

Countering Social Stigma as the Basis of Interfaith Movement: A Case Study of *Cadar Garis Lucu*

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Abstract

One of the weaknesses of interfaith dialogue in Indonesia is the lack of participation and space for women's voices. Almost all spaces for interfaith dialogue are dominated by men, even though women have an important role in interfaith dialogue. Therefore, we should involve more women than men, not only because women are the most vulnerable when religious conflicts occur, but previous studies have also shown that women are most actively involved in peacebuilding negotiation based on non-violent strategies. This study investigates an interfaith movement, *Cadar Garis Lucu*, which veiled/niqab women initiated to counter the stigma that veiled/niqab women are radical-extremist and anti-other religions. Besides being active in promoting peace and interfaith dialogue, *Cadar Garis Lucu* also promotes the discourse of gender equality. By employing qualitative research and in-depth interview method as the primary data collection technique, this study found that *Cadar Garis Lucu* is an interfaith movement that aims to counter society's negative stigma towards women – both veiled/niqab women and women in general – and seeks to bring women to participate in interfaith dialogue. Furthermore, this study argues that there giving space for women in interfaith dialogue is an effective way in the process of peacebuilding.

Keywords: women, interfaith dialogue, interfaith movement, social stigma, *Cadar Garis Lucu*

Introduction

In the interfaith dialogue, women often do not have space to participate in discussions, and they can also be under-represented (Abu-Nimer, 2015; Fletcher, 2013). In the context of Indonesia, interfaith dialogue spaces are often (not to say always) dominated by male voices, especially in interfaith dialogues organized by formal-structural organizations (Rohmawati, 2020). This domination is caused, among other things, by a patriarchal culture that tends to neglect the presence of women as an important agent in interfaith dialogue and thus given them less space (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). By

definition, the patriarchal culture is a culture that assumes men, in many ways, must be stronger and superior to women.

A society with a patriarchal system wants men to have a more significant portion than women, both in small contexts such as family (Eidhamar, 2018) and broader contexts such as society and the state (Wayan & Nyoman, 2020). The way of thinking in the patriarchal culture has indirectly been embedded in various aspects of society, such as education, religion, and politics, and it makes the marginalization and subordination of women seemingly acceptable (Abdullah, 2015) even though it also leads to

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social injustice against women (Fakih, 2013). The patriarchal culture is still widely practiced today in Indonesia. That is why women's voices are often not listened to, including in the case of interfaith dialogue.

Previous studies have proven that the role of women in interfaith dialogue is very much needed and necessary. In fact, women's role has made significant contribution to peacebuilding. The main argument is that women are most often affected when violence occurs, both in the name of religion (Noor, 2017) or for other reasons. Another argument shows that women, both as personal agent and organization, have an important role in reconciliation (Iwamony-Tiwery, 2012; Lampong, 2008), peace building (Féron, 2017; Rohmawati, 2018), and the maintenance of social harmony at the grassroots and even in broader scope (Ariesta, 2014; Ocktaviana et al., 2014). In short, women should be equally involved in interfaith dialogue.

In recent years, several interfaith movements spearheaded by women in Indonesia have gradually emerged, such as Srikandi Lintas Iman which is a forum for women to fight against acts of intolerance that occurred in the city of Yogyakarta (Sa'idah, 2020; Wahyuningtyas et al., 2019). Whereas the Cadar Garis Lucu was initiated by veiled/niqab women to fight the negative stigma against Muslim women with veil/niqab and build mutual understanding amongst women of different religions, and other non-structurally based interfaith women's movements (Alfian, 2022c; Jamilah, 2022). The women's movement across faiths has an undeniable significance. Not only by structural interfaith women's movements but also by non-structural-based movements such as Perempuan Pelintas Batas initiated by Suryaningsi Mila, lecturer of the Sekolah Tinggi Teologi Gereja Kristen Sumba (Christian theological college). Perempuan Pelintas Batas (or a woman crossing borders; an interfaith women's movement that engages by reading one another's holy texts) is an interfaith dialogue movement of women from West Wendewa and Watu Asa Village, Central Sumba East Nusa Tenggara (Kamaludin, 2022).

