

How Muslim Women in Jakarta Negotiate the ‘My Body, My Rules’ Narrative on Social Media: A Communication Perspective on Feminism and Islamic Values

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ABSTRACT

A global wave of digital feminism has emerged, and the slogan “My Body, My Rules (abbreviated MBMR)” has spread widely across social platforms including TikTok and Instagram. However, after this discourse entered Indonesia’s Muslim communities, it required reinterpretation through integration with three core Islamic values: amanah, iffah, and maslahah, and the framing of bodily autonomy thus generated cross-cultural tensions. The author team of this paper centered their research on the core question of how Muslim women aged 20 to 40 in Jakarta negotiate and address this tension. Under a qualitative research framework, the study adopted a dual-path approach combining semi-structured interviews with digital discourse analysis. The study found that participants developed a form of negotiated agency, and that social media holds the dual attribute of being both an empowerment space and an arena for ideological contestation. This study supplements relevant research outcomes in the field of communication studies, proving that after localization, global feminist discourse can generate a hybrid agency that integrates individual empowerment and religious responsibility, and reshape the identity construction logic of contemporary digital communication.

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1. INTRODUCTION

A long line of prior academic studies focused on digital religious communication in Indonesia (Barizi et al., 2024; Dwifatma & Beta, 2024; Rifai, 2021; Hefner, 2022; Nisa, 2019) collectively outline that the global wave of digital media expansion has turned major mainstream social platforms including Instagram, TikTok, Facebook, and YouTube into core spaces where Indonesian Muslim women negotiate their identities, ethics, religious authority, and right to public discourse. These studies point out that platform users in the digital age have shifted from passive information recipients to active meaning-builders, and the collision between global cultural narratives and local Indonesian religious traditions has fostered an entirely new negotiation space for contemporary Muslim women's identity construction. In Indonesian cities represented by Jakarta, which record high levels of digital literacy, internet penetration, and exposure to transnational culture, social media has long outgrown its role as a simple channel for self-expression. It has become a public discourse arena where diverse perspectives on topics including the ideal Muslim woman identity, piety, feminism, modesty, and religious authority are continuously produced, debated, and reconstructed. Digital communication has completely rewritten the traditional religious authority model of Indonesian Muslim society.

In Indonesia, Muslim women are no longer merely reliant on formal religious institutions and male religious scholars. Instead, they have taken the initiative to participate in online religious discussions, disseminate Islamic knowledge, and debate public issues centered on gender and family ethics. This trend is reshaping the local landscape of Islamic communication and the structure of religious authority. Religious authority, which was once exclusively reserved for institutional hierarchies, is now constructed through negotiations over digital visibility, audience interaction, and online participation. Mainstream social platforms including Instagram and Facebook are no longer simple technical tools; they have evolved into core communication infrastructure that supports women in building their own legitimacy and challenging dominant narratives. These platforms also carry five core functions: fostering personal religious piety, spreading Islamic dakwah, shaping normative feminine identity, building moral communities, and negotiating religious belonging, which enable the group to complete its collective identity construction.

The binary "liberation versus oppression" analytical framework adopted by most previous studies can no longer explain this complex field. The categorical analysis proposed in recent research points out that Muslim women's digital participation reflects the embodiment of multiple overlapping subjectivities, and religious piety can coexist with demands for personal autonomy, professional achievement, and public recognition, laying a core foundation for future research to engage in dialogue with existing academic scholarship.

A series of studies by Baulch & Pramiyanti (2018), Hartono (2018), and Nisa (2022) provides core support for this judgment. Among these, Baulch & Pramiyanti (2018)'s research shows that Indonesia's Hijabers community uses visual social media to integrate modest fashion, aesthetic presentation, and Islamic knowledge to construct the ideal contemporary Muslim female image. Beta (2019) argues that as influential religious actors, Indonesia's

community of young Muslim women use their digital content to shape the public's multi-dimensional expectations of appearance, morality, family roles, entrepreneurship, and religious commitment, with their influence extending to the normative construction of femininity and Muslim citizenship. From these micro-level practices, it can be concluded that online religious piety in Indonesia exhibits three core characteristics: visualization, commercialization, and algorithmic mediation. This aligns with the broad socio-religious project of self-transformation and spiritual hijrah that integrates religious devotion, consumer culture, and digital entrepreneurship. Studies by Barizi et al. (2024), Beta (2019), and Nisa (2022) corroborate this trend. Building on this observation, Indonesia's digital space has become a battleground for competing claims to interpretive authority over issues including feminism, Islamic doctrine, gender equality, and bodily autonomy.

