Digital Patriarchy on Arab Women in Urban Area

Yuanita Aprilandini Siregar[1], Ubedillah Badun[1], Francisia Saveria Sika Ery Seda[2]

[1,] Department of Sociology Universitas Negeri Jakarta, Jakarta, Indonesia
[2]Department of Sociology, Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta, Indonesia
{yaprilandini,ubedilah.badrun, saveria09}@ gmail.com

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Abstract: The purpose of this study to see that networks and ethnic solidarity are constructed through digital social media while strengthening the patriarchal culture of the Arab community in Jakarta. This study uses interview and content analysis methods. The interview was carried out to the management of the Rabithah Alawiyyah and Al-Irsyad Jakarta organizations and conducted a content analysis of the web pages of the two organizations. Research findings show that network and ethnic solidarity can be built and strengthened through digital social media. However, digital social media is also a channel for reproducing patriarchal culture. Therefore, this article sees that neopatriarchy is now transformed into digital patriarchy which has an impact on increasing the social prestige of Arab men but on the other hand results in the oppression of Arab women in 4.0 industrial revolution era.

1 INTRODUCTION

The Term Digital have been defined by using high technology on human everyday life activities in order to get effiency and effectivity for improving quality of live. In this context, high technology had been used through Informational Technology of Communication (ICT). Nowadays ICT through social media activity are very familiar used by our millenial generation (minimum birth year in 1990).

Digital technologies simultaneously offer liberatory possibilities for destabilizing old hierarchies while at the same time they create mechanisms for retrenching well-established patterns of inequality, stratification, and domination. It is through the recognition of this tension that we have come to see the need for the critical practice of what we now call "digital sociology" (Daniels, 2017; p.19). Digital sociology provides a lens through which to understand the individual and society after digitization. Digitization is the process of converting information from analog into discrete units of data that can be more easily moved around, grouped together, and analysed. Moving, remixing, sharing, and circulating information is easier and faster when that information is digitized. The array of digital media technologies, which often get lumped together as "the digital" or "the internet," are playing a central role in the unfolding transformation of society.

Digital technologies are reshaping large-scale institutions such as government, finance, and education in ways that are still unfolding, at once embracing more openness and enacting more surveillance.

The sociology were trained in grew out of a theoretical response to the transformations of the Industrial Revolution. If sociology is to continue to thrive as a field that is relevant to the concerns of the 21st century, it must offer a compelling theoretical understanding of the current revolution in digital media technologies. Early feminist theorisations of gender and digital technology, from a range of disciplines, tended to bifurcate into overtly positive or negative theoretical and political positions, with some emphasising the digital (the Internet) as a means of overcoming gendered inequality and others adopting a more technophobic approach which stressed the inherent masculinity of such technologies and urged women to resist patriarchal oppression through feminist forms of engagement with the digital revolution (Carbin, 2013: p.37).

Identity has been one of the most keenly debated arenas in the field of gender and technology studies, in particular, the radically transformative potential of the Internet in shaping a 'gender-free' future, but sexism and other intersecting forms of inequality have been also reproduced in the digital era. One of the main contributions by feminists to sociological

understandings of technology is that of technofeminism (Carbin, 2013: p.39), a theoretical perspective which meshes cyborg feminism with a social constructivist theory of technology.

Social Media in academic discourse produced liquid identity especially on millenial generation. But how social media have affected on human relations? This Research found that social media produce strenghtening ethnic identity and maintain the patriarchat culture especially on Peranakan Arab Women in Urban Areas.

2 PATRIARCHAL DISCOURSE

'Patriarchy' has been discussed as an ideology which arose out of men's power to exchange women between kinship groups; as a symbolic male principle, and the power of the father. It has also been used to express men's control over women's sexuality and fertility; and to describe the institutional structure. Patriarch according to Weber is a form of male leadership system both in the family and the wider community (Walby, 1989; p. 214). Starting from Weber's thought, then the concept of patriarchy was developed by feminists who had a variety of definitions and meanings. In general conceptions, patriarchy is a social relationship where men dominate women (Beechey, 1979; p.66). Marxist feminists adopted the concept of patriarchy as a form of women's subordination such as the subordination of the workers to the production process. Mitchel (1974) uses the concept of patriarchy which refers to the system of marriage where women are exchanged with a number of dowries by the male family given to the woman's father. The symbolic power of the husband and father towards women is the result of the inferior position of women in the family (Beechey, 1979).Einstein defines patriarchy as a sexual hierarchy that manifests in the role of women as a mother and cheap labor in her home (Beechey, 1979; p.68).The fundamental patriarchal basis is truly rooted in family institutions (Beechey, 1979; p. 70).Still, according to Beechey, the family has a patriarchalfunction, namely the process of planting differences in sexual roles, character and social status of boys and girls that place women in subordinate positions.