One of the fascinating things about the

women's interfaith dialogue movement is that their movement tends to be more creative. They not only use their interfaith movement as a mission of interfaith dialogue, but their mission also extend to broader fields related to women and empowerment. For example, the Srikandi Lintas Iman not only focuses on interfaith dialogue activities but also integrates interfaith dialogue activities with women's economic empowerment (Rohmawati et al., 2021). In addition to economic empowerment, Srikandi Lintas Iman is also involved in education discussions where they develop and implement inclusive religious education (Fatihaturohmah & Ichsan, 2019; Karwadi & Daimah, 2019). In the Cadar Garis Lucu, women also integrate their interfaith movement with campaigns on gender issues, such as sexual violence, the role of women, peacebuilding, and other issues that are currently "hot" in society. The veiled/niqab women at the Cadar Garis Lucu also discussed the celebration of religious and national holidays. In short, women in the interfaith dialogue movement generally play dual roles and functions. Apart from voicing the importance of interfaith dialogue for peace and social harmony, they also integrate such dialogue with specific missions including providing safe space for women, empowering women's economy, and fighting stigmatization.

Therefore, research on interfaith women's movements is important, especially research that explores how interfaith movements are an alternative for women to consolidate power—not only to fight the hegemonic male narrative but also to offer more inclusive spaces—as we will do in this study. We chose the Cadar Garis Lucu as the main subject matter of this research because the Cadar Garis Lucu is one of the movements that has recently been very active in voicing the issue of veiled/niqab women, holding interfaith dialogue actions, and educating young people about the role of women in various aspects of everyday social life. What is done by Cadar Garis Lucu represents an interfaith movement as an alternative movement amid rampant gender stigmatization and the politicization of religion. The emergence of the Cadar Garis Lucu is a good sign for the

women's movement and the interfaith movement in Indonesia. It is time for the interfaith women's movement to receive the attention they deserve.

Research Method

This research is qualitative research with a phenomenological approach. We applied a phenomenological approach to understand the dynamics of veiled/niqab women in Cadar Garis Lucu, an interfaith movement in which they represent themselves through social media and fight the social stigma about veiled/niqab women. Phenomenology is an approach that was developed from the thinking of Edmund Husserl, a German philosopher. Husserl stated that phenomenology aims to capture the experience in its essential form, without interpreting or reducing it (Manen, 2017). Therefore, the phenomenological approach explores and presents a person's subjective experience when choosing, doing, and interpreting things in their daily lives (Creswell, 2014; Creswell & Poth, 2017). In the context of this research, we used a phenomenological approach in collecting data from the founders of the Cadar Garis Lucu, then we present a brief description or narrative about their subjective experiences and their efforts to fight the stigma against veiled/niqab women through the programs they develop and run. In short, the main data sources in this study are veiled/niqab women who are initiators of the Cadar Garis Lucu. The data collection methods we used in this research were in-depth interviews and online news study or document review. An in-depth interview collects data through questions and answers between the researcher and resource person (Alfian, 2021, 2022b, 2022a; Bhattacharjee, 2012; Blaikie, 2005). Meanwhile, the online news study or document review that we did was that we searched for information about the activities of the Cadar Garis Lucu on the internet, which were reported by online media.

Results and Discussion

Social Stigma Theory as a Paradigm

In social science studies, research on social

stigma has grown in recent decades. Attention to the issue of social stigma comes from various circles, especially among sociologists. For example, Erving Goffman pays attention to the social stigma issues by offering various views in his works. Goffman defines social stigma as an attribute behavior, or reputation which is socially discrediting in a particular way (Goffman, 1963). This definition means that social stigma can have social and personal implications for victims of stigma. Years later, this definition of social stigma sparked further research on social stigma and its effects, broadening understanding of stigma for the general public, and giving rise to anti-stigma movements (Tyler & Slater, 2018). However, recently, some academics have begun to develop the stigma theory developed by Goffman, such as that done by Parker and Aggleton, which emphasizes the social and political aspects by exploring the issue further of how individuals, groups, and countries use stigma to produce social inequality (Parker & Aggleton, 2003)

The definition and theory of social stigma were then adopted and developed in a constructivist social framework. Gregory Herek, also a sociologist, defines stigma as "the negative regard, inferior status, and relative powerlessness that society collectively accords to people who possess a particular characteristic or belong to a particular group or category" (Herek, 2009, p. 441). What Herek emphasizes in this context is the shift in the realm of stigma from the personal to the social, which is stigma begins at the body level and personal identities and then enters the wider community level. Laws, policies, religions, and other institutional structures at this last level construct a social stigma. These structural institutions in society perpetuate social stigma in various ways. One is by imposing negative connotations attached to a particular identity and limiting the participation of those with that identity in society (Frost, 2011). Consequently, those who participate in society are considered normal, while those who do not participate are considered abnormal and marginalized. Marginalization carried out by the majority against minority groups is inseparable from the

existence of stereotypes and prejudices resulting from a perpetuated social stigma (Herek, 2007).

