there was a political revolution in Europe, which was built on a certain *aqidah* that then ushered in a tremendous industrial revolution, at that time, the Ottoman State made a mistake and then experienced a decline. This happened because the *aqidah* of Islam was no longer the rule of thought, on which all thoughts should be built. The *aqidah* was merely achieved with *taklid*. Therefore, the principles used by the Islamic State were unclear *aqidah* and thoughts."

However, the MHTI does not seem serious about working on one of these *da'wah maddahs*. Meanwhile, as already revealed, the biggest problem of women is in their *aqidah*. If this *aqidah* problem is ignored, then the Islamic Caliphate which is deemed by the MHTI as a solution to various problems of Muslim life in Indonesia will not provide many solutions and will even cause new problems.

c. *Wasilah* of Da'wah

The MHTI uses oral and written media to spread their *fikrah* and to criticize government policies that are seen as incompatible with Islamic values and have not fulfilled the rights of the people. Some of their writings are published on their online media and social media. Social media that are recorded to contain the writings of Muslimah of Hizb ut-Tahrir are islampos.com, republika.co.id, solopos.com, umat.com media. The MHTI also has websites and social media such as Facebook and Twitter to disseminate their *da'wah* and thoughts. To spread its thoughts, Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia also publishes a monthly magazine *Cermin Wanita Shalihah*. Another means of *da'wah* used is audiovisual. Radio Starnew 102.6 FM in North Sumatra and TV Lampung are the audiovisual media that provide opportunities for the MHTI to convey their *da'wah* to the society. The MHTI also has a streaming radio as its *da'wah* media.

The MHTI realizes the huge role of the media in spreading their *da'wah*. Several printed and written mass media attended the event organized by the MHTI. If every activity of the MHTI is published by these media, it will be enough to influence the public opinions. It was

recorded in 2013 that the MHTI carried out many da'wah maneuvers in various parts of Indonesia. The use of such media will be even more effective in building an Islamic society since the da'wah materials carried by the MHTI have touched the more basic matter, namely the Islamic *aqidah*.

In the theoretical foundation, it is stated that in addition to oral, written and audiovisual, there is another da'wah *wasilah* that is not less important than written, oral, and audiovisual *wasilahs*, namely good deed *wasilah* also known as *da'wah bi al-hal*. The MHTI does not use the *bi al-hal* da'wah *wasilah* in their da'wah. Based on the researchers' monitoring on the MHTI's website, there were no da'wah activities related to real charity directly felt by the da'wah objects (*mad'u*), such as giving compensation, conducting mass circumcision, building hospitals or orphanages or schools, and so on. As acknowledged by the MHTI's Spokesperson, Iffah Ainur Rachmah, the *bi al-hal* da'wah is not part of the MHTI's activities, hence, there is no a specific *lajnah* for dealing with such a matter. In case of there is *bi al-hal* da'wah, then it is limited to the initiative of individuals of the MHTI's members only. For that reason, the MHTI considers that such a matter shall merely become part of the responsibility of the individual and is not considered as an official activity of the MHTI. Another reason for not entering the practical realm as stated by the spokesperson of the MHTI, Iffah Ainur Rochmah, is because they want to maintain the authenticity of da'wah in accordance with the da'wah method of the Prophet *Sallallâhu 'alaihi wa sallam*. Refusing to deal with the practical realm is also because they do not want to attract the attention of mass media.

There are three interesting things mentioned by the MHTI spokesperson, gained from the interview mentioned above, which are related to the MHTI's reasons of staying away from the *bi al-hal* da'wah *wasilah*, namely:

- 1) The *bil hal* da'wah is part of the responsibility of individual Muslims
- 2) The MHTI wants to maintain the authenticity of da'wah in accordance with the da'wah method of the Prophet *Sallallâhu 'alaihi wa sallam*.
- 3) The MHTI doesn't want to attract the attention of mass media.

