

# Media Activism: Reinterpretation Digital Sisterhood by @mubadalah.id, @muslimahfeminis, @cherbonfeminist on Social Media Instagram in Indonesia

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## ABSTRACT

This article problematizes forms of negotiations and strategies of Islamic feminism in social media activism in three Instagram accounts: @mubadalah.id, @muslimahfeminis, and @cherbonfeminist. The main focus of this research is Muslim women's digital contestation over opposing views on polygamy and sexual violence in Indonesia. These accounts use reinterpretation strategies to undermine patriarchal dominance embedded in Islamic religious texts. They are used to present alternative and more constructive ways in understanding Al-Quran and hadith especially in polygamy and sexual violence cases. In addition, there is a sense of digital sisterhood through their social media activism, and this is constructed through the reliance on personal narratives. Furthermore, hashtags are used as a tool in their media activism to articulate Islamic feminism ideology. In this case, Instagram as a form of social media focusing on visual contents has become a platform for a feminist counter-voice in the context of Islamic feminism to encode alternative and demystify meaning-making processes on polygamy and sexual violence.

**Keywords:** Digital Sisterhood, Instagram, Islamic Feminism, Media Activism

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In the middle of March 2019, there was a controversial campaign carried out by a group named Indonesia Without Feminists (*Indonesia Tanpa Feminis*) on their account @indonesiatanpafeminis. The group's slogan "My body is not mine, but belongs to Allah,"—has been campaigned through various digital posters with the hashtag #uninstallfeminism. Indonesia Without Feminists speculates that feminism is irrelevant for Indonesian women. They believe that the gender equality movement originates from the West, and it is incompatible with the dominant Eastern culture in Indonesia [1]. This certainly led to polemics and criticism from women's empowerment groups in Indonesia, which at that time was pushing the House Representative Council (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat*) to immediately pass the Draft Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence, otherwise known as RUU PKS. Kalis Mardiasih, a Muslim gender activist, said that the conservative Islamic groups often oppose feminism by using religious interpretations that are not gender equitable. In fact, she thinks that the campaign using this anti-feminism group is misdirected because it does not adapt to the context of today's era [2].

The emergence of new media, both online media and digital media, is used by Muslim women's groups in order to seek the formation of a more adaptive and inclusive

face of Islam in the face of modernity [3]. According to Baudrillard [4], "modernity is a characteristic mode of civilization, which opposes itself to tradition, that is to say, to all other anterior traditional cultures" [4]. Modernity has an implication for the formation of a space for negotiation between the discourse of feminism and Islam, which then produces a virtual reality and cyberspace. This has also engendered media activism, in which Muslim women use the space as a medium for empowerment in this digitalization era [5]. Instagram is a social media platform that is chosen by Islamic feminism for emphasizing the synergy of Islam with pluralism, modernism, and democracy through asserting Islamic values pertaining to issues of inequality in power relations, including the marginalization of women. Based on data from "*Digital 2019 Indonesia*", Instagram in Indonesia has a high level of popularity with the number of users reaching 60 million [6]. All kinds of innovations and features that are provided in Instagram are considered to be the new medium to claim power, authority, and discourse dominated by the patriarchal system [7].

Patriarchy is a social system which places men as the central authority figure. This system is promoted not only by men, but by women whose ideology puts men in a higher position than women in all aspects of life, including social, cultural and economic positions [8]. It is also common to find patriarchal groups using religious

narratives to repress critical expressions and thoughts of women. They believe that God seems to give more reference to men and support the patriarchal system through sacred texts [9]. Therefore, the Islamic feminism through the Instagram account namely @mubadalah.id, @cherbonfeminist, and @muslimahfeminis demand to negotiate the position of women in existing patriarchal domination, which often uses Islamic narratives to silence the actions of Muslim women in Indonesia. Visual contents produced by @mubadalah.id, @muslimahfeminis, and @cherbonfeminist (particularly their use of images and captions) are proofs of the groups' digital media literacy, which is defined as the awareness, attitude and ability of individuals to appropriately use digital tools and facilities to construct new knowledge [10]. Regarding this, I contend the urgency of Islamic feminism represented by these three Instagram accounts, as these accounts criticize the unequal power relations experienced by women in Indonesia through the use of Instagram as their digital tool.

