

Identification of gender doctrine: Muhammadiyah women's movement and the dynamic role of agencies in its implementation at the local level

Identifikasi doktrin gender: Gerakan perempuan Muhammadiyah dan dinamisasi peran agensi dalam implementasinya di tingkat lokal

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Abstract

Women's membership in the Muhammadiyah organization is based on the Islamic view of men and women as ethical agents in inviting goodness and avoiding evil. This theology indicates the importance of women's role in the public sphere. This study aims to analyze and explore Muhammadiyah's gender doctrine and agency dynamics in its implementation at the local level by Muhammadiyah women. The ethnomethodology approach was used in this study. Research data was obtained through observation activities, in-depth interviews, and direct involvement in the activities of the Muhammadiyah women's movement for gender justice. This study was conducted in Malang City, taking into account the dynamics of gender implementation in the Muhammadiyah women's movement in its efforts to realize gender justice. This research found that there has been gender segregation since 1939 which is reflected in the Muhammadiyah gender statute. In addition, it is written in Muhammadiyah's gender demands book that there has been a domestication of gender issues, although later developments show that publications represent the spirit of gender equality. This study concludes that the Muhammadiyah women's movement is not only about adjusting women's roles in all activities as long as they are within Islamic parameters. In fact, the Muhammadiyah women's movement has made many contributions to the public interest, from building educational facilities, health, to humanitarian activities.

Keywords: gender doctrine; gender justice; women's movement

Abstrak

Keanggotaan perempuan organisasi Muhammadiyah berprinsip pada pandangan Islam tentang laki-laki dan perempuan sebagai agen etis dalam mengajak kepada kebaikan dan menjauhi kemunkaran. Teologi ini mengindikasikan pentingnya peran perempuan di ranah publik. Studi ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis dan mengeksplorasi doktrin gender Muhammadiyah dan dinamika agensi dalam implementasinya di tingkat lokal yang dilakukan oleh perempuan Muhammadiyah. Pendekatan etnometodologi digunakan dalam studi ini. Data penelitian didapatkan melalui kegiatan observasi, wawancara mendalam, dan keterlibatan secara langsung dalam kegiatan gerakan perempuan Muhammadiyah untuk keadilan gender. Studi ini dilakukan di Kota Malang, dengan pertimbangan terdapat dinamisasi implementasi gender pada gerakan perempuan Muhammadiyah dalam usahanya untuk mewujudkan keadilan gender. Penelitian ini menemukan bahwa terdapat segregasi gender sejak tahun 1939 yang tercermin pada statute gender Muhammadiyah. Selain itu, dalam buku Tuntutan Gender Muhammadiyah tertulis bahwa telah terjadi domestifikasi isu gender, meskipun kemudian pada perkembangannya menunjukkan publikisasi yang merepresentasikan semangat kesetaraan gender. Studi ini menyimpulkan bahwa gerakan perempuan Muhammadiyah tidak hanya sekedar mengatur peran perempuan dalam segala aktivitas sepanjang masih dalam parameter islami. Bahkan, gerakan perempuan Muhammadiyah telah banyak berkontribusi terhadap kepentingan masyarakat, mulai dari pembangunan fasilitas pendidikan, kesehatan, hingga kegiatan kemanusiaan.

Kata kunci: doktrin gender; keadilan gender; gerakan perempuan

Introduction

This study attempts to analyze and explore the Muhammadiyah women's movement, focusing on identifying Muhammadiyah gender doctrine and the dynamics of the role of agency in its implementation. Muhammadiyah as a modernist Islamic organization (Ricklefs 1981, Peacock 1986, Alfian 1989), in 1917 established a women's organization called 'Aisyiyah', and this was followed by the establishment of a cadre organization namely 'Nasyiatul Aisyiyah' in 1933. The driving principle The involvement of women in the Muhammadiyah organization is an Islamic view of men and women as ethical agents in inviting goodness and avoiding evil (*amr ma'ruf nahi munkar*) (Naimi & Amini 2021, Soesantari et al. 2023). So, the presence of women in the public sphere is important in efforts to reform and develop a more modern social life.

