

The Muslim “New Man” and Gender Politics in Indonesian Cinema

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Abstract

This article discusses the struggle over masculinity as it plays out in recent Indonesian cinema. Although the end of the 1900s and the beginning of the 2000s saw the increasing participation of women in government, education, and other areas of the public life, it was also a period of increasing Islamisation. This article examines the efforts of Indonesian filmmakers to critique patriarchal norms regarding masculinity and to offer an alternative model of masculinity in the controversial film, *Woman with a Turban* [*Perempuan Berkalung Sorban*] (Hanung Bramantyo, 2009). The film promotes the figure of the “new Muslim man” who treats women as equals and supports their efforts to pursue education and employment. By examining the debates behind the production of the film, its socio-political context, and the narrative of the work, I argue that *Woman with a Turban* represents a milestone work of *film Islami* that provides a compelling model of gender equality within Indonesian Islam. This alternative ideal, however, is biased towards middle-class Indonesians and implies that lower-class Muslims are the ones responsible for holding back progress in gender relations.

Keywords: *Woman with a Turban*, class analysis, *film Islami*, gender, Indonesian cinema, New Man

Introduction

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, Indonesia was recovering from multiple crises. The period saw the country struggling to regain its economic footing in the aftermath of the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis. The period also saw Indonesia struggling to re-establish itself as a democratic country in the wake of the demise of the New Order (1966-98), the authoritarian regime founded and led by Suharto. The democratisation of the public sphere led to the flourishing of civil society movements, including feminism. Women rose to prominent positions in the bureaucracy and took key posts in the cabinet¹ as well as in the parliament²—two areas which were previously visibly dominated by men. In 2001, Megawati Sukarnoputri, the daughter of former President Sukarno, became Indonesia's first female president.

In addition, Islamisation became the most striking feature in the politics, economy and culture during these years. The seeds of the burgeoning Islamisation in twenty-first century Indonesia is traceable to the 1990s, when the authoritarian regime lost popular legitimacy and began to turn to Islam for support.³ In the twenty-first century, although Islam-based political parties have never won enough votes to pass the presidential threshold without establishing a coalition, Islamic symbols have been used extensively by politicians to garner votes.⁴ Islamisation has also facilitated the emergence of several regional bylaws whose proponents claimed were based on Islamic law, often with a strong element of gender-based discrimination.⁵ In the area of consumer culture, commercial products deemed “Islamic” have also come to flourish. Commercial films also came to be marketed as affirming distinctly Islamic values. Known as *film Islami*, or “films which breathe Islam,” these movies tend to signal a religious outlook in their titles as well as their content, in some cases depicting clerics who preach belief in Islam as the solution to the problems faced by the characters.⁶

Interactions between feminism and Islam have led to major changes in society and triggered debates within Indonesian culture about gender roles. These debates centered on the the legitimacy of what Indonesians call *bapakism*, the type of masculinity that has been normative and hegemonic, in which men are expected to become the patriarchal heads

of their families. Under *bapakism*, patriarchal leadership is to extend from the nuclear family to the nation itself.⁷ The male ideal of *bapakism* is complemented and supported by the female ideal of *ibuism*, which valorises women’s reproductive and domestic roles.⁸ Between 2000 and 2010, *film Islami* came to serve as an ideological battleground where rival visions of masculinity were contested. filmmakers who were critical of the hegemonic masculinity constructed innovative cinematic representations of masculinity that could serve as an alternative ideal to *bapakism*.

The drive by Indonesian cinema to advance an alternative masculine ideal took the form of the “new man,” which became a recurring figure in *film Islami*. Broadly speaking, the “new man” is characterised by emotional sensitivity, a readiness to accept that women can take on breadwinning roles, and a willingness to share day-to-day domestic and caring responsibilities. He pays attention to fashion and to maintaining an attractive physical appearance, while seeking to foster equal gender relations.⁹ But these characteristics, which challenge the norms of traditional masculinity, are not advanced in the name of secularism but instead invoke Islamic piety as the value on which they are founded. The figure of the “new man” constitutes an alternative Muslim ideal to the existing hegemonic ideal of *bapakism*.

In this article, I question to what extent the alternative Muslim ideal promoted by Indonesian filmmakers challenges the hegemony of *bapakism*. I focus my investigation on a controversial film, *Woman with a Turban [Perempuan Berkalung Sorban]* (Hanung Bramantyo, 2009). The film revolves around the trials and tribulations of its female protagonist, Annisa, who challenges the deeply-rooted patriarchal system of gender relations and gender-biased interpretations of Islamic texts in Indonesian society. In this film, the “new masculinity” of the male protagonist helps to resolve the conflicts faced by Annisa and her conservative Muslim family. In this article, I argue that the emergence of the Muslim “new man” signals the determination of the Indonesian film industry to promote an alternative ideal of masculinity supportive of social and economic equality for women. However, this alternative ideal is biased towards middle-class Indonesian Muslims, and tends to depict lower-

class Muslim men as obstacles to social progress toward gender equality.

This essay examines the changing representations of masculinity in Indonesian cinema, continuing the academic dialogue on contemporary gender politics in Indonesian society. As Kathryn Robinson points out, gender politics has been an important arena of political struggle for securing state power in Indonesia since the turn of the new millennium.¹⁰ However, I share the concerns expressed by Marshall Clark, Pam Nilan, and James Hoesterey, who note that the existing scholarship on gender politics in Indonesia has disproportionately focused on women, femininity, and marginalised gender identities and sexual practices.¹¹ The emphasis of this body of work on the lives of women and sexual minorities has contributed a great deal to the understanding of gender in Indonesian society.¹² While the focus on women and marginalised genders and sexualities is both important and necessary for shedding light on the prejudice and discrimination they experience in the patriarchal order, studies of men and masculinities in the context of rejuvenated gender politics are no less vital. As Pam Nilan and Rebecca Elmhirst have argued, the disproportionate attention given to women and sexual minorities in studies of gender in Indonesian society continues to leave men and masculinities as unmarked categories, or at best assumed to be one-dimensional constructs.¹³ Needless to say, to overlook the “the masculine half” produces a one-sided perspective that fails to take into account the different experiences of heterosexual men in relation to the gender ideals established in a particular society in a specific historical moment. As noted by Michael Kaufman, men relate to the hegemonic forms of masculinity in complex ways.¹⁴ Consequently, as suggested by Pierre Bourdieu, in order to understand how the patriarchal order shapes social relations, we must examine the desires and experiences of men as part of the struggle to free women from patriarchal domination.¹⁵

The commercial cinema has proven to be a particularly fruitful arena in which to explore the changing politics of gender in Indonesia. Commercial cinema, like other products of popular culture, is “a site of struggle between the resistance of subordinate groups and the forces of incorporation operating in the interests of dominant groups.”¹⁶

Ideological battles to contest or defend hegemonic masculinity take place not only on the cinema screen, but also behind and around it. The massive protests against *Kiss Me Quick! [Buruan Cium Gue]* (Findo Purwono, 2004), for example, led to the revocation of the film’s approval by the Film Censorship Board and its withdrawal from distribution, after which it was released in a re-edited version. The highly publicised protests against the film were provoked by the comments made by a famous televangelist, A’a Gym who declared that the film could inspire pre-marital sex among Indonesian youth, thus threatening the nation’s morality. In such cases, filmmakers have to deal with the power of religious pressure groups, as well as that of the state, the disapproval of which can limit the types of films they can make. The struggle of filmmakers to negotiate divergent interests and contend with the unequal power relations behind and around the screen helps to bring into relief the social and political questions that I explore in this article.