With hashtags such as #sahkanrupks, #stopkekerasanseksual, #poligami, #antipoligami, most of these accounts' uploaded contents are related to problems experienced by Indonesian women. These issues have remained the concern for Indonesian women activists for a long time because until now the state has not been able to solve the problems such as rape, violence, harassment, trafficking, and discrimination against women [11]. Not to mention that polygamy is carried out by several political elites and public figures, constructing the notion that men have arbitrary rights to marry multiple women. In fact, there is even discriminatory behavior towards not only men who choose monogamy, but also women who reject polygamy. They use Islamic *dalil*<sup>1</sup> (principles) as an effort to promote this discourse [11]. Thus, the focus of this research is to see the reinterpretation of the discourses of Islam and feminism conveyed by @mubadalah.id, @muslimahfeminis, and @cherbonfeminist that arguably can be identified as a form of digital literacy. Digital literacy becomes these accounts' strategy to raise awareness of Indonesian women regarding issues such as polygamy and sexual violence. Furthermore, this research presents a reinterpretation of Islamic narrative as a form of social media activism to establish digital sisterhood, especially through personal narrative strategies and the use of hashtags.

## 2. METHOD

According to the problems above, I use the perspective of Cultural Studies to identify the strategies and negotiations made by Muslim women as a subordinate group in the midst of patriarchal domination. As Piliang and Jaelani [12] stated, Cultural Studies

rejects the existence of a dividing wall between main culture and subordinate or marginal culture. For Hall [13], Cultural Studies differs from other subject areas in many distinct ways, such as its connections to matters of power and politics and, in particular, to the need for social and cultural change.

As the data was obtained from the social media Instagram, netnography is a data collection tool that is suitable for observing the participation and interaction that occurred in the social media. This method is useful to examine the phenomenon of cyber-culture (Kozinets, 2010). Each upload of @mubadalah.id, @muslimahfeminis, and @cherbonfeminist is analyzed by selecting the "representative" and "significant" data sampling (Rose, 2005). Then "coding" was conducted by categorizing the data based on descriptive labels or categories. Rose (2001) explains that the codes used must depend on a theorized connection between the image and the broader cultural context in which its meaning is made. Therefore, the research will focus on social practices and interactions that emerge in social media and are disseminated through language, symbols, discourse, values, power, and other materials [14]. By applying such methods, every uploads that are distributed on @mubadalah.id, @muslimahfeminis, and @cherbonfeminist can be understood as items which reflect, articulate, and represent the identity and strategy of Muslim women.

The object of the research is these Instagram account: @mubadalah.id, @muslimahfeminis and @cherbonfeminist. The three accounts share similarities in reconstructing the narrative of Islam and feminism through the perspective of Islamic feminism regarding issues of polygamy and sexual violence. The patriarchal ideology that uses a religious interpretation as a tool to legitimize its power will be further investigated using the reinterpretation of Islamic texts as a way of liberation for Muslim women. This concept supports the reinterpretation of the Koran and hadith in an anti-patriarchal direction in order to facilitate the struggle of Muslim women to achieve equality [15]. In this way, this concept is needed to dismantle the discourse of women's restraint, and such attempt of dismantling is re-articulated by the three aforementioned Instagram accounts.

## 3. REDEFINITION OF ISLAMIC FEMINISM IN INDONESIA THROUGH INSTAGRAM

Instagram as a form of social media which focuses on visual contents has become a platform for a feminist counter-voice, particularly Islamic feminism, to encode alternative narratives and demystify meaning-making processes related to polygamy and issues of sexual violence in Indonesia. The presence of a counter-voice is an essential reminder for women and feminist activists to

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<sup>1</sup> An Islamic term that can be used as a guide to determine an Islamic law

realize that they can and do make use of digital spaces to contest and organize against the oppressions they experience [16]. By involving the idea of democracy and Western emancipation into the Muslim world, they negotiate the position of women who have been marginalized for centuries [17].

