The Marginalized Majority

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Globalization as an inexorable force has made many Indonesian Muslims well versed in the presence and development of religious transnational movements (Ahmed 1992; Ahmed & Donnan 1994; Bowen 2006). There is a growing trend among many Indonesian Muslims that they feel closely connected with transnational community, especially through their association with transnational Islamist movements. Their disappointment to the nation-state systems and Indonesian Muslim mass organisations that fail to guide Indonesian Muslims to be better Muslims and to make Islam more rooted in Indonesian public sphere has led them to expand their belonging to transnational Islam and broader *umma* (community) (Elson 2010). This paper examines the voices of women who have been active in global transnational Islamist movements, namely followers of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, Salafism, and Tablighi Jama'at. Women's voices are often marginalized in many discussions of these movements. There is a tendency to assume that women are just the epigones of their male counterparts, while their activities and voices are indeed as 'loud' as their male counterparts. This paper investigates the extent to which their alternative imagining of belonging challenges their sense of belonging to the inherited Indonesian identity (Barr 2010). It also analyses how they understand the discourse of being Muslims in the largest majority-Muslim country. In addition the paper also observes hopes and wishes of these women in terms of their understanding of the notion of citizenship in Indonesia. Drawing extensively on case studies based on anthropological research in three big cities in Indonesia—Jakarta, Yogyakarta, and Makassar—this paper demonstrates that women who attach themselves to Islamist transnational movements feel marginalized in the nation-state system despite the fact that Indonesia is known as the world's largest majority-Muslim country. On the other hand, their attachment to transnational *umma,* has eased the pressure of being minority and provided them a chance to gain better status as part of global *umma.* This paper suggests that this phenomenon is part of the reflection of the crisis of trust between Muslims and their nation-state system. Their attachment to transnational movements has introduced them to new hopes, identity and solidarity (Roy 2013).

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