In the context of this research, veiled/niqab women experience social stigma, which has been secretly preserved by various parties, both by structural institutions, the media, and the wider community. Women who wear the veil/niqab are considered intolerant, so they must be warned. Stigma such as veiled/niqab women are radical women and anti-other religions caused by many factors, one of which is because the veil/niqab, as a way of dressing, is often associated with Islamic purification, is associated with radical Islamic identity and is identified with terrorism events. Finally, the facts are generalized by the media, state institutions, society, and other actors, so anyone who uses that identity (veiled/niqab) will be considered radical, anti-other religions, and even a terrorist. As Herek and Frost explain, social stigma makes certain groups bad and should be limited (Frost, 2011; Herek, 2007). In the case of the Cadar Garis Lucu, the social stigma became the basis for them to create a women's movement. One of the strategies they use to expand their influence is targeting interfaith audiences. They even claim that the Cadar Garis Lucu spreads the message of the importance of interfaith dialogue. We later refer to this as an effort to counter social stigma as the basis for interfaith dialogue, which later became the main statement in this research.

Cadar Garis Lucu: A Short Introduction

Firstly, we must admit that the literature on the Cadar Garis Lucu is still very limited, not to say that no one has written (specific articles) about this one interfaith movement. Nevertheless, there are several writings that briefly mention the Cadar Garis Lucu. One of them is an article by Muhammad Ridha Basri, which discusses veiled/niqab women on social media such as Instagram. In his article, Basri mentioned that the Cadar Garis Lucu is one of the women's communities that narrates their views about the veil as being open and moderate, as found in their social media posts (Basri, 2021). Another article that mentions the Cadar Garis Lucu is an article written by

Muammar, who examines the role of Gusdurian in spreading religious tolerance in Makassar City. In that article, Muammar mentions Cadar Garis Lucu in passing as one of Gusdurian's collaborators and one of his research respondents (Muammar, 2021). This research also found the most recent article published on Cadar Garis Lucu is that was written by Jamilah entitled *Cadar Garis Lucu: Gerakan Muslimah Anti Kekerasan* (Jamilah, 2022).

Therefore, as we explained in the methodology section, the main data source that we present in this discussion is primarily derived from in-depth interviews with some of the founders of Cadar Garis Lucu, Ainun Jamilah and Andi Ulfa Wulandari. We interviewed them to gain in-depth information about the profile and the brief history of Cadar Garis Lucu and the programs they have initiated as a women movement that is engaged both in the interfaith dialogue and gender issues.

As an introduction, the Cadar Garis Lucu was initiated by Ainun Jamilah, Andi Ulfa Wulandari, and others. Ainun Jamilah is an alumnus of UIN Alauddin Makassar majoring in Quran and Tafsir Studies. Apart from being one of the initiators of the Cadar Garis Lucu, Ainun Jamilah has also previously been active in the activities of the Jaringan Lintas Iman (JALIN Harmoni) in South Sulawesi (Sulsel) since 2019. Apart from actively participating in interfaith activities at JALIN Harmoni, Ainun Jamilah is also registered as a member of the organization. JALIN Harmoni Sulsel is an interfaith NGO or community that campaigns for narratives such as the importance of peace, brotherhood/sisterhood, and harmony in religious communities to prevent religious conflicts and discrimination against religious communities, especially injustice against minority religious groups in Indonesia (Harmoni, 2016). Meanwhile, Andi Ulfa Wulandari is an alumnus of UIN Alauddin Makassar, majoring in Aqidah and Islamic Philosophy. Andi Ulfa Wulandari is also the initiator of the Cadar Garis Lucu.

