



Media and Women's Economy: An Empirical Analysis of Gender Equality Construction of Salafi Congregation

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Gender equality is an important aspect of building harmony in the family. Salafis, with their teachings of Islamic purity, is considered a religious organization that severely restricts women's activities. This reality makes the public think that Salafi women are domesticated, subordinated, and discriminated against in terms of gender. This study examines and explores the concept of gender equality in the Salafi family and how it is contextualized in reality and women's economic movements. This qualitative research uses observational data, periodic WhatsApp application interviews, and documentation studies. This study shows that, first, an understanding of gender equality has been developed in Salafi families in Lampung, although its implementation still requires negotiation by considering the rights and obligations of women in the family, as wives, mothers, and both. Second, while still paying attention to religious norms, Salafi women utilize social media, the internet, and digital technology to build businesses, partner, and connect with many parties. Third, the creativity of Salafi women in building homes as a place for entrepreneurship, no longer a domestic space, has been able to form alliances instead of causing conflict between home and workplace and clouding public perceptions that they are domesticated.

Keywords: *Gender equality; Salafi Women; Social Media; Entrepreneurship*

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INTRODUCTION

Salafi women, who have been described as having limited access to the economy, in line with the understanding of religious teachings that women should be at home (Fitrianita 2019, Olsson 2020), are starting to appear in public and have activities as female Muslim

entrepreneurs. Negotiations, debates, and complex bargaining processes regarding women's rights and gender based on religion have begun to shift understanding regarding the position of Salafi women. Salafi women's ability to reconstruct their identity and build narratives of equality (Yuliatin 2019) shows that they can build women's authority (Nielsen



2020). Salafi women in Salafi groups in Lampung began to appear in public and carry out economic activities outside the home, such as entrepreneurship. In economic activities, they optimize social media and internet, making it easier for entrepreneurial activities.

The ability of Salafi women to merge into the social construction of society is an important in reconstructing their identity, which has been close to being considered a radical group (Abdullah and Salleh 2015), extreme (Hellmich 2008), and intolerant (Norlen 2020, Rahmatullah 2017), which has the potential to cause upheaval (Staunton 2008). They began to gain space by building integration with local community and elements (Abidin and Hafizah 2019). These efforts have become a movement that is slowly shifting the public's justification for Salafi Muslims. Amid global economic competition, this condition facilitates the leaps and progressive work that Salafi women must do in building product brands and reaching markets.

Studies related to the activities of Salafi women have tended to look at their involvement in da'wah (Nurani 2019), negotiating women's identity (Sunesti, Hasan and Azca 2018a, Sunesti, Hasan and Azca 2018b), representation of the niqab as a movement of resistance, protest, and struggle towards Islam kaffah (Ahmad, Muniroh and Nurani 2021), the socio-economic challenges of Salafi women (Tarwiyah 2017), and the internet use in the activities of Salafi women (Nisa 2013). Some of these studies have not evaluated how Salafi families negotiate regarding the construction of gender equality in the family or the actualization of it in the economic activities. In line with the increasing capabilities and abilities of women to carry out entrepreneurial activities, this is a consideration for each Salafi family. The narrative of equality within the Salafi family has begun to develop in line with the understanding of religious teachings, which are increasingly flexible according to the context.

This paper complement the deficiencies of previous studies conducted by experts by

examining and exploring how the concept of gender equality in Salafi families is constructed and what the transformative movements of Salafi women are like in building their economy. The presence of Salafi women in the public, economic, and social spheres shows that Salafi teachings no longer try to restrict women's activities strictly, but instead begin to show flexibility. Negotiations based on gender equality within the family are starting to develop, in which a rigid understanding of religious texts that previously restricted women a lot, is now starting to be interpreted more broadly.

This paper is based on the argument that the involvement of Salafi women in economic activities is a representation of gender equality, which at first were limited by religious norms emphasizing that staying at home is obligatory (Fitrianita 2019). Salafi women's economic activities are built while still paying attention to the religious norms practiced by Salafi. Women stay at home, become wives and mothers, and do business by using social media, like Facebook and WhatsApp. This is inseparable from the construction of gender equality that has been built, although not completely.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In Islam, the equality concept is a separate focus in the Koran. Despite their differences, women are equal to men (Syed and Buren 2014, Syed and Ali 2019), both in terms of humanity and dignity (Syed 2010). In other words, gender equality is key to creating a democratic space (Cornwall and Goetz 2005).