The “New Muslim Man” of *Woman with a Turban*

In this section, I discuss how the film *Woman with a Turban* departs from the longstanding practice in Indonesian cinema of representing male protagonists as authoritative and patriarchal. I argue that the film offers an alternative image of masculinity that is nonetheless justified in religious terms to challenge the tradition of *bapakism*, which, as mentioned above, assigns to men the role of patriarch in leading their families as well as the country. *Bapakism* itself is supported by a strongly literal interpretation of Islamic texts.

An adaptation of a novel of the same title, the film revolves around the trials and tribulations of Annisa, the daughter of the principal of a *pesantren*, a type of religious boarding school, who is also an eminent Muslim cleric in East Java. Set from the 1980s to the late-1990s, Annisa’s struggle to challenge social values based on a gender-biased interpretation of Islamic texts drives the narrative of the film. She confronts her father’s authoritarian leadership over the members of their family, especially the women. She also opposes the conservative Islamic institutions responsible for teaching a younger generation of Muslims the

interpretations of Islamic texts that justify the oppression of women. This struggle damages her relationship with her father and brothers, resulting in her eviction from her parents' home. Annisa finds support in Khudori, who becomes her friend and later her second husband. Khudori is the representation of what I call the "new Muslim man," who adopts modern values and behaves in ways that contrast with the actions of Annisa's father and first husband. Unlike these traditional men, Khudori supports Annisa's pursuit of higher education and a public-service career. He performs household chores that more traditional men eschew. He also respects Annisa as an autonomous individual with her own agency.

The figure of the "new Muslim man" challenges the longstanding norm that men are, by virtue of their gender, superior to women and thus ought to control them. Krishna Sen, in her investigation of Indonesian cinema of the 1960s-1990s, argues that generally ideal masculine men of the era were represented as assertive, dominant, economically productive and active in the public sphere. Male protagonists of 1990's *film Islami* were no different.¹⁷ *Melodies and Islamic Preaching [Nada dan Dakwah]* (Chaerul Umam, 1991), for instance, reinforces the view that patriarchal men ought to exercise authority and leadership over women and men who occupy subordinate social positions. The male protagonist protects the female protagonist and lower-class villagers who fight against a tycoon who seeks to take over their land. Moreover, the characters in the film consult a male cleric in resolving their most important problems including those involving the tycoon.

During the period of the New Order of Suharto, television shows and theatrical performances also reinforced the normative masculinity of *bapakism*. Male heroes exemplified wisdom, ascetic spirituality, rationality, and moral authority.¹⁸ In these forms of popular culture, the male protagonists typically disciplined politically and sexually assertive women, making them embrace the feminine ideal, *ibuisim*, which entailed submitting to their authority and devoting themselves completely to their husbands.¹⁹ Such tendencies were still prominent into the 2000s. But the increasing participation of women in politics and in the other areas of the public sphere led a shift in media representations of femininity.²⁰ Indeed, women holding high-level corporate positions, who were in

some cases financially more successful than their male love interests, became common in Indonesian films produced between 2000 and 2010. This new feminine ideal found its icon in Cinta, the heroine of *What's Up with Cinta?* [*Ada Apa dengan Cinta?*] (Rudy Soedjarwo, 2002). She is a high-achieving teenage girl from an urban middle-class family, yet, in terms of sexual power dynamics, it is her male love interest who is shown to wield greater power in determining the course of their relationship.²¹

By contrast, the television comedies of the period often featured husbands who were under the thumbs of their wives. The sitcom *Wife-fearing Husbands* [*Suami-Suami Takut Istri*], which aired on weeknights between October 2007 and January 2010, portrayed weak husbands who are forced to submit to their dictatorial wives. The sitcom was so popular that it was made into a feature film in 2008.²² Weak men who lack the attributes associated with patriarchal norms also appeared in earlier films like *Crazy Time* [*Zaman Edan*] (Nawi Ismail, 1974).²³ Yet, I would argue that the success of these comedies point to the persistent appeal of the traditional patriarchal norm. What makes this sitcom and these films popular is the fact that they stage the defeat of masculinity in a humorous way, in the form of the failure of the male characters to assert their will and authority in their relations with women. For what is comical about these comedies is the failure of their male protagonists to live up to patriarchal norms that should govern Indonesian society.

Consequently, the depiction of the “new Muslim man” in *Woman with a Turban* is significant in that it promotes equality in relations between men and women and calls on men to recognize women’s autonomy and agency. The “new Muslim man” is represented as more compatible with the emerging alternative ideal of Muslim femininity, represented in Annisa, who values self-determination and takes responsibility for her life choices. This new model of femininity challenges the established *ibuism*, rejecting the subordinate position accorded to women in their relations with men. But the fact that Annisa rejects the subordinate position accorded to women by Indonesian tradition and criticises discrimination against women grounded in gender-biased interpretation of religious texts leads her to be labeled as a threat by the pious, conservative men around her, such as her abusive first husband, her

authoritarian father, and her male teachers. But she finds support from the progressive and liberal Khudori, who then becomes her second husband. As an exemplar of the “new Muslim man,” Khudori recognizes Annisa as an equal, supporting her efforts to gain a college degree and to make a career for herself in the public sphere. Unlike Annisa’s first, abusive husband, he respects her autonomy and her sexual desires. In short, the “new man” exemplified by Khudori breaks with the authoritarianism inherent to the traditional patriarchal ideal of *bapakism*.

Much of the strength of the film’s critique of *bapakism* arises from its use of Islamic teachings to promote equality between men and women. The film makes clear that the new masculine ideal represented by Khudori is rooted in an understanding of Islam that contests the literalist interpretation of Islamic texts. In the scene where Khudori makes romantic overtures to Annisa, who is still coping with the trauma of the marital rape committed by her first husband, he draws back and cites a verse from Surah An-Nisa to signal to her that he is willing to wait until she is ready for sexual intimacy. A masculinity that respects the rights and desires of women is rooted in an Islam that breaks with the gender-biased interpretation of the religion.