As Cadar Garis Lucu was initiated by women with knowledge and experience in interfaith dialogue, they gained a solid ground

in authority in voicing the importance of interfaith dialogue in that community. Not only that, the Cadar Garis Lucu also focuses on gender issues. Their main mission is to dispel or counter the stigma that veiled/niqab women are not always radical and anti-other religions. Therefore, they target their activities to an interfaith audience to make more impact. To complete their missions, Cadar Garis Lucu collaborates with many organizations such as JALIN Harmoni, Gusdurian Community, LAPAR Sulsel (South Sulawesi), and several other organizations.

Cadar Garis Lucu was officially established in February 2021. Ainun Jamilah shared that the founders of the Cadar Garis Lucu had known each other well before the movement was officially established. One of the momentums that led them to the decision to establish the Cadar Garis Lucu was a dialogue event they participated in Bandung. The event was entitled *Feminis Bercadar* (veiled/niqab feminist). In this event, they met and got to know each other better. After the event, they took the initiative to create a WhatsApp group. After a long time of knowing each other and discussing via WhatsApp groups, in February 2021, they officially established the Cadar Garis Lucu and announced it publicly.

At the outset of its establishment, the Cadar Garis Lucu only consisted of six women, out of which four wear veil/niqab. Then later, they agreed to add one female Christian personnel and two Muslim female personnel wearing veils/niqabs from Palu, Central Sulawesi. Along the way, the members of Cadar Garis Lucu continued to grow. However, as explained by Ainun Jamilah when we were interviewed, Cadar Garis Lucu has no mission to increase personnel or members. They focus on the vision, programs, and the main objective of the establishment of Cadar Garis Lucu, which is to create a safe and comfortable space for women who “have the same thoughts and ideas about feminist women and veiled/niqab women” and fight the stigmatization that veiled/niqab women are women who radical and anti-other religions. In short, their programs’ main goal is to campaign for religious inclusiveness, gender

equality, and counter the negative stigma against veiled/niqab women in society.

Based on the interviews, we noted that the identities and backgrounds of the initiators and members of the Cadar Garis Lucu vary greatly. The diversity of their identities and backgrounds which we collected through interviews and their social media is shown in Figure 1 below.

No	Name	Religion	Origin	Alumni	Hobby
1.	Ainun Jamilah	Islam (veiled woman)	Makassar, Sulawesi Selatan	Ilmu Alquran dan Tafsir, UIN Alauddin Makassar	-
2.	Andi Ulfa Wulandari	Islam (veiled woman)	Kolaka, Sulawesi Tenggara	Aqidah dan Filsafat Islam, UIN Alauddin Makassar	Writing, Volleyball
3.	Tiara Anastasia	Kristen	Yogyakarta	Psikologi, Universitas Mercubuana Yogyakarta	-
4.	Zaskia Andini Ramli	Islam (veiled woman)	Palu, Sulawesi Tengah	Psikologi, Universitas Mercubuana Yogyakarta	-
5.	Indah Misrianti	Islam (veiled woman)	Bima, Nusa Tenggara Barat	Sastra Arab, UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.	Painting and Photography
6.	Ruwaidah Anwar	Islam (not a veiled woman)	Bima – Yogyakarta	Ilmu Alquran dan Tafsir, UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta	Reading and Discussing.
7.	Linda Novianti	Islam (veiled woman)	Bandung, Jawa Barat	Ilmu Hukum, UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung	Playing music (Violin)
8.	Nurus Syamsiyah	Islam (not a veiled woman)	Mojokerto – Malang	Sastra Inggris, UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang	-
9.	Windy	Islam (veiled woman)	Palu, Sulawesi Tengah	-	Mountain climbing

Figure 1. *The identities and backgrounds of the founders and initiators of Cadar Garis Lucu. We collected these from interviews and their official Instagram (@cadargarislucu).*

Countering Social Stigma as the Basis of Interfaith Movement

Based on our in-depth interviews with the

Cadar Garis Lucu initiators, we found that one of the main reasons the Cadar Garis Lucu movement was initiated was to counter the negative stigma about veiled women. They try to prove that these stigmas are fundamentally wrong. For example, not all veiled/niqab women are extreme and intolerant. Some veiled/niqab women are tolerant and love other religions, as stated directly by Ainun Jamilah in our interview. She said that:

“Kebanyakan orang kalau mendengar kata ‘perempuan bercadar’ pasti di pikirannya, kalau bukan dia itu ekstremis mungkin dia dianggap sangat islamis atau sangat eksklusif mungkin. Di Cadar Garis Lucu tidak seperti itu. Kami tidak ingin mendobrak apa yang diyakini oleh perempuan-perempuan bercadar yang lain sebagai ‘wajar’, tapi kami hanya ingin memberikan wajah baru. Agar ada opsi yang baru buat teman-teman yang lain untuk melihat bahwa perempuan bercadar ada juga yang seperti ini loh. Itu sih yang berusaha ditunjukkann oleh Cadar Garis Lucu, bahwa ada perempuan bercadar yang inklusif, yang ingin berdialog dengan agama yang berbeda, yang terbuka, dan menerima segala realitas perbedaan. Jadi, Cadar Garis Lucu memang hadir untuk memberikan wajah baru gitu, suasana baru, dan pemikiran yang baru terhadap perempuan-perempuan bercadar di mana selama ini mereka distigma radikal, distigma eksklusif, dan lain-lain. Nah kami hadir dengan hal yang lain, dengan model yang lain. Makanya namanya Cadar Garis Lucu, karena memang agak bedalah dengan teman-teman atau organisasi bercadar yang lain.”

I translated her explanation into English: “Most people when they hear the word “veiled/niqab women” definitely come to mind, if not she is extremist she might be considered very Islamic or very exclusive. It is not like that in the Cadar Garis Lucu. We don’t want to break into what other veiled/niqab women believe is “normal,” but we just want to give it a new face. So there is a new option for other people to see that there are also veiled/niqab women like this. That is what Cadar Garis Lucu is trying to show, that there are inclusive women who want to have a dialogue with different religions, which are open, and accept all the different realities.

So, the Cadar Garis Lucu is here to give a new face, a new atmosphere, and a new thought to veiled/niqab women whom radicals, exclusive, have stigmatized, and so on. So we come up with something else, with another model. It is called Cadar Garis Lucu because it is a bit different from other veiled women or other veiled organizations.” (Ainun Jamilah, interviewed via Zoom, 15 April 2022).

Ainun Jamilah also acknowledged that their goals and effort are a little bit heavy. They say that choosing to wear the veil in Indonesia is a big challenge for women. As stated by Ainun Jamilah:

“Kami sangat berusaha keras untuk menyampaikan bahwa kami tidak seperti yang mereka pikirkan dan itu yang berat sebenarnya, itu juga menjadi tantangan yang luar biasa kalau perempuan di Indonesia memilih untuk bercadar karena di Indonesia sendiri bisa dibbilang sangat tidak ramah terhadap para perempuan bercadar.”

I translated her statement into English: “We have tried very hard to convey that we are women who wear the veil/niqab are not the same as what they think. It is really hard. It is also a tremendous challenge for women in Indonesia if they choose to wear the veil/niqab. Because society in Indonesia is very unfriendly to veiled/niqab women.” (Ainun Jamilah, interviewed via Zoom, 15 April 2022).

One of the causes of the bad stigma experienced by veiled/niqab women in Indonesia is the involvement of veiled/niqab women in recent many cases of terrorism that have recently involved veiled/niqab women. Ainun Jamilah and other veiled/niqab women experienced the same thing at the aftermath of when there was the cathedral church bombing in Makassar in 2021. The church bombing action involved veiled/niqab women and made veiled/niqab women increasingly stigmatized as intolerant, extremist, and anti-religious women. As stated by Ainun Jamilah:

“Stigma pada saat itu [saat pengeboman Katedral Makassar 2021] sangat besar, sangat luar biasa terhadap kami. Bahkan ada teman perempuan bercadar yang kemudian mendapatkan persekusi, yang

ditarik cadarnya, dan sebagainya, karena begitu, ya, orang masih takut karena kejadian itu.”

I translated her explanation into English: “At the time of the 2021 Makassar Cathedral bombing, the negative stigma against us, veiled/niqab women, was enormous. It was extraordinary. There were even friends of our veiled/niqab women who were later persecuted, their veils/niqabs pulled, and so on, because people are still afraid because of the incident [the veiled/niqab woman bombed the church]” (Ainun Jamilah, interviewed via Zoom, 15 April 2022).