The leading progressive bloc, the Congress of Indonesian Muslim Women Scholars (KUPI), leverages digital communication to expand women's theological authority, advocates for contextually rooted Islamic interpretations centered on justice and equality, and challenges patriarchal narratives through webinars, online campaigns, digital publishing, and social media interactions. This series of actions is documented in studies by Daniah & Pribadi (2023), Kloos & Ismah (2023), and Nisa (2019). In opposition, conservative religious communities and anti-feminist digital influencers argue that Western feminism is incompatible with Islamic values, and frame modesty, family hierarchy, and religious obedience as the core traits of Muslim women. Studies by Rifai (2021) and Wulandari (2021) point out that the fundamental nature of these two opposing narratives is the reproduction of long-standing patriarchal ideologies adapted to contemporary digital culture.

Against the backdrop of digital media, within Indonesia's communication sphere, digital media have not eliminated ideological divides. Instead, they have amplified tensions stemming from diverse religious interpretations, fostering a complex environment in which coexisting moral frameworks continuously compete for public legitimacy. These tensions are especially pronounced in debates over Muslim women's bodily autonomy. Previous research has generally found that most Indonesian Muslim women exercise individual agency by reinterpreting religious doctrine rather than separating themselves from religion: Dwifatma & Beta (2024) and Nisa (2022) note that feminist groups that wear niqabs can uphold both religious legitimacy and personal autonomy through embodied religious practices such as wearing veils; Nurani et al. (2025), in a discourse analysis of TikTok content, found that Indonesian Islamic organizations hold significantly divergent interpretations of women's bodies, the Islamic concept of *awrah* (modesty-bound body parts), standards of decency, and gender identity; Kloos & Ismah (2023) and previous research in the field of Islamic feminism has reached several core consensus points.

As early as 2011, Indonesian scholar Nurmila proposed that women's agency under the framework of local Islamic feminism must be rooted in the reinterpretation of classical Islamic texts, rather than adopting wholesale the arguments of Western secular liberal feminism (Nurmila, 2011). A further refined academic consensus holds that there has never been a unified stance of acceptance or rejection of bodily autonomy across Muslim societies; instead,

this concept is the product of ongoing negotiations among religious ethics, cultural values, and contemporary media practices. However, existing research has two notable gaps. First, it only covers sub-topics such as digital dawah and migration movements, and has long focused on macro dimensions including Islamic identity, religious authority, and digital piety, failing to fully examine the interpretation process of global feminist slogans after they enter the local digital environment of Muslim-majority contexts. Second, no study has systematically explored the localized dissemination logic of the transnational secular feminist slogan “My Body, My Rules (MBMR)”.

This paper directly addresses this gap. Taking Jakarta, Indonesia – a context marked by high digital visibility, widespread public religious piety, and intensifying ideological competition – as its research setting, the study focuses on local Muslim women’s practices of accepting, reinterpreting, negotiating with, and occasionally resisting the MBMR discourse, and analyzes the communication mechanism of the discourse’s localized reconstruction. It fixes the shortcomings of previous research that only treated bodily autonomy as a broad theoretical topic while ignoring the localized translation of specific transnational slogans. The paper has two core contributions: it verifies that digital feminist narratives are not transmitted unidirectionally across cultures, and advances the academic community’s understanding of how interactions between global communication flows and local Islamic ethics generate hybrid digital agency.