This research aims to prove that @mubadalah.id, @cherbonfeminist, and @muslimahfeminist conduct critical studies on the patriarchal discourse, which strengthens its power through religious texts such as both the Koran and the hadith. Their criticism are put forward stems from the idea of equality between men and women, which is a part of Islamic feminism’s ideology. Such idea is shown through how @mubadalah.id, @muslimahfeminis, and @cherbofeminist present themselves. Thus, I define @mubadalah.id, @muslimahfeminis, and @cherbonfeminist as the representatives of Islamic feminism in Indonesia, which can be defined by Amin [18] as a feminist discourse and practice articulated within an Islamic paradigm.

It is common for patriarchal groups to misuse Islamic narratives as their justification to force women to accept discriminatory attitudes and injustice. However, Barlas [15] believes it is time to get rid of the tendency to blame Islam as a religion that oppresses its own people, but it is better if the accusation is more suitable for those who misinterpret Islam. Then, we stop asking whether the text of the Koran is patriarchal and very misogynistic, otherwise we have to show that through the text of the Koran we can also affirm the source of women’s liberation. In light of the quotation mentioned above, @mubadalah.id, @muslimahfeminis, @cherbonfeminist are doing something similar to what Asma Barlas suggested, particularly in re-reading or reinterpreting the text of the Quran and hadith with more a specific focus on re-examine polygamy and sexual violence in Indonesia.

The first Instagram account to be discussed is @muslimahfeminis. This account has been registered on Instagram since December 17, 2018. At the time this research is conducted, the account’s followers have reached 10,600 users, with 86 uploaded contents. Compared to the other two accounts, @muslimahfeminis rarely uploads its content. Nonetheless, that many of the account’s posts generate discussions and debates on the discourse of Islamic feminism makes the account worthy of further study.



Figure 1 Profile of @muslimahfeminis [19]

The identity of @muslimahfeminis that can be read from its biodata written on the profile page is how @muslimahfeminis make their position as a medium that defends victims of injustice. In other words, the account

takes up the identity of a hero. It is written as follows, “we are Muslim women who strongly believe in the justice of Islam while being alert to the injustice to women that occurs in the name of Islam.” This statement emphasizes the position of @muslimahfeminis as a representation of Muslim women on Instagram who believe in the principle of justice for every Muslim since they are wary of forms of injustice against women, especially when they are done in the name of Islam. This aspect is supported by Hidayatullah [20], who states that Islamic feminism is not only a contestation for Muslim women who want to solve problems of inequality and injustice, but can also be used as a means for the process of raising awareness and change.

The second one is @cherbonfeminist. This account has 256 following, 3.873 followers, and 354 posts. Slightly different from the @muslimahfeminis, @cherbonfeminist is hold by the Muslim women’s organization with the same name such as Cherbon Feminist. Cherbon Feminist organization was founded at the end of 2017 and has a slogan, “For Justice and Equality”– as stated in the @cherbonfeminist’s bio. Similar to @muslimahfeminis, @cherbonfeminist also carries the values of justice and gender equality in each of their upload and the discussions that they held online or offline.



Figure 2 Profile of @cherbonfeminist [21]

The name of Cherbon Feminist is taken from the name of the city Cirebon, West Java. As the base area of this organization, this city is also the place where the group often creates gender-related discussion events and studies. These discussions can be considered as one of Cherbon Feminist’s efforts to empower women through education and local outreach. The echo broadcast by Islamic feminism that spreads not only to big cities has an important role in expanding, deepening, and increasing the involvement of academics and gender activists in linking the idea of women’s empowerment to the social contexts around the region [22]. Women in Cirebon may also experience gender-based discrimination that it is difficult for them to voice their ideas, so the presence of Cherbon Feminist provides an alternative space for discussion with the perspective of Islamic feminism.

