



Kupi II Congress and Results of Religious Views on Contemporary Women's Issues in the Perspective of Islamic Anthropology

Salsabila Arwani¹, Mulawarman Hannase¹

¹University of Indonesia

*Corresponding Author: Salsabila Arwani

E-mail: bielsalsa@gmail.com



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Abstract

This paper is a study related to the Indonesian Women's Ulama Congress (KUPI) and its religious views through an Islamic feminist anthropology approach. This is because the discussion on KUPI hasn't been captured through this approach. In fact, by this approach, the problems surrounding women can be seen in more depth and detail. By using primary data from observations and secondary data from literature reviews, the results found that KUPI or the Indonesian Women's Ulama Congress is a women's organization in Indonesia that brings together various individual backgrounds to study women's problems based on Islamic teachings that are mutabadil. Through discussions, halaqoh and religious meetings, the first KUPI congress in Cirebon produced three religious views while the second congress in Jepara produced five religious views and several recommendations regarding the protection of women from religious extremism, forced marriages, dangers of pregnancies due to settlement, genital injuries, and issues environment. KUPI activities are cultural in nature. Participants who come from various backgrounds bring facts and data in the field to be interacted with in order to realize human reason, mind and power which then shape culture and find an Islamic religion that is moderate, gender fair and provides human welfare.

Introduction

In Indonesia, the women's movement began to flourish at the end of the colonial period and grew along with awareness of emancipation and nationalist movements. The definition of the women's movement itself is interpreted differently by intellectuals and researchers. There are those who interpret it as a movement carried out collectively and organized to provide wide space for women as done by Pringgodigdo (1997), and there are those who interpret it as an action carried out individually or collectively, consciously or unconsciously, to respond to women's problems and present solutions and changes as done by (Wieringa et al., 1999).

The women's movement carried out by individuals during the colonial period was carried out by female heroes such as RA Kartini, Cut Nyak Dien, Dewi Sartika and others. These figures see the need for reform in the customs they encounter, which often confine women and ignore their existence. Apart from customs, the fate of women in the colonial era was worsened by the cruel exploitation of both their energy and body. Becoming sex slaves, workers who are paid less than men, as a means of exchange for payment, and even being prohibited from getting an education in public schools. This situation then moved the figures to fight for the fate of women while simultaneously eradicating colonialism.

Moving away from individual movements, collective and organized women's movements emerged when women's literacy awareness began to grow and discussions on issues surrounding marriage, education, work and women's rights were massively presented in public

spaces. These conditions gave birth to women's organizations as a follow-up to the nationalism-based women's movement in the colonial period. Poetri Mardika was the first organization founded in 1912 whose orientation was the struggle for access to education and marriage reform. The founding of this organization then became the mother that gave birth to and motivated the birth of other women's organizations in Indonesia (Amini, 2021).

When Japan occupied Indonesia, all women's organizations were frozen and banned except Fujinkai. Fujinkai is a women's organization made in Japan which, although its main aim is to attract sympathy from the Indonesian people, its activity pattern is socially based, such as eradicating illiteracy (Amini, 2021). Indonesian independence in 1945 then brought back the independence of women's organizations for those that had just grown or that had been frozen. In simple terms, these organizations can be identified into three types, namely women's organizations which are *underbow* and affiliates of men's organizations such as Aisyiah, Muslimat (NU), Persistri and others, then women's organizations which are *underbow* from fathers and mothers' organizations such as Fatayat NU and Nasyiatul Aisyiah Muhammadiyah, then independent women's organizations such as Putri Budi Sejati (Fauzia, 2004).

The establishment of the New Order regime then gave rise to the organizational style of women as husbands' "second persons" or organizations based on wives' associations such as the PKK, Dharma Pertiwi for wives whose husbands were workers in the armed forces, and Dharma Wanita for wives of civil servants. In fact, this organization does not provide independent space for women except according to government dictates. Then, post-reformation until now, women's organizations and movements have been able to breathe freely and many new seeds have grown. The establishment of women's organizations is an effort made to give women the rights they should have, relieve them of oppression and injustice, provide a space for existence, a place for actualization, as well as a means of educating, defending and protecting women (Mursidah, 2013).