2. METHODS

We employed a qualitative approach combining the semi-structured interviews and digital discourse analysis to obtain a comprehensive understanding of how Muslim women in Jakarta negotiate the “My Body, My Rules” (MBMR) narrative circulating on social media. The combination of semi-structured interviews and digital discourse analysis provided both experiential depth and contextual insight into the digital environments where MBMR discourses are produced, circulated, and reinterpreted. A qualitative mixed-method design was chosen because it allows for the exploration of subjective meanings, values, and interpretations that participants attach to the MBMR slogan. The design also enables the analysis of naturally occurring discourses in digital spaces. This approach is suitable for capturing how personal agency, religious identity, and online narratives intersect in everyday life. The study integrates the Semi-structured interviews to explore the lived experiences and meaning-making processes of Muslim women, and Digital discourse analysis of social media content to examine how MBMR narratives appear, are framed, and are responded to within online communities.

Together, these methods create a triangulated understanding of the phenomenon, enhancing the validity and richness of the findings. A total of six participants were recruited to obtain in-depth perspectives from Muslim women with backgrounds diversity. While the sample size does not permit broad generalization, so it allows for an exploratory understanding of how participants negotiate MBMR narratives within their social and religious contexts. Participants represent diverse educational and professional backgrounds to capture a range of perspectives on feminism, autonomy, and Islamic teachings. All participants were contacted

through personal networks and social media outreach. Participation was voluntary and interviews were conducted either in person or via online video calls, depending on participant preference. Each interview lasted approximately 45–60 minutes. The interview guide included questions on how participants' understanding of MBMR, how their emotional and moral reactions to MBMR content, how they relate the slogan to Islamic teachings, how social media influences their interpretation, how they negotiate feminist ideas with religious values and their perceptions of bodily autonomy, femininity, and responsibility. Interviews were recorded with consent, transcribed verbatim, and anonymized. All interviewed data were collected during the period of February to March 2025.

Table 1. Participants Profile Summary

Participant	Age	Occupation	Primary Platforms	Exposure to MBMR	Religiosity
P1	24	Office Employee	Tiktok Instagram	Moderate	Moderate
P2	35	House Wife	Tiktok Instagram	High	Moderate
P3	21	College Student	Tiktok Instagram	High	Moderate
P4	37	Teacher	Tiktok Instagram	Moderate	High
P5	40	Entrepreneur	Tiktok Instagram	High	High
P6	38	Business Owner	Tiktok Instagram	Moderate	Moderate

Author, (2025)

The religiosity stage of participants were assessed through self-identification during the interview process. Participants were asked to describe the importance of religion in their daily lives, frequency of religious practices such as prayer, Qur'an recitation, and other religious study activities, and the extent to which Islamic values guided their decision-making. Based on these responses, participants were categorized descriptively as having moderate or high religiosity. These categories were used only to provide contextual background and were not intended as formal psychological measurements.

To analyse how MBMR is framed on social media, the study collected MBMR related content from TikTok with hashtags such as #mybodymyrules, #feminism, #hakperempuan, and Instagram Reels with public posts discussing or referencing MBMR, with a total of 20–30 posts were selected based on relevance, visibility, and engagement. The collected data included video content, captions, comments, and user interactions. Each post was documented and coded thematically to identify, the dominant narratives, arguments for or against bodily autonomy, Islamic references in online debates, tensions between global feminism and Muslim identity, and how Muslim women respond to or reinterpret MBMR. This component allowed the study to observe public discourses rather than relying solely on participant self-reporting.

Data from both interviews and social media were analysed using thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The analysis followed these steps such as Familiarization with the data like reading transcripts and watching posts repeatedly, initial coding as for identifying

statements related to autonomy, Islam, identity, empowerment, theme development such as “negotiated agency,” “Islamic reframing,” “digital empowerment,” “tension and resistance”, theme refinement as removing overlaps, clarifying definitions, and Interpretation in connecting themes to communication theories and Islamic frameworks. All codes from interviews and digital discourse were compared to identify points of convergence and divergence.

