

Muslim women's everyday religious practices in sustaining Islam Nusantara in Indonesia: A lived religion perspective

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Article Information	Abstract:
Submitted: 2025-11-09 Revised: 2026-05-14 Published: 2026-07-30	Studies on Islam Nusantara have predominantly focused on its historical development, religious institutions, and religious authorities, while limited attention has been given to Muslim women's everyday religious practices in sustaining local Islamic traditions. This study examines how Muslim women's everyday religious practices reproduce, transmit, and adapt local Islamic traditions, contributing to the continuity of Islam Nusantara in Indonesia. Employing a qualitative approach, the study uses qualitative document analysis of 18 scholarly publications selected through purposive sampling. Data were collected through systematic documentation and analyzed using Braun and Clarke's Reflexive Thematic Analysis, with the lived religion perspective serving as the primary analytical framework. The findings demonstrate that Muslim women sustain Islam Nusantara through the preservation of local Islamic rituals and traditions, community-based religious education and da'wah, and everyday spirituality. These practices enable women to reproduce, transmit, and adapt local Islamic traditions within familial, communal, and cultural contexts. Overall, the findings indicate that the continuity of Islam Nusantara is sustained not only through formal religious institutions but also through Muslim women's everyday religious practices embedded in family, community, and local cultural life. Theoretically, the study extends the application of lived religion within Islamic Nusantara scholarship and enriches the understanding of gendered agency by demonstrating how Muslim women actively sustain local Islamic traditions through everyday religious practices.
Keywords: Muslim Women; Islam Nusantara; Lived Religion; Everyday Religious Practices.	



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INTRODUCTION

Muslim women's everyday religious practices constitute an essential yet insufficiently recognized dimension of the continuity of Islam Nusantara in contemporary Indonesian Islam. However, existing scholarship has largely emphasized *pesantren*, *ulama*, and Islamic organizations as the principal custodians of Islamic authority and local religious traditions (Muthoifin & Surawan, 2022), while the contribution of women's everyday religious practices within families and communities has received comparatively less attention. Through activities such as *pengajian*, *majelis taklim*, *selamatan*, *istigasah*, and pilgrimage to sacred graves, Muslim women reproduce Islamic values, strengthen communal solidarity, and transmit local Islamic traditions across generations (Hidayat et al., 2025; Sila, 2020). These practices embody the dynamic interaction between Islamic teachings and local culture that characterizes Islam Nusantara (Hutagalung et al., 2022; Muzayanah, 2021). Viewed through the perspective of *lived religion*, such everyday practices demonstrate how the continuity of Islam Nusantara is sustained beyond formal religious institutions through the religious agency of ordinary believers, making Muslim women central to understanding its persistence amid contemporary social transformation (Knibbe & Kupari, 2020; McGuire, 2008).

Existing scholarship on Islam Nusantara and Muslim women can be broadly classified into three strands. First, studies on Islam Nusantara have examined its historical formation, intellectual foundations, institutional development, and cultural accommodation, portraying it as a distinctive expression of Indonesian Islam characterized by moderation and the integration of Islamic teachings with local traditions (Abdullah, 2022; Chotib & Ayatullah, 2024; Ibad & Arifin, 2024; Kersten, 2015; Muzakki, 2019). Second, research on Muslim women has primarily explored Islamic feminism, women's organizations, and women's agency in religious education, social welfare, and public participation (Arnez & Budianta, 2024; Huriani, 2021; Miichi, 2025). Third, another body of scholarship has investigated women's participation in local religious traditions, emphasizing their contributions to preserving communal rituals and sustaining cultural continuity (Niswatin et al., 2022; Rita & Kumar, 2024; Sinthumule, 2022). Although these strands have substantially advanced understanding of Islam Nusantara, Muslim women, and local religious traditions, they have largely developed as separate lines of inquiry. Consequently, their intersection remains insufficiently examined, particularly regarding the socio-religious mechanisms through which Muslim women's everyday religious practices reproduce, transmit, and adapt local Islamic traditions, thereby sustaining the continuity of Islam Nusantara.

In response to the identified research gap, this study examines how Muslim women's everyday religious practices reproduce, transmit, and adapt local Islamic traditions, thereby sustaining the continuity of Islam Nusantara in Indonesia through the integrated perspectives of *lived religion* and *gendered agency*. The study is guided by the following overarching research question: *How do Muslim women's everyday religious practices reproduce, transmit, and adapt local Islamic traditions in ways that sustain the continuity of Islam Nusantara in Indonesia?* This central question is further specified through three sub-questions: (1) How do Muslim women's everyday ritual practices reproduce and preserve local Islamic traditions? (2) How do community-based religious education and *da'wah* practices conducted by Muslim women transmit Islamic knowledge? (3) How do Muslim women's everyday spiritual practices contribute to cultural continuity and facilitate the intergenerational transmission of Islamic values?