The Muhammadiyah women's movement was deliberately chosen in this research, considering that as a modern organization, since the organization's inception in 1912, Muhammadiyah has been committed to providing space for women to be involved in activities in the public sphere. Expanding women's roles outside the home was a discussion that was studied repeatedly among women during the early days of the founding of the Aisyiyah organization or during the pre-independence period. Efforts to define women's roles in the family and society began to be debated (Soesantari et al. 2019). However, the most systematic efforts to transform women's personal agendas into political action began to occur through organizations, women's congresses initiated in 1928 and the publication of magazines such as 'Suara Aisyiyah'. All the forces of women combine and transform the personal into the political. The debate about polygamy and marriage, for example, is not only about personal relationships, but also demands changes in government and institutions. This creates a paradox for the Aisyiyah movement to play a role in the public sphere, so that the Aisyiyah movement tries to contest Muhammadiyah's gender ideology through various movement activities for gender justice (Wahono 2018).

This debate has opened up views on the value of women both as humans and wives, but has then been used as a tool to support the state ideology of motherhoodism and Islamic arguments about Islamic equality. This is in line with the ideas of liberal feminist figures such as Wollstonecraft, Mill and Taylor who support the equality of men and women in education, politics, economics and sexuality. They argue that men and women have equal thinking abilities to act rationally and morally as autonomous agents (Tong 2009). Although the context of demands for equality for women's movements in Indonesia and Western countries is different, both require society to provide equal access for men and women to education so that women have equal intellectual abilities and potential contributions to individuals, families and society. Feminist thought developing in Indonesia covers a diverse spectrum, ranging from approaches based on secular religious principles to more conservative viewpoints, as well as differences between women who emphasize local cultural values and those who adopt cosmopolitan culture (Syamsiyatun 2023). Aisyiyah as a Muslim women's organization faces challenges from various feminist groups, including those with a secular, nationalist and conservative Islamic orientation (Sukmana 2018, Hidayah 2020). However, Aisyiyah remains firm in her stance, emphasizing that Muslim women in Indonesia have an important role in empowering women in various aspects (Qibtiyah 2020). They are actively involved in organizing and working to achieve their goals more quickly, with the aim of achieving broader impact. Aisyiyah believes that through these efforts, Muslim women can be actively involved in advancing themselves and society as a whole.

Siti Moendjiah, Aisyiyah's representative at the II Indonesian Women's Congress in 1928, saw the biological differences between men and women as a starting point to show how they were expected to behave morally, socially and religiously. This transformation shows that women, as agents, need to express the importance of affirming their values as human beings in the public sphere and confirming their views as women for the sake of human progress or, according to Arendt (2018), as a disclosure of reality. agent. Therefore, affirming the statement 'the personal is political' in the context of women begins with a strategy of positioning oneself in a network of cultural, religious, social and state power. Siti Moendjiah, Aisyiyah's representative at the Indonesian Women's Congress, sees the biological differences between men and women as a starting point to show how they are expected to behave

morally, socially, and religiously. The paradigm of physical differences between men and women has implications for the division of responsibilities, for example women experience pregnancy, childbirth, breastfeeding and caring for children (Arifin et al. 2022) Because women are biologically different, their concept of progress must remain within the boundaries of Islamic teachings. According to him, Muslim men and women have the right to progress and develop themselves according to their respective authorities and limitations (Syamsiyatun 2020, Mutiara 2023). Although the responsibilities of men and women are different, their rights to religion are not different. Moendjiah made religious support for equality because women's rights have been discussed in Islamic teachings (Blackburn 2008).

At the beginning of the founding of the Muhammadiyah women's organization, the theological spirit that underlies the importance of the role of women involved in the public sphere was very egalitarian, thus demanding equal opportunities for men and women in carrying out social piety. However, the social conditions that occurred at that time ultimately influenced the Muhammadiyah organization in issuing various doctrines or decisions relating to how Muhammadiyah women carried out their daily activities both in the domestic and public domains. Doctrines about gender in Muhammadiyah were greatly influenced by social conditions and the regime in power at that time. Identifying Muhammadiyah's decisions is important to know Muhammadiyah's attitude from time to time and to find out the understanding and knowledge of Muhammadiyah members in implementing Muhammadiyah's gender decisions. Muslim women's organizations such as Aisyiyah have historically followed in the footsteps of their religious parent organizations, implementing hierarchical gender practices. In the cultural structure, the embodiment of maternal values as a tradition has become the structure of society and a forum for the majority of women to adapt to development (Zaharani et al. 2018).