Woman with a Turban was not the only film in the *film Islami* category to advance a new model of masculinity in recent Indonesian cinema. Other such examples of *film Islami* that promote alternative forms of masculinity include *Verses of Love* [*Ayat-ayat Cinta*] (Hanung Bramantyo, 2008) and *When Love Glorifies* [*Ketika Cinta Bertasbih*] (Chaerul Umam, 2009). While these four films all affirm that religious piety, compassion, emotional sensitivity, and expressiveness are vital qualities that define the new masculine ideal for Muslim men, they make different claims in depicting an ideal patterning of gender relations, especially in the domestic sphere. *Verses of Love* is ambivalent in its depiction of power relations between its ideal masculine and feminine figures. The film tends to obscure these relations by providing only brief scenes involving confrontations and does not offer any solutions to the gender-related problems it raises. *When Love Glorifies* supports women in their pursuit of higher education and careers in the public sphere, but it also reinforces the dominant interpretation of Islamic texts whereby women have to

submit to the authority of their husbands. Given such differences in how they address gender relations, these films could be regarded as engaged in a battle over which version of the “new Muslim masculinity” would triumph and emerge as hegemonic. A strong case for *Woman with a Turban* could be made as it anchored its own challenge to *bapakism* masculinity in Islamic piety, as its hero provides a compelling model for Indonesian men to navigate the changing landscape of gender relations in their country. Indeed, the film’s daring representation of gender discrimination and critique of the authoritarian norms of traditional Indonesian patriarchy became a wake-up call for the majority to pay more attention to the use and abuse of religious texts in maintaining inequality between men and women.

Tapping into Gender Politics

This section discusses the politics behind and around the production of images of the “new Muslim man” in *Woman with a Turban*. It unpacks the filmmakers’ intentions and negotiations as they tapped into contemporary issues regarding gender to promote the “new Muslim man” against traditional patriarchal norms. The filmmakers had to address not only the prevailing inequalities between women and men but also the dogmatic invocation of Islamic religious texts in defence of these inequalities on- and off-screen.

Around the period of the production of *Woman with a Turban*, it would have been easier to appeal to Indonesian commercial film markets by reproducing the Islamic romance formula exemplified in *Verses of Love*. The film version of *Verses of Love* succeeded in translating the novel’s formula, combining a melodramatic romance with an appealing vision for living in a way faithful to Islam.²⁴ The film enjoyed strong commercial success with more than 3.5 million tickets sold during its theatrical release, and thereby generated a generic formula for commercial films. Following this formula, the two *When Love Glorifies* films together attracted more than 3.5 million moviegoers²⁵. Indonesian film critic Ekky Imanjaya observes that copying a previously successful generic formula has long been a common strategy in Indonesian cinema

to ensure the commercial success of a film.²⁶ When a film is successful, more films of the same theme and genre will be produced.

Yet, *Woman with a Turban* did not take this easy route. Instead of choosing a romantic drama, the producer and the principal filmmakers agreed to adapt an openly political act act act act novel. The novel on which the film was based, written by Abidah Elkhaliqy, had earned rave reviews in 2008, before the film adaptation was even planned.²⁷ Like the novel, the film has become one of the few films that criticise the deeply rooted patriarchal traditions of the Islamic communities in Indonesia and manage to be popular with audiences. Indeed, the decision to adapt *Woman with a Turban* was a daring political act according to Faozan Rizal, the director of photography for the film:

We at that time agreed to fight through to make *Perempuan Berkalung Sorban* because an offer came from a producer, shortly after the success of *Ayat-ayat Cinta*, who was willing to take a chance on what would be a challenging film.²⁸

Indeed, to offer an alternative interpretation of Islamic texts that challenge traditional gender ideals of femininity and masculinity amidst intensifying Islamisation was to risk triggering controversy. It has never been easy in Indonesia to promote alternative interpretations of religious texts to support gender equality. A movement led by progressive Muslim feminist, Musdah Mulia, to revisit and amend the compilation of Islamic-based law in Indonesia to defend gender equality has met with constant resistance from conservative Muslims. Alternative exegeses have been accused of being anti-Islamic.²⁹ Several legislative struggles to formally institutionalise gender equality have been suspended because of protests led by conservative groups, despite progress in other areas.

The fact that *Woman with a Turban* portrayed the abuses of religion committed in the maintenance of unequal gender relations risked protests from conservative Islamists. During the theatrical release of *Verses of Love*, Bramantyo hinted that he was excited about the prospect of making more *film Islami*, especially those that contained a critical element:

I am excited by the idea of making more Islamic movies. I plan to release two more this year ... *Perempuan Berkalung Sorban* is based on a novel by Abidah El Khaliquey, who according to reviews of the book, explores the concept of Islamic feminism ... It will be different from *Ayat-ayat Cinta*, which is clean and without controversy. *Perempuan* is more advanced; it will be more critical.³⁰

In other words, the filmmakers were aware of the potential controversies the film adaptation would stir up, but they decided to take a chance amidst the intensifying Islamisation of Indonesia. Certainly, controversy is not always bad for marketing. Yet, relying on controversy to boost box office receipts is at best a gamble. Based on my interviews, while not totally unwilling to court controversy, commercial film producers in light of the Islamisation of recent years preferred to avoid raising any sensitive issues that would challenge conservative interpretations of Islam.

The filmmakers' experience with *Verses of Love* motivated them to embark on producing a new masculine ideal that does not seek to raise men above women in gender relations and recognises the autonomy and agency of women. As I mentioned earlier, the production team behind *Woman with a Turban* were for the most part the same group behind the adaptation of *Verses of Love*. Bramantyo indicated that he and his team were not enamoured of the depictions of gender ideals and relations in the novel *Verses of Love* despite their involvement in bringing the novel to the screen:

Salman Aristo, Gina S. Noer,³¹ and I did not have much room to rework the narrative about women in the film (*Ayat-ayat Cinta*). Now look at the novel. The character of Maria is wedded to Fahri when she is in coma, and then soon Maria is dead. To me, that is a cruel treatment of a character ... where are the rights of women?³²

Bramantyo and his colleagues were uneasy with the fact that Fahri, the film's male protagonist, makes use of his patriarchal privileges to marry a woman who is gravely ill and is unable to voice her consent. It is against this representation of the traditional Muslim man that the “new man”

of *Woman with a Turban* stands as a counter-representation. Bramantyo and the other members of the crew felt the need to make restitution for having made a film that could be used to defend gender inequality:

Making *Perempuan Berkalung Sorban* is about paying my dues to women for making *Ayat-ayat Cinta* ... I practically could do nothing in *Ayat-ayat Cinta* ... I could not give women a voice ... Thus, the film *Perempuan Berkalung Sorban* is a healing for me. Frankly, the success of *Ayat-ayat Cinta* did bother me—seeing people queuing for tickets and they, including my own mother, cried over the film.³³

Between 2000 and 2010, Indonesians were witness to significant changes in the role of women in society. During this period, women secured key posts in governments and politics, especially in positions that were impossible for them to occupy during the years of the New Order. As mentioned earlier, they took over the presidency and government ministries that did not pertain specifically to the affairs of women. Gender equality was also strongly advocated for in the state's policies and programs at any level, such as the institutionalisation of gender mainstreaming in national development.³⁴ In addition, the enforcement of *Law 23/2004* provided women with legal protection against domestic violence. Despite the many drawbacks and a persistent cultural belief which prevents victims from reporting their cases,³⁵ the law has criminalised a form of violence which was previously considered normal. It was viewed as a religiously justified means for men to discipline women. Certainly, these changes gradually diminished men's normalised authority in both public and domestic spheres.

Although holding key posts in the public sphere has become culturally acceptable and normalised for women in twenty-first-century Indonesia, religious leaders have employed their gender-biased interpretation of Islamic texts to defend the last bastion of patriarchal authority—the domestic sphere. Such interpretations continue to promote for men the role of household patriarch, to whose authority wives, children and other junior members of the family must submit. The defence of men's ultimate

authority in the domestic sphere was vital to sustain *bapakism* as the hegemonic masculine ideal. *Bapakism*, which raises men over women and awards them paternalistic power over them, will gradually disappear if the population comes to embrace gender equality. Such a change will of course require undoing various forms of cultural practice, which have become part of the “common sense” that has sustained the hegemony of patriarchal traditions.

Consequently, the formal and institutional struggles to defend men’s authority in the domestic sphere have become more visible, even though they have never gone unchallenged. For instance, several local governments, enabled by the regional autonomy law (*Law 22/1999*), made it forbidden for women to travel on their own at night, unless accompanied by their male patrons. Implied in such a regulation, deemed to be based on sharia law, is the formal reinstatement of the norms of patriarchal authority. Women are thereby deprived of their agency to travel at any particular time, being obliged to gain the approval and protection of men to be able to move. Although such institutional measures to restore male authority has never gone uncontested,³⁶ they nevertheless reveal the continuing power of *bapakism* even at a time when its hegemony is being questioned.

Alternative Masculinity and the Question of Class

While *Woman with a Turban* offered a compelling and appealing depiction of a young Muslim man who breaks with the authoritarianism of traditional patriarchy, nevertheless, the efforts of the filmmakers to advance gender equality are marred by prejudice against working-class men. This section examines the middle-class bias of the filmmakers in their attempt to undermine the hegemony of *bapakism*. The protagonist’s love interest, Khudori, is a well-off, educated member of the urban middle class. He has been able to travel to distant parts of the globe, like Egypt, where he was exposed to modern perspectives and liberal values. By contrast, the male characters who demonstrate a masculinity that leads them to engage in behavior that is oppressive and discriminatory towards women are those who are educated in rural and

traditionalist religious institutions. The film appears to reassure middle-class Indonesians, who of course make up the bulk of the filmgoing audience, that sexism and misogyny are endemic to lower-class Muslim communities, rather than systemic in all conservative Muslim communities, transcending the boundaries of class.

Indeed, in *Woman with a Turban*, it is his middle-classness that marks Khudori as a “new man.” I define middle-class here as a social and economic category characterised not only by the possession of a substantial income, which distinguishes them from the upper and lower classes, but also by their tendency to reside in urban areas, their possession of the credentials of modern education, their employment in professional occupations, and their development of certain cultural tastes which manifest in their practices as consumers.³⁷ Having a modern education is a key element in what makes a Muslim man a “new man.” Khudori has not only studied abroad in Cairo, but he also went to school in the urban environment of Yogyakarta, rather than attending rural *pesantren* like the one led by Annisa’s father. The film also makes him a graduate of Al-Azhar University, which is well-known across the Muslim world for its reformist philosophy and approach to education.³⁸ The fact that the “new man” is an Al-Azhar alumnus enables *Woman with a Turban* to reinforce the reformist elements in Indonesian Islam and to highlight Khudori’s distance from traditionalist Islam. Such distance is further emphasized by his residence in Yogyakarta, where he pursues his doctoral degree instead of returning to his village. Khudori’s disassociation from *pesantren* education and his identity as an urbanized Muslim reformist present a striking contrast with the rural *pesantren* graduates who are depicted in the film for the most part as traditionalist and biased against women.

As I indicated earlier, the film draws a strong contrast between Khudori on one side and Annisa’s father Kyai Hannan, and first husband Samsudin, on the other. Both Annisa’s father and her abusive first husband have a rural upbringing and have been educated in the *pesantren*. Kyai Hannan fits the stereotypical image of the authoritarian patriarch who determines whether or not Annisa can leave home to pursue higher education in another city. He also has the power to

decide whom, and when, Annisa is to marry. Kyai Hannan forces his wife to be submissive so that she never challenges him even though she disagrees with him on several issues. He forbids Annisa from arguing with him, responding with anger and violence when his judgement and decisions are contested. Samsudin, Annisa’s first husband, is the son of a notable *kyai*, a senior to Annisa’s father. He holds firmly to the literalist interpretation of Islamic texts, as it provides him with patriarchal prerogatives and compels women to be submissive and docile. The same texts afford him licence to physically and psychologically abuse her when she refuses to comply with his wishes.

The class dimension of this contrast between the figure of the enlightened Khudori, who exemplifies the alternative form of masculinity, and those of *pesantren* graduates Samsudin and Kyai Hannan, cannot be overlooked. Khudori’s profile fits that of the typical modernist Muslim who, as suggested by Mun’im Sirry,³⁹ is better educated, middle-class and urbanized. By contrast, as argued by Greg Barton⁴⁰ and Ronald Lukens-Bull,⁴¹ *pesantren* are often found in rural settings, with many of their students drawn from lower income groups. Certainly, there are a few *pesantren* located in urban areas which attract middle- and upper-class students.⁴² Yet, such an expansion of its constituency does not undo the deeply-rooted perception of *pesantren* as lower class and rural. *Woman with a Turban* reinforces stereotypical images of *pesantren* and their graduates. Kyai Hannan and Samsudin, who mistreat and oppress women, are depicted as products of this traditionalist religious education. Although they are portrayed as economically better off than most *pesantren* students and graduates, they do not hold university degrees, let alone have studied at reformist Islamic education institutions abroad. Higher education, as I indicated earlier, is represented as vital in making a man aware of the biases in the interpretation of Islamic texts that lead to discrimination and violence against women. In other words, the portrayal of Khudori as a “new Muslim man” relies heavily on depicting less-educated, lower-class Muslim men as backwards and repressive. The film also provides additional negative depictions of traditionalist Islam in the poor urban men whose wives Annisa counsels at her workplace.