This study argues that the continuity of Islam Nusantara is sustained not only through formal religious institutions, including *pesantren*, *ulama*, and Islamic organizations, but also

through Muslim women's everyday religious practices embedded within community life. By shifting the analytical focus from institutional narratives to the dynamics of *lived religion*, the study repositions Muslim women as central actors in reproducing, transmitting, and adapting local Islamic traditions across generations. Theoretically, it advances scholarship by integrating the perspectives of *lived religion* and *gendered agency* to explain how religious continuity is sustained through women's everyday religious practices. Conceptually, the study reframes Islam Nusantara as a lived religious tradition that is continuously reproduced, negotiated, and transmitted through everyday communal practices, rather than as an institutional or discursive phenomenon. Analytically, it demonstrates that ritual practices, community-based religious education, *da'wah*, everyday spirituality, and intergenerational transmission constitute interconnected socio-religious mechanisms through which Muslim women sustain the continuity of Islam Nusantara in contemporary Indonesian society.

METHOD

Research Approach

This study employs a qualitative document analysis design to examine how Muslim women's everyday religious practices sustain Islam Nusantara as represented in academic scholarship. Document analysis was selected because the study examines Muslim women's everyday religious practices through their representation, interpretation, and documentation in existing scholarly literature rather than through direct field observation. This approach enables the systematic identification and interpretation of recurring patterns, meanings, and representations embedded within textual materials, thereby facilitating a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon under investigation (Bowen, 2009).

The study is grounded in McGuire's (2008) perspective of *lived religion*, which conceptualizes religion as it is experienced, practiced, and embodied in everyday life rather than merely expressed through formal doctrines or institutional structures. This perspective is further elaborated by Knibbe and Kupari (2020), whose position *lived religion* as both a theoretical and methodological approach for examining religion through embodied practices, social interactions, and everyday experiences. Accordingly, the *lived religion* perspective serves as the primary analytical framework guiding the coding process, thematic development, and interpretation of the findings throughout this study. To complement this framework, Mahmood's (2005) concept of *gendered agency* is employed as an interpretive lens for understanding how Muslim women actively shape, sustain, and negotiate local Islamic traditions through their everyday religious practices. While the *lived religion* perspective guides the analytical process, *gendered agency* supports the interpretation of women's religious roles and capacities within the identified themes.

Data Sources

The primary data for this study consist of scholarly publications addressing Islam Nusantara, Muslim women, lived religion, local Islamic traditions, religious education, and community-based religious practices in Indonesia. The analyzed documents include peer-reviewed journal articles, academic books, conference proceedings, and other scholarly publications relevant to the research objectives. These publications were selected because they provide documented and interpreted accounts of Muslim women's everyday religious practices within diverse Indonesian socio-religious contexts. In this study, academic publications are treated as textual representations of socio-religious realities through which women's religious practices, roles, experiences, and contributions to the sustenance of Islam Nusantara have been documented and interpreted in prior scholarship and research.

Data Collection

The literature search was conducted between February and May 2025 using Google Scholar and SpringerLink, supplemented by manual searches of relevant reference lists. The search terms included “Islam Nusantara,” “Muslim women,” “lived religion,” “local Islam,” “women and Islamic traditions,” and “gendered agency.” Publications issued between 2020 and 2024 were prioritized to capture recent developments in scholarship on Islam Nusantara and Muslim women’s everyday religious practices, while seminal works on lived religion, gendered agency, and Reflexive Thematic Analysis were retained because of their conceptual and methodological significance.

Documents were selected through purposive sampling based on their relevance to the research objectives. The inclusion criteria encompassed studies addressing Muslim women’s participation in community-based religious practices, ritual activities, religious education, everyday religiosity, and the continuity of local Islamic traditions in Indonesia. Publications conducted outside the Indonesian context, lacking conceptual relevance, failing to discuss Muslim women’s everyday religious practices, or otherwise not aligned with the objectives of this study were excluded. This selection process resulted in a final corpus of 18 scholarly publications, which served as the primary empirical sources for the analysis. All documents were subsequently read multiple times, and relevant information was extracted into a data matrix containing bibliographic details, research contexts, methodological characteristics, key findings, and excerpts related to Muslim women’s everyday religious practices. This matrix facilitated systematic comparison across the selected publications throughout the Reflexive Thematic Analysis.

Data Analysis

The data were analyzed using Braun and Clarke’s Reflexive Thematic Analysis (RTA) framework (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Byrne, 2022), which conceptualizes researchers as active interpreters who generate themes through an iterative and reflexive analytical process. The analysis followed six interconnected stages: familiarization with the documents, generation of initial codes, development of preliminary themes, review and refinement of themes, definition and naming of themes, and production of the final analytical narrative. Rather than merely summarizing individual studies, the analysis sought to identify recurring patterns, similarities, and variations across the document corpus through a reflexive process of coding and theme development.