Previous research on the Muhammadiyah women's movement was conducted by Nurwanto (2012), in his study discussing official textbooks in Muhammadiyah schools, from a gender justice perspective. In the official Muhammadiyah textbooks theologically it is explained about equal roles and positions between men and women. From the results of the study, it was found that explanations about men's social roles in Islamic history books tended to receive wider exposure, some textbooks explained the importance of a Muslim being democratic in social life. Meanwhile, women's social roles tend to receive less attention or gender bias. Qibtiyah (2016), in her study discusses gender equality pedagogy in families, schools and communities, in Aisyiyah families. Qibtiyah also discussed gender issues in the Aisyiyah organization. According to him, some Muslim women intellectuals interpret religious texts literally, while others interpret them contextually. This research maps gender issues perceived by Muslim scholars affiliated with Aisyiyah and its parent organization. Miswanto (2020), in his study, discusses that reforms in the Islamic world still leave problems in gender relations. Several reforms have actually reduced the role of women only to the domestic sphere. This research looks at the model of reading gender discourse in Muhammadiyah, which is known as a reformist organization in Indonesia. This research uses discourse analysis to reconstruct gender discourse in Muhammadiyah which is developed in various forms of decisions, policies and *ijtihad* methods. From this research it is known that Muhammadiyah really respects the right to gender equality.

Nowadays, the role of the Muhammadiyah women's movement is being taken into account in society, especially its role in the educational and social fields. However, its existence as part of Muhammadiyah experienced various obstacles. In Muhammadiyah's gender doctrine, gender segregation, gender domestication and gender authority are found centered on the parent organization. However, in its development, the women's movement was able to be dynamic and make various efforts to eliminate these obstacles. This study seeks to identify and analyze Muhammadiyah gender ideology and the dynamics of its implementation at the local level carried out by the Muhammadiyah women's movement.

Research Method

A multi-ethnomethodological approach is used in this research, aiming to find out the social reality of ideas or knowledge, shared meaning, shared goals, and intersubjective social practices. The ethnomethodological approach is an empirical study of the methods used by individuals and groups

of people in interpreting, carrying out their daily actions, communicating and making decisions. Ethnomethodology refers to scientific activities that analyze the methods or procedures that humans use to guide them in various activities of their daily lives.

According to Coulon (2008), the social world is a result of the exchange of meaning between individuals and groups of people based on historical factors. "So, aspects of historical situations are important in understanding and viewing social facts which have many material bases such as political, cultural, economic aspects, and have an influence on the formation of certain beliefs, knowledge and views". This is different from some general assumptions which view ethnicity, race and gender identity as something that is fixed and does not change. Therefore, in an effort to understand the dynamics of each event, social reality must be understood in its historical context. This approach helps to explore how to identify Muhammadiyah gender doctrine by conducting observations, interviews, and being involved in activities carried out by the Muhammadiyah women's movement in relation to gender implementation. This study was conducted in Malang City taking into account the dynamics of gender implementation in the Muhammadiyah women's movement in Malang City in an effort to realize gender justice.

The research informants totaled 18 people, from elements of the Muhammadiyah regional leadership of three people, Aisyiyah regional leadership of three people, Nasyiatul Aisyiyah regional leadership of three people, active Muhammadiyah members totaling three people and Muhammadiyah women totaling three people, and those directly involved in the implementation of gender ideology totaling three people. Data analysis uses inductive analysis, starting with sorting data based on integrity and credibility, confirmability, and the relationship between one informant and another or called trustworthiness. In addition, triangulation analysis techniques were used to make comparisons of various empirical data. The results of data analysis are in the form of formulations with explanations, thus forming knowledge and meaning about Muhammadiyah's gender ideology.

Results and Discussion

Result of study This form identification Gender doctrine in Muhammadiyah and dynamics agency on the movement Muhammadiyah women. Exposure discussion in studies This shared into two subs as following: Identification Muhammadiyah Gender Doctrine and dynamics agency in implementation of the Muhammadiyah women's movement.

Identification of Muhammadiyah gender doctrines

This study identifies the results of Muhammadiyah decisions related to gender. Gender doctrine decisions in Muhammadiyah are reflected in documents which are then classified into the form gender justice, gender segregation, domestication in form book guidelines, publications, and gender authority on positions woman Muhammadiyah. The identification of Muhammadiyah's gender doctrine can be described as in Table 1.