The researchers argue that the *bi al-hal* da'wah is not only an individual responsibility but also a collective responsibility, namely the responsibility of the da'wah movement. In the da'wah management, it is mentioned that one of the planning activities is constructing a strategy. A da'wah strategy can be in the form of two things, namely personal internal strategy and institutional external strategy. The personal internal strategy is a strategy that emphasizes on building or improving the quality of an individual's life. This strategy can be developed through *majelis ta'lim*, *halaqah*, *tariqat* groups, *tabligh akbar*, counseling, etc. Meanwhile, the



institutional external strategy is a strategy that emphasizes on building an organizational structure of a society. In this strategy, da'wah activities can enter various lines of people life, such as entering the education sector by establishing and having quality and professional educational institutions. Moreover, da'wah can also enter the health sector by having hospitals or health institutions that own good management. Under this strategy, da'wah can also enter the economic field by having economic institutions and developing an economy based on Islamic values. In addition, da'wah can also enter into any other sectors that are needed and become the livelihood of the society, especially women as the da'wah object of Muslimah da'wah movement. Both the personal internal strategy and the institutional external strategy are collective responsibilities, not individual responsibilities. Therefore, as a collective responsibility, the da'wah movement must design the institutional external strategy carefully and purposefully so that the activities carried out on sites can run appropriately.

*Da'wah* in the form of real charity does not violate the authenticity of the *da'wah* of the Prophet *Sallallâhu 'alaihi wa sallam*. In a hadith originating from Abu Hurayrah, it is narrated that the Prophet *Sallallahu Alayhi Wasallam* said:

"Whoever gives a way to go out from a trouble of the world faced by a believer, Allah will give him a way to go out from the difficulties he faces in the Day of Judgment. Whoever eases a person's difficulties will ease his difficulties both in this world and in the Hereafter. Allah will always help His servant as long as His servant helps his brother. And whoever passes a path to seek knowledge, Allah will make it easy for him to go to heaven. Whenever a group of people gather in one of the God's houses and then they read the Book of God and study it collectively, then serenity will descend on their hearts, love will pervade their hearts, angels will greet them kindly, and God will address those people before God's creatures existing before Him. Whoever has fewer good deeds, then his *nasab* honor will not be able to cause his good deeds to increase."

Nowadays, poverty becomes one of the society problems in Indonesia that requires serious handling to be solved. The National Statistics Agency reveals that in March 2013, the number of Indonesia's poor people (people whose monthly expenditure per capita is below the Poverty Line) reaches 28.07 million people (11.37 percent). For that reason, it is a wise step when *da'iyah* as an agent of change participates in helping to solve such a problem, as concrete evidence of her da'wah and as a practice of the hadith of the Prophet *Sallallâhu 'alaihi wa sallam* mentioned above. In addition, there are many more Islamic teachings that guide *da'iyah* to not just emerging discourses to the society, but also to take part directly in the society life and to become a solution for their society directly. In fact, in many cases in the society, practical

da'wah more touches the heart of the da'wah object than oral and written da'wah. People who are the da'wah object often demand practical evidence instead of emerging discourses or issues.

#### d. Target of Da'wah

At the stage of *tafa'ul* (interacting) with Muslimah, the Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia interacts a lot with people from various women circles to form awareness and general opinions on Islamic ideas and laws already chosen and determined by the Hizb. This is performed in order that women, who are the da'wah objects, are able to carry out Islamic da'wah and put Islam as the main matter of their lives and also to attempt to apply it in the reality of life.

Based on the researcher's observation from the MHTI's website, the objects of women da'wah already touched by the MHTI da'wah come from areas spread across Indonesia, namely Mojokerto, Bojonegoro, Surabaya, Ngawi, Bangil, Jombang, Jember, Pasuruan, Gresik, Ponorogo, Tulungagung, Blitar, Lamongan, Probolinggo, Pamekasan, Yogyakarta, Semarang, Cirebon, Sukabumi, Bandung, Ciputat-South Tangerang, Tasikmalaya, Karawang, Ciledug, Bengkulu, Balikpapan, Pekanbaru, Pariaman, Kupang, Lampung, Medan, Deli Serdang, Solok-West Sumatra, Makassar, Aceh, Palembang, Kendari, Tanjungpinang. From this data, by region, not all women in the territory of Indonesia have been touched by the MHTI da'wah. It's only about 16,642 women in Indonesia who are touched by the MHTI da'wah. They are da'wah objects whose religion is Islam. Whereas those who are Christians, Hindus, Buddhists, and religious sects have not been targeted by the MHTI.