Table 2. Categorization of Social Media Posts Related to MBMR

Category	Description	Number of Posts	Platforms
Supportive Feminist Message	Posts Promoting Empowerment, Autonomy	9	TikTok (6), Instagram (3)
Islamic Ethical Reinterpretation	Posts reframing autonomy via Islamic Ethics	7	TikTok (4), Instagram (3)
Critical / Rejecting MBMR	Posts Arguing MBMR contradicts Islamic thinking	6	TikTok (3), Instagram (3)
Neutral / Mixed	Post Expressing Ambivalence or Discussing MBMR culturally	5	TikTok (2), Instagram (3)

Author, (2025)

This study adhered to ethical standards for qualitative research. Participation in interviews was voluntary, and informed consent was obtained prior to data collection. Participants’ names and identifying information were anonymized to protect privacy. For the discourse analysis, only publicly accessible social media posts were included. No private content was accessed. All material is used solely for academic purposes, without reproducing identifiable usernames or images. As the topic involves sensitive issues related to religion and personal beliefs. Therefore, a careful attention was given to ensure respectful representation of participant’s perspectives and Islamic teachings.

3. RESULTS

The analysis from both interview data and digital discourse reveals several interconnected themes that illustrate how Muslim women in Jakarta negotiate the “My Body, My Rules” (MBMR) narrative. Across the dataset, participants did not adopt the MBMR slogan in its Western meaning of absolute bodily ownership. Instead, they engaged in a nuanced process of interpreting, reframing, and contextualizing the slogan within Islamic ethical values and the realities of urban Muslim womanhood. Four major themes emerged as selective acceptance of empowerment messages, reframing bodily autonomy within Islamic moral boundaries, social media as both a catalyst and a site of tension, and hybrid identity construction through negotiated agency.

Table 3. Summary of Themes Identified in Findings

Theme	Core Insight	Supporting Data Source
Selective Acceptance of Empowerment Messages	Women adopt self-worth messages but avoid absolute autonomy	Interviews, Tiktok and Instagram posts
Islamic Ethical Reframing	Bodily autonomy viewed through amanah, iffah, maslahah	Interviews
Social Media as Empowerment and Tension	Digital spaces empower but also expose to critique	Tiktok and Instagram comments
Hybrid Identity & Negotiated Agency	Women blend feminist ideas with Islamic values	Interviews and Social Media

Author, (2025)

3.1 Selective Acceptance of Empowerment Messages

All participants interviewed for the MBMR project in this study recognized the project's core empowerment essence. They interpreted the project's slogan as a self-care reminder that aligns with karamah insaniah, the Islamic doctrine of human dignity, which eliminated the potential conflict between empowerment and religious principles. Ultimately, they selected three categories of content that suited their personal experiences: challenging gender stereotypes, setting interpersonal boundaries, and advocating for women's emotional autonomy.

For example, Participant 2 stated that "I think women should have the confidence to make decisions about their lives and protect themselves from abuse. But I don't believe that means my body belongs entirely to me. In Islam, my body is a trust from Allah, so every decision also carries responsibility." Similarly, Participant 5 stated that "When I first saw the MBMR slogan, I understood it as encouraging women to value themselves. However, I don't interpret it as freedom without limits. My choices should still reflect my religious beliefs."

Rather than embracing the full feminist meaning of bodily ownership, they reframed empowerment as responsibility over the self, not absolute control. This theme illustrates that Muslim women in Jakarta do not reject feminist messages; they reinterpret them in ways that maintain coherence with their faith.

3.2 Reframing Bodily Autonomy Through Islamic Ethics

This study draws on two types of research materials—interview records of respondents and social media content related to Muslim communities—to analyze how Muslim respondents in an Islamic cultural context reconstruct bodily autonomy based on an Islamic ethical framework, and interpret the ideology of “My Body, My Rules” (MBMR). After sorting through the research materials, we extract three core sets of narratives from respondents: Participant 3 elaborates on the concept of Amanah, acknowledges MBMR's original purpose of protecting women from violence and discrimination, and proposes that the body is a trust from Allah, for which individuals only hold the right of stewardship and must manage in line with Allah's guidance; Participant 1 argues that freedom must come with moral responsibility, and personal decisions about one's own body must balance one's own enjoyment, family well-being, and Islamic teachings; Participant 6 and other respondents explain the concept of Iffah,

framing norms of dignity and modesty-including the voluntary choice to wear a hijab-as a source of empowerment for women rather than a restriction. This research ultimately finds that respondents do not reject autonomy itself; instead, they transform three Islamic concepts, Amanah, Iffah, and Maslahah, into internal moral principles that balance individual rights and religious obligations, breaking the dominant stereotype that religious requirements are an external constraint on individual autonomy.