Patriarchal conception also experiences some paradigm shifts from traditional patriarchy to modern patriarchy (Patil, 2013, p. 855). Traditional patriarchyrefers to the father of family leadership (rule of the father). While modern patriarchy refers to the division of labor between the domestic and public

sectors between men and women and the reduced role of women in the family. The shift of patriarchal conception is also seen from the study of the relationship of colonialism, namely from absolute patriarchy to patriarchal patriarchy.The Patil argument shows that the patriarchal conception is general and universal, it has "torn down" by intersection studies and produce a conception of domestic intersectionality. This is because there is no single factor and universal cause of oppression towards women (Collins, 2009; p.120). Oppression analysis levels return to the (domestic) realm because of the socio-cultural diversity of women, especially in the third world (ex-colonial countries). Patil argues that domestic intersectionality must also be revised into intersection-transnational patriarchy. Patil's argument that looking at the diversity of oppression factors towards women must also be seen how the factor of colonization influences gender relations in the ex-colonial countries of the European nations.

Patriarchy can take the form of ideology, relations or social reproduction. Patriarchy as an ideology means the subordination of women due to powersymbolically in the hands of men, namely their husbands and fathers. Whereas patriarchy as social relations and reproduction means that the relation of industrial inequality between workers and their employers also occurs in the home between husband and wife (Beechey, 1979; p. 75-78). Patriarchy is an ideology of oppression of women because the sexual hierarchy system that places men has a higher level than women. This causes men to be considered to have status, roles,and privileges in society when compared to women. In a sociological perspective, patriarchal culture shows a system in which men are the ruling party and is considered reasonable because it is aligned with the division of labor and function based on sex/sex, while from the cultural point of view it can be traced to the roots of feudalism, religious teaching, tradition and adat, from a political point of view, namely colonialism, imperialism and militarism, while from an economic perspective namely capitalism (Clearent, 2013; p.1460).

Furthermore, Walby alsosee patriarchy as a dual system, namely, patriarchy works through two reproductive channels, namely capitalism and other stimulus factors, such as law, race, religion, and ethnicity (Walby,1989; p.220) . Walby argues that there is no single factor that is universal in the process of patriarchal reproduction.Walby also argued that there are six forms of social structures that perpetuate patriarchal reproduction, namely (Walby, 2007): patriarchy in the production process, patriarchal relations in labor wages, patriarchy resulting from

state policies (patriarchal state), forms of male violence, patriarchy in sexual relations, and patriarchy produced through patriarchal culture. The six social structures above finally converge and produce two (2) forms of patriarchy, namely public patriarchy and private patriarchy(Walby, 2007).The concept of patriarchy in the public sphere refers to the oppression, inequality,and subordination of women in the public sphere. Whereas patriarchy in private space means that women's oppression, inequality, and subordination occur in the private sphere, namely in their own homes.

The patriarchal conception of the study of Islamic and Gender Studies shows that one of the causes of Muslim women's expression is the lack of interpreters of the Qur'an and Hadith from women so that the process of interpretation is considered male bias (Damanhuri, 2018). At least there are 3 narrators of hadith/hadith history (HR) that are well-known in Islam, namely HR Abu Hurairah, HR Bukhari, and HR Muslim who are all men. In his argument, Damhuri presents inconsistencies and "inequality" between the verses in the Qur'an which describe the female figure, rules in the household, polygamous rules, authority and women's rights with narrated traditions. Some Muslim feminists have also sued several verses and hadith interpretations which tend to be male bias, namely Laila Ahmed, Fatima Mernissi, Amina Wadud, Nashrahuddin Umar, Gunawan Andan, Musdah Mulia andZaitunah Subhan. The solution offered by Damnahuri is to contextualize the hadith in the process of interpretation. Thus, it can be avoided by male bias and the tradition of Arab jahiliyyah (pre-Islamic era) in the process of interpreting the verses of the Qur'an especially those relating to husband and wife relations, rights and position of women, and gender relations.