When colonialism and government dictatorship ended, democracy began to emerge, technology became more advanced, and literacy awareness improved, in fact problems regarding women were still piling up. Gender justice has not yet filled the public sphere and many women still suffer losses. Issues such as sexual harassment, female genital injuries, child marriage, violence, women's subordination, and other issues still resonate loudly with the public (Muhammad, 2022). This reality was found not in a religious vacuum, within the Muslim sphere itself this condition occurred. This condition is very different from the image of Islam in glorifying women.

Although not the main cause, the majority of formulators of legal *ijtihad* and fatwas and interpreters of authoritative Islamic texts - whether in society or government bodies - are men, which is one of the reasons why efforts to voice women's rights are limited because they are not directly represented. Therefore, KUPI emerged as a women's clerical organization to re-translate religious texts the *throng*, forming a fatwa as a result of collective *ijtihad* oriented towards women-friendly *fiqh*, and responsive to global issues. Formed in 2017 in Kebon Jambu Cirebon, KUPI successfully held its second congress in Jepara in December 2022. Interestingly, even though it is called a women's clerical organization, many male intellectuals are affiliated with and actively participate in KUPI activities. Women from across groups, generations, religions and even countries, also attended KUPI activities.

The explanation above regarding the movement of women's organizations and their role in fighting for women's rights, which experience fluctuations and dynamic ups and downs, is one of the reasons and backgrounds behind this article. Specifically, this article discusses the portrait of the KUPI II Congress and Religious Views Regarding Contemporary Women's

Issues from an Islamic Anthropological Perspective. Studies on the theme of women's organizations, such as (Pradita, 2020), or on the individual movement of women ulama by (Helmiannoor & Musyarapah, 2019), even more specifically regarding KUPI such as those of (Farida & Kasdi, 2018; Ma'ruf et al., 2021; Mufliha, 2021; Nadia, 2022) have been widely discussed, but no one has specifically looked at this from the perspective of Islamic anthropology. In fact, with an anthropological approach, research on humans and all their problems will feel closer and more basic.

Methods

This article was written using qualitative methods with a feminist anthropology and Islamic anthropology approach. The use of Islamic anthropology is used to understand Islam through the practice of religious teachings practiced by its adherents, while the feminist anthropology approach is aimed at mapping the topic of women based on its historical roots as well as its role and cultural context. Furthermore, this article is the result of primary data processed and collected through observation techniques carried out by the author on 23-26 November in Semarang and Jepara, and secondary data produced using a literature review.

Results and Discussion

Portrait of Women in the study of Islamic anthropology

Discussions about women in the review of Islamic Anthropology will intersect with various areas. Among them are the study of Islam and Anthropology, Anthropology of Feminism, the position of women in Islam, and portraits of women in culture. Regarding Anthropology and Islam, this means first understanding religion from an anthropological approach. Religion itself is one of the studies of anthropology because it is something that cannot be separated from humans, one of the main objects of anthropological study.

Anthropologists then have different definitions of religion, Tylor for example, he defines religion as belief in spirits (Baal, 1987; Geertz, 2013), while (Geertz, 2013) defines it as "*...a symbol system whose role is to build strong, long-lasting moods and motivation in humans by formulating concepts regarding a general order of existence, and wrapping these concepts with a kind of radiance of factuality, so that the mood and motivation- The motivation seems distinctively realistic.*" Talal (Asad, 2009) actually says that religion is something that cannot be defined. Because when defining it, it will directly limit aspects of religion that are not included in the definition.

Religion as an object of anthropological study is categorized into three theoretical frameworks according to Durkheim; namely intellectual, structural and symbolic. Intellectually, religious studies are used to look at religious concepts that are firmly held by society and then look at their development in the form of ritual practices. Structural makes the study of religion seen from its function in society, social relations, as well as the area of ideology and thought. Meanwhile, symbolic is seeing religion as a symbol that occurs in society (Morris, 1991). However, other anthropologists such as Weber were more interested in seeing the relationship between religious doctrine and human worldly activities. In conclusion, anthropological studies in religion do not see religion as a phenomenon of teachings that come from God, nor do they discuss the wrongs and wrongs of a religion and all its instruments. The area of anthropology in this case only studies and looks at human religious phenomena.