The female interviewees who participated in the qualitative interviews for this research have rejected the mainstream perception that equates bodily autonomy with absolute independence, instead interpreting this concept as a set of management rights and responsibilities. When making decisions related to childbearing, sexuality, and family life, they balance their personal wishes, religious obligations, and the influence of others, taking Islamic teachings as their moral guide, and have broken the stereotype that Islamic values restrict individual autonomy.

3.3 Social Media as a Space of Empowerment and Tension

We adopt a digital discourse analysis method, taking original global feminist posts on two major social platforms, TikTok and Instagram, as well as related comments from Indonesian Muslim users, as its core analytical samples. The core concept central to this research, MBMR, stands for “My Body, My Rules”, which translates to “I am in charge of my own body”, and serves as the core carrier of the global feminist narrative that is the focus of this analysis. The study finds that digital platforms play a dual role in shaping local Indonesian Muslim women’s perceptions of this narrative: on one hand, they provide this group with the right to public expression and narrative creation resources that are difficult to access offline; on the other hand, they also act as a natural site of conflict between global feminist discourse and local Islamic religious discourse.

The comment samples collected for this study show clear polarization. Two core opposing comments both recognize that women should enjoy basic rights, but simultaneously argue that this slogan cannot be separated from Islamic values, and that women’s rights must be tied to religious obligations to Allah. Based on all empirical materials collected for the study, this research ultimately draws the conclusion that Indonesian Muslim women actively integrate the fiduciary responsibility and communal responsibility rooted in Islamic ethics to reconstruct this foreign feminist narrative, negotiate the boundaries of public expression within a religious and cultural framework, and shape digital space into a contested site where identity, morality, and subjectivity intersect.

3.4 Hybrid Identity Construction Through Negotiated Agency

The paper conducts qualitative research focused on the Muslim female population. First, it challenges a long-held stereotypical perception in the field of Western gender studies: that Muslim women either fully adopt Western feminist discourse or strictly follow conservative interpretations of the Islamic religion. This rigid, either-or binary framework has long dominated the field’s relevant narratives. Drawing on first-hand in-depth interviews and digital discourse analysis of the Instagram platform, this study puts forward its core finding: the interviewed Muslim women, through sustained, negotiable subjective agency, integrate

mainstream gender equality (MBMR) discourse and Islamic ethics to construct a hybrid identity that balances female empowerment, adherence to religious values, family responsibilities, and cultural expectations at the same time. The interview content of the three interviewees corroborates this claim at distinct levels: Interviewee No. 1 explains the internal logic of her integration of multiple identities; Interviewee No. 2 directly refutes the stereotypical label that "supporting women's rights equals Westernization"; Interviewee No. 3 describes the concrete practices she uses to negotiate her identity presentation in social media settings.

The shared behavioral logic of the entire interviewed group is clear: they extract the core principles of self-respect and anti-violence from MBMR discourse, uphold the Islamic hijab dress code, proactively avoid labels on social platforms that are likely to cause misinterpretation, manage their multiple identities based on the audience attributes of each communication context, never treat feminist claims and Islamic faith as mutually exclusive categories, only select the value core that fits their own situation, and reject biased interpretations that conflict with Islamic teachings. The Instagram platform discourse analysis of this study also verifies this pattern. User comments under platform posts and the majority consensus in comment sections both indicate that female empowerment must develop within the framework of Islamic ethics, rather than relying on unrestricted individual autonomy. Using multi-source first-hand qualitative data, we break the Western-centric stereotypical narrative in gender studies, and all its conclusions are supported by specific individual narratives and public discourse materials.