Based on the theoretical study above, the patriarchy discussed earlier has not included the element of digital media as one of the changes in the form of community interaction from the real world (virtual world). Because the current interaction pattern precisely shows that the digital world is an important factor of interaction between humans, so the research question in this paper is how ethnic-based communities are built through the digital world and how patriarchal culture is reproduced through the digital world channels? This research uses content analysis from several web pages that are networked with Rabithah Alawiyyah and Al-Irsyad organizations. Rabithah organization is a representation of the Arab group Alawiyyin, while the Al-Irsyad organization is a representation of non Alawiyyin Arab groups in Jakarta.

3 ETHNICITY, NETWORKING, AND SOLIDARITY IN THE DIGITAL WORLD

Network and solidarity one of them is formed through the dimensions of ethnicity (Karner, 2007). The dimensions of ethnicity refer to physical characteristics and cultural preferences. Based on the two groups studied, namely the Arab group Al-Irsyad (representation of the Arab nation- non Alawiyyin crossbreed) and the Rabithah group (representation of the Arabian descendants of the Alawiyyin group), the similarity factor is the one that united them to become members of the organization. This similarity starts from physical forms/characteristics, cultural preferences, and religious narratives of each group. In this context, the Rabithah organization is more concerned with the element of maintaining nasab (lineage) so that the issue of pureness becomes a central point of bond among its members. Meanwhile, the Al-Irsyad organization emphasizes renewal (with its conception of "Aliran Baroe") and the modernization of education.As a result, the networks formed and produced by these two organizations are also different. The ulama and Habaib/Habib network is the main one in the Rabithah organization, while the economic and educational networks are the domain of the Al-Irsyad organization (Hayaze, 2017). The question is now, how is the form of network and Arab ethnic solidarity maintained in the digital era today? How to attract the interest of the young generation of Arab finance to participate in the organization?

The author argues that the internet as a form of information communication technology (ICT) transforms network forms and ethnic solidarity in the social world (real world) into virtual worlds that can strengthen group identity. The young generation of Arabian descendants of Alawiyyin uses ICT with the aim of finding ancestral lineages (Nashab), getting to know each other and interacting with the family of one clan (spread) in several regions, preaching the marriage of fellow group members, organizing seminars and book reviews, as well as diversity (assembly ta'lim, dzikir assembly). While the Al-Irsyad account contains program socialization, women's empowerment, research seminars,and education.

The Rabithah organization was founded by Arabs from the Alawiyyin lineage such as Sayyid Alwi bin Thahir Alhaddad, Sayyid Muhammad bin Abdurrahman Shahab,andSayyid Ahmad bin Abdullah Assegaf (Jacobsen,2007). Rabithah Alawiyah has 42 branches in various regions in Indonesia, the center of which is on Jalan TB. Simatupang, Jagakarsa, South Jakarta. One of the Rabithah autonomous institutions, namely Maktab Daimi, which deals with the recording of genealogies of Alawiyyin descendants in Indonesia and prints *nashab* books carried out by the central Rabithah Alawiyah, aims to record the history and genealogy of Alawiyyin scattered throughout the archipelago. Maktab Daimi was formed on March 10, 1932, with Sayyid Ali bin Ja'far Assegaf who was in charge of recording genealogies and as the head of the first Daimi Maktab (Kroef, 2016). At that time Sayyid Ali sat on the Betawi branch of the Rabithah Alawiyah Supervisory Board. Sayyid Ali was assisted by Sayyid Shaykh bin Ahmad Shahab. The Daimi Maktab reference book or book is the seven-volume book Syajarotu Ansab Assadah Al Alawiyyin with a number of pages 3176 written by Habib Abdurrahman Almahsyur from Hadramaut (Kroef , 2016). This book is only owned by Maktab Daimi Rabithah Alawiyah. Then the seven-volume book Syajarotu Ansab Assadah Al Alawiyyin with 2034 page numbers collected by Ali bin Ja'far Assegaf (Kroef, 2016). This book continues and expands books from Hadramaut with data collected by Alawiyyin from several regions/provinces in Indonesia. Only the Maktab Daimi made a book written by Habib Abdillah ibn Isa Alhabsyi which numbered fifteen volumes with a number of pages 5323 which was an amalgamation of Hadramaut books and books collected by Ali bin Ja'far Assegaf. This book was written in 1757 M (Kazuo,2012).