Furthermore, anthropology in Islam is used as an approach to understanding Islam through the practice of religious teachings by its adherents. Anthropology is also useful as a methodological tool in understanding people's religious life. Therefore, there are five phenomena that can be studied, namely: 1) Scripture, whether in the form of a manuscript or source of religious

teachings and symbols. 2) The adherents, which includes the attitudes, behavior and appreciation of the adherents, as well as the relationship between leaders or religious leaders and their adherents. 3) Rites, institutions and worship, such as prayer, pilgrimage, fasting, marriage and inheritance. 4) Tools such as mosques, churches, bells, peci and the like. 5) Religious organizations where religious adherents gather and play a role (Mudzhar, 1998).

Another space to discuss women in the review of Islamic anthropology is feminist anthropology. In the 1970s, when feminist anthropology began to grow, the role of women in society and assumptions centered on men began to be questioned and studied. In that era, human culture had not been fully explored because it still ignored gender issues. It was only in the 1980s that feminist anthropologists began cross-cultural research and produced the assumption that women were a homogeneous group because their status and position were subordinate to men (Idrus, 2006). At that time, women's position in anthropological studies was only that of a woman's second *information*. Information from them can only be acknowledged and accepted if it has received legitimacy and been strengthened by men. This is because their physiological form and reproductive function are associated with nature, while men are associated with culture.

And after experiencing a long journey, feminist anthropology was finally able to make a major contribution in the form of increasing women's awareness within the scope of anthropology, both around writing and ethnographic theory. Feminist anthropology then succeeded in weaving a knot between the study of gender and its construction in heterogeneous societies. Thus, the object of study is not only women, but also men. And that means the focus and locus of study becomes broader, including the role, status and contribution of women in society (Idrus, 2006). Therefore, it is hoped that this study can improve the cultural phenomenon that subordinates women and places them as objects, in order to make them equal to men and also as subjects.

After that, the question then arises "how does Islam and culture view women?". Previously it must be understood that a social system that positions men as central and places women in a lower position is a "patriarchal" ideology. Cultural practices that adhere to this system are called patriarchal culture (Nurmila, 2015). Women then experience subordination and marginalization because of this system. Their roles are limited, their voices and presence are not taken into account, and their social welfare even experiences disparities compared to men. There is double *burden* or the double burden -and even more- women must bear because of this culture.

Islam does not position women as the second person, on the contrary, women have the same status as men. It is explained in the Qur'an that in the eyes of God as God, human superiority is seen from his piety and not his gender. The text of the hadith also supports it by saying that women are "biological siblings" of men. It means that men and women have equal and egalitarian rights. This situation is supported by the historical reality that happened in the time of the Prophet, where women can empower themselves in economic matters like Siti Khadija RA, actualize themselves in intellectual matters like what Aisyah RA did in the narration of hadith, also participate in wars like Aisyah and Umm Atiyah.

However, due to the increasing influence of legalistic and ascetic movements over the centuries as well as cultural clashes, the status and position of women has changed and is different. Several factors have caused the shift in the paradigm of women's position in Islam, one of which is the friction between Islam and culture, as well as the interpretation of the verses of the Qur'an and the understanding of the hadith of the Prophet SAW which do not accommodate changes in times, contexts and needs. As a result, women are disadvantaged in several

problems, and their roles and self-actualization are limited because they collide with inappropriate interpretations of religious texts. His role is also less highlighted and his knowledge does not seem to be recognized, as is the case in the science of hadith narration. What is the profile of women in rijalul *hadith* only reviewed a little and not comprehensively, *parathe author* also places only a brief profile as an insert at the end of the book translation?

This position of women is not entirely a mistake in interpreting authoritative texts in Islam, patriarchal culture - as mentioned above - is also another factor. In Indonesia, for example, in Javanese culture women are considered to be *brothers* whose role in the family is limited to *macak*, *cook*, and *manak*. Their involvement in social practices is considered taboo, even if it is limited to voicing their rights. Women are asked to carry *high drinks deep*. As a result, cases such as domestic violence, sexual harassment, early marriage rates and various other problems have emerged due to the marginalization of women (Sakina, 2017).

Historically, during the New Order, men were legally identified as breadwinners and women as housewives. This then builds a dichotomy in society that men are in the public arena and women are in the domestic sphere. In terms of orientation, the father will teach the son to be the leader of the family while the mother forms the daughter as a reproductive agent only (Idrus, 2006).