The tendency to practice norms that are closer to patriarchal values shows passive Muslims (Glas, Spierings and Scheepers 2018). Doctrinal understanding is produced by textualism (Rinaldo 2014). This belief is widely voiced by patriarchal groups who believe that religious texts only have one fixed literal meaning rather than interpreting them according to their contextuality (Masoud, Jamal and Nugent 2016). Islam can be integrated to encourage the fulfilment of

women's rights (Alexander and Parhizkari 2018).

Critics of the unequal social reality between men and women are based on the fact that the Qur'an does not differentiate between men and women, all are equal. However, several facts that occurred in several religious organizations did not reveal this. This is due to the social norms built into Islamic culture that men and women socially have different privileges and obligations. Women are morally constrained by these different rights in several Muslim countries (Ali and Syed 2017). Islamic feminists see that male dominance in the development of Islamic theology is one of the reasons why interpretations of religious values do not work equally, even though Islam upholds egalitarian principles (Moghadam 2002). Criticism of the process of inequality emerges from various elements, communities, and activists, including the Islamic feminist movement, which bases its analysis on the Koran (Essers and Benschop 2009). Their existence does not focus on criticism of Islam but on human interpretation of Islamic values (Charrad 2011, Mir 2006, Omair 2008).

Among Salafi circles, there is a belief that a pious woman is a woman who stays at home (Sunesti et al. 2018a). The feminist movement sees that women are facing problems due to patriarchal culture and misinterpretations of Islamic teachings (Tlaiss 2015b). The increase in theological discourse that is voiced by women and the mobility of women in educational institutions are positively correlated with solving the gender problems (Dzuhayatin 2020).

Among Salafi women, they are starting to find space for expression by using social media and reconstruct the identity of Salafi women (Nurani 2019, Sunesti et al. 2018a). The effectiveness of Salafi organizations' use of the media to disseminate religious values has been enhanced. Salafis have gained access to television and the internet (Latf Rahmatulloh and Ngazizah 2022), especially in the field of religious studies. The studies that were conducted put a stop to the practice of female

khatib priests and marginalized and subordinated them in their religious position (Ikhwan, Suratman, Ramadhan et al. 2022).

Making and sharing religious content on Instagram is a way to gather Salafi followers, who can then be used for media business endeavors. Other da'wah organizations have been influenced by this approach to digital capitalization (Sanjaya, Bakti, Sigid et al. 2022). Internet use makes it easier for Salafi women to establish business networks in accordance with different subcultures within the larger society (Nisa 2013). Salafi By maximizing technical advancements, women's entrepreneurial activities can be developed. Salafi women can conduct business without ever leaving the house by using the internet and social media (Tobibatussaadah, Setyawan and Nugroho 2022).

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Social media requires social interaction to be carried out. Trusov et al. (Trusov, Bucklin and Pauwels 2009) and Stephen and Galak (Stephen and Galak 2012) both assert that social media have a favorable impact on marketing outcomes, new customer acquisition, and sales. Digital media platforms can be used to increase the geographic reach of a business's product sales (Gao, Tate, Zhang et al. 2018), make it easier for consumers to evaluate a brand (Naylor, Lamberton and West 2012), and foster intimate relationships with clients (Rapp, Beitelspacher, Grewal et al. 2013). Contrarily, clients are given more authority over the marketing communication process via social media and are transformed into message makers, collaborators, and commentators (Hamilton, Kaltcheva and Rohm 2016).

Salafi Muslims mainly rely on social media to spread their message and sway viewers toward what they believe to be true Islam. Enhancing internet capabilities has also made it simpler for Salafi Islamic organizations to raise money for charitable causes. This demonstrates how Salafis use Internet

resources to replace their missionaries despite the fact that they are orthodox and adhere to certain ideas and attitudes (Iqbal 2014). This demonstrates that religious teachings can be disseminated outside of mosques by utilizing social media as a brand-new platform for communication with the general public (Sorgenfrei 2021a). The existence of social media has a tremendous impact on how gender is socially constructed among Salafi women. In addition to promoting Salafi doctrines, interaction with the public via social media platforms support economic goals like entrepreneurship, book production, and book sales (Sorgenfrei 2021b).

According to a hadith related to Aisyah, the Prophet permitted women to leave the house to attend to their necessities. Women must work in order to support their families. However, when they get married, the outcomes they acquire allow them to take care of both their own wants and the requirements of their family (Duffy and Pruchniewska 2017). Women's involvement in entrepreneurship is crucial for both the social and economic health of society and for providing for their families financial needs (Sajjad, Kaleem, Chani et al. 2020). Increased family income is made possible by women's participation in economic activities. In the case of Muslim women weavers in Indonesia, who are motivated by a process of self-actualization, culture, and religion, women weavers in the village of Sukaraja have succeeded in raising the standard of living of their families and are active in the creative activities (El Badriati, Saleh, Nahar et al. 2022).