The film deepens the rift between the stereotypically lower-class world of the *pesantren* and the middle-class and upper-class world of the modernist Islamic schools and comes out in favour of the latter, criticizing the former as the source of rampant discrimination and violence against women. As mentioned previously, the film traces the hostility toward women who would take an active role in the public sphere to the teaching of Islamic texts in *pesantren*. The misogynistic interpretation of classical Islamic texts is shown to underlie Kyai Hannan's restrictive discipline as well as Samsudin's abuses. Furthermore, the film also portrays the *kyai*, the leaders of the *pesantren*, as being resistant to change. Off-screen, this is a common stereotype. Those seeking to reform Indonesian education in ways that promote gender equality regard the *pesantren*, with its traditionalist curriculum and charismatic leaders, as stubbornly resistant to modernisation.⁴³ Having been educated in modern religious institutions on the other hand appears to be a necessary condition for being a "new Muslim man" like Khudori. Yet, as I noted earlier, this new type of masculinity is reflective of middle-class, upwardly mobile aspirations, such as studying for an advanced degree in modern institutions, spending time in foreign countries, and living in urban settings. The *pesantren*, which constitutes an important element of Islamic education in Indonesia, is represented as the source of most of the obstacles in the way of independent Muslim women like Annisa.

It is thus understandable that the monolithic representation of the *pesantren* as the stronghold of patriarchal masculinity and of its charismatic leaders as anti-modern fundamentalists, especially in terms of gender issues, sparked much controversy. Muslims who consider themselves to be progressive in terms of gender but passionately support *pesantren* education were outraged by the film and called for it to be banned. A notable Muslim poet, Taufiq Ismail, condemned the film as a disgrace to Islam and *kyai*, the class of clerics.⁴⁴ Ali Mustafa Yakub, then-Grand Imam of Istiqlal Mosque, Jakarta, and then-Deputy Leader of the Fatwa Commission of Indonesia Ulema Council (MUI), demanded that scenes depicting Islam and *kyai* as oppressive towards women be cut from the film. Quoting from *hadiths*, Ali, in an article entitled

“*Perempuan Berkalung Sorban Stirred Controversy*” [“*Perempuan Berkalung Sorban Menuai Kontroversi*”], states that Islam encourages women to pursue education and competitive sport, such as horseback riding.⁴⁵ This demand for re-editing the film was also supported by Tifatul Sembiring, the then president of the Justice Welfare Party, a conservative Islamist political party.⁴⁶

However, the film garnered strong support from Muslim feminists and critics because it tackled the bitter reality of gender inequality within the Muslim communities of Indonesia. In the face of intensifying demands for a boycott against *Woman with a Turban*, Musdah Mulia expressed his support for the film because it unveiled the troubling reality whereby Islam had been abused to justify discrimination against women and give men unjust power over them.

I can claim that the film (*Perempuan Berkalung Sorban*) exposes a reality. In fact, we as Muslims should be aware that our religion has been abused by some people to justify oppression of women, which is an obsolete practice. That is a fact, which may not represent the whole complex reality. So, the film should not be boycotted.⁴⁷

Woman with a Turban also earned accolades from film critics and observers. Windu Jusuf, a noted Indonesian film critic and editor of *Cinemapoetica*, one of the most prominent websites for film criticism in Indonesia, offers a commendation on the film. He emphasises that the film, unlike contemporary Islamised melodrama, addressed important social issues such as widespread gender inequality and violence against women.⁴⁸ The fact that the critical depiction of traditional Muslim men becomes the point of controversy often led audiences to overlook the figure of the “new Muslim man.” Indeed, the overwhelmingly negative representation of traditional religious authority gave support to the view that those who took offence at the film had legitimate reasons for doing so. But as Ekky Imanja points out, this depiction goes too far in painting traditional religious authority as monolithically oppressive.

Every character who seeks to thwart or hinder Annisa in her attempts

to gain an education and make a life for herself is a theologically traditionalist Muslim who opposes granting freedom and rights to women. In fact, not a single *kyai* is shown taking a stand against the oppression and mistreatment of women. The men and women associated with the *pesantren* turn a blind eye to the discrimination and violence experienced by Muslim women, like Annisa. For example, Annisa's teachers, both male and female, defend the absolute authority exercised by older men over women and girls which they justify through their reading of Islamic classical texts. Samsudin's mother reprimands Annisa for seeking a divorce from her husband after she learns that he has had a child with another woman. She even accuses Annisa of being an incapable wife who drives Samsudin to seek happiness with another woman. The depiction of Samsudin's mother's defence of her son's adultery implies that the women in the social circle of the *pesantren* have internalised their subordination to men.

Feminist activists who are fighting for gender equality are shown as being part of the social network of the "new Muslim man" as represented by Khudori. Khudori is friends with a group of feminists who belong to his middle-class, highly educated urban milieu. These women are mostly secular and focus on helping female victims of domestic violence. Surrounded by colleagues who support gender equality and are aware of the gendered dimension of domestic violence, Khudori becomes aware of Annisa's struggle to overcome the trauma caused by the abuse inflicted by her husband. Khudori's contact with the network of feminist activists provides him with the knowledge and skills that enable him to navigate his romantic relationship with the traumatised Annisa. Unlike the people from the *pesantren*, the network of feminist activists around Khudori pushes for men to foster equal gender relations, including those of power with the female members of their family, including their wives. Consequently, by showing that Khudori is surrounded by feminist activists, the film implies that his masculinity has earned approval from a feminist point of view, while the traditional masculinity of conservative men in *pesantren* is singled out for criticism.

But it is not only rural men who are singled out for their reactionary patriarchal attitudes. The film also depicts poor urban men as

perpetrators of sexism and misogynist violence. The feminist activists who belong to Khudori’s social circle are shown supporting women who are victimized by their husbands. Annisa, who also works for the organization as a counsellor is, for example, shown providing counselling to a housewife who was beaten by her husband but is financially too powerless to leave him. The terrible predicament of the abused housewife serves as a contrast to the relationship that Annisa enjoys with the sensitive and doting Khudori—the following scene shows Khudori pampering Annisa by making her breakfast and taking her for a short holiday. While the poor urban man winds up getting a divorce, Khudori gains Annisa’s trust and affection. The poor man is depicted as a violent personality who does not deserve to have a family, while the film leads the viewer to gravitate towards the softer and gentler form of masculinity displayed by the urban-based educated middle-class Khudori.