KUPI; Formation, Orientation and Methodology

KUPI is an acronym for the Indonesian Women's Ulema Congress. The birth of KUPI came from the long journey and steps that all Muslim women activists in Indonesia have gone through since the 1990s ("History and Background of KUPI," n.d.). Talking about the formation of KUPI is actually talking about women's clergy. In Islam, the role of women's intellectuals has been recognized since the time of the Prophet Muhammad SAW. This can be seen from the contributions *Ummahat al-Mu'minin*, namely all the wives of the Prophet and *sahabiyat* or female friends, in the narration of hadiths, the organization of teaching meetings, and open discussion spaces about Islamic Sharia. That's what happened at the time, *or' or 'in* until now.

Even so, the role of women's intellectuals in the public sphere is still inadequate as time goes by. Men are still dominant, and in fact, the influence of patriarchal culture, as well as the stigma that women are "slander" if they are in a free space, as well as interpretations *defects al-aql* which is not quite right makes women's voices - even though they exist - not be heard at all (Burhanuddin, 2002). Ultimately, their needs are not represented in matters of Islamic law and policy. This then led to the formation of several institutions that periodically held training and cadre formation regarding women's issues in Indonesia, such as what P3M did by forming *fiqh an-Nisa In Jakarta*, Center for Women's Studies at IAIN Sunan Kalijaga -now UIN-, Fatayat, Muslimat, Aisyiah, PEKKA and others (Kodir, 2022).

Formed WHERE IS The background is three institutions that have long partnered and synergized in activities and discussion forums around women and gender issues in Islam by Rahima, Fahmina and Alimat. Furthermore, on 24-25 February 2014 in Depok, the "Halaqah Pre-KUPI" forum was formed which was attended by 35 female figures from across regions and organizations to formulate the congress and initial formulation regarding KUPI (Kodir, 2022).

The first KUPI Congress was held in Cirebon for 3 days from April 25 to April 27 and was attended by 519 registered participants and 131 observers from Indonesia and abroad. The composition of the participants is 90% from those who work and are active in the scope of Islamic studies such as Islamic boarding schools, Islamic organizations, university

communities and others. Meanwhile, 10% comes from activities, academics and journalists who do not have an Islamic socio-educational background (Kodir, 2022).

The congress produced at least three main things, **First** are religious attitudes and views resulting from KUPI deliberations. This deliberation is actually a synergistic process between halaqoh results, data in the field, as well as stem from Islamic authoritative texts. **Second** is a pledge of women's clerics. This pledge was read at the end of the activity as a form of statement of attitude and manifestation of the existence of female clerics in society, expressing their readiness for their role in this regard. **Third** Is a consolidation and recommendation of the results of parallel discussions that will be submitted for advocacy to related parties such as mass organizations, government, parliament, society, as well as as a thematic reference for further KUPI activities (Nadia, 2022).

In deliberating to determine the law regarding the three main issues discussed, KUPI has its own methodology which has previously been formulated and thoroughly discussed by 20 "female ulama" who are competent in this field on April 19 2017 in Bekasi. The meaning of female ulama themselves is not only Muslim women intellectuals but also men who are responsive to gender issues in Islamic treasures and social activities in society.

Next, deliberations are held led by a chairman, deputy chairman, secretary and others *mushahih* whose role is to evaluate deliberations. When discussing a problem, there are seven things that must be done systematically, namely: *tasawwur* or problem description, *be fair* or a summary of the legal basis, *istidlal* or analysis, religious attitudes and views, recommendations, *marji's* namely the overall reference, and *mulhaqat* or attachments. If religious deliberations are often held, they only refer to the text of the Koran, hadith, qiyas, ijma', the views of ulama, and various methods *istinbat* religious then deep **WHERE IS** There is one source that must be considered, namely the state constitution and legal products (Kodir, 2022).

At the first KUPI congress, activities were cultural in nature by holding events at the Kebon Jambu Islamic Boarding School led by women or called Ibu Nyai, with several series of events such as pilgrimages, khatam al-Quran, and mass circumcision, which made it feel closer to the grassroots. The KUPI association here, if viewed from Islamic anthropology, is an illustration of how religious organizations are implemented in society with the aim of balancing human life in a way that is responsive to women's issues and gender stability. The division of Indonesian society into *santri*, *abangan* and *priyayi* as stated by Geertz (2013) is actually not visible here because they are united under a common umbrella, namely humanity and have the same interest, namely fighting for women's rights.