The Qur'an places an emphasis on creating gender equality. Likewise, the compilation of Islamic law also encourages gender equality (Rahmawati 2020). Religion can serve to encourage a critical understanding of gender equality (Rinaldo 2014). In line with this, the feminist movement aims to provide an overview of equality in all aspects, not only for women but also for men (Precopio and Ramsey 2017). Gender inequality is heavily influenced by aspects of a patriarchal culture that tend to

give rise to gender-based violence against not only women but also men (Carter, Bryant-Lukosius, DiCenso et al. 2014).

Some Salafi groups interpret the verses of the Koran in a rigid and textual manner, on the other hand, some Salafi groups have begun to interpret them more flexibly, which places women in an equal position. The equality that is starting to develop within the Salafi family provides space for women to build their economic structure, reconstruct the social identity of Salafi women, and be active in preaching. Some Salafi religious leaders in this regard also position themselves more flexibly by not limiting women's activities in the public space for school, college, and work (Yuliatin 2019). This allows new members of the Salafi group to negotiate the practice of the religious teachings that are widely practiced by Salafis (Aswah 2017).

RESEARCH METHOD

This is a qualitative study looking at the economic activities of Salafi women in Lampung as an output of gender equality. This study was conducted on two Salafi Muslim groups in Lampung: in Metro and Central Lampung, both of which are Puritan Islamic groups. These areas were chosen based on the connectedness of these groups, which allows them to influence each other. Puritanism calls for the teaching of purity and rejects teachings that are not based on the Qur'an and Hadith (Wiktorowicz 2000). The teaching of purity strengthens the Salafi position on conservatism, is not limited to government policies, and tends to be an exclusive (Yakin 2018).

This qualitative study employs a phenomenological approach to investigate Salafi women daily lives. The purpose of this study was to monitor and evaluate the existence of Salafi women and the commercial ventures that were developed to represent the idea of gender equality. In order to understand the negotiation process connected to gender, women's economics, and the limitations that

must be overcome, both in starting a business and using digital media, primary data in this study take from Salafi households, both men and women. Secondary data, however, is derived from the literature review.

This research begins with making research instruments, such as formulating problems into questions and collecting primary and secondary data. The results are presented in the form of a systematic and logical descriptive narrative. This study aims to provide an empirical description of how the concept of gender equality in a Salafi family is developed and what Salafi women's economic activities and media use are like.

Data collection was carried out through direct interviews using WhatsApp conducted with 5 men and 5 women, and the determination of the informants were carried out using a purposive sampling technique. Taking male informants aims to deepen information about gender equality in Salafi families and analyze their perspectives on Salafi women who are entrepreneurs. They (men) are educator, religious teacher, preacher, and entrepreneur. To enhance the credibility of the data, this study uses triangulation. Triangulation is the practice of using methods and data sources to study the same phenomenon (Carter et al. 2014).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Home and Woman's Economic

Salafi is a puritan Islamic group (Syamsir, Septiadi, Nurhakiki et al. 2021). They practice a lot of previous teachings as pure teachings with the term calling for pure Islamic values (Wiktorowicz 2000). Their existence shows opposition to public views so far by emphasizing that to be a good Muslim one must at least change their appearance, and behavior, to socio-cultural values like Arabs (Wahib 2017). For example, wearing all black, a large hijab, a veil for women, cropped pants for men (Jannah 2013). These beliefs become a priority in Salafi's teachings. Especially Salafi

women, get a lot of social and economic restrictions, even religion.

The lives of Salafi women depend a lot on the quality of their understanding of the texts of the Al-Quran, Hadith, and the teachings of their predecessors (Jannah 2013). Biased interpretations and interpretations of religious texts are sometimes the basis for the ongoing process of women's domestication. The domestication of women is not only constructed by power, economic, and political factors, but can also be influenced by social realities (Parvanova 2012). Restrictions on public activities make Salafi women only involved in the domestic sphere. In addition, women's activities outside the home are taboo for Salafi women because they perceive it as an activity that can cause harm.

The interpretation of religious texts of Salafi tends to place women in their domestic areas. This is because there are norms that form the basis of Salafi women's lives, first, the use of completely closed clothing, wearing the hijab, covering the face, and wearing all dark clothes is associated with a form of obedience. Second, women should stay silent at home (Fitrianita 2019). The use of completely closed clothing, besides being used as a symbol of piety and cultural identity, also functions as a form of protest, resistance, and justification of Islamic teachings to expand the Salafi's ideology. This means that the niqab has become a symbol of resistance to religious hegemony and the culture of dressing for Indonesian Muslim women in general (Ahmad et al. 2021). To be pious means to be like an Arab and to be a puritan. Being a pious Salafi, according to their understanding, means opposing both secular and traditional life at the same time, and trying to separate oneself from outside life (other religious groups) that is contrary to Salafi beliefs (Wahib 2017).