The coding process was guided by the lived religion perspective (Knibbe & Kupari, 2020; McGuire, 2008; Petersen & Agersnap, 2022). Rather than applying predetermined analytical categories mechanically, the key concepts of lived religion were operationalized into analytical coding categories that guided the identification of recurring patterns while remaining open to new meanings emerging through reflexive interpretation. The operationalization of the lived religion perspective within the coding process is presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Operationalization of the Lived Religion Perspective in the Coding Process

Lived Religion Concept	Analytical Focus	Coding Indicators
Everyday religious practices	Routine religious activities embedded in community life	<i>Pengajian, istighosah, slametan</i> , pilgrimage, communal rituals
Embodiment	Religious values expressed through bodily practices and habitual actions	Ritual participation, embodied piety, religious discipline
Meaning making	Religious meanings attached to	Spiritual values, moral interpretation,

	everyday practices	religious motivation
Community engagement	Collective participation in socio-religious activities	Women's participation, religious networks, communal interaction
Transmission of tradition	Continuity and reproduction of local Islamic traditions	Preservation, intergenerational transmission, continuity of Islam Nusantara

Source: Compiled by the author (2026).

The coded data were subsequently compared across the selected documents through an iterative and reflexive process, resulting in the development of three overarching themes: (1) women as guardians of rituals and local Islamic traditions, (2) women in religious education and *da'wah*, and (3) women as agents of everyday spirituality. These themes were then interpreted through the perspective of lived religion to explain how Muslim women's everyday religious practices sustain the continuity of Islam Nusantara. Mahmood's (2005) concept of religious agency was employed as a complementary interpretive lens for understanding the gendered dimensions of women's religious agency within these practices. This analytical strategy ensured coherence among the theoretical framework, analytical procedures, findings, and discussion of the study.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

A reflexive thematic analysis of the selected literature identified three interconnected themes explaining how Muslim women sustain Islam Nusantara through everyday religious practices. The thematic synthesis demonstrates that women's religious agency operates through the preservation, transmission, and adaptation of local Islamic traditions across diverse socio-cultural contexts. Interpreted through the lens of lived religion, these themes reveal that Islam Nusantara is sustained not only by formal religious institutions but also by women's everyday practices of ritual engagement, the transmission of religious knowledge, community participation, and cultural continuity. The three themes are: (1) Women as Religious Actors in Sustaining Rituals and Local Islamic Traditions, (2) Women as Agents of Religious Education and Da'wah, and (3) Women as Agents of Everyday Spirituality and Cultural Continuity.

Women as guardians of rituals and local Islamic traditions

Following qualitative document analysis, the reviewed studies were analyzed using reflexive thematic analysis, as developed by Braun and Clarke, to identify recurring patterns in Muslim women's roles in sustaining Islam Nusantara. The themes were generated inductively through iterative coding and constant comparison across the literature and subsequently interpreted through the lived religion perspective proposed by McGuire and further elaborated by Knibbe and Kupari. As presented in Table 2, the analysis maps the progression from initial codes to reflexive themes and their conceptual interpretation, illustrating how Muslim women's everyday religious practices sustain local Islamic traditions.

Table 2
Reflexive Thematic Analysis of Women's Roles in Rituals and Local Islamic Traditions

Initial Codes	Reflexive Theme	Representative Studies	Lived Religion Lens	Analytical Meaning
Leading rituals; coordinating ceremonies; preserving ritual customs	Ritual leadership	Arifa (2020); Hoesterey (2022); Prasetyo (2024)	Religion as everyday practice	Women's ritual leadership reproduces local Islamic traditions through routine religious practices embedded in everyday community life.

Organizing communal gatherings; ritual preparation; food distribution; devotional activities	Ritual preparation and community organization	Bruinessen (2018); Rifai & Rifai (2021); Zahro (2018)	Embodied and communal religious practice	Ritual organization strengthens communal solidarity while reproducing collective religious memory through shared religious practice.
Teaching traditions; preserving customs; transmitting religious values	Preservation of local Islamic traditions	Hoesterey (2022); Lawrence (2018); Prasetyo (2024); Rifai & Rifai (2021)	Religion embedded in everyday life	Women's everyday religious practices facilitate the intergenerational reproduction of Islam Nusantara through the transmission of religious knowledge and local traditions.

Source: Compiled by the author (2026).

The analysis generated three interconnected themes illustrating how Muslim women contribute to the continuity of local Islamic traditions within Islam Nusantara: ritual leadership, ritual preparation and community organization, and the preservation and adaptation of local Islamic traditions (Table 2). Together, these themes indicate that the continuity of Islam Nusantara is sustained not only through formal religious institutions but also through women's everyday religious practices. These practices connect ritual authority, communal responsibility, and cultural transmission, allowing local Islamic traditions to be enacted and reproduced across generations.