To whom do the urban-educated, middle-class filmmakers seek to communicate this new form of masculinity that rejects patriarchal norms? The immediate consumers of this image are urban middle-class Indonesians. As mentioned above, since the 1980s filmgoing remains primarily a middle-class activity. Cinema theatres are mostly located in shopping centres in urban areas in Indonesia. Consequently, films aimed at the commercial film market must be able to appeal to the urban middle-class. This means that most films that do get made, as argued by James Hoesterey and Marshal Clark,⁴⁹ tend to be informed by the concerns, frustrations, desires, and aspirations of middle-class Muslims. *Woman with a Turban* is no exception to this general rule. The alternative ideal of masculinity embodied by the “new Muslim man” targets the educated and upwardly-mobile audience. Thus, the narrative which depicts the new mode of masculinity tends to offer reassurance to middle-class Muslims that gender-based discrimination and domestic violence are primarily the fault of the urban poor and rural traditionalists. Middle-class Muslims who are more highly educated and socially as well as politically aware may then see themselves as innocent of sexism and responsible for solving the problem of inequality.

In other words, the film, in spite of the filmmakers’ intentions, has

reduced the problem of gender-based discrimination and domestic violence to an issue of class difference, whereas scholarly research shows that these issues are systemic and transcend class boundaries. The filmmakers may have made a breakthrough in visually exposing gender-based discrimination and violence within conservative Muslim communities in Indonesia. Yet, by laying the blame for the problem of gender inequality at the door of lower-class men and placing the solution in middle-class men, *Woman with a Turban* serves to simplify complicated realities related to gender inequality in Indonesian society. The displacement of the question of gender equality to that of class obscures the systemic nature of gender bias in Indonesian society. Patriarchal interpretations of Islam texts are widespread among Indonesian Muslims, regardless of their social class. According to the research conducted by Lily Munir,⁵⁰ the majority of Muslim men in her study tended to defend their authority over women, especially their wives, by drawing on interpretations of Islamic texts which grant them privileges over women, despite the possibility that these readings may run counter to Islam's basic principles of justice and equality. The Chairperson of the Monitoring Sub-commission of the National Commission on Elimination of Violence Against Women, Indraswari, reports:

When we talk about violence (against women), it is an issue that transcends economic, social and cultural boundaries. It does not mean that the higher the education background, or the socio-economic status, the less likely violence will take place.⁵¹

In fact, a recent survey conducted by the Indonesian Bureau of Statistics (BPS) shows that educated, urban Indonesian women are at higher risk of violence than their less educated, rural counterparts. As reported by Max Walden,⁵² the survey finds that women living in urban areas and with relatively high levels of educational attainment had experienced violence at the hands of their husbands. Thus, while the filmmakers have given a compelling visual expression to gender inequality and male violence against women in conservative Muslim communities, the alternative ideal they offered was riddled with middle-class biases.

Conclusion

I have discussed the efforts of Indonesian filmmakers Hanung Bramantyo and Ginatri Noer to challenge the hegemonic male ideal of *bapakism* in the popular cinema. Amidst the heightened Islamisation in contemporary Indonesia, the film *Woman with a Turban* offered an alternative form of masculinity that was nevertheless religiously grounded. In making such a film in the context of a revival of traditionalist Islam, the filmmakers had to contend with the increasing invocation of gender-biased interpretations of Islamic religious texts in defending the norms of Muslim patriarchy. These conservative readings of Islamic texts seek to sustain the patriarchal as the hegemonic ideal. In taking on the patriarchal masculinity of *bapakism*, filmmakers drew support from the intellectual movements pioneered by Muslim feminists such as Musdah Mulia, who give alternative interpretations of Islamic religious texts that promote equality between the sexes.

Yet, I also show that the filmmakers’ endeavors were distorted by middle-class biases. For one, the alternative ideal they promoted relied heavily on the middle-classness of the representation. The representation clearly placed the blame for gender inequality and violence against women on lower-class Muslim men who are unfamiliar with modernized institutions. As in the film adaptation of *Woman with a Turban*, to date one of the few progressive commercial *film Islami*, educational background and middle-class networks are vital in the formation of an alternative ideal of Muslim masculinity. The experience of the “new Muslim man” in being educated at a leading reformist university and his network of highly educated and socio-politically aware feminist activists attest to his determination and ability to make gender equality a reality in Indonesian society. Such life experiences distinguish the ‘new man’ protagonist from his lower-class counterparts, whether they live in the city or in the country. Unfortunately, this social prejudice obscures the reality that gender inequality remains systemic and transcends class boundaries.

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Notes

¹ Nelly van Doorn-Harder, "The Indonesian Islamic Debate on a Woman President," *Sojourn* 17, no. 2 (2002): 164–90.

² Khofifah Indar Parawansa, "Institution Building: An Effort to Improve Indonesian Women's Role and Status," in *Women in Indonesia: Gender, Equity and Development*, eds. Kathryn Robinson and Sharon Bessell (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2002), 68–77; Sri Budi Eko Wardani, "The Struggle to Formulate Affirmative Policies for Women in the 2008's General Election Law" ["Perjuangan menggagas kebijakan afirmatif bagi perempuan dalam UU Pemilu Tahun 2008"], *Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi Indonesia* 63 (2009): 41–61.

³ Ariel Heryanto, "When the Governments Try to Look More Islamic," *Jakarta Post*, June 5, 2008, accessed April 29, 2013, <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2008/06/05/when-governments-try-to-look-more-islamic.html>.

⁴ See Anies R. Baswedan, "Political Islam in Indonesia: Present and Future Trajectory," *Asian Survey* 44, no. 5 (2004): 669–90; Sunny Tanuwidjaja, "Political Islam and Islamic Parties in Indonesia: Critically Assessing the Evidence of Islam's Political Decline," *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 32, no. 1 (2010): 29–49.

⁵ See Robin Bush, "Regional 'Sharia' Regulations in Indonesia: Anomaly or Symptom?" in *Expressing Islam: Religious Life and Politics in Indonesia*, eds. Greg Fealy and Sally White (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2008), 174–91; Edriana Noerdin, "Customary Institutions, Syariah Law and the Marginalisation of Indonesian Women," in *Women in Indonesia*, 179–86; Saskia E. Wieringa, "Islamization in Indonesia: Women Activists' Discourses," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 32, no. 1 (2006): 1–8.