Figure 2. *Ainun Jamilah gave a flower to the Archbishop of Makassar. The flower symbolizes “condolences” for the bombing at the Makassar Cathedral Church, where the perpetrator of the bombing was a veiled woman. (Photo source: IG Ainun Jamilah).*

For this reason and in the background against the negative stigma, this women’s movement, Cadar Garis Lucu, was initiated. Many programs they conducted. Several online media then covered these programs and gave their responses, such as Neswa.id, Bincangmuslimah.com, KBR.id, JabarNU.or.id, and other online media (Mardiasih, 2021; Mayasari, 2021b, 2021a; Melynda, 2021; Wardani, 2021). These online media describe the Cadar Garis Lucu as a movement of veiled/niqab women trying to remove the negative stigma associated with veiled/niqab women.

When we asked the question, “why did the Cadar Garis Lucu choose to involve Christian women in the community?” they answered that

one of the reasons was because “we wanted to fight the negative stigma that veiled/niqab women are closed-exclusive and that there are veiled/niqab women like us who are open to other religions.” In addition, they also mentioned that the stigma experienced by women who wore veils/niqabs did not only come from within Muslims but also from other religions, especially after the bombing of houses of worship of other religions carried out by women with veils/niqabs. Ainun Jamilah also stated this:

“Kami menerima anggota dari perempuan Kristen karena misi Cadar Garis Lucu juga adalah untuk melawan stigma negatif terhadap perempuan bercadar itu ya, dan kami banyak banget dapat stigma buruk dari teman-teman Kristen gitu. [...] karena latar belakang kita adalah ingin mengudar stigma, maka Mbak Ana (anggota Cadar Garis Lucu yang beragama Kristen) bergabunglah ke Cadar Garis Lucu untuk menyampaikan atau menjadi wadah untuk teman-teman Kristen lain untuk bertanya-tanya seputar kami, para perempuan bercadar.”

I translated her statement into English: “We accept members from Christian women because our mission is to counter the negative stigma against veiled/niqab women. And we got a lot of bad stigma from our Christian friends. Because our background is to counter stigma, Mbak Ana (a new member of the Cadar Garis Lucu who is a Christian) we invited her to join the Cadar Garis Lucu to convey or become a medium for Christian friends. Christian friends can ask her about us, veiled/niqab women.” (Ainun Jamilah, interviewed via Zoom, 15 April 2022).

Although their background in initiating the Cadar Garis Lucu is to fight the stigma, they also run interfaith dialogue programs, which are also their concern. There are several interfaith dialogue programs that they carry out, among them, *Ngabuburit Bareng Cadar Garis Lucu* and *HAHAHIHI Ramadan Bareng Cadar Garis Lucu*. They have carried out these two programs in the months of Ramadan 2021 and 2022. In 2021, the *Ngabuburit Bareng Cadar Garis Lucu* was held

twice a week: Saturday and Sunday through the IG Live feature @cadargarislucu. Meanwhile, in 2022, *HAHAHIHI Ramadan Bareng Cadar Garis Lucu* was held once a week, namely on Sunday. In these programs, they raise serious themes around religious life with light packaging, such as the theme of fasting from the perspective of religions. When they ran this program, they invited followers of these religions, such as Hindus, Catholics, Protestants, Buddhists, and Confucians, to share directly with them.



Figure 3. Cadar Garis Lucu when participated in interfaith activities. (Photo source: Ainun Jamilah/ Magdalene.co).

Apart from interfaith dialogue programs, they also have several programs focusing on women's issues. They invited women from various religious backgrounds to talk about women's issues. They believe that women's issues are humanitarian, so they will meet at one point from any religious background. As stated by Ainun Jamilah:

"Kami sepakat bahwa isu perempuan atau isu feminis itu adalah isu kemanusiaan. Jadi, siapapun bisa membahas isu ini, dari latar belakang agama apapun [...] pasti akan ketemu pada satu titik, yakni tentang kemanusiaan itu sendiri. Kita membahas perempuan bukan hanya dari perspektif Islam saja sekalipun kami bercadar gitu, ya."

I translate this as, "We agree that women's or feminist issues are humanitarian issues. So, anyone can participate in discussing this issue from any religious background because they

will surely meet at one point, namely at the point of humanity itself. We discuss women not only from an Islamic perspective even though we are veiled" (Ainun Jamilah, interviewed via Zoom, 15 April 2022).