Statement first about gender was KH Ahmad Dahlan's message in 1923. This article contains general guidance on the importance of the unity of the Ummah under good and honest leadership, the use of common sense in upholding choices, as well as the importance of improving education that produces virtuous, intelligent and possessing human beings chastity heart (Sungaidi 2017, Nursyamsiyah & Komarayanti 2021). The issue of education and leadership is an equal issue for men and women, so this first document can be called a gender just document. The second document is the decision regarding the Muhammadiyah statute in 1924. In this statute there are teaching principles and educational principles that prioritize faith, siding with people who are suffering, a sense of responsibility, development of thinking, and appreciation for the goodness of life. This decision includes equal access for men and women which is formulated in the sentence "anyone can follow it" (Syarif 2018). The statutes in this second document also reflect gender justice, although limited to the field of education. The third document, regarding the establishment of the Tarjih Council in 1927, recommended that it be "relatively gender neutral". In this period, congress decisions were more directed at establishing a modern organizational culture that

accommodates gender roles in a neutral and participatory manner for men and women equally, including access and participation in education and social activities initiated by Muhammadiyah, so that in the third document This is also relatively gender equitable.

Table 1.
Identification of Muhammadiyah gender doctrines

Gender justice	1923 Document 1924 Document 1927 Document
Gender segregation	1939 Document Age and realm hierarchy
Domestication	<i>Toentoenan Mentjapai Istri Islam Jang Berarti</i> (guidance reach a meaningful Islamic wife) <i>Tuntunan Menjadi Keluarga Sakinah</i> (guidance to become a sakinah family)
Publication	<i>Adabul Mar'ah fil Islam</i> Breaking the Silence: Religion Hears the Voices of Women Victims of Violence for Justice Muhammadiyah Perspective Women's Fiqh Progressive Women's Treatise
Formal and Informal Authority	Legalistic Structural Financial

Source: Processed research results (modified by the author)

On documents in 1939 namely since Aisyiyah's existence within the Muhammadiyah structure, even though she is in an equal position, actually marks gender segregation in Muhammadiyah's decisions. Women's issues are always linked to the family and are localized in Aisyiyah's decisions, which organizationally do not have the authority to decide on theological issues (Nisa 2022). This authority rested with the Tarjih Council which at that time did not have female members. In this period, gender segregation began which was directed only at women's issues. The structure at Muhammadiyah is formed in two aspects, namely gender and age hierarchies as well as hierarchies of domain segregation. Gender and age form a centralized, segregated and hierarchical structure which is seen as a natural aspect even though it is actually an intersubjective manifestation. Gender segregation and hierarchy in Muhammadiyah is determined more by age factors which are parallel to the Muhammadiyah family ideology and are senior-junior partnership. Apart from forming a hierarchical structure, gender in Muhammadiyah also emphasizes domain segregation based on the family structure of husband and wife, father and mother, sons and daughters, in separate domains. These domains in turn determine the different activities, functions and relationship patterns in Muhammadiyah. Gender segregation in the Muhammadiyah structure, from the membership aspect, the articles of association reflect gender inclusive membership which confirms that Muhammadiyah membership consists of men and women who agree with the aims and objectives of Muhammadiyah and are willing to carry out Muhammadiyah's efforts.

Muhammadiyah has published several guidance books and draft guidance produced at the National Tarjih Council deliberation (munas), and has become a guidebook for the Muhammadiyah Women's movement. The first book is *Toentoenan Mentjapai Istri Islam Jang Berarti*, the material of this book is the result of the 26th Muhammadiyah and Aisyiyah Congress in 1937 in Yogyakarta. This book emphasizes the view that men and women are servants of Allah who have the duty of being caliphs on earth and carrying out *fastabiqul khairat* (competing in goodness). The duties of the caliphate are generally understood as equal social and public roles for men and women. However, equality does not

apply to family matters because the differences in the roles of men and women are natural differences. As is generally the case with women's doctrines in classical books, family matters emphasize the instrumental role of women, so this book reflects women's domestication. Book the second is entitled *Tuntunan Menjadi Keluarga Sakinah*, compiled and published in 1989 by Aisyiyah as a supplement to her previous book (Pinem 2019, Syamsiyatun 2022). If it is assumed that change occurs linearly, this book should bring Muhammadiyah closer to contemporary gender equality discourse. However, this book actually shows a setback from the previous book, this book actually domesticates women.