"By default, women do have a place in the house, and still the best place for women is home", (interview with "K" as entrepreneur in September 2022).

Salafi's beliefs also point to a female context, which concludes that the home is the best space for women (Fitrianita 2019, Olsson and Bernhard 2021, Olsson 2020). The house represents the best hijab for women who can limit interactions with men and avoid things that cause harm. The doctrine for Salafi women of self-limitation from the outside world becomes the priority standard for shalihah.

The values of womanhood in organizations that many Salafi women are involved in are constructed into three things: how to dress according to religious orders, how to behave towards the opposite sex, and how to be a good mother/wife (Aswah 2017). This level is illustrated by three categorizations that describe the level of spirituality based on feminine values. As new members in the organization, women have the opportunity to negotiate, in contrast to the second level (murabbi) which shows a more closed way of dressing and how to socialize with the opposite sex, and the third level which focuses on how to be a good wife/mother.

Salafis categorize as a puritan group that practices pure religious teachings, teachings brought by pious predecessors. Ideologically they reject Western views (Wahib 2011) and at the same time become an opposition (Mahanani 2017). The Salafi group emphasizes that activities outside the home are a cultural reality that should not be followed. They believe that a noble place for women is home. They see that when women are outside the home it will cause things that are not good, give rise to slander, and are close to illegitimate activities.

"Women should follow the Prophet's wife, by not doing activities outside the home. Because this is also in accordance with the verse wa qorna fi buyutikunn (QS. A; Ahzab 33)", (interview with "Y" as preacher in September 2022).

A teaching that is emerging among Salafi women is that the greatest place for women to be is at home.

"Women in the house are Islamic teachings, which shows that Salafi women is highly honored by their religion and their husbands", (interview with "H" as a businesswoman in September 2022).

This socially constructed belief makes the home a space for women to express themselves. That a woman must take care of the household, take care of the children, and serve her husband. Meanwhile, the husband's duty to work and meet the needs of the family has become a historical reality which is the belief of Salafi Muslim families (Parvanova 2012). This social reality represents that women must submit to the provisions of their husbands, without any negotiation process in it. In neo-traditionalist Islamic groups, such as Salafis, believe that women should be at home (Olsson 2020). In addition, Islam is described as a religion that does not provide access to equality for women and is the basis for subordination to women (Tlaiss 2015a, Tlaiss 2015b).

The aforementioned perceptions were created in an effort to undermine women's status under the guise of women's commitment to religious traditions. In some situations, the Prophet even gave women permission to leave the house, go to work, and support themselves. In principle, women's employment activities should primarily serve the demands of their families as well as their own (Sharafizad 2018).

"In family, we practice Islamic values that are strict, but not rigid. As a woman, I am not subordinated and mostly involved in the world of home-based entrepreneurship, which I can do at home with my husband", (interview with "A" as a mompreneur in September 2022).

There is an understanding among several Salafi families in Lampung regarding the equality of women having the same rights and status as men. Salafi women now had equal

access to employment options and were no longer subject to their husbands' authority. They can work together to strengthen the economy, for instance, through agriculture (Mazid 2020). This is in line with Islam, which does not place a very dominant emphasis on men or women based on their position. Islam upholds justice and equality, which are currently the focus of many feminist movements (Fadlan 2011). This can be seen from the historical reality that, at the time of the Prophet, women had the freedom to be active in the public sector.

"After negotiating and lengthy discussions, I got my husband's permission to do business. I have a home business or home industry. Thank God, I have enough profit to help meet the needs of my family", (interview with "L" as a businesswoman in January 2023)."

The patriarchal nature of Muslim families has a strong influence on determining entrepreneurial activity. Welsh et al (Welsh, Kaciak and Minialai 2017) in their study, emphasized that the success of negotiations with partners and families is influenced by management skills. Women do not have to fully comply with the husband's provisions as a leader (functional) because the wife's duties are not entirely structural but are alternatives that can be agreed upon by the husband and wife who want them to exchange positions (Ibrahim 2013). Salafi women are limited to taking care of household needs, serving husbands, and taking care of children. They are also limited to housework due to efforts to subordinate them due to the economy (Ridwan and Susanti 2019), patriarchal culture (Nurmila 2015) and biased interpretations of religious texts (Parvanova 2012) but also have access in socio-economic terms.