We found that several online news media cover their activities from our Internet exploration. There are even online news media that interviewed the initiators of Cadar Garis Lucu and wrote in-depth coverage about them. What we found is that there is a tendency for some of these online news media to associate the Cadar Garis Lucu with the feminist women's movement, or at least this movement is described as a movement whose mission is similar to that of a feminist movement. For example, one of the articles published on Magdalene.co was entitled *Bercadar dan Feminis* (veiling and feminist) (Parhani, 2022). Another article on Mojok.co also appreciates the Cadar Garis Lucu movement as a liberating women's movement (Mardiasih, 2021).

This mission, women's liberation, is also acknowledged by another initiator of the Cadar Garis Lucu, Andi Ulfa Wulandari, that the Cadar Garis Lucu is a safe and comfortable place for women, especially for herself (Based on our interview via Zoom, 19 May 2022). With this way of thinking (tending to feminist thought) and the way of dressing (veiled/niqab), she admits it is difficult to find a suitable space. When she joins a community where most women are veiled/niqab, she will be considered a "fake veil/niqab wearer" because she is still posting photos on Instagram and reading philosophy books. Meanwhile, in a community where most students were activists or liberals, she was still stigmatized because she wore the veil/niqab. This condition made her feel comfortable with the space provided by the Cadar Garis Lucu because she could remain veiled/niqab with such thoughts.

Another example is, in Cadar Garis Lucu, they also support each other in pursuing their fields and hobbies. Women who wear the veil/niqab are often limited by negative stigmas, such as when women choose to wear the veil/niqab, they are not allowed to do activities they like, such as sports and so on. That is also what Cadar

Garis Lucu is trying to counter, that hobbies are a right for everyone, and such prohibitions are just a stigma. Ainun Jamilah stated this:

“Hobi itu adalah bagian dari kemanusiaan kita, ya, bahwa ketika kita memilih untuk bercadar itu tidak berarti meniadakan diri kita, hobi-hobi kita, kesukaan-kesukaan kita.”

I translated that statement into English: “Our hobbies are part of our humanity. When we choose to veil, it does not mean negating ourselves, our hobbies, our hobbies.” (Ainun Jamilah, interviewed via Zoom, 15 April 2022).

With this way of thinking, the responses to the establishment of Cadar Garis Lucu movement and their affiliated program may vary. While there are people who support, appreciate and accept the movement, others would refuse and criticize it for their own reasons. As Ainun Jamilah explained when we asked, “are there any negative responses to the movements and programs carried out by the Cadar Garis Lucu?”. She answered:

“Ada yang menolak, ada yang mempertanyakan. Ada yang bilang “kenapa sih harus pakai nama Cadar Garis Lucu padahal bisa pakai nama yang lain”. Ada yang bilang “ini toleransi yang kebablasan.” Banyak respon-respon negatif sebenarnya dan saya juga belum cukup siap dengan respon-respon seperti itu, hanya saja gerakan ini harus terus dilakukan. Menurut saya, isu toleransi, isu kemanusiaan, dan hal-hal yang serupa dengan itu, kalau bagi saya itu sudah wajib dilakukan. Dan resiko penolakan pasti ada. [...] Bahkan ada organisasi keagamaan yang ekstremis gitu yang menyindir Cadar Garis Lucu. Mereka bilang “feminis itu nggak ada, yang dikatakan oleh Cadar Garis Lucu itu semuanya bohong”, dan sebagainya. Intinya, banyak orang yang menjadikan gerakan Cadar Garis Lucu sebagai sasaran makian mereka, tapi sebagian kecil kami respon, sebagian besarnya tidak sama sekali.”

I translated her answer as, “There are those who refuse, there are those who question. Someone said, ‘why do you have to use the name Cadar Garis Lucu when you can use another

name.’ Some said, ‘this is a bad tolerance.’ There have been a lot of negative responses, actually, and I am not quite ready for such responses. It is just that this movement must continue. In my opinion, tolerance issues, humanitarian issues, and things like that for me are obligatory. And there is a risk of rejection. [...] There is even an extremist religious organization that satirizes the Cadar Garis Lucu. They said that ‘there are no feminists, what the Cadar Garis Lucu said are all lies,’ and so on. The point is, many people used the Cadar Garis Lucu movement as their target of cursing, but we just have responded to some of the criticisms, but most of the criticisms we have not responded to at all.” (Ainun Jamilah, interviewed via Zoom, 15 April 2022).