The first theme, ritual leadership, indicates that women exercise forms of religious authority within locally recognized cultural and spiritual frameworks. Across the studies reviewed, such authority does not necessarily derive from formal religious positions but is associated with accumulated religious knowledge, cultural competence, ritual experience, and community recognition. Women's ritual leadership thus represents a form of religious agency embedded in local traditions and everyday community life. For example, in the *Mappadendang* harvest ritual in South Sulawesi, Bugis women serve as *indo' padendang*, coordinating ceremonial activities and safeguarding the ritual's cultural and spiritual meanings (Prasetyo et al., 2024). Likewise, in the *Malam Khataman Pengantin* tradition among the Malay Tamiang community, women lead Qur'anic recitations, provide religious guidance, and spiritually prepare prospective brides (Arifa, 2020). These practices demonstrate women's role in maintaining ritual continuity and embedding local Islamic traditions in communal religious life.

The second theme, ritual preparation and community organization, emphasizes women's involvement in organizing communal gatherings, preparing ritual materials, distributing food, and coordinating collective devotional activities. The thematic synthesis indicates that these activities are not merely supportive or domestic tasks, separate from religious practice, but rather constitute important forms of everyday religious labor that create the social and material conditions necessary for communal worship (Bruinessen, 2018; Rifai & Rifai, 2021; Zahro, 2018). Through these organizational practices, women facilitate communal religious activities while strengthening interpersonal relationships and collective solidarity. Preparing ritual materials, coordinating gatherings, and distributing food contribute to ritual continuity and the preservation of collective religious memory through repeated shared practices. Thus, ritual continuity depends not only on ceremonial performance but also on women's everyday organizational practices that enable collective religious participation and sustain communal religious traditions.

The third theme, preservation and adaptation of local Islamic traditions, demonstrates women's role in transmitting religious knowledge, ritual customs, and locally embedded Islamic values across generations. The reviewed studies indicate that women maintain religious traditions through teaching, religious socialization, customary rituals, and community-based religious education (Hoesterey, 2022; Lawrence, 2018; Prasetyo et al., 2024; Rifai & Rifai, 2021). Importantly, preservation does not necessarily mean maintaining traditions as static cultural forms. Women's everyday participation enables local Islamic practices to be reproduced while remaining responsive to changing social circumstances. Through teaching traditions, transmitting religious values, and continuing customary practices, women help maintain the social relevance and religious legitimacy of local Islamic traditions across generations. Thus, preservation and adaptation operate together, allowing traditions to remain recognizable as local Islamic heritage while being continually enacted within contemporary community life.

Viewed collectively, the three themes reveal mutually reinforcing dimensions of women's religious agency. Ritual leadership contributes to the legitimacy and continuity of local religious practices; ritual preparation and community organization provide the social and material conditions for collective religious participation, while preservation and adaptation of local Islamic traditions facilitate the transmission of religious knowledge, values, and practices across generations. These dimensions operate as interconnected processes through which women's leadership sustains ritual continuity, organizational work enables collective enactment, and transmission supports intergenerational persistence. Interpreted through the lived religion perspective, women's religious agency is expressed not only through formal authority but also through ordinary practices, social relationships, and embodied participation in community rituals (Knibbe & Kupari, 2020; McGuire, 2008). Thus, women's everyday practices contribute to the reproduction and sustainability of Islam Nusantara by preserving, adapting, and transmitting local Islamic traditions.

Women in religious education and da'wah

Following the qualitative document analysis, the reviewed studies were analyzed using reflexive thematic analysis to identify recurring patterns in Muslim women's roles in religious education and da'wah within the context of Islam Nusantara. Initial codes were generated inductively and refined through iterative comparison into three interconnected themes, which were subsequently interpreted through the lens of lived religion to examine how women's everyday religious practices sustain Islamic knowledge. As presented in Table 3, the analysis identified three themes: community-based religious learning, community mobilization and women's leadership, and digital da'wah and religious communication.

Table 3
Reflexive Thematic Analysis of Women's Roles in Religious Education and Da'wah

Initial Codes	Reflexive Theme	Representative Studies	Lived Religion Lens	Analytical Meaning
Organizing and facilitating <i>pengajian, majelis taklim, Qur'anic</i> learning, and mosque-based educational activities	Community-based religious learning	Afiyah et al. (2023); Ahmad et al. (2025); Faizah & Alkhalimi (2023)	Religion as everyday educational practice	Women's involvement in community-based religious learning reproduces Islamic knowledge through routine educational activities embedded in everyday community life.