Salafi Women Entrepreneur as a Result of Negotiations

Salafi beliefs that rely heavily on Arabic Islamic teachings give rise to the distinction of

carrying out pure religious orders. Norris and Inglehart (Norris and Inglehart 2002) even concluded that Arab society still holds the value of conservatism about gender and Islam, which is the main source of patriarchal culture. Interpretations that lead to Islamic conservative values of religious texts and socio-cultural values encourage gender stereotypes, gender roles, and patriarchal masculinity, which are often biased (Madichie and Gallant 2012, Tlaiss 2015b).

The understanding of Islam and women's entrepreneurship often appear as two sides of the same coin. The narratives developed among Salafi Muslims are related to Islam and the challenges women have to face in entrepreneurship (Kazemi 2000). Efforts to restrict women from working outside the home are an option to avoid bad possibilities for women. From a cultural perspective, women must be mothers, wives, or both and must respect their male relatives (Goss, Jones, Betta et al. 2011).

Gender inequality in entrepreneurship in Turkey is an obstacle to women's business performance (Welsh, Kaciak, Memili et al. 2018). Resistance to narratives that domesticate women arises from various aspects. Women in Algeria use Al-Quran concepts and approaches to legitimize women's economic, social, and political empowerment (Jansen 2004). Muslim women are starting to reveal themselves in public spaces (Nonaka 2021). This belief also began to awaken among the Salafis in Lampung.

All humans, based on the interview with "R", "G", and "Y", are ordered to do business and try to work, both men and women.

"Women have the freedom to build a business. This is one of the fatwas from Saikh Bin Bas that says women have the right to work, even if it is outside the home. However, they must avoid harm, such as ikhtilat (mixing of men and women) and wearing the hijab".

The conduciveness of religious norms that have so far been believed by Salafi circles shows a different reality. Islam traditionally does not limit women's economic activities to achieve independence (Grine, Fares and Meguellati 2015). The order to work in Islam includes both men and women.

“Since 2017, I joined the Salafi congregation to meet many Salafi women who have received permission from their husbands to work. In a sense, the teachings that have been described by the public are not entirely true. Salafi teachings are not completely old-fashioned. Even if it is felt that working as office workers or others will cause harm, many of them (Salafi women) choose to become small and home-based entrepreneurs”, (interview with “A” as a businesswoman in September 2022).”

Islamic religious teachings do not limit women's activities, especially in economic matters. Even in muamalah Islam gives and has a positive influence on women's economic lives, in business, entrepreneurship, and others (Essers and Benschop 2009, Tlaiss 2015b). In running a business, Islam emphasizes being able to apply a good work ethic to a Muslim (Karakas, Sarigollu and Kavas 2015, Murtaza, Abbas, Raja et al. 2016) and Islamic business practices to get the blessings of Allah swt. (Azmi 2014).

Although Salafi teaching calls for women to stay at home in general, there are more widespread Salafi teaching practices. Al Baqiyatush-Shalihah and Sa'adatuddarain, two Salafi Islamic boarding schools in Jambi, acknowledge the equality of men and women. Even in the Al Baqiyatush-Shalihah Islamic Boarding School, attitudes about women participating in activities in public settings (such as school and jobs) are more moderate (Yuliatin 2019). Public attention to women also leads to an advocacy process, such as that carried out by the *Republika* newspaper. This is an antithesis to the view that Islam limits

women in society (Badara and Jamiludin 2020).

“If women have to leave the house to work, then there are things that need attention. Among them are obtaining the permission of their guardian, wearing shar'i clothing, being safe from slander by avoiding khalwat (alone with a man who is not a mahram, without being accompanied by his mahram), and having a mahram while travelling”, (interview with “K” as an entrepreneur in September 2022).”

Women as the breadwinners of the family in the view of Islamic economics are permissible; apart from that, women work as an alternative to maintaining the survival of life and family life. This is permissible by fulfilling Shari'a aspects such as maintaining one's honor by covering one's genitals, not causing slander, and avoiding activities that generate salaries that are not lawful (Nurhadi 2019).

Working women are allowed. Women are allowed to make a living as an alternative to maintaining family life provided they do not violate religious law, such as by exposing their genitals, causing slander, or harming themselves and their families (Nurhadi 2019). The emphasis in the interviews with “R” and “S” was on aspects of women working in Islam. In essence, women are permitted to work as long as they do not disobey Shari'a.

“As long as they (women) do not violate the Shari'a, have any intention, and reveal their genitals, then women are allowed to work. Muamalah in Islam is permissible, unless there is an argument against it. This means that men and women have the same opportunity to build a business”.