The Rabithah web page contains members of the Arab descendants of the Alawiyyin group, namely those who have the habib / habaib title. This page was formed to make it easier for members to network and stay in touch. Some Rabithah activities include religious activities, seminars, sekufu marriages, and questions about nasab (lineage). Some news posts regarding social, religious and political issues are also on the page. Through the Rabithah web, an Arab crossbreed can also submit a Nashab registration form to find out who their ancestors are online. Educational scholarships, especially in Middle Eastern countries, are also provided in this year. Some links from Rabithah's page are networked with the association page of Sayyid and syarifah (asyraaf UI & PNJ) on the account @asyraaf.org, facebook community of

habib and ulama lovers (https://www.facebook.com/Para.Pecinta.Habaib.dan. Ulama).

The Sayyid and Syarifah Association is a term for the descendants of the habib / habaib. These children actively participate in events organized by Rabithah Pusat in Jakarta.

Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah Organization (Jam'iyat al-Islah wAl-Irsyad al-Islamiyyah) was established on 6 September 1914 by Sheikh Ahmad Surkati (Hayaze,2017). Al-Irsyad in the early days of his birth was known as a group of Islamic reformers with Muhammadiyah and Islamic Unity (Persis). The three main figures of this organization: Ahmad Surkati, Ahmad Dahlan, and Ahmad Hassan, are often referred to as the Indonesian Islamic Reformation Trio. Other Al_Irsyad figures such as Hosein Bafagieh and Abdul Rahman Baswedan were founders of the Indonesian Arab Party and wrote about Indonesian Indonesian Arabian descent. Some female leaders of Al-Irsyad also voiced criticism of the practice of polygamy, the tradition of seclusion of Arab women and the use of veils for women.

The display of the Al-Irsyad webpage contains Al Irysad's youth and women's activities. This page is open because Al-Irsyad's membership is not limited to Arab descendants. However, the management structure of Al-Irsyad remains held by Arabian descendants. This page is networked with tower center research institutes held by the highly educated central Al-Irsyad youth with the account address @menaracenter.org. Some of the activities posted in the old Al-Irsyad are a seminar, education, social, political and religious activities. Menara Center's seminar and research activities also network with LIPPI, Rujak Center for Urban Studies Jakarta, C2O Library Surabaya, Kampungnesia Solo, Hysteria Semarang, Kampoeng Bogor. Especially for networking with the media, Menara Center networked with AyoRek, and JJIB (Islamic Traces for the Nation). While a network of academics, Menara Center networked with UI, New York University, Austrian Academic of Science, Radboud University, Nijmegen University.

The digital world also penetrates into the private sphere of the family institution(Jhonson, 2015). The search results of the researchers showed that there were several clan-based Facebook accounts, both from Alawiyyin and Non-Alawiyyin. Researchers are invited to join the fam AbdulAziz facebook account with the account name bin AbdulAziz and account of the Arabian village now. For both of these last Facebook accounts, there are a lot of posts that highlight political issues, such as the DKI Governor election and 2019 Presidential election. The majority

of members are supporters of Anies Baswedan for the DKI elections and Prabowo's stronghold for the 2019 Presidential Election. , as well as incorporating religious sentiments for the formation of public opinion and discourse.

The development of the digital world with the help of internet technology (ICT) encourages communities or ethnically based organizations such as Rabithah and Al-Irsyad to also transform into virtual communities in addition to physically possessing organizational assets and branches in several regions of the archipelago. This indicates that traditionally formed solidarity based on ethnicity, geography,and culture also colors current social media. Ethnic, religious, cultural, geographical sentiments precisely strengthen the solidarity that is formed through the virtual world.