Coordinating charitable activities, Islamic celebrations, community empowerment, and religious organizations	Community mobilization and women's leadership	Huriani (2021); Ma'ruf et al. (2021); Pramuja (2024); Rusmiati et al. (2024); Syarifudin et al. (2024)	Religion as collective social engagement	Women's leadership transforms religious education into a collective social practice that strengthens community cohesion while reinforcing religious values.
Disseminating Islamic knowledge through social media and digital platforms; expanding religious participation beyond conventional settings	Digital da'wah and religious communication	Aziza et al. (2024); Lyansari (2022); Nisa (2021)	Religion beyond physical boundaries	Digital religious practices expand women's religious agencies by creating new spaces for religious communication and community participation beyond traditional institutional settings.

Source: Compiled by the author (2026).

A reflexive thematic analysis of the reviewed literature identified three interrelated themes illustrating how Muslim women sustain Islam Nusantara through religious education and *da'wah*: community-based religious learning, community mobilization and women's leadership, and digital da'wah and religious communication (Table 3). Collectively, these themes demonstrate that Muslim women sustain local Islamic traditions through everyday learning practices, community participation, and the dissemination of religious knowledge across physical and digital environments. Rather than being passive recipients of religious instruction, women actively produce, negotiate, and transmit Islamic knowledge through educational practices, community leadership, and digital engagement. These practices foster intergenerational learning, reinforce religious identity, and promote moderate Islamic values.

The first theme, community-based religious learning, highlights women's role in transmitting Islamic knowledge through informal instructional settings embedded in daily community life. The reviewed studies indicate that women organize *pengajian*, facilitate *majelis taklim*, coordinate Qur'anic learning, and conduct mosque-based educational activities, strengthening religious understanding and preserving local Islamic values (Afiyah et al., 2023; Ahmad et al., 2025; Faizah & Alkhalimi, 2023). These learning spaces function as everyday sites of religious formation where women facilitate intergenerational learning, negotiate religious meanings, and reinforce locally grounded Islamic identities. Beyond facilitating instruction, these practices position women as important actors in transmitting Islamic knowledge and sustaining Islam Nusantara through routine community participation.

The second theme, community mobilization and women's leadership, underscores women's involvement in coordinating religious organizations, charitable initiatives, Islamic celebrations, and community empowerment programs. Across organizational contexts, including Muslimat NU, Aisyiyah, and the Kongres Ulama Perempuan Indonesia (KUPI), the reviewed literature indicates that women's organizational leadership extends religious education beyond instructional activities by integrating it with community empowerment, charitable initiatives, and collective religious engagement (Huriani, 2021; Ma'ruf et al., 2021; Pramuja, 2024; Rusmiati et al., 2024; Syarifudin et al., 2024). Building on the first theme, this pattern shows that women's leadership transforms religious education into a broader socio-religious practice involving collective action, empowerment, and community participation.

Religious education is therefore embedded in collective social engagement through which women reinforce group solidarity and religious continuity.

The third theme, digital *da'wah* and religious communication, demonstrates how women expand religious education into digital environments. The reviewed literature shows that women use platforms such as YouTube, Instagram, TikTok, and other social media to disseminate Islamic knowledge, facilitate religious discussions, and engage broader audiences beyond traditional religious settings (Aziza et al., 2024; Lyansari, 2022; Nisa, 2021). These digital practices build upon community-based learning and women's leadership by creating additional spaces for religious participation and agency. Digital media do not replace conventional religious learning; rather, they extend women's educational and *da'wah* practices into broader social contexts, creating new spaces for knowledge production, religious communication, and community engagement associated with Islam Nusantara.

Viewed through the lens of lived religion, these three themes demonstrate that religious education is continuously enacted through everyday social interactions rather than being confined to formal educational institutions or religious authorities (Knibbe & Kupari, 2020; McGuire, 2008; Petersen & Agersnap, 2022). Community-based religious learning, women's organizational leadership, and digital *da'wah* constitute interconnected everyday practices through which Islamic knowledge is interpreted, embodied, and reproduced. From this perspective, Muslim women sustain the continuity of Islam Nusantara not only by transmitting religious knowledge but also by integrating education, social engagement, leadership, and religious communication into everyday community practices. Collectively, these findings indicate that women's religious agency contributes to the continuity and flexibility of Islam Nusantara across community, organizational, and digital settings.

Women as Agents of Everyday Spirituality

Following the qualitative document analysis, the reviewed studies were analyzed using reflexive thematic analysis to identify recurring patterns in Muslim women's spirituality and everyday religious practice within the context of Islam Nusantara. Initial codes were generated inductively and refined through iterative comparison into three interconnected themes, which were subsequently interpreted through the lens of lived religion. As presented in Table 4, the analysis identified three interconnected themes: embodied spirituality in local traditions, moral responsibility and family life, and cultural continuity and intergenerational transmission. Together, these themes illustrate how Muslim women's spirituality is expressed through ethical conduct, caregiving practices, family relationships, and community engagement.