The da'wah objects whose religion is Islam and have received the da'wah touch of the MHTI come from various levels and strata of life. It was recorded that no less than 16,642 women spread across various regions of Indonesia became the da'wah objects of the MHTI. Among of them are teenagers in the amount of 9,530 persons, public figures around 1,135 persons, consisting of bureaucrats, executives, NGOs, politicians, journalists, society leaders, chairmen of *majelis ta'lim*, and lecturers. Meanwhile, the number of *mubalighat* who attended some events organized by the MHTI were recorded at 5,977 persons. Based on an interview with the MHTI Spokesperson, Iffah Ainur Rochmah, the number does not automatically describe the number of cadres or members of the MHTI.

Especially for *mubalighah*, the MHTI through *lajnah khashah lil Mubalighah* compile da'wah programs in the form of *Liqa Muharram Mubalighah* and *da'iyah* training held in various regions of Indonesia. It is recorded that the regions that held *liqa mubalighah* and *da'iyah* training were Sidoarjo, Madiun, Pasuruan, Surabaya, Ngawi, Madura, Gresik, Bondowoso, Probolinggo, Mojokerto, Banyumas, Bojonegoro, Cilacap, Yogyakarta,

Tulungagung, South Tangerang, Banten, West Waringin City, Banjarbaru, Serang, Balikpapan, Bogor, Kediri, Central Sulawesi, Palembang. Overall, the participants who attended the events throughout Indonesia amounted to around 6637 *mubalighah*.

The MHTI expects these *mubalighahs* to become their da'wah supporters and contribute in spreading their thoughts to a wider society. However, there is no sufficient result in this effort of approaching the *mubalighah*. Those who are willing to participate in weekly studies are not yet significant. Therefore, they are not or have not been considered as the members of the MHTI. Thus, the work of *mubalighah* to jointly strive for realizing an Islamic society cannot be expected.

Public figures are the da'wah objects that get the largest portion for the MHTI da'wah. From the *lajnah* established, it can be seen how the cultivation of public figures reaches the top rank of their da'wah. This is certainly reasonable because bureaucrats, scientists, lecturers, *mubalighah*, chairmen of *majelis ta'lim*, editors-in-chief of newspapers, legislators and so on more easily catch the touch of thoughts delivered by the MHTI. The approach taken by the MHTI to a number of figures in Indonesia is a positive step. Public figures have strategic roles to form public opinions and make changes in people lives. They also have important roles in spreading Islamic da'wah. During the era of the Prophet, the efforts of approaching and preaching to public figures were part of the Prophet's da'wah strategy.

The other da'wah groups having very close affinity with thoughts are female students and female college students. These two da'wah object groups are the groups that are also very intensely touched by the MHTI's da'wah. They are potential da'wah objects for the development of da'wah in the future. If they receive Islamic teachings properly and correctly, which lead them understanding Islam comprehensively, properly, and correctly, then later these young women and female students will become a strong driving force for Islamic da'wah. They will be the pioneers in realizing an Islamic society, which subsequently result in blessings for the universe. However, these da'wah objects have not been touched proportionately by the MHTI's da'wah, so that the incomplete inputs of Islam to them have the potentials to deliver incomplete Islamic deeds as well.

## **2. Analysis of the Realization of Indonesian Islamic Society Performed by the Da'wah Movement of the Muslimah of Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia**

Society according to Hizbut Tahrir is an accumulation of people, thoughts, feelings, and systems. This definition is general in nature (applicable to all forms of society, Islam, and non-Islam). The Islamic society according to them is a certain unique society, which is different

from other societies, namely a society whose interactions between them are carried out according to Islamic ideas, feelings, and system rules. Thus, the mere presence of Muslims interacting with each other without being controlled by Islamic thoughts, feelings, and systems does not make the group of Muslims categorized as an Islamic society. Thus, the existence of Islamic thoughts, feelings, and system rules is a fundamental requirement for a society to become an Islamic society.