Publication Muhammadiyah gender doctrine There is in the first book *Adabul Mar'ah fil Islam* (women's customs according to Islam), as a response to the policy of women's dual roles (Azizah et al. 2022). This book was published in 1975, in line with increasing public participation in the modernization process launched by the New Order. This book has been prepared systematically and comprehensively and is intended to respond to the general trend of Indonesian women entering higher education, entering political parties and government, becoming employees, teachers and other professions (Adeline et al. 2022). This book became a guide for modern women at that time, even more advanced than the reality of women at that time, such as allowing women to become judges, party leaders and political leaders, so this book reflects the spirit of publication (Handayani & Rosmilawati 2019, Soesantari et al. 2019, Asmorojati & Muhammadi 2021).

Publication The second book is *Breaking the Silence: Religion Hears the Voices of Women Victims of Violence for Justice*. This book can be said to be Muhammadiyah's first step towards moving strategic gender issues such as Domestic Violence (KDRT). This book is structured in a more discursive manner and encourages intensive dialogue in order to change the paradigm of interpretation of women's life experiences and to give rise to a new theology about the female body, the concept of nature, purity, women as children, wives, heads of households, and other aspects. Aisyiyah responded carefully to the issue of violence against women as a form of injustice that is not justified by Islam (Kesuma et al. 2022, Kuswardani et al. 2022, Amirah et al. 2023).

Publication b third book, *Women 's Fiqh from Muhammadiyah Perspective on Islamic Law for Women*. In general, this book describes a shift in instrumental roles and reflects a more progressive view of Muhammadiyah. In this book, several issues are discussed that have not been discussed for a hundred years, such as prayer leaders for women, the appointment of a female president, polygamy, marriage registration, and age at marriage.

Publication fourth in the form of discourse about women which then received special attention, the theme carried at the 47th Muhammadiyah Congress in Makasar in 2015 was the enlightenment movement which was aimed at “*developing just social relations without discrimination and glorifying the dignity of men and women*”. At the 48th Muhammadiyah Congress in Solo in 2022, the discourse about women again received attention by inviting women to be on the congress committee and giving the Aisyiyah leadership the opportunity to start a speech in front of the invitees and *muktamirin* participants and continuing with a speech from the Muhammadiyah leadership. At this conference, the main ideas about progressive Islamic values were also produced which were contained in a book, *Treatise on Progressive Women*. Along with the independence of Muhammadiyah women, the fourth and subsequent books reflect the publicization of the Muhammadiyah women's movement.

Formal and informal authority in gender and age aspects, different authority stratifications have been formed. The position of Muhammadiyah women (Aisyiyah) is problematic because on the one hand they are a special *orthom* (autonomous organization) of Muhammadiyah and on the other hand, they are a patron organization for other *orthoms*. There are several differences in authority related to organizational position, namely legalistic authority, structural authority, and financial authority. In the organizational or association structure, Muhammadiyah leadership both at the center, in the regions and in the regions as patron and *superordinate organizations* have the authority regarding the control of the highest juridical validity.

The following are the results of an interview with one of the managers of the 'tb care' program, namely NUR, regarding the shift in financial authority.

"Providing program funding is actually a stimulus for us, and when the program provides broad benefits for society, it is our collective duty to continue it. So, cooperation needs to continue to be improved by continuing to build synergy with all parties." (Informant NUR).

The results of an interview with one of Aisyiyah's leaders, namely the AIS informant, regarding structural authority are as follows.

"...in the education sector, the authority to manage educational institutions has shifted from previously only being able to manage basic education, now after obtaining special organizational status, Aisyiyah can manage educational institutions from kindergartens to universities, orphanages and also Islamic boarding schools". (Informant AIS).

Although normatively Muhammadiyah holds the highest legal authority in thought products, in practice it experiences a reduction in authority. Likewise with structural and financial authority, which is gradually experiencing a shift in authority. So actually, there is no formalization of gender in Muhammadiyah, but there is an aspect of confirmation and it is dynamic.