Table 4
Reflexive Thematic Analysis of Women's Roles in Everyday Spirituality

Initial Codes	Reflexive Theme	Representative Studies	Lived Religion Lens	Analytical Meaning
Expressing Islamic values through ritual movements, cultural symbols, traditional ceremonies, and locally embedded religious practices	Embodied spirituality in local traditions	Jati et al. (2024); Peduho et al. (2024); Roza et al. (2023)	Religion as embodied everyday practice	Women's spirituality is embodied through everyday religious practices that integrate Islamic devotion with local cultural traditions, enabling religious meanings to be experienced through ordinary social life.

Practising domestic responsibility, ethical conduct, caregiving, and active participation in family and community life	Moral responsibility and family life	Ahmadi (2021); Hasan (2023); Nasution et al. (2026)	Religion as everyday moral practice	Women's moral responsibilities demonstrate that lived religiosity is expressed through everyday ethical conduct, family care, and community engagement rather than solely through formal religious rituals.
Preserving family traditions, transmitting religious values across generations, maintaining local crafts, and sustaining communal cultural practices	Cultural continuity and intergenerational transmission	Jati et al. (2024); Peduho et al. (2024); Suharson (2024)	Religion embedded in cultural continuity	Women's everyday spiritual practices facilitate the intergenerational transmission of religious knowledge and cultural traditions, sustaining the continuity and adaptability of Islam Nusantara.

Source: Compiled by the author (2026).

A reflexive thematic analysis of the reviewed literature identified three interconnected themes that characterize Muslim women's contributions to sustaining Islam Nusantara through everyday spirituality: embodied spirituality in local traditions, moral responsibility and family life, and cultural continuity and intergenerational transmission (Table 4). Collectively, these themes indicate that Muslim women express religious devotion not only through formal acts of worship but also through everyday practices that integrate faith, morality, family responsibility, and local cultural traditions. Rather than constituting separate forms of religious participation, these practices demonstrate how spirituality is embodied in ordinary social life, allowing Islamic values to be continuously experienced, reproduced, and transmitted across generations.

The first theme, embodied spirituality in local traditions, demonstrates how women integrate Islamic devotion with locally embedded cultural practices. Across the reviewed studies, women express religious values through ritual movements, ceremonial attire, cultural symbols, and traditional ceremonies that combine Islamic teachings with local customs. For example, in the *Saro Badaka* tradition of Gorontalo, women act as custodians of customary-religious rituals, preserving both spiritual and cultural meanings (Peduho et al., 2024). Similar dynamics are observed in Malay Riau communities, where the wearing of *baju kurung* reflects values of modesty, piety, and religious identity in daily life (Roza et al., 2023). Findings by Jati et al. (2024) further indicate that women's spirituality is enacted through locally embedded religious practices, suggesting that Islamic devotion is experienced through culturally meaningful everyday activities rather than ritual observance alone. These findings show that local traditions function not merely as cultural heritage but also as everyday expressions through which Islamic values are embodied and sustained.

The second theme, moral responsibility and family life, highlights women's spirituality as expressed through ethical conduct, caregiving, domestic responsibility, and active participation in family and community life. Across the reviewed studies, religious commitment is manifested through everyday moral practices that strengthen family relationships and social solidarity. For instance, Mandangin women express religious devotion through hard work, mutual assistance, and domestic responsibility, all grounded in Islamic values (Ahmadi, 2021). Comparable patterns are identified by Hasan (2023) and

Nasution et al. (2026), who demonstrate that women's ethical commitments are cultivated through family care, community participation, and social responsibility. These findings suggest that lived religiosity manifests in ordinary moral practices that integrate religious values into everyday social relationships. Rather than being confined to ritual observance, spirituality is enacted through everyday ethical responsibilities that contribute to family well-being and community cohesion.

The third theme, cultural continuity and intergenerational transmission, demonstrates how women help sustain Islam Nusantara by transmitting religious knowledge, cultural traditions, and communal values across generations. Across the reviewed studies, women emerge as important actors in preserving family traditions, sustaining local crafts, and maintaining communal cultural practices that reinforce religious identity and cultural continuity. This is evident in pottery artisan communities in Kasongan and Bayat, where productive activities also serve as spaces for transmitting religious values and local traditions (Suharson, 2024). Similarly, studies by Jati et al. (2024) and Peduho et al. (2024) show that women's everyday participation enables local Islamic traditions to remain socially relevant while adapting to changing community contexts. Collectively, these findings indicate that cultural continuity is sustained through women's routine practices, thereby sustaining Islam Nusantara while allowing its locally rooted religious traditions to adapt to changing social contexts.