⁶ Tito Imanda, "Independent Versus Mainstream Islamic Cinema in Indonesia: Religion Using the Market or Vice Versa?" in *Southeast Asian Independent Cinema: Essays, Documents, Interviews*, ed. Tilman Baumgärtel (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2012), 92–93.

⁷ Julia I. Suryakusuma, *State Ibuism: The Social Construction of Womanhood in New*

Order Indonesia (Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu, 2011), 5.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ John Beynon, *Masculinities and Culture* (Philadelphia: Open University Press, 2002), 100.

¹⁰ Kathryn Robinson, *Gender, Islam and Democracy in Indonesia* (London: Routledge, 2009), 164.

¹¹ See Marshall Clark, *Maskulinitas: Culture, Gender and Politics in Indonesia* (Caulfield: Monash University Press, 2010); Pam Nilan, “Contemporary Masculinities and Young Men in Indonesia,” *Indonesia and the Malay World* 37, no. 109 (2009): 327–44; James Hoesterey and Marshall Clark, “Film Islami: Gender, Piety and Pop Culture in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia,” *Asian Studies Review* 36, no. 2 (2012): 207–26.

¹² Indeed, this body of scholarship on gender politics have contributed to the understanding of diversity and changes in femininities and marginalised sexualities. See Evelyn Blackwood, “Gender Transgression in Colonial and Postcolonial Indonesia,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 64, no 4 (2005): 849–79. It also contributes to the understanding of multiple trajectories of personal and public gender politics of women and individuals of non-heteronormative genders and sexualities. See Krishna Sen, “The Human Rights of Gendered Citizens,” in *Human Rights and Gender Politics: Asia-Pacific Perspectives*, eds. Anne-Marie Hilsdon et al. (London: Routledge, 2000), 104–19; Tom Boellstorff, *The Gay Archipelago: Sexuality and Nation in Indonesia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005); Suvianita Khanis, “Human Rights and the LGBTI Movement in Indonesia,” *Asian Journal of Women’s Studies* 19, no. 1 (2013): 127–38; Rachel Rinaldo, “Religion and the Politics of Morality: Muslim Women Activists and the Pornography Debate in Indonesia,” in *Encountering Islam: The Politics of Religious Identities in Southeast Asia*, ed. Hui Yew-Foong (Pasir Panjang: ISEAS Publishing, 2013), 247–67. Moreover, it explains the various platforms wherein the abovementioned groups are engaged in expressing their identities and political views and the continued, intensifying repression as well as discrimination experienced by these groups despite the range of positive developments in the twenty-first century Indonesia. See Ben Murtagh, *Genders and Sexualities in Indonesian Cinema: Constructing Gay, Lesbi and Waria Identities on Screen* (London: Routledge, 2013); Stephen McNally et al., “Belonging, Community and Identity,” in *Sex and Sexualities in Contemporary Indonesia*, eds. Linda Rae Bennett and Sharyn Graham Davies (London: Routledge, 2015), 203–19.

¹³ See Rebecca Elmhirst, “Tigers and Gangsters: Masculinities and Feminised Migration in Indonesia,” *Population, Space and Place* 13, no. 3 (2007): 225–38; Pam Nilan, “Contemporary Masculinities and Young Men in Indonesia,” *Indonesia and the Malay World* 37, no. 109 (2009): 327–44.

¹⁴ Michael Kaufman, “Men, Feminism, and Men’s Contradictory Experiences of Power,” in *Men and Power*, ed. Joseph A. Kuypers (Halifax: Fernwood Books, 1999), 59.

¹⁵ Pierre Bourdieu, *Masculine Domination* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 114.

¹⁶ John Storey, *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: An Introduction* (London: Pearson

Education Ltd., 2009), 10.

¹⁷ See Krishna Sen, *Indonesian Cinema: Framing the New Order* (London: Zed Books, 1994), 137-38.

¹⁸ Sita Aripurnami, "A Feminist Comment on the Sinetron Presentation of Indonesian Women," in *Fantasizing the Feminine in Indonesia*, ed. Laurie J. Sears (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), 254; Barbara Hatley, "Theatrical Imagery and Gender Ideology in Java," in *Power and Difference: Gender in Island Southeast Asia*, eds. Jane Monnig Atkinson and Shelly Errington (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990): 177-207.

¹⁹ Aripurnami, "A Feminist Comment," 254; Hatley, "Theatrical Imagery and Gender Ideology," 198-99; Sen, *Indonesian Cinema*, 144.

²⁰ See Krishna Sen, "Indonesian Women at Work: Reframing the Subject," in *Gender and Power in Affluent Asia*, eds. Krishna Sen and Maila Stivens (London: Routledge, 1998), 35-62.

²¹ Hapsari Sulistyani, "Girl Culture on the Big Screen: No Longer Misfits but Far from Gender Warriors," *Inside Indonesia*, July 15, 2007, accessed November 21, 2014, <http://www.insideindonesia.org/feature-editions/girl-culture-on-the-big-screen>.

²² Ajo, "Suami-Suami Takut Istri Heading to the Big Screen" ["Suami-Suami Takut Istri Melangkah ke Layar Lebar"], *Cinema 21*, July 24, 2008, accessed January 17, 2018, <http://www.21cineplex.com/slowmotion/suami-suami-takut-istri-melangkah-ke-layar-lebar,206.htm>.

²³ See Sen, *Indonesian Cinema*, 137.

²⁴ Mohd Zariat Abdul Rani, "Islam, Romance and Popular Taste in Indonesia," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 40, no. 116 (2012): 59-73; Amrih Widodo, "Writing for God," *Inside Indonesia*, September 14, 2008, accessed February 9, 2015, <http://www.insideindonesia.org/writing-for-god>.

²⁵ "Data penonton," film Indonesia, accessed May 18, 2013, <http://filmindonesia.or.id/movie/viewer/2007-2013#.Ui6JPG37Qik>.

²⁶ Ekky Imanjaya, *A to Z about Indonesian Film* (Jakarta: Mizan Bunaya Kreativa, 2006), 35-38.

²⁷ See Tineke Hellwig, "Abidah El Khalieqy's Novels: Challenging Patriarchal Islam," *Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia [Bijdragen Tot de Taal Land en Volkenkunde]* 167, no. 1 (2011): 16-30; Wiyatmi, "Gender Construction in *Geni Jora* Novel by Abidah El-Khalieqy" ["Konstruksi Gender dalam Novel *Geni Jora* Karya Abidah El-Khalieqy"], *Humaniora* 22, no. 2 (2010): 196-206.

²⁸ Faozan Riozal, interview by the author, Jakarta, May 22, 2014.