The last one is the @mubadalah.id, which has the most followers compared to the two previous accounts. It reaches 28,700 followers, with 169 following and 1,036 posts. Faqihuddin Abdul Kodir, the founder of Mubaadalah, initiated to popularize the values of justice and *kesalingan* (correlation) for men and women in the personal, family, social, and community domains. In addition, they also emphasize the role of the state in

advancing access to justice and legal development for men and women alike [23].



Figure 3 Profile of @mubadalah.id [24]

Through all Mubaadalah’s official website or social media account, it is showed that Mubaadalah believes that between gender framework and Islamic concepts can work together, particularly through realizing Islamic principles and values as understood from the Koran and hadith. This view is similar to what Islamic feminism believes that Islam as a religion is actually very concerned about the humanization of women. Women are no longer merely the objects of their husbands, nor are they family servants, but they are independent human figures. Their responsibilities before God are the same as men [25]. The social media Instagram is chosen as one of the social media used by Mubaadalah to provide alternative reading of the Koran and hadith in a more creative way. According to Sukron [25], “the reinterpretation strategy is considered to be based on the area of the holy text of the Koran which is used as a source of legitimacy for male (Muslim) power over women (Muslimah).” Therefore, @mubadalah.id wants to advocate women’s rights to their voices through the reinterpretation method.

Islam, as the religion of Muslims, is often represented as a religion that denigrates and limits its followers’ freedom of speech [26]. In fact, through the interpretation on religious texts, there is a large number of unequal relations between men and women. According to White [26], “this is used as a justification and legitimacy of the position of men, who are considered more dominant than women in society.” However, Rhouni [27] argues that gender equality is actually rooted in the Koran. It is very likely that the successful negotiations carried out by earlier Islamic feminist on the position of women became a weapon for Islamic feminism today to do the same. This criticism is supported by Asma Barlas’s method of reinterpretation. It is not uncommon for patriarchal groups to use Islamic interpretation as an excuse so that women are forced to accept discriminatory attitudes and injustices behavior. Referring to the explanation above, it can be concluded that @mubadalah.id, @muslimahfeminis, and @cherbonfeminist do what Asma Barlas suggested, namely re-reading or reinterpreting the text of the Koran and hadith, especially in reviewing issues such as polygamy and sexual violence through the perspective of Islamic feminism, which is the common focus of these three accounts [15].

#### 4. INSTAGRAM AS A DIGITAL LITERACY MEDIUM: REINTERPRETATION ISLAMIC NARRATIVE

The discussion on polygamy and sexual violence with constructive thinking through the method of reinterpreting the interpretation of the Koran and hadith by @mubadalah.id, @muslimahfeminis, and @cherbonfeminist can reflect digital literacy on the social media Instagram. Instagram as a literacy medium can be understood as a technical and cognitive competency owned by @mubadalah.id, @muslimahfeminis, and @cherbonfeminist to utilize social media effectively and efficiently in establishing social interactions and communications [28]. Technical competence refers to the knowledge and skills, which in this study is the re-reading or reinterpretation of a holy text for women’s liberation and empowerment.

The results of the study classify reinterpretation efforts in Instagram’s contents using positioning strategies and voices of authority (Muslim intellectuals and gender activists) to support critical understanding of the discourse of feminism and Islam by linking context and relevance of a teaching to issues of polygamy and sexual violence. Common reading (*tafsir*) of religious texts, especially Koran and the dissemination of hadith in Indonesian society, affirms the existence of unequal relation where men, the dominant subordinate women, the subordinate. This type of interpretation is used as the justification for the men’s position that has the privilege to control a society’s culture. However, the @muslimahfeminis’s upload below acts as a representation of Islamic feminism in forming a feminist counter-voice and a symbol against the arbitrary reading of religious narratives from patriarchal groups, especially concerning the practice of polygamy. @muslimahfeminis reinterprets An-Nisa 4:3, which is most popularly used by polygamy practitioners.