Viewed through the lens of lived religion, these three themes demonstrate that spirituality is continually enacted in everyday experiences rather than confined to formal religious institutions or ritual observance alone (Knibbe & Kupari, 2020; McGuire, 2008; Petersen & Agersnap, 2022). Embodied religious practices, moral responsibilities, and the intergenerational transmission of cultural traditions collectively constitute lived religious expressions through which Islamic beliefs are interpreted, embodied, and reproduced within ordinary community life. From this perspective, Muslim women contribute to the continuity of Islam Nusantara not only through participation in religious rituals but also by integrating faith, ethical responsibility, and cultural preservation into everyday practices. Together with the forms of ritual leadership, religious education, and digital communication identified in the preceding themes, these findings demonstrate that Muslim women's religious agency extends across ritual, educational, digital, spiritual, and cultural domains. Through these interconnected everyday practices, women contribute to reproducing and negotiating Islamic meanings while sustaining Islam Nusantara as both religiously grounded and culturally adaptive.

Discussion

The findings demonstrate that Muslim women contribute to the continuity of Islam Nusantara through three interrelated dimensions: preserving local Islamic rituals and traditions, strengthening community-based religious education and da'wah, and embodying everyday spirituality that supports cultural continuity and intergenerational transmission. Across diverse social and cultural contexts, women function not merely as participants but as ritual custodians, religious educators, community mobilizers, and moral and spiritual agents who preserve, transmit, and adapt local Islamic traditions through everyday practices. Viewed through the lens of lived religion, these findings indicate that Islam Nusantara is sustained not only through formal religious institutions but also through practices embedded in family life, social relationships, community activities, and local cultural contexts. Muslim women, therefore, emerge as active religious actors who continuously reproduce and negotiate Islam Nusantara through ritual participation, religious education,

community engagement, spirituality, and cultural transmission, enabling local Islamic traditions to remain relevant and adaptable across generations.

Amid intensifying globalization and the growing polarization of religious identities in the public sphere, the findings of this study demonstrate that the continuity of Islam Nusantara is shaped not only by formal religious institutions but also by Muslim women's everyday religious practices. Through the preservation of local Islamic rituals and traditions, community-based religious education and *da'wah*, and the embodiment of everyday spirituality, women contribute to the reproduction, transmission, and adaptation of Islam Nusantara across diverse social and cultural contexts. These findings reinforce historical perspectives (Bruinessen, 2018; Hoesterey, 2022; Tokoro, 2018) that conceptualize Islam Nusantara as emerging from an organic interaction between Islamic texts and local contexts. Socially, these findings are particularly relevant because they support recent studies (Nasution et al., 2026; Noor, 2025) indicating that women-initiated religious practices function as sources of social cohesion, cultural preservation, and support for religious moderation amid ongoing disruptions affecting contemporary Southeast Asian societies.

Viewed through the lens of *lived religion*, these findings demonstrate that the continuity of religious life is shaped by practices embodied in everyday actions, social interactions, and communal experiences rather than solely by institutional authority or doctrinal systems (Knibbe & Kupari, 2020; McGuire, 2008; Petersen & Ager SNAP, 2022). The three dimensions identified in this study illustrate how religious meanings are continuously interpreted, negotiated, reproduced, and adapted within social life. This perspective also extends Mahmood's (2005) concept of religious agency by demonstrating that Muslim women's agency is enacted not only through embodied piety but also through the preservation of local Islamic rituals, the transmission of religious knowledge, active participation in community-based religious practices, and the adaptation of local Islamic traditions within everyday life. This interpretation is consistent with studies that conceptualize Muslim women's agency as relational, multidimensional, and embedded within broader social, cultural, and institutional contexts (Crossouard et al., 2020; Husain, 2025; Sehlkoglul, 2018). Accordingly, everyday religious practices constitute an important socio-religious mechanism through which Islam Nusantara is reproduced, transmitted, and adapted across generations.

The findings further demonstrate that these dimensions do not operate independently but function as mutually reinforcing processes within everyday religious life. Ritual practices provide communal spaces in which local Islamic traditions are enacted and maintained; community-based religious education and *da'wah* facilitate the transmission and reinterpretation of religious knowledge across generations; and everyday spirituality embeds Islamic values within ordinary moral practices, family life, and social relationships (Qorib & Umiarso, 2025; Sodikin & Umroh, 2023). Together, these practices connect religious participation, knowledge transmission, and everyday meaning-making, thereby sustaining the continuity of Islam Nusantara within families, communities, and local cultural contexts. Religion is therefore understood not merely as a system of doctrines or institutions, but as a lived social practice that is continuously enacted, experienced, interpreted, and transmitted through the interaction of ritual, religious education, and everyday spirituality (Knibbe & Kupari, 2020; McGuire, 2008).