²⁹ Ulil Abshar Abdala, "Siti Musdah Mulia (Indonesian): Islamic Law Compilation is Still Very Conservative!" ["Siti Musdah Mulia: 'Kompilasi Hukum Islam Sangat Konservatif'"], *Islam Liberal*, September 1, 2003, accessed July 4, 2017, <http://islamlib.com/kajian/fikih/siti-musdah-mulia-kompilasi-hukum-islam-sangat-konservatif/>.

³⁰ Hanung Bramantyo cited in Evi Mariani "Hanung Bramantyo: Hitting the

Right Marks,” *Jakarta Post*, March 23, 2008, accessed February 9, 2015, <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2008/03/23/hanung-bramantyo-hitting-right-marks.html>.

³¹ Aristo and Noer are the scriptwriters of *Ayat-ayat Cinta*. Noer was then involved as the scriptwriter in the adaptation of *Perempuan berkalung Sorban*.

³² Hanung Bramantyo, interview by the author, Jakarta, 21 April 2014. In *Verses of Love*, both the film and the novel, the male protagonist weds the second wife when she is in a coma. Although the woman is previously shown to have had an interest in him, her consent to a polygamous marriage with him is completely circumvented.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ The President issued Presidential Instruction No. 9/2000 on Gender Mainstreaming in National Development. It instructs all government institutions at central and regional levels to implement gender mainstreaming into planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of their development policies and programs. See Michelle Moffatt et al., *Review of a Decade of Gender Mainstreaming in Education in Indonesia* (Jakarta: Ministry of National Development Planning/National Development Planning Agency, BAPPENAS, 2013), 15.

³⁵ Siti Aisyah and Lyn Parker, “Problematic Conjugations: Women’s Agency, Marriage and Domestic Violence in Indonesia,” *Asian Studies Review* 38, no. 2 (2014): 205–23.

³⁶ Noerdin, “Customary Institutions”; Robinson, “Gender, Islam, and Democracy”; Sally White and Maria Ulfah Anshor, “Islam and Gender in Contemporary Indonesia,” in *Expressing Islam: Religious Life and Politics in Indonesia*, eds. Greg Fealy and Sally White (Pasir Panjang: ISEAS Publishing, 2008): 137–58.

³⁷ Ariel Heryanto, “The Years of Living Luxuriously: Identity Politics of Indonesia’s New Rich,” in *Culture and Privilege in Capitalist Asia*, ed. Michael Pinches (London: Routledge, 1999), 28.

³⁸ Elisabeth Jackson and Bahrissalim, “Crafting a New Democracy: Civic Education in Indonesian Islamic Universities,” *Asia Pacific Journal of Education* 27, no. 1 (2007): 43.

³⁹ Mun’im Sirry, “The Public Expression of Traditional Islam: The *Pesantren* and Civil Society in Post-Suharto Indonesia,” *The Muslim World* 100, no. 1 (2010): 66.

⁴⁰ Greg Barton, *Abdurrahman Wahid Muslim Democrat, Indonesian President: A View from the Inside* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2002), 37.

⁴¹ Ronald Lukens-Bull, *A Peaceful Jihad: Negotiating Identity and Modernity in Muslim Java* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 18.

⁴² Lukens-Bull, *A Peaceful Jihad*, 18; Nilan, “Contemporary Masculinities,” 221. According to Nilan, since the late 1990s, the constituency of Islamic education institutions, including *pesantren*, has broadened from teaching the children of conservative Muslim families, often rural and poor, to the children of middle-class and religiously moderate families, who believe that their children need to learn strong religious values to protect them from the negative excesses of the modern secular (Westernized) world.

⁴³ Eka Srimulyani, “Muslim Women and Education in Indonesia: The Pondok

Pesantren Experience,” *Asia Pacific Journal of Education* 27, no. 1 (2007): 93–94.

⁴⁴ KabarNet, “Hanung, How Dare You: You Represented *Pesantren* and *Kyai* So Negatively” [“Hanung, Kau Keterlaluan: Pesantren dan Kiyai Begitu Kau Burukkan...”], *KabarNet*, June 28, 2010, accessed January 5, 2018, <https://kabarnet.in/2010/06/28/hanung-kau-keterlaluan-pesantren-dan-kiyai-begitu-kau%C2%A0burukkan/>.

⁴⁵ Liputan 6, “*Perempuan Berkalung Sorban* Stirred Controversy” [“*Perempuan Berkalung Sorban* Menuai Kontroversi”], *SCTV*, March 27, 2009, accessed March 27, 2015, http://www.sctv.co.id/kasak-kusuk/perempuan-berkalung-sorban-menuai-kontroversi_21708.html2015.

⁴⁶ Novia Chandra Dewi, “Tifatul Pushes for Revision of *Perempuan Berkalung Sorban* Film” [“Tifatul Desak Film *Perempuan Berkalung Sorban* Direvisi”], *Detik News*, February 6, 2009, accessed March 27, 2015, <https://news.detik.com/berita/1080533/tifatul-desak>.

⁴⁷ Musdah Mulia, “No Need to Withdraw, Don’t Be Easily Upset When (You) Get Criticism” [“Musdah Mulia: Tak Perlu Ditarik, Jangan Gampang Marah Kalau Dikritik”], *Detik News*, February 6, 2009, accessed March 31, 2015, <http://health.detik.com/read/2009/02/06/174610/1080758/10/>.

⁴⁸ Windu Jusuf, “Nationalism in Our Silver Screen” [“Nasionalisme Layar Lebar Kita”], *Cinema Poetica*, August 14, 2013, accessed December 30, 2014, <http://cinemapoetica.com/nasionalisme-layar-lebar-kita/>.

⁴⁹ Hoesterey and Clark, “*Film Islami*,” 207–26.

⁵⁰ Lily Zakiyah Munir, “Domestic Violence in Indonesia,” *Muslim World Journal of Human Rights* 2, no. 1 (2005): 1–37.

⁵¹ Lutfy Mairizal Putra, “The Highest Number of Reported Cases of Violence against Women Took Place in Jakarta” [“Kekerasan terhadap Perempuan Paling Banyak Terjadi di DKI Jakarta”], *Kompas Gramedia*, March 7, 2017, accessed December 3, 2018, <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2017/03/07/22434781/kekerasan.terhadap.perempuan.paling.banyak.terjadi.di.dki.jakarta>.

⁵² Max Walden, “Educated, Urban Indonesian Women at Higher Risk of Violence-Study,” *Asian Correspondent*, April, 2017, accessed December 3, 2018, <https://asiancorrespondent.com/2017/04/educated-urban-indonesian-women-higher-risk-violence-study/#5vDdCxhPPoUtat5B.97>.