Dynamics agency in implementation of the Muhammadiyah women's movement

The activities carried out by the Muhammadiyah women's movement for gender justice are greatly influenced by the agency's role as a moral force in implementing Muhammadiyah gender doctrine. In this research, diversity of agency was found in the Muhammadiyah women's movement, thus influencing the dynamics of the movement. The agencies in the Muhammadiyah women's movement include the first traditional-literal groups that carry out every decision or gender doctrine of Muhammadiyah. Agency second rational-praxis group, namely a group that thinks rationally and is a movement group, which actively helps solve problems (especially gender issues at the local level) such as humanitarian issues, disasters, the environment, and advocacy for the community, even though it has to be in contact with Muhammadiyah gender doctrine. The third agency is a critical group for the reinterpretation of religion for gender justice. This group seeks to deconstruct religious and cultural arguments that tend to be patriarchal. The discourse of this group is starting to dominate decisions in the Tarjih area of the Muhammadiyah Central Leadership or the assembly that deals with issues of theological provisions (*fiqh*). The following are the results of an interview with one of the informants from Nasyiah with the initials ANI regarding the role of the agency.

"The role of agencies in carrying out social piety is important for women, because by fighting together they can strengthen networks and make it easier to forward women's issues to policy makers towards gender justice. Of course, there are various problems and obstacles in efforts to realize gender justice in society. It takes time, energy and money to seriously implement this agenda with a sincere concept." (Informant ANI).

Table 2 illustrates the role of agency in the Muhammadiyah women's movement in its efforts to realize gender justice.

Table 2.
Agency for the Muhammadiyah women's movement

Literal Traditional	Rational-Practical	Critical Reinterpretation of Religion
Implementing all Muhammadiyah gender decisions/ doctrines	Helping resolve problems (especially gender issues at the local level) such as humanitarian issues, disasters, the environment, and advocacy for the community	Deconstructing religious and cultural arguments that tend to be patriarchal

Source: Processed research results (modified by the author)

The emergence of Muslim women's movements in Indonesia has triggered the involvement of women in national reform projects. The process that existed between Islamic reformism at that time and nationalism contributed to women's emancipation. The position of women's organizations as part of their parent organizations raises concerns. Women's organizations tend to follow the structure and agenda of their parent organizations (Jenner 2023). Therefore, women's organizations are considered less autonomous and their leadership has less influence in overcoming gender gaps caused by patriarchal religious beliefs and practices. While concerns about these conditions are worth debating, they must be seen in the context of indigenous kinship culture, agency in Islam, and cultural expectations of the value of womanhood at a particular time. Molyneux (1998) argues that, in the women's movement, women act to the fullest of their capabilities as agents of change, and they are able to make important changes regardless of whether these activities are their own initiative or based on guidance/guidance from their parent organizations. It cannot be denied that the women's movement in Indonesia has contributed to improving women's lives both in the private and public spheres and in facing social, cultural and religious challenges (Zara 2021).

In the context of Muslim women's organizations, in the course of their history they have followed the direction of their parent organizations in religious matters, while still implementing hierarchical gender practices. In the cultural structure, the embodiment of maternal values as a tradition has become the structure of society and a place for the majority of women to adapt to development. State policies regarding gender ideology, maternal values and the politicization of Islam encourage a paternalistic model of Islam. Members of the Muslim women's movement must balance the construction of the state and the views of its parent organization. The state ideology about the value of motherhood has fostered a feminine mystique for being a good mother and wife (Oakley 1996). Women must choose these roles because these roles are in accordance with their nature, and simultaneously the depoliticization of Islam has given rise to a paternalistic rhetorical approach where the aim is to protect women from the impacts of development, westernization and capitalism (Umar et al. 2021).

Although Muslim women support a paternalistic view of maternal values, they are also aware of the equality between men and women as moral agents or the view of Islamic egalitarianism. The epistemological formulation of women as moral creatures laid the foundation for Islam's support for equality and for subsequent generations of Muslim thinkers, gender activists, and feminists to formulate their aspirations.

Since its birth, the Muhammadiyah women's movement has equipped women with religious knowledge and has strengthened women's agency and authority to support the greater mission of its parent organization. Van Doorn-Harder (2006), argues that these affiliations are actually beneficial for women because they provide stability and quick access to large organizational and intellectual networks, consisting of well-known leaders and resources. This benefit coincides with the necessity of working within the boundaries of the religious ideology of Muhammadiyah, as the parent organization. Because this mechanism often occurs in all women's organizations that act as supporting elements of the parent organization, this influences Muslim women in formulating organizational thoughts and strategies.

In the paternalistic model, men are seen as knowing best and women just follow. In most women's organizations, the paradigm of motherhood values lies in women's responsibility and devotion to the family, which is seen as important in creating a healthy and prosperous family. Women's obedience and discipline as mothers and wives have a broader goal of growing a happy family. This goal is in line with the country's position to create healthy families and is the foundation of a strong nation.