When the congress was held, female ulama were met with facts, data and realities that occurred in the field which came from activists or direct experiences of victims. Between facts and Islamic authoritative texts then experience interaction here. The results of the KUPI deliberations regarding the three main issues should be reviewed by all parties, both the government as state stakeholders and Islamic studies activists. Because these results are obtained by involving women directly so that their interests and needs are represented. Apart from that, the presence of men who are oriented towards gender justice exists and contributes to this. This makes KUPI functionalist according to feminist anthropology, having adequately carried out its function as a women's organization that fights for human welfare in general and women in particular.

Congress KUPI II

After successfully holding the first KUPI congress in Cirebon in 2017 and being able to contribute directly to the ratification of the TPKS Bill and child marriage, KUPI then held its

second congress in Bangsri Jepara on 24-26 November 2022. This series of congresses started long ago. Since July, some of the activities have been scientific article writing competitions, international conferences, and implementation of halaqah as well as discussions on issues and themes that will be discussed at congresses in several places by direct committee teams or partner teams.

If previously KUPI's partners were only Rahima, Fahmina and Alimat, in this implementation Gusdurian and AMAN Indonesia also joined. The joining of these two networks makes the scope and network of KUPI wider and more massive considering that both networks are filled with a spider web of heterogeneous people from across ages, religions and social backgrounds.

The big theme of KUPI II is to affirm the role of female ulama for a just civilization. The themes and central issues studied at this congress were about five things **First** KUPI paradigm and methodology whose main aim is to re-promote the framework of thinking WHERE IS so that it is better understood and accepted by many groups, **second** Family themes such as domestic violence, stunting and poverty, family resilience to social challenges, **third** women's leadership in society, religious institutions, and advocacy for women's work in government, **fourth** the movement of female scholars, and **fifth** on the protection and preservation of nature.

To promote activities, expand networks and deepen studies, KUPI held an International Conference which was held on November 23 at UIN Walisongo Semarang. The event was attended by a delegation of female figures from 30 friendly countries from Asia, Africa, Europe and America. The activities took the form of three panel discussions regarding The Future of Muslims: Positive Development of Gender Equality, Muslim Women movement Around the World: Achievement and Gaps and Introduction of KUPI's Methodology. Parallel discussions with five other themes that still revolve around women were also carried out in order to understand women's problems in global issues and their solutions, the aim of which was to provide an approach and comparison in religious deliberations and discussions at the congress later.

Next, the congress activities began on November 24 in the morning with national halaqah on three themes. That evening the activity officially opened with a talk show by several figures about women. The next day, November 25, the activity continued with parallel discussions on ten themes in the morning and afternoon. On the last day, November 26, a religious deliberation was held regarding the five main themes in the morning, as well as a parallel halaqah reflection on the work of networks and individuals in society in the afternoon, then closing in the evening which was filled with reading the results of the deliberation as well as recommendations and consolidation. ("History and Background of KUPI," n.d.).

KUPI II's Religious Views in Feminist and Islamic Anthropology Survey

The discussion this time was generated from observations while participating in KUPI II activities and based on the book Results of the Religious Deliberation of the Second Women's Ulama Congress (2023). KUPI II produced five fatwas or religious views. The first is regarding the marginalization of women in protecting the Republic of Indonesia from the dangers of violence in the name of religion. It is obligatory for every citizen to protect the Republic of Indonesia from violence in the name of religion.

The law on marginalizing women, which means subordinating women in security involvement or even making women actors of radicalism and terrorism, is haram. Apart from referring to religious texts regarding "Islam and Peace" and "Islam and Human Rights", this law takes into account the conditions of women in the field who are a vulnerable group exposed to, perpetrators of, and affected by violence in the name of religion (Wahab & Kahar, 2022).

The social system and radical interpretation of religious texts place women in a vulnerable group. For example, a woman's relationship as a child to her father, as well as a woman's relationship as a wife to her husband, or junior and senior relationships. This includes elements of obedience - whether normatively or based on religious teachings - as well as economic dependence which makes it difficult for women to resist and stand up for themselves.

Such gender relations occur and are found in reports of terrorist activities in Indonesia. However, women who then have a space for existence in the public sphere can also become perpetrators because of their exposure to extreme religious beliefs. According to research results and participants' presentations, this exposure was found using approaches as students, instructors, economic actors in trade, and relationships between women who are often formed in society when living as neighbors or carrying out social activities (Mudjahid & Baroroh, 2022).