Authors integrate two data sources namely, interview narratives and online interactions, to conduct cross-validation, and finds that Muslim female participants neither fully accept nor completely reject global feminist discourse. They reframe the original MBMR slogan, which has a core rooted in liberalism, by introducing concepts such as religious responsibility, and develop a hybrid identity that balances feminist participation and internal consistency with their religious beliefs. Overall, the findings suggest that negotiated agency is not merely an individual strategy but a communicative process through which Muslim women continuously interpret, adapt, and reconcile competing cultural and religious narratives. The hybrid identities emerging from this negotiation illustrate that empowerment in the Indonesian Muslim context is relational, context-dependent, and shaped by ongoing interactions between global digital feminism and local Islamic values.

DISCUSSION

The findings of this study reveal how Muslim women in Jakarta navigate the "My Body, My Rules" (MBMR) narrative through a nuanced process of selective interpretation, religious reframing, and identity negotiation. This section interprets these findings through the theoretical frameworks of feminist communication, Islamic ethics, and digital identity construction, highlighting how women position themselves at the intersection of global feminism and Islamic moral values.

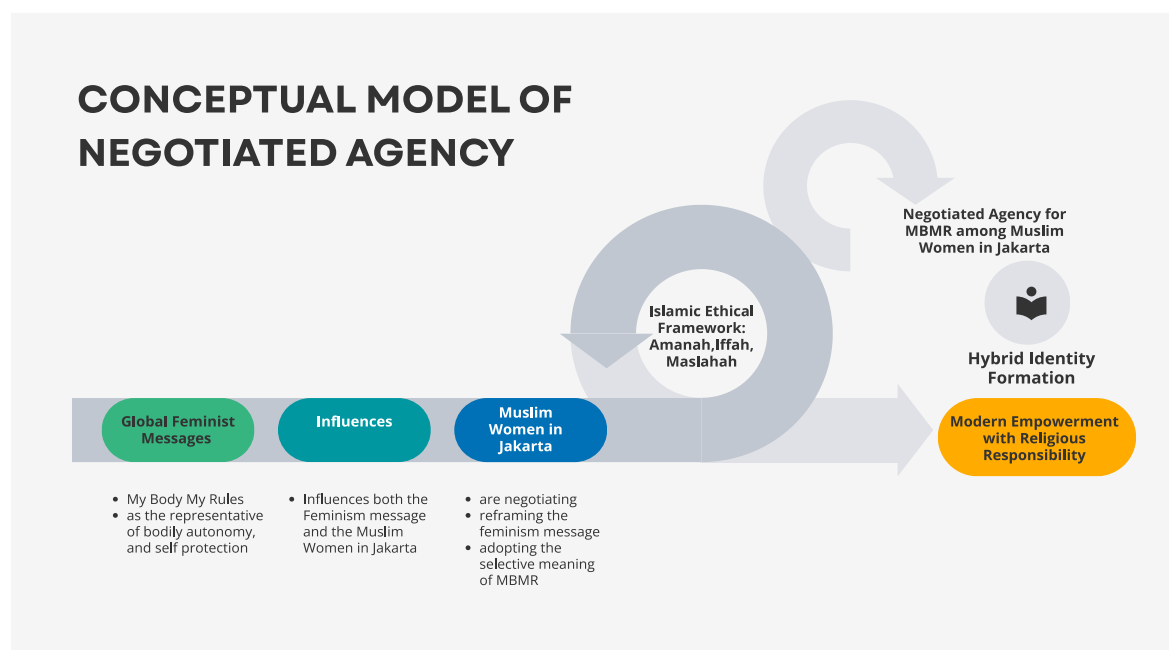


Figure 3. Conceptual Model of Negotiated Agency Among Muslim Women in Jakarta
Author (2025)

4.1 Negotiated Agency as a Middle Ground between Feminism and Faith

We observe that the Muslim women surveyed selectively embraced the empowerment dimension of MBMR within the global feminist framework, but rejected its presupposed premise of unrestricted bodily ownership. This finding refutes the inherent assumption of liberal feminism that equates autonomy with full control over one's body. We build on the theory of religious agency proposed by Mahmood (2005), which holds that agency can stem from religious commitment rather than resistance to religious norms. However, unlike the research setting of Mahmood's ethnography of the mosque movement, this study focuses on a digitally mediated communication environment. At the same time, we extend prior research on Indonesian Muslim women's digital participation by Baulch & Pramiyanti (2018) and Beta (2019) to present this study's core incremental contribution: global feminist slogans are not simply accepted or discarded, but actively localized through everyday communication. The core theme of this study is "reconstructing bodily autonomy within Islamic moral boundaries."