As a logical result, men and women have the same rights and obligations. Because they all stem from the same source, all humans are equal before God (Ambarwati 2009). By virtue

of the internet's ability to communicate with the outside world while keeping a distance, women who cover their faces, who are socially excluded by mainstream Islamic views, can essentially conduct their economic activities online (Nisa 2013).

“Women’s entrepreneurship is good. Today, women can run a business and work at home. Selling anything can now be done without having to show yourself. Many business owners are women who are also housewives”, (interview with “H” as a businesswoman in October 2022).”

Encouraging women to start businesses at home can also reduce actions that could lead to defamation and bring up things that are harmful. In this regard, Gilman draws attention to the home economy by advocating for a dramatic reform of the family economy via the lens of gender in order to encourage new women, which enables a decrease in social tensions and an increase in economic welfare (Vallet 2023). On the other hand, the existence of women working or in entrepreneurship will indirectly become figures who will voice women's rights and equality, which so far have been limited to the discourse of power and knowledge in the domestic sphere (Fitrianita 2019, Hidayah 2014).

In today's unpredictable economy, it's never wrong for women to start or become entrepreneurs.

"Women have the freedom to manage a business as long as they obtain consent from their husbands or parents and adhere to the constraints that are acceptable. In addition, it's equally crucial to avoid engaging in any prohibited activity, like working in an environment where the economic resources are deemed haram, usurious, or dubious (vague)", (interview with “I” as a mompreneur in September 2022).”

Islam, in general, provides an open space for women to interpret the success and identity of successful women as business owners (Tlaiss and McAdam 2021). Business, along with the development of information technology, allows it to be operated not only (or should be) at home, but women can creatively use their homes to run a business (Ekinsmyth 2011). This allows women to run a partnership rather than creating conflicts between home and work (Powell and Eddleston 2013). This phenomenon will significantly represent the blurring of the function of the house as a domestic space for women and the construction of gender identity because the house can be a space for women to express themselves.

Understandings equality in the economy leads to a more equal life. Some Salafi families in Lampung have an understanding of gender equality, even though there are boundaries that cannot be crossed or tolerated. If the prohibition or limitation of Salafi women's economic activities is based on clear and *Syar'i* reasons, then women should comply, and vice versa if there is no fundamental basis, then it is permissible for women to work.

“It's good that we have to discuss it first to find the best solution. As an obedient woman, convince your husband by asking for an explanation if you don't agree while looking for the best solution so that your husband is sure and willing to give approval for us, women, to run a business”, (interview with “A” as a businesswoman in September 2022).

The best strategy to find the best answer is to have conversations with husbands or parents about women's economic activities from a gender perspective. Salafi women are allowed to engage in business activities. However, in this situation, Salafi women must put religious tenets and their husbands' or parents' consent before anything else (Tobibatussaadah et al. 2022).

Social Media and Economic Activities of Salafi Women

Internet and social media facilities are widely used by Salafi groups to reach many places and audiences (Nurdin 2016). Salafi women, with their growing creativity, are starting to take advantage of the existence of social media for economic interests, not just as a medium for preaching (Nurani 2019, Zaenuri and Yusuf 2019). Many of them have started to build business using social media, which does not require them to leave the house and, on the other hand, allows them to carry out their obligations as pious women. In general, this phenomenon emphasizes that most online business people are women (Sihotang, Puspokusumo, Sun et al. 2020).

A home is a noble place for women; it is no longer a domestic space. Changes in the construction of houses allow Salafi women to use them as a place of work.

“As Muslims, we are asked to continue to innovate and develop with science while still adhering to religious principles. Reconstructed the house into a workspace that has a large turnover. To become a businesswoman by selling drinking water bottles as a drop shipper, I has a turnover that is not small tens of millions every month. In her home business activities, she optimizes her social media presence, such as Facebook, Facebook page, WA, and others, to reach a wider market”, (interview with “I” as a businesswoman in September 2022).

This phenomenon shows that Salafi women, who are often seen as a group that is passive, subordinate, limited to their domestic space, discriminated against, and voiceless, use social media to express their presence and negotiate their identity (Sunesti et al. 2018a). Their limitations in direct public spaces, as a form of obedience and adherence to Shari'a, do not limit them from carrying out activities in cyberspace. They use social media a lot for expression and voice, and they optimize it to

reconstruct their identity. The existence of the internet makes it easier for Salafi women to build a different trajectory than usual according to their sub-culture (Nisa 2013).