4 REPRODUCING PATRIARCHY THROUGH NETWORKING RABITHAH AND AL-IRSYAD

Patriarchal reproduction through ICTcontain multi-layered oppression. This implies that patriarchal oppression does not only move at the individual level but also in groups and communities (Jhonson, 2015). The writer will discuss how patriarchy is reproduced through the digital world (digital world), namely through social media channels, such as web pages, Facebook, Instagram,and Twitter. Searching the author through the Sayid and Syarifah UI and PNJ Association (Asyraaf UI/PNJ) accounts show that the younger generation of Alawiyyin still maintains their identity as Sayyid and Sayyidah by keeping their descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. This association introduces their children to fellow Alawiyyin people to interact and get acquainted, including as matchmaking media and ta run. The UI/PNJ Ashraaf organization also networked directly with Rabithah, for example in terms of organizing family-themed seminars. The theme of this seminar, one of which was posted on the Rabithah web page was a seminar and pre-wedding talk show khsussyarifah (Alawiyyin woman) who was not married. This seminar discusses the importance of the glory of the nasabthat is on him, in other words,purityness as a Syarifah must be maintained by providing motivation for Alawiyyin women to hold a sekufu marriage (Kazuo, 2012   ). Furthermore Asyraaf UI / PNJ in me Instagram also posted pictures of Henna Fun Day programs for young women who

wanted to learn to use Henna in their hands and body especially for weddings.

Authors also browse the Family Development account page in the Rabithah web. Some of the content in it is seen as religious legitimacy to motivate women to be good wives and mothers. Some of the posts are titled & Successful Career as a Housewife" Al Qomah (A Mother's Love Story), "A Mother's Values in Mata Al Imam Al Qutb Al Habib Ali Bin Muhammad Al Habsyi", at least represent a central role of Alawiyyin women as a Mother and Wife who are strengthened through religious propositions. Next, article postings "Danger of Spitting Aurat", "Women and Hijab", and "Must Wear Hijab?" describes the message that a woman's body must be closed as a protection against her from the vision of men. Construction of women   "well"   and in accordance with Islamic guidelines is to use hijab. Some clerics and ustadzah also post supporting comments on this page. Some wedding invitations are also shared through the Rabithah Alawiyyah website. Seen from the names of couples and bride families, all of them comes from the Alawiyyin people. This also strengthens the doctrine that the sayyids and syarifah are encouraged to conduct secufu marriages (Kazuo, 2012).

Rabithah Alawiyyah's webpage is also networked with FB accounts of Habaib and Ulama Lovers. Some of the posts in the account also reinforce how patriarchal reproduction is strengthened through the interpretation of the conception "after the dark rises brightly" RA Kartini, "features of the wanitahsoleh!" The following is an excerpt and analysis of 4 posts about women's construction which "ideal" which strengthens patriarchal reproduction through social media channels.

The first article is that the conception of the darkness comes out brightly" RA Kartini who was reinterpreted by the admin account of FB Habaib Lovers and Ulama described that after RA Kartini knew the meaning contained in the letter Al Fatihah after following the Mbah Soleh Darat recitation and interacting with him through letters and assemblies, and presented the Faidur-Rohman book containing translations In the Javanese language, Kartini was inspired by the Holy Quran(Al Baqarah : 257) which contains an image of believers who are guided by God from darkness to Divine light. Furthermore, the three articles posted are the characteristics of women, a rebuke to women, and for you women show that women who are pious are women who are sincere, worship, repent and obey. This is in line with the rebuke for women when opening his aurat in public until attracting the attention of men, women become

the party to be blamed. Finally, the posts for young women clarified the stad point, position and role of women as wives who obey their husbands whose values are equal to men who fight (jihad) in the way of God. Intersection between ethnicity, religious background and gender position has been occurred by the position of Arab women oppressed by her husband strengthened by the narration of Islamic bible (The Holy Qur'an). Arab women had three layer oppression according her socio-cultural position using gender intersectionl perspective (Tohidi, 2007; Lykke,2010; Babbit, 2011).

The author also browses the Al-Irsyad Al Islamiyyah webpage and tries to see posts about women's issues. The page describes a narrative that is slightly different from the Rabithah web page about women. Al-Irsyad is an organization that has the ideology of renewal inherited from Hosein Bafagieh. He criticized the narrative of Arab women who were confined in 1930-1942. The spirit of women's modernization is also carried on the content of the Al-Irsyad web page, such as the process of cadre Al-Irsyad Women's Management (PB), training and upgrading of PB Al-Irsyad instructors which focuses on women's development, competence, and expertise. Especially for the national upgrading was held to provide debriefing for cadres in the Al-Irsyad region and branch of women throughout Indonesia.