4.2 Social Media as a Site of Both Empowerment and Tension

This paper's analysis of the MBMR population finds that social media platforms including TikTok and Instagram play a dual, contradictory role: while they enable users to easily access global feminist discourse, they also expose users to conflicting religious interpretations and public scrutiny. This study rejects the neutrality hypothesis of communication channels, and proposes that platforms amplify ideological disputes through algorithmic visibility, user interaction, and participatory discourse, pushing participants to balance their demands via strategic self-presentation. This finding not only verifies the applicability of Goffman's 1959 dramaturgical theory to online settings, but also expands the scope of application of Hall's 1997 representation theory.

4.3 Hybrid Identities and the Localization of Digital Feminism

Existing studies adopt a binary "accept versus reject" framework, which fails to explain the hybrid identities of Muslim women who participate in digital feminism. These women must continuously negotiate multiple identities including being Muslim, being a woman, and being a digital citizen. Our study defines this identity negotiation process as the core concept "negotiative agency", which refers to the practice of selectively absorbing and adapting global feminist ideas to develop practices aligned with local culture, while upholding commitments to Islamic ethics. On the other hands, previous studies have only focused on three themes: digital piety (Nisa, 2022), migrant communities (Beta, 2019), and Muslim influencers (Baulch & Pramianti, 2018). This paper innovatively proposes that this agency is fundamentally a communication process, providing the field of communication studies with an analytical framework to examine the localization process of digital feminist discourse in Muslim-majority societies.

4.4 Implications for Islamic Communications Studies

Consequently, the present study contributes to Islamic Communication Studies in three important ways. First, it demonstrates that digital platforms have become significant arenas for negotiating Islamic ethical values rather than merely disseminating religious information. Second, it shows that Muslim women's engagement with global feminist discourse is characterized by communicative negotiation instead of ideological polarization. Third, it introduces negotiated agency as a conceptual lens for understanding how Islamic values, gender identities, and global digital cultures interact within contemporary communication environments. These findings suggest that Islamic communication should be viewed as a dynamic process of meaning-making in which religious identity is continuously interpreted, contested, and reconstructed through digital interaction.

CONCLUSION

This study takes Muslim women in Jakarta, Indonesia as its research subjects, focusing on the localized negotiation practices of the global feminist slogan "My Body, My Rules" (MBMR) within the local sociocultural and religious context. Its core mission is to investigate the adaptation pathways of global feminist discourse in an Islamic context, and the study adopts a methodological approach combining semi-structured interviews and digital discourse analysis.

This paper finds that the interviewed women neither fully embrace nor entirely reject MBMR. Instead, they exercise negotiated agency to selectively absorb its empowerment elements. Anchored in three core Islamic ethics—amanah (sacred trust), iffah (modesty), and maslahah (collective well-being)—they reinterpret bodily autonomy as moral governance rooted in religious responsibility, rather than the absolute individual ownership framed in Western contexts. Drawing on Mahmood's framework of pious agency, Hall's representation theory, and Goffman's dramaturgical perspective, this study argues that the two platforms

TikTok and Instagram not only convey conflicting ideological expectations, but also provide a space for the localization of feminism.

Digital feminism in Muslim-majority societies cannot be fully explained by the Western liberal feminist paradigm, a conclusion that broadens the research horizons of communication studies. We propose that all relevant stakeholders working to advance gender equality must incorporate local religious frameworks into their efforts, as content aligned with local ethics is more likely to foster constructive dialogue. This research is limited to participants from Jakarta and the two popular social media platforms, and it lays a foundation for future cross-generational and cross-regional comparative research.

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