The existence of digital media can directly bring up new opportunities, especially information and communication technology that can be optimized as communication, transaction, and marketing channels (Genç and Öksüz 2015, Nambisan, Wright and Feldman 2019). For business people, the presence of technology is a transformative phenomenon that changes the concept of offline business to online (Kraus, Palmer, Kailer et al. 2018). The presence of social media in society provides an open opportunity for all parties to carry out economic activities, including Salafi women (Iqbal 2017, Iqbal and Zulkifli 2020).

The concept of online business, apart from making it easier for business people and reducing marketing costs, also does not require business people to meet. This is an important point in Salafi's teachings, namely not allowing *ikhtilat* (mingling of men and women).

“So far, the businesses she operates use digital facilities for marketing, such as WhatsApp and Facebook. Even so, marketing is still carried out using conventional means, such as word of mouth, to reach consumers who do not consume active social media”, (interview with “L” as a mompreneur in September 2022).

The existence of digital facilities is a prerequisite for developing a business. Therefore, business people need to improve their skills in optimizing social media as a marketing medium (Dery, Sebastian and Meulen 2017, Li and Herd 2017, Sharafizad 2018). Two basic competencies in building an online business that women must possess are the ability to build partnerships and capabilities in digital marketing (Sihotang et al. 2020). As entrepreneurs, women, in general, are required to keep learning and improving

skills in the field of digitalization (Olsson and Bernhard 2021).

"Businesses using social media are free, but they must still pay attention to the Shari'a, not displaying photos of the buyer and seller, not taking photos of other people's businesses, and not spoiling the sound in video postings in order to attract the attention of buyers", (interview with "S" as a businesswoman in September 2022)".

E-business will eventually make it easy for women to run their businesses, which in turn will empower them (Hossain 2018). However, this is certainly influenced by perceptions and self-motivation about the use and usefulness of information technology. Crittenden et al. (Crittenden, Crittenden and Ajjan 2019) revealed that women's perceptions of the ease of operation and use of information technology are predictors of technology use in business. In addition, the decision to use technology is also influenced by social capital, which is moderated by self-efficacy.

"I", one of the Salafi Muslim entrepreneurs so far, has even been able to open a business branch in the city of Bandar Lampung and Metro. In the business she operates, "I" uses social media a lot as a marketing medium. Through media optimization, apart from increasing turnover, "I" as informant will be able to get several resellers with various backgrounds. Social media offers convenience for online businesses, which allows business people to interact, collaborate, and target audiences so that it is likely to attract public attention (Henderson and Bowley 2010).

Salafi women must certainly be pious. However, what is more, important is to be an advanced and visionary person, not to be clueless (technologically illiterate). Diamond's explanation shows that as a Salafi woman, obedience to the Shari'a is the most important, but adapting to the changing times is also important. In her business activities, "I" looks

very busy with her cell phone every day. For him, one day without holding a handphone is a big loss. For him, being busy with good things will certainly cover the bad things. Many of its business activities are supported by technology. Many transactions are carried out online rather than offline.

On a macro level, apart from Islamic practices such as praying, which are believed to reduce stress, wearing the headscarf, and complying with Shari'a guidelines, skills significantly influence the business performance of Indonesian Muslim women (ChoudhuryKaul, Supriyadi and Fahlevi 2023). Social media skills are one of them. The use of social media, apart from being used for promotion, is also important for building networks and business relationships with many parties. Both of these are important components of running a business.

Established networks and public trust will, in turn, make it easier for businesses to market their products. However, social media provides convenience, efficiency, and effectiveness in marketing and operations. Business people can carry out product promotions very cheaply, directly determine the level of customer satisfaction with direct communication, and build a wider network (Ramanathan, Subramanian and Parrott 2017). According to McAdam et al (McAdam, Crowley and Harrison 2020), the use of social media for women entrepreneurs is a powerful formula. There are at least three benefits: being involved in active communication with customers, communicating intensely with business partners, and being a medium for expression. The media even has an emancipatory capacity for women so that it can change the patriarchal system (Duffy and Pruchniewska 2017).

This research shows that the domestication of Salafi women is not proven. This is because an understanding of gender equality has begun to develop in Salafi families, even though in some ways men have quite a large dominance over women, such as in leadership. Based on equality, the husband or

the head of the family no longer restricts women's economic activities strictly; they even think that working women are good, but some laws must be observed. In their economic activities, in line with the Shari'a not to have any intention and cover their genitals (Aswah 2017, Fitrianita 2019), Salafi women use social media a lot to develop home businesses. This phenomenon obscures the public's assumption that Salafi women receive a lot of discrimination and, at the same time, shifts the assumption that the home is a domestic space for Salafi women. Along the way, they were even able to build a business that was quite large, had branches, and had several resellers with various backgrounds.