When the deliberation takes place, the deliberation leader presents the results of the research obtained as well as recommendations from parallel discussions held previously. These recommendations came from participants who voiced the facts in the field, one of which was an activist figure in Aceh who explained the condition of Acehese women as exposed and affected parties.

Another recommendation came from an NGO in East Java regarding the bomb case in Surabaya which sought an audience for the perpetrator's wife. Female figures from the African delegation also conveyed the dynamics of the condition of women there when the Central African case, the Muslim Brotherhood and ISIS attacked their countries.

The second religious view is about waste management for environmental sustainability and women's safety. The law on environmental destruction due to waste pollution is haram for direct and indirect perpetrators, and makruh tahrim for those who do not have the authority. Meanwhile, the development of infrastructure that supports the survival and safety of women is mandatory for the government. And the law for all individuals to protect the environment is mandatory.

Apart from relating to individuals in general, this also relates to women in particular, where the stigma that exists regarding problems surrounding waste and its management is the responsibility of women as domestic actors. Apart from that, there is also the problem of environmental pollution related to water cleanliness, the effects of which are vulnerable to affecting the health of pregnant women and children.

The laws and recommendations produced on this theme come from deliberations, field research carried out by the team, as well as the results of reflections on parallel discussions and halaqah held previously. Parallel discussion participants conveyed the state of waste management in their respective regions as well as survey reports conducted by several NGOs and academics whose focus was environmental issues.

Women can become targets for carrying responsibility for waste management and also as perpetrators of pollution that occurs in household waste, sanitary napkin and diaper waste, industrial waste and the like. Recommendations then came from participants who were actively involved in waste management in the community by sharing several methods such as making organic fertilizer, recycling waste, forming waste banks, eco enzymes, as well as other strategies.

The third religious view is about the protection of women and the dangers of forced marriage. The law is mandatory for all levels of society to provide protection for women, the aim of

which is to maintain physical, psychological, economic, social and mental health. KUPI recommends sanctions for violators and hearings and counseling for recovery.

The Supreme Court decision reported that from 2018-2022 there were 213 cases of marriage problems due to forced marriage and 119 of them were decided to divorce (Directory of Indonesian Supreme Court Decisions, 2022). Cases of forced marriage in Indonesia apparently intersect with the culture of a community, also intersect with the marriage of underage children, as well as the position of interpretation of religious texts as justification.

Most forced marriages are under the guise of arranged marriages and originate from relationships between superior parties and inferior parties. Although some cases also occur in family and kinship relationships. In such marriages, the bride and groom tend to lack understanding of the vision and mission of the marriage, do not have a prenuptial agreement, and ignore gender issues.

This situation then harms women in the form of being cut off from their rights to self-actualization and education, mentally depressed and self-destructive, economic neglect, and cornering women in subordinate and domestic spaces. A further consequence is failure or poor patterning parenting towards children.

In this case, most of those who spoke in the forum were women. They expressed the impact of forced marriage based on their own experiences as victims, from other people's stories, experiences when they were companions in the community and others. In the Islamic boarding school environment, forced marriages under the pretext of arranged marriages still often occur. Some work and some don't. Success exists because of understanding relationships and exchanging *muasyarah bil ma'ruf*, while what failed was the opposite. Some reported forced child marriages due to economic background which then sacrificed the future of minor children.

The fourth religious view relates to the protection of women's lives and the dangers of pregnancy due to rape. This protection law is mandatory, either by continuing the pregnancy or terminating it according to medical and psychiatric considerations. The consequences for those who do not provide protection are unlawful. This deliberation decision is based on a methodology that has been established, although in reality the law on termination of pregnancy is still controversial and some are still prohibited, such as from the MUI as a government institution, or from Islamic boarding school circles as Islamic literacy reviewers (Annisa Mufliha, 2021).

KUPI looked mafsadah What women accept as victims is very large because the effects in the form of stress will last immediately, such as feelings of fear, shame, guilt and the like. Stress can also last in the long term. This situation leads many women to cases of suicide, self-injury, sexual infections, reproductive damage, and others. Especially if a pregnancy occurs that is unwanted. The burdens borne will pile up, such as the moral burden from society, mental readiness to become a mother, economic conditions that must be the sole backbone, and closed educational or employment opportunities.