Figure 4 Reinterpreting Surah An-Nisa, A Popular Text among Polygamy Practitioners [29]

Proposed by @muslimahfeminis in the form of a visual content, the narrative above is interpreted as a counter-discourse from the Islamic feminism group with the aim of creating new ideas and critical practices

against the dominant discourse, which, in this case, are those of polygamy actors [30]. In the caption of the post, @muslimahfeminis criticizes the *akhi* who often conduct partial reading of Surah An-Nisa verse 3. In addition, the use of the word *akhi* implies the position of @muslimahfeminis as an opposition to pro-polygamy Muslim men.

@muslimahfeminis aims to criticize individuals or polygamists who do not want to take a holistic approach in reading Surah an-Nisa 4:3. The holistic approach is a model or way of understanding the verses of the Koran as a whole instead of fragments. In the end, such partial way of understanding is used as a pro-polygamy weapon because it only refers to a fragment of the message and cuts off the verse without linking it to the verses before and after [31]. Agreeing with @muslimahfeminis, Faqihuddin Abdul Kodir argued [31], "the verse in Surah an-Nisa cannot be read in some fragments only, and its reading must also include the language of the preparation and the social context in which and when the verse was revealed. If these principles are used, we can be sure that surah an-Nisa verse 3 cannot be understood as one of the efforts to promote polygamy." Thus, the reinterpretation of Surah an-Nisa 4:3 by @muslimahfeminis above shows that Surah an-Nisa verse 3 can no longer be read as an opportunity for husbands (men) to arbitrarily marry two, three, or more women they desire. In fact, it advises men to marry one woman in order to avoid injustice (*dzalim*). Therefore, marriage based on Islamic law (*sakinah, mawaddah, warahmah*) cannot possibly be fulfilled if the marriage is only based on lust or biological satisfaction.

**5. PERSONAL NARRATIVE STRATEGIES AND THE USE OF HASHTAGS: ISLAMIC FEMINISM’S SOCIAL MEDIA ACTIVISM**

The criticism of polygamy and sexual violence bonds a relationship that exists between @mubadalah.id, @muslimahfeminis, and @cherbonfeminist. These links create a form of social media activism on Instagram, which is a manifestation of a collective action to achieve common goals through online protests, petitions or campaigns. Online media activism serves to raise awareness and advocacy, which is used so as to increase public awareness regarding a case, event, or issue that is not reported by mainstream information channels. This form of activism will transform into an effort to organize society and mobilize large-scale action [32]. @mubadalah.id, @muslimahfeminis, and @cherbonfeminist conduct media activism with a digital sisterhood strategy through personal narratives and the use of hashtags as a mechanism of facilitating the spread of Islamic feminism ideology.

The social media Instagram is chosen by @mubadalah.id as a digital network to stay connected with one another and to involve new participants to facilitate the continuity of social media activism. There is no single universal strategy to implement media activism. However, through this research, it can be shown that the

digital sisterhood strategy is used by @mubadalah.id to form an alliance so as to create media activism on Instagram. Digital sisterhood is the involvement of feminist activists not seen as individuals, but as a collectivity that claims a voice of authority by utilizing technological sophistication and digitization [33]. In regard to this, @mubadalah.id adopts the personal experience of a wife who claims to be a victim of marital rape in order to form the involvement of media activism through the lens of Islamic feminism.