The awakening of an understanding of gender equality in the family is an end to the beginning of women's economic independence and family economic strength. Women working as businesswoman, as did Khadijah, the Prophet's wife, became the choice for all women from various backgrounds. In the more modern Salafi Islamic boarding schools, they do not provide space for women to be involved in public activities or even work (Yuliatin 2019). This indicates that Salafi women have the freedom to build their own and their families economies. In the Islamic economic view, working women are allowed as an alternative to life and family life (Nurhadi 2019).

Permission to run the business was the result of lengthy negotiations that took place within the Salafi family. Even though most of them understand the concept of equality, it is not easy to convince their husbands and families, as well as themselves, to run a business while carrying out their obligations as a wives, mothers, and businesspeople at the same time. Salafi women can use technology as a tool to communicate with the public and market their items in their commercial activities. Her skills in operating mobile phones and social media are a beginning and an end to the public perception that Salafi women are domesticated, discriminated against, constrained, and unable to speak. They

use social media for expression, voice, and even economics without having to leave their obligations and the Shari'a.

Restrictions on women are caused by Islamic social and cultural norms, which emphasize that men and women are different (Ali and Syed 2017). The dominance of men in Islamic theology is one of the reasons why the interpretation of religious texts is common even though (Moghadam 2002). In general, the Salafi families understand the concept of equality, as taught by Islam. However, this is not visible because there is a Shari'a that explains not to have an *ikhtilat* (mingling of men and women), leave the house, and wear closed clothes for women. The existence of social media and the internet gives women the opportunity to build economic independence without abandoning their obligations or obscuring religious law.

This study reveals a new reality within the Salafi family. That the understanding of gender equality is starting to develop even though it is not fully applied. First, gender equality is based on the values contained in the Quran and Hadith. Second, the creation of access to entrepreneurship is the result of long negotiations with full consideration of women's rights and obligations. Third, the existence of social media moderates women's desire to build their businesses more broadly. An understanding of equality within the Salafi family is the main basis for women in the Salafi family in Lampung to build their home businesses by utilizing social media.

The involvement of Salafi women in outside world activities, relationships, and the economy, shows that they have opened themselves up and obscured public assumptions that emphasize that Salafi women are domesticated and discriminated against in terms of gender. Their presence shows that the public's view of the exclusivity of Salafi women is not entirely correct. In terms of gender discourse, Salafi families in Lampung know and understand, but in some aspects, men are more dominant in their roles and positions, for example, in the aspect of leadership. Although

Salafi women's involvement with the outside world is mostly done using technological facilities, the internet, and social media, the public must know the boundaries and norms to be able to relate to and partner with Salafi women. There are boundaries, as well as a mutual respect for differences, that must be considered. Meanwhile, the government can take part by issuing a policy to provide safe spaces for women, places that are gender-responsive.

Studies on the Salafi group need to be carried out to look at and analyze it more deeply. So far, public justification has been developed by categorizing Salafi women as objects in the household, domesticated, without access to leaving the house, and discriminated against. Life towards Puritanism, which is reflected in neo-traditionalist groups, makes the public have no doubts about constructing Salafi women as objects that are constrained in the family. A different phenomenon occurs in the Salafi group in Lampung, where the concept of equality is understood as a religious teaching by placing women in an equal position. They have the opportunity to interact with the outside world and the economy.

CONCLUSION

It turns out that the Salafi belief in pure Islam by implementing religious law has so far been seen as an exclusive and puritanical depiction of Arab Islam. This phenomenon globally has constructed the existence of Salafi. However, the existence of the Salafi group in Lampung shows something different, even though they still hold puritanical values, an understanding of gender equality in Salafi families has been built. They understand that women have the same rights and position as men, as Islamic teachings generally place women on an equal footing with men, both in terms of humanity and dignity. On the other hand, based on the Shari'a, women are required to wear clothes that are closed and not modest. As a result of lengthy negotiations,

many Salafi women have used technological developments, the internet, and social media for muamalah (entrepreneurship).

Technology has made it possible for Salafi women to start enterprises without having to leave their homes. This phenomenon of equality has an impact on the family as well, and Salafi women's economic activities now play a significant role in sustaining the household economy. The viewpoints of men and women (educators, Ustadz or religious teachers, preachers, and entrepreneurs) are the only ones included in this study. By increasing the number of informants, conducting additional research, and considering young Salafi women's perspectives as well as those of Salafi women who do not participate in the economy. It is possible to gain a wider perspective by integrating these two viewpoints. Other methodologies, including ethnography, grounded theory, and narratives, might be used to investigate Salafi women's economic activities in order to further the research's conclusions. This will also assist in dispelling the public's misconception that Salafi women have historically been inferior and can be equal.

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