Some of the material given in national upgrading programs is leadership ability and leading meetings, developing education (creative methods in schools, curricula, avoiding school violence), school management (how to make schools, how to manage, how to develop, how to find good teachers), public speaking, personal social responsibility and communication, creative problem solving and mindset training. Organizational material related to the basic values of the Al-Irsyad organization, discussion of Bylaws, formulation,and delivery of work programs. This material has been adapted to the situation and conditions faced by women today. In this context, social and educational problems still dominate the Al-Irsyad Women's PB management domain. Because the roots of this organization are social, da'wah and education.

From those Al Irsyad and Rabithah web content analysis, Al Irsyad women more likely empowering women program. Their historical roots were delivered from Hosein Bafagieh modernization movement. That counter movement produce critical ideology for AL Irsyad women characters. In this context, Al Irsyad women could bargaining, negotiating and also contesting Arab male domination in thei organization (Kardiyoti, 1988).

5 TOWARDS A DIGITAL AGE (PATRIARCHY)?

In general term patriarchy defined male dominated over women, women subordination similarly with industrial labour subordination, re-arrange married with "mahar" system, sexual hierachial man over women, oppression of being mother and housewife, and free women-labour at home (Soman, 2009). The invention of internet technology can eliminate boundaries between regions and even between countries. In this context, the Arab crossbreed community using social media to form and maintain its network through Facebook, Twitter, Line and Instagram accounts (Achyutha, 2011; p.155) .

In fact, the Al-Irsyad and Rabithah organization also has an official website account which is deliberately made to attract the younger generation to be involved in the organization's activities. If the network of Arabian crossbreed communities in ancestral times was produced through patterns of migration and marriage, the social networks produced today were mostly carried out through social media. The discovery of internet technology has actually become a driving factor for changes in networking which was originally built from social reality into the virtual world (Ray, 2007).

Furthermore, in the digital world, there is also a process of reproduction of patriarchy through the content and discourse of Rabithah and Al-Irshad's web pages. Procurement of seminars in five-star hotels but discusses the primacy of a career as a housewife, married sekufu, using hijab, the obedience of wives to husbands is precisely one form of patriarchal culture in the Arab community but in the form of digital-based social media packaging. The author argues that changes in current interaction patterns that emphasize the large role of the virtual world also make it a patriarchal reproductive tract. In this context, the researcher offers a digital patriarchal conception in explaining the above symptoms.

Patriarchy in the context of Arab society has a variety of definitions, namely (Joseph, 1996; 205) : First, giving priority rights to men and elder people (including older women) in the family and supported by religious factors. Second, patriarchy comes from Arab society that is still traditional and modern Arab (neopatriarchy). Third, the father figure in the traditional Arab family has full authority and responsibility so that he gets respect from all his family members. The power of a father is supported by ownership of economic resources, such as ownership of land, resources,and money produced by members of his Arab family. Patriarchal practice can

be observed in plain view in Arab society because the family is the main basis for the formation of society. In his writings, Joseph also distinguishes patriarchy in the Arab world into five (5) forms, namely: social patriarchy, economic patriarchy, political patriarchy, religious patriarchy, and patriarchal selfhood (in self patriarchy).

Social patriarchy refers to Arab families who place the position of father and son having authority and power, including male lineages (patrilineal) used by Arab society. Economic patriarchy refers to the distribution of inheritance which places men to get greater inheritance rights than Arab women. Religious patriarchy is the daily practice of the community that is obtained from the teachings/guidance of the religion it adheres to. Inheritance law and marriage law are examples of how religion provides guidelines for behaving in community members. Finally, the patriarchy of selfhood refers to the formation of character and self-concept of an individual who accepts the conception of men more powerful than women.

Through this paper, the researcher seeks to incorporate elements of the digital world in Joseph's study of neo-patriarchy in modern Arab families. The novelty of the concept offered by the author, which is digital patriarchy related to ethnicity, gender identity,and construction, cannot be separated from the exposure of social media in the digital world. If Patil is concerned that neopatriarchy occurs in modern Arab families, digital patriarchy is one form of the neo-patriarchy in milenial era. In this regards, digital patriarchy is one of the consequences as well as the problems that must be faced by Arabwomen on revolution industry 4.0 era.

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