The final view is about protecting women from the dangers of cutting and injuring female genitalia (P2GP) without medical reasons. This term is more commonly known as female circumcision or circumcision. For men, circumcision actually brings medical benefits and is highly recommended, but the same does not apply to women. Adverse effects such as nerve tissue damage, infection, complications and others are prone to occur (Mulati, 2019 in the Results of the KUPI II 2023 religious' deliberation).

P2GP, like female circumcision, often occurs due to cultural backgrounds and religious interpretations. As for the culture itself, this tradition still exists, as in Banten, where it is mentioned *capitan*, in Makassar called *bag*, in Bugis known as *makkatte*, and others (National Commission on Women PSKK UGM, 2017 in the Results of the KUPI II 2023 religious' deliberation).

Testimony from the public and medical parties is a legal reference. Problems occur because there are no proper SOPs in their implementation. In religious texts themselves, the opinions of scholars vary regarding the procedures. In terms of fatwa, Al-Azhar issued its haram fatwa, a ban from UNICEF, and even medical and government laws have also regulated it. However, in society the practice of P2GP and its bad effects are still often found (Tasya & Azmawati, 2022). This clashes with differences of opinion in the interpretation of religious texts which are still often found within the scope of Islam. In fact, this interpretation comes from the author's subjectivity related to local culture. And for cultural practices themselves, it will be difficult to change them without massive intervention from the authorities in education.

Apart from issuing the five religious views above, KUPI also discussed other issues such as the Draft Law on Domestic Workers and Disability Rights. Both are issues that are closely related to women and which have not yet received much attention and study. In carrying out discussions and *halaqah* regarding this, KUPI brought in decision makers from the government such as the Minister of Manpower, Komnas HAM, delegates from people with disabilities, activists who focused on these two contents, as well as other related parties. The results of the discussion are then summarized and, in the mediation, and advocacy process returned to the authorities for immediate handling.

Conclusion

The existence of the women's movement in Indonesia has existed since the colonial period with a style of emancipation and nationalism. Meanwhile, women's organizations began to emerge when discourse and education around women's literacy began to join the public sphere. The dynamics of both experience fluctuations due to the impact of politics and government policies. Regardless of the dichotomy of organizations and movements or the typology of women's organizations, basically the motives are the same. None other than presenting the role and involvement of women in the public sphere and liaising with interests in realizing the rights of those who are often forced to remain silent.

In principle, Islam never prioritizes women, except with regard to how a person or group interprets and interprets religious texts. One of the reasons why women are marginalized is because of this. In Indonesia, this is not the only cause of women's subordination, culture is also a looming background. Patriarchal is the term for a culture that makes men the center or center. Both, namely the interpretation of religious texts and patriarchy, are the causes of the losses borne by women. In his scholarship, their role, the fulfillment of their rights, and a myriad of other issues.

Discussing Muslim women's organizations and their role and influence can be done through Islamic feminist anthropology. With this approach, women's problems are studied not only ethnocentrically but also with gender relations and the social construction of society from the perspective of Islamic religious expressions and forms. From this approach, it can be concluded that KUPI or the Indonesian Women's Ulama Congress is a women's organization in Indonesia that brings together various individual backgrounds to examine problems surrounding women based on *tabadul* or interconnected Islamic teachings.

Through discussions, *halaqoh*, and religious deliberations involving community groups and even global perspectives, the first congress was held in Cirebon and resulted in three religious'

fatwas. The second congress was held on 24-26 November in Bangsri Jepara and produced religious views around five core themes. The series of events are cultural in nature by presenting religious rituals such as pilgrimages and pilgrimages, recitation of the Koran, regional arts performances and seminars. During the congress, participants saw how the interaction of reality and religious texts regarding women occurred in society.

Women are vulnerable to being exposed to religious extremism, being exposed to sexual exploitation, being held back because of stigma and culture, and even suffering physical, psychological, mental, economic and social losses because of it. The gathering of congress participants seriously discussed data and facts and looked for solutions to then be compiled as recommendations and advocacy to stakeholders and related parties. Basically, culture and the interpretation of religious texts are the result of human reason or intelligence and power. Both are not the truth, let alone absolute justification. The KUPI Congress and all related activities want to strive to realize human reason, wisdom and power which then form a culture and religious interpretation that is moderate, gender fair, and provides human welfare.

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