The Muhammadiyah women's movement pushed for egalitarian gender principles (QS At-Taubah (9): 71) translation by Muhammad Asad (1980), but women's value was always defined according to their ability to be good wives, mothers and daughters in primarily domestic capacities. The multiple modalities of shared humanity, which grant men and women equality and the social and cultural expectations imposed on them, give rise to paradoxes about women as people and as gendered bodies. This conflicting duality supports the epistemological construction of women's status and their role in the public sphere as human beings and as gendered bodies.

In the context of Muhammadiyah gender decisions or doctrine, there is the role of agency or moral movement, which is dynamic because of the diversity of agency in the Muhammadiyah women's movement. On the one hand, there is the role of agents who are normative and follow all Muhammadiyah decisions, but there are also agencies which are practical in nature and are more concerned with local gender issues. There are also agencies that must interact with the authorities that have been Muhammadiyah's territory, and continue to strive to include gender issues in every Muhammadiyah decision.

The results of this study show that there are several findings that are different from several previous studies. Nurwanto (2012), in his research, discussed official textbooks in Muhammadiyah schools and found that women's social roles tend to receive less attention. This study found that gender bias still exists. Furthermore, this study found that gender bias started since the birth of the law in 1939, or since Aisyiyah joined the Muhammadiyah organization and gender segregation occurred, both age segregation and domain segregation. This study found that the journey towards gender justice still needs to be fought for, because age segregation, hierarchy and domain mean that authority in the Muhammadiyah organization is largely determined by the legalistic, structural and financial authority that is formally owned by the parent organization.

Research conducted by Qodariah (2016) Aisyiyah makes a positive contribution to Indonesian society and women to develop their potential to the maximum in accordance with the role they want to carry out in society. The Muhammadiyah women's movement takes advantage of the informalization of gender ideology to compete by trying to push gender issues into Muhammadiyah decisions. From his research, it is known that Muhammadiyah highly upholds the right to gender equality. This research found different things, especially in implementation at the regional level, because there is no formalization in decision making about gender, the dynamics of gender issues are often different from decisions at the central level. However, the formalization of gender ideology was used by the Muhammadiyah women's movement to hold contests so that gender ideology in Muhammadiyah was dynamic. This study found that there are still several Muhammadiyah gender decisions or doctrines that tend to be patriarchal, there is segregation, domestication, and authority that does not reflect gender justice.

Conclusion

Muhammadiyah Women has values equal to those of its parent organization in promoting religious, social and educational change within the Muslim community. The Muhammadiyah women's movement also emphasizes the importance of instilling individual and public moral responsibility. Being part of Muhammadiyah does not reduce their role as a women's agency. The members of the Muhammadiyah women's movement aspire to develop the quality of life for Muslim women. All of these activities require women to be at the centers of agency, to continue to move and do good deeds. As a women's movement organization, Muhammadiyah women were also pioneers in establishing religious arguments about equality in the new movement. They add a new dimension to the gender debate, the ontological equality of men and women in terms of humanity, moral agency or sovereignty, and virtue. The concept of gender relations in Islam is not just about regulating justice and gender equality in society, but theologically regulates the pattern of relations between the microcosm (humans), the microcosm (nature), and God. Islam emphasizes that men and women have equal duties and responsibilities as caliphs in governing, prospering and prospering this earth. The Muhammadiyah women's movement calls for the family as the pillar of society, acting as a buffer to reduce the excesses of rapid social change and demonstrating the suitability of Islam in the modern world.

In carrying out these efforts, Muhammadiyah women also promote women's self-discovery as individuals and members of the community without neglecting the family because their participation in family institutions is very necessary for the welfare of the country. They not only pay great attention to adjusting women's roles in the family, but also encourage women to participate in all activities as long as they are within the boundaries of Islamic parameters. The Muhammadiyah women's movement has made many contributions to the public good, from building educational facilities, health, to humanitarian activities.

It is hoped that this study can provide new discourse for studies on the women's movement in Indonesia, especially the Islamic women's movement. The Islamic women's movement has different colors and movement models in each region depending on the needs and issues that are currently developing. This study is limited to certain areas, so it is very possible that there are some differences in problems in other areas with different movement models. Further studies are highly recommended to add to the discourse on the social transformation that has been carried out by the Muslim women's movement in Indonesia and their contribution to gender justice.

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