Figure 5 A Post Regarding Marital Rape [34]

The personal narrative above is one of the coercive acts in marriage which indicate a form of sexual violence. This experience is considered important because it may not only be experienced by only one, but a large number of women (wives). The researcher argues that the upload above can fosters personal community involvement. For example, a male audience of the post could place himself as a victim (wife) who was forced to have sex in a marriage. According to Patterson, Howard, and Kinloch, "individual life experiences are an important component in developing an understanding of building a strong bond or connection. In this way, the information will be received harmoniously and will generate mutual strength." [35]

Apart from the experience of the victim (wife) above, @mubadalah.id also quotes Surah an-Nisa 4:19. According to Al Ustadz Abu Ustman [36], the verse includes several meanings. First, the verse explained the habit of the *jahiliyyah* (pre-Islamic) period in the past, in which if a person dies, his wife is also inherited by his heirs. Second, it is not permissible for a wife to do *khulu'*, unless the wife commits a heinous act. Third, the verse commands men to treat their wives well (*ma'ruf*). Fourth, the verse advises not to be in a hurry to divorce a wife if a man does not like her. Furthermore, Ustman explains that it is necessary for a man to love and care for his wife in a proper way as she likes to be treated [36]. This interpretation is the basis for criticism of the husband's action of marital rape. According to the verse, it is the husband's obligation to treat his wife as the wife wants to be treated, so interfering with the wife's well-being with the element of coercion (and even rape) certainly cannot create a home that is full of care, love, and mutual respect.

According to Linda Amilia Gumilar, the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (KPPPA), there were 119,107 cases of domestic violence (KDRT) in 2011. Through this fact, violence against wives is a serious social problem, but it did not get sufficient attention. Many consider that household problems are domestic (private) problems, so there is a reluctance of the public to interfere in private matters, and this discourse is frequently taken out because of religious reasons [37]. This power relation indicates the unequal relationship between men and women in the household domain. By giving the male a superior status, it gives men more privilege to control the family system to the point where domestic violence becomes acceptable.

Based on the results of the analysis of the @mubadalah.id's upload in Figure 5 above, it is once again clear that @mubadalah.id wishes to emphasize that Islam teaches its followers not to act harshly to fellow humans, including women. A sign of the perfection of a person's faith is kindness to others, especially to women, and this means that one's faith is embodied in the attitude and behavior towards his wife [38]. Additionally, the personal narrative quoted from the experience of a wife (victim) above is interpreted as @mubadalah.id's attempt to involve other individuals or other women in order to create deep awareness of issues of sexual violence. Furthermore, it can also create a virtual communication space that can advance and deepen democracy. In these non-partitioned spaces, each individual has a greater opportunity to participate culturally and socially [39]. Furthermore, Jenkins [39] considers that participatory culture can be useful as a platform that is ready to be used by socio-political activities and transformed into civic engagement.

By creating media activism on social media Instagram, @mubadalah.id, @muslimahfeminis, and @cherbonfeminist use hashtags as mechanisms to protest and make digital campaigns on issues of polygamy and sexual violence more visible. Eagle [40] argues that the use of hashtags make a campaign accessible to a larger number of social media audiences, even though its characteristics are traceable without any network limitations. Furthermore, fully understanding the transformation of activism into a digital space, he argues that social media is less frightening than dealing with a "misogynistic" society in the real world.

@cherbonfeminist in Figure 6 discusses the issue of sexual violence. Here, @cherbonfeminist specifically cites the opinion of KH. Imam Nakha' in order to support the Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence. According to @cherbonfeminist, the emergence of dogmatization on the bill by conservative groups, who say that the draft justifies what is forbidden by religion is denied by KH. Imam Nakha'i. Islamic feminism here is used to clarify how the legalization of the law protects sexual violence's victims instead of legalizing what is prohibited by religion. In fact, Nakha'i as quoted by @cherbonfeminist's upload below believes that support for the ratification of the PKS Bill is an act of devotion.

At the end of the caption, @cherbonfeminist also writes the hashtag #SahkanRUUPKS.



Figure 6 The hashtag #SahkanRUUPKS in one of @cherbonfeminist's post [41]

Based on Figure 6, the hashtag #SahkanRUUPKS in the current social and cultural context of Indonesia carries a sense of urgency for women's empowerment groups, as the use of the hashtag affects the prevention of gender-based oppression such as physical or sexual violence against wives who are victims of the polygamy. With the hashtag #SahkanRUUPKS continuously being discussed on online media, Indonesian society will be more aware of these problems.