In the book *Dukhul al-Mujtama'*, it is mentioned the steps taken by the *Hizb* in order to build an Islamic society, namely: to carry out social plans through the upheaval of thoughts (intellectual struggle/*shira'u al-fikri*) and the process of political struggle (political struggle/*kifâh siyâsi*). Social plan according to the *Hizb* is a process of bringing about continuous interactions in a society controlled by Islamic *aqidah* and shari'ah laws. However, at the level of da'wah application, the MHTI ignores the *aqidah* approach. The delivery of *aqidah* materials as the main *maddah* in da'wah has not been found in the da'wah activities of the MHTI. The MHTI's activities against secularism and capitalism are a small part of the problem of *aqidah*. Meanwhile, what is needed by Indonesian women who are the da'wah object of the MHTI today is the strengthening of *aqidah* by planting *aqidah* because most of them have weak *aqidah*. The weakness of this *aqidah* has an impact on the collapse of the building of society due to the entry and acceptance of *isms*, such as capitalism, secularism, and so on, which then become the ideology of society.

The MHTI also neglects the *bil hal* da'wah. Even though the society needs concrete proofs of their service to the society. Building a society requires tools including society education and health services. Both are the lives of many people that must be managed properly and trustfully so that people can enjoy such both matters optimally. The MHTI criticizes the implementation of education and health services in Indonesia. According to the MHTI, education and public health services are currently pro-capitalist system and do not favor to the society and Islam.

"When the education of this country has a secular capitalist paradigm, then the apparatuses of the education system in schools, societies, and also the scopes of the state are definitely secular. Therefore, we feel that education is expensive because it has become a trade commodity. The curriculum does not refer to the formation of personality integrity but refers to the size of the materials."

Nevertheless, until now, the public has not seen the education model and the health service model such as hospitals, medical centers, BKIA, polyclinics as echoed by the MHTI in its *shira'u fikri* activities. It is a challenge for the MHTI to display and becomes a model for

the public in providing education and health services, which results in solutions for the public problems.

Instead of dealing with the affairs of the people, this movement holds the opinion that the *bi al-hal* da'wah is an individual matter. Therefore, it is difficult for the Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia and its Muslimah wing to be at the forefront in managing the society as the realized implementation of (Islamic) Caliphate in Indonesia, which is the central issue of their da'wah activities. The Caliphate is a government. The activity of the government is to take care of the affairs of the people. However, as a da'wah movement that has big dreams, the MHTI has not taken any structured steps for managing the affairs of the ummah in real terms (*da'wah bil hal*). Their da'wah movement was increasingly unable to take care of the affairs of the ummah in real terms when the Indonesian government on 19 July 2017 through the Ministry of Law and Human Rights officially revoked the legal entity status of the Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) mass organization by virtue of Decree of the Minister of Law and Human Rights Number AHU-30. AH.01.08 of 2017 regarding Revocation of Decree of the Minister of Law and Human Rights number AHU-0028.60.10.2014 regarding Ratification of the establishment of legal entity of HTI. The revocation was carried out as a follow-up to Government Regulation in Lieu of Law (*Perppu*) Number 2 of 2017 which amended Law Number 17 of 2013 regarding Society Organizations. The reasons for the dissolution presented by Coordinating Minister for Polhukam Wiranto are:

- 1) As a legal entity, HTI does not play a positive role in taking part in the development process to achieve the national goals.
- 2) The activities carried out by HTI are strongly indicated to have contradicted with the objectives, principles, and characteristics of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia as specified in Law Number 17 of 2013 regarding Civil Society Organizations.
- 3) The activities carried out by HTI are considered to have caused clashes in the society that can threaten the public security and order, and endanger the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

#### **D. Conclusions**

The conclusion of this study answers the formulation of the problem of how the da'wah movement of the Muslimah of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia builds an Islamic society. After studying and analyzing, the researchers conclude that Muslimah of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia does not carry out the manhaj of da'wah thoroughly. Therefore, the da'wah movement of the Muslimah of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia will not be able to build an Islamic society.

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