Despite receiving negative responses, Cadar Garis Lucu persisted in keeping running their programs. The negative response they receive is far less than the positive response. Based on the confessions of several initiators and members we interviewed, they all said that after they officially established the Cadar Garis Lucu, they received many responses from various parties and groups. Some respond through writing, some respond through acceptance, and so on. The point is that the responses they received at the beginning, even today, are positive. Their main mission to remove and counter negative stigma has finally received appreciation from various circles who know about this movement. The appreciation came from various institutions, for example, the Indonesian Ministry of Women’s Empowerment and Child Protection (*Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak*), AMAN Indonesia, Gusdurian, Perempuan Berkisah, Mubadalah.id, and many others from various institutions and circles (Ainun Jamilah, interviewed via Zoom, 15 April 2022).

Finally, we can understand that the Cadar Garis Lucu movement is a veiled/niqab women’s movement that wants to build mutual understanding with different people. They want to erase or counter the negative stigma directed at them. With that spirit, they took many strategies. Among them, they engaged in interfaith dialogue to get more audiences from other religions, besides building a narrative of

peace. They build an inclusive narrative about veiled/niqab women through the various programs they run. The most widely used strategy lately is to use social media as a medium to spread ideas. Apart from the fact that the last two years, their program was hampered by the pandemic, social media can be a good medium to spread the distance and give greater influence to the broader community.

Conclusion

The Cadar Garis Lucu is an interfaith movement as well as a women's movement initiated by women from various education backgrounds, regional origins, hobbies, and so on, as described in the discussion of this paper to counter the social stigma that is often directed at women, especially to veiled/niqab women. In addition, this movement was also initiated based on the lack of safe spaces for women to express themselves, especially for women who wear the veil/niqab but have progressive thoughts, such as the initiators and members of the Cadar Garis Lucu.

The programs they carry out at Cadar Garis Lucu are based on their main missions, namely (1) efforts to fight social stigma, especially negative stigma against veiled/niqab women; then (2) efforts to educate the younger generation about the importance of women's involvement in many aspects; and then (3) efforts to build inclusive religious narratives, especially religious narratives from an interfaith perspective. In short, the Cadar Garis Lucu campaign for an inclusive religious way to provide a safe and comfortable space for women.

Another interesting thing about Cadar Garis Lucu is that they integrate their interfaith movement with campaigns on gender issues, such as stigmatization of women, sexual violence, equality, peacebuilding, and other issues needed by the wider community. Their movement is creative enough to carry out dual functions. Apart from voicing the importance of interfaith dialogue for peace and social harmony, they also integrate it with certain missions. Finally, the Cadar Garis Lucu leads us to the point that it is time to reconsider the

social stigma that we have against veiled/niqab women, and it is time to give women space in interfaith dialogue.

In the end, the results of this study suggest that the government should start initiating an interfaith dialogue that includes women's voices. Not only because women are the most affected by violent religious conflicts but also because women contribute to building a peaceful, harmonious religious life, as we have found from the results of this study. In addition, the results of this study also recommend the government start supporting an inclusive and grassroots-based interfaith movement because this type of interfaith dialogue movement is more effective in spreading peace among the wider community. Eventually, we conclude this paper with the statement that studies on women and minority groups should be encouraged and pursued, especially those concerning women with veil/niqab because the majority group often stigmatizes them. Appropriate research on them will ultimately contribute to the development of knowledge in academic circles and society at large.

Acknowledgment

In this section, we would like to (1) clarify that what we mean by "veiled" here is "cadar" in Bahasa (Indonesia), and we use the words "veil" and "niqab" always side by side (veil/niqab) because in Bahasa, "veiled" is often interpreted as "kerudung/jilbab/hijab", and they are different with "cadar/niqab"; (2) thank you to our friends of Cadar Garis Lucu, especially to Ainun Jamilah and Andi Ulfa Wulandari, who have been willing to share their stories with us; (3) thanks also to the Center for Religious and Cross-Cultural Studies (CRCS), Graduate School, Universitas Gadjah Mada, especially to Fatimah Husein, Ph.D and Izak Y. M. Lattu, Ph.D, for providing the Interreligious Dialogue: Theory and Practice course that inspired Andi Alfian to carry out this research. Finally, we would like to thank the Dialog Journal for publishing this paper so that more readers can read it. Thanks!

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