Previous studies have documented Muslim women's expanding roles in religious education, leadership, and community empowerment (Ismah, 2016; Nisa, 2021; Pramuja, 2024; Syarifudin et al., 2024), while research on the Indonesian Women Ulama Congress (Kongres Ulama Perempuan Indonesia or KUPI) highlights women's growing authority in

Islamic interpretation, religious discourse, and gender-responsive scholarship (Rohmaniyah et al., 2022). This study reinforces and extends this scholarship by demonstrating that women sustain Islam Nusantara not only through organizational leadership or formal authority but also through everyday practices connecting ritual, religious education, spirituality, and cultural transmission. Theoretically, integrating *lived religion* and *gendered agency* provides a more comprehensive framework: *lived religion* explains how Islam Nusantara is enacted, experienced, and reproduced in everyday life, while *gendered agency* highlights how women preserve, transmit, negotiate, and adapt local Islamic traditions through ritual, education, *da'wah*, and spirituality. Together, these perspectives show that Islam Nusantara is sustained through women's active religious agency across generations and local communities (Jati et al., 2024; Nasution et al., 2026; Rusydiana et al., 2025).

These findings underscore the importance of strategies and policies that recognize Muslim women as important actors in the preservation of rituals, religious education, community development, and the cultural transmission of Islam Nusantara. The results indicate that strengthening women's capacity to organize Qur'anic study groups (*majelis taklim*), local ritual activities, and intergenerational religious education may enhance the continuity of Islam Nusantara at the community level. The findings also highlight the need to integrate women's participation into community-based cultural preservation and religious moderation programs, not only through formal religious institutions but also by strengthening everyday religious practices within families and local communities. In addition, the development of digital religious literacy should be pursued in balance with the preservation of local religious traditions, ensuring that the expansion of digital *da'wah* continues to support the sustainability of community-based religious practices. Future research may employ ethnographic, participatory, or multisited approaches to explore in greater depth how Muslim women's everyday religious practices are negotiated and adapted across diverse cultural contexts and in response to ongoing social transformations in Indonesia.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that Muslim women's everyday religious practices constitute an important basis for the continuity of Islam Nusantara within Indonesian Muslim communities. Drawing on the lived religion perspective and Reflexive Thematic Analysis, the study identifies three interconnected dimensions: the preservation of local Islamic rituals and traditions, community-based religious education and *da'wah*, and everyday spirituality that supports cultural continuity and the intergenerational transmission of Islamic values. These dimensions mutually reinforce one another in reproducing, transmitting, and adapting Islam Nusantara through everyday religious practices. The findings confirm that the continuity of Islam Nusantara is shaped not only by formal religious institutions but also through family life, communal activities, and local cultural practices. From the perspective of lived religion, Muslim women emerge as active religious actors who preserve, transmit, and adapt Islam Nusantara, contributing to its continued relevance and reproduction across generations amid social transformations.

This study contributes to Islam Nusantara scholarship by shifting attention from institutional and historical perspectives toward Muslim women's everyday religious practices as a basis for the continuity of local Islamic traditions. It also extends the application of the lived religion perspective within the study of Indonesian Islam by demonstrating how women's religious practices connect ritual preservation, community-based religious education, spirituality, and cultural transmission. Furthermore, the findings broaden

Mahmood's concept of religious agency by showing that women's agency is manifested through collective religious practices that sustain the reproduction, transmission, and adaptation of Islam Nusantara. At the practical level, this study underscores the importance of recognizing Muslim women as important actors in preserving local Islamic traditions, providing religious education, promoting community development, and facilitating cultural transmission. The findings may therefore serve as a reference for religious organizations, educational institutions, and policymakers seeking to strengthen the continuity of Islam Nusantara.

This study is limited by its exclusive reliance on qualitative document analysis, which examines representations of Muslim women's religious practices in the academic literature without directly observing lived religious experiences in specific communities. Accordingly, the findings should be understood as an interpretive synthesis of previous studies rather than as ethnographic evidence derived from a particular religious context. Future research may extend these findings through ethnographic, participatory, comparative, or multisited approaches across different regions of Indonesia to explore how Muslim women's everyday religious practices are continuously negotiated, adapted, and transmitted in response to changing social, cultural, and digital contexts. Such studies would further enrich scholarly understanding of the dynamic relationship among gender, lived religion, and the continuity of Islam Nusantara.

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AUTHOR CONTRIBUTION STATEMENT

Muhammad Syahrul Hasan: Conceptualization; Investigation; Data Curation, Formal Analysis, Writing Original Draft; Writing Review & Editing. **Fitrotul Muzayanah:** Supervision; Conceptualization; Writing Review & Editing. **Nurul Milah:** Conceptualization; Investigation; Writing Review & Editing. **Maria Ulfah Anshor:** Project Administration; Writing Review & Editing. **Satomi Ohgata Nurchasanah:** Conceptualization; Writing Review & Editing. All authors read and approved the final version of the manuscript and agreed to be accountable for all aspects of the work. All authors read and approved the final version of the manuscript and agreed to be accountable for all aspects of the work.

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