

Contents

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xi
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xiii
<i>Note on Arabic transliteration</i>	xv
Introduction	1
<i>Creating Islamic feminism: the politics of representing the other</i>	4
<i>Locating Islamic feminism as a subject matter</i>	7
<i>Defining the spiritual and the quest for gender equality</i>	15
<i>Genealogy as a method of inquiry</i>	17
<i>The content of the book</i>	20
<i>Concluding remarks</i>	23
1 The making of the emancipation era: a stepping-stone toward gender equality	35
<i>Casting emancipation: pioneering women and the politics of representation</i>	37
<i>Pioneering women who made progress by way of physical resistance</i>	38
<i>Individual pioneers transforming adat and Islam through cultural education</i>	41
<i>Contextual settings for the pursuit of emancipation</i>	50
<i>Nationalist and Islamic reform and the pursuit of emancipation</i>	54
<i>Islamic reformism: goals and contexts</i>	55
<i>Local reform and the dream for progress</i>	56
<i>Islamic reform as a nationalist project</i>	59
<i>Making connections to women's movements beyond Indonesia</i>	61
<i>Concluding remarks</i>	64

- 2 **The association era and the politics of emancipation** 75
Islamic reformism and its effect on Muslim women's associations 78
The politics of Islamic and feminist resistance on marriage 83
Modality of being through veiling and the disciplinary formation of piety 90
The making of women's worth: the personal and the political 94
The value of women as human beings versus mothers 94
Women's associations and the making of the political 99
Concluding remarks 102
- 3 **Gender politics in the era of development: the making of state and feminist equality** 113
Women's movements as a web of networks for the state ideology 116
The domestication of developmentalism and the institutionalization of maternal virtue 119
The Western origin of developmentalism and its appropriation 119
The deployment of maternal virtue: ideological enclosure and defense? 123
Cultivating maternal virtue as the common value and its Asian contexts 127
The politics of gender and the politicization of an "organized" feminine mystique 129
The local and global confluences on domesticating women 129
The political institution of maternal value in the 1974 Marriage Law 132
The proliferation of equality and gender activism 135
Localizing the global: transitions to secular feminism and its critique of Islam 140
Feminist inquiry and the pursuit of developmentalism 140
Feminism: critiques and supports 142
Secular feminist grievance with Islam 145
Concluding remarks 147
- 4 **Engendering equality in the integration era: the making of Islam as ethical framework for emancipation** 158
Muslim women's movements and the politics of maternal virtue 160

<i>The politicization of Islam and Muslim intellectual responses</i>	165
<i>Pancasila morality and the separation between Islam and the political praxis</i>	165
<i>Muslims' responses to the politicization of Islam</i>	167
<i>The depoliticization of Islam and its effect on devotionism</i>	171
<i>Contextualizing the rhetoric of piety and correct practices of Islam</i>	171
<i>The Islamization of the self and Muslims' search for correct practices</i>	173
<i>The politics of veiling as an act of habituation</i>	176
<i>Islam as ethics and the Islamic humanistic tradition</i>	182
<i>Comprehensive Islam</i>	182
<i>Islamic humanity</i>	184
<i>Reformed Islam</i>	185
<i>Engendering a common sphere: the integration between Islam and feminism</i>	187
<i>Cultivating gender equality and its challenges</i>	187
<i>Disseminating gender equality through scholarship and activism</i>	189
<i>Concluding remarks</i>	191

5 The proliferation era and the discursive patterns of Islamic feminism

206

<i>From feminist theology to Islamic feminism</i>	210
<i>The masculine performance of ijtihād, gender cultures, and challenges to equality</i>	216
<i>Women as secondary beings</i>	217
<i>Women as domestic beings</i>	220
<i>Women as sexual beings</i>	222
<i>Recalling nonjuristic use of ijtihād and feminist analysis</i>	223
<i>The nonlegal use of ijtihād and Muslim women's agency</i>	226
<i>Islamic feminist agency: its challenges and its transformation</i>	227
<i>The making of transformative gender culture as an object of inquiry of ijtihād</i>	229
<i>Contextualizing the Qur'an: the inclusive humanity on the basis of tawhīd</i>	232
<i>Women's pursuit for inclusive humanity</i>	232
<i>Inclusive humanity and the tawhīd paradigm</i>	235
<i>Concluding remarks</i>	237

Conclusion	250
<i>Highlighting Islamic feminist contributions</i>	251
<i>New challenges to Islamic feminism</i>	254
<i>Glossary</i>	263
<i>Index</i>	265