As mentioned before, both polygamy and issues of sexual violence become the concern of @mubadalah.id, @muslimahfeminis, and @cherbonfeminist. Thus, the results of the analysis show that these three accounts have brought up continuous talks in the public space on Instagram, which can indicate the intention of forming media activism for women, a marginalized group in this patriarchal society. Media activism can be defined as a condition that emerges when a social activity that takes place allows social changes to occur in any fields, which, in this case, the communication environment via the internet [42]. Here, the issue of polygamy and sexual violence is a common thread that unites these three Instagram accounts. The Instagram accounts and their shared connection fit into what Serafinelli describes as "groups of people who share common interests" [43]. Compared to Twitter, for example, Instagram allows the growth of a wider social interaction. In addition, this visual-based platform further expands conversation and enriches discussion [43].

I argue hashtags has become a significant factor which facilitates social media activism. The hashtags #poligami and #SahkanRUUPKS, which are included by @mubadalah.id, @cherbonfeminist, and @muslimahfeminis through their upload can be defined as, "...a powerful mechanism to rally support and promote activism around diverse topics" [44]. The support that will be achieved in a virtual space, whether on a large or small scale, will create a change. In this way, women are no longer seen as consumers, but as social participants in online media activism [45]. Furthermore,

the existence of @mubadalah.id, @muslimahfeminis, and @cherbonfeminist not only provides answers to various speculations on the discourse of feminism and Islam, but also challenges Western feminism's obsolete assumption where Islam as a religion is incompatible with the women's movement that upholds rights and equality. I use the term pious critical agency to describe the Islamic feminism movement represented by @mubadalah.id, @muslimahfeminis, and @cherbonfeminist. As Rinaldo [46] defines, the Islamic feminism movement as a pious critical agency signifies a form of agency that has the capacity to deal with religious texts with critical thinking and open minds.

## 6. CONCLUSION

The presence of technology and the internet at the rate of the development of the digital industrial revolution can give people the widest possibility to take advantage of every feature provided. As one type of new media, Instagram is considered as the real product of this development, and the social media is somehow becoming very popular among today's society. It is used not only for personal's entertainment, but also for a particular community or group's activism. The Instagram accounts @mubadalah.id, @muslimahfeminis, and @cherbonfeminist are collective accounts that take advantage of Instagram in order to achieve the goals of gender equality and justice. The results of the research findings show that there is a digital media literacy strategy used by @mubadalah.id, @muslimahfeminis, and @cherbonfeminist in presenting reinterpretations of Al-Quran and hadith (tafsir) to challenge patriarchal power on issues of polygamy and sexual violence. In addition, these accounts' use of personal narratives and hashtags such as #poligami and #sahkanruupks has led to a digital sisterhood which supports their social media activism. In addition, this research also provides description of the pious critical agency of @mubadalah.id, @muslimahfeminis, and @cherbonfeminist. They can be the representative of Islamic feminism in social media platforms which creates virtual discussion spaces by engaging various kinds of critical and open thoughts about religious texts.

Social media Instagram not only creates the widest possible democratic space, but also demonstrates a discourse contestation between Islamic principles as a religion and feminism as an ideology for women's empowerment. Somehow, it can also forge a continuous discussion. At the same time, @mubadalah.id, @muslimahfeminis, and @cherbonfeminist can debunk the misconception regarding Islam, particularly it is not a friendly religion when it comes to gender equality, human rights, diversity and democracy. I also argue that media activism should not be continuously ostracized or only interpreted as slacktivism. Instead, it can transform into real-world activism because public votes have been obtained first through the strategy of forming online media activism.

## AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTIONS

All authors contributed to the study conception and design. Material preparation, data collection and analysis were performed by Aurora Nurhidayah Rifani and Shuri Mariasih Gietty Tambunan. The first draft of the manuscript was written by Aurora Nurhidayah Rifani and all authors commented on previous versions of the manuscript. All authors read and approved the final manuscript.

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