

Cyberfeminism: An Analysis of Michel Foucault's Thought in Gender Issues in The New Media Era

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ABSTRACT

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The many cases of violence against women and children, as evidenced by the results of data surveys on violence in various countries, encourage feminists to move to empower women. Advances in information and communication technology have brought feminists into a new media era, which can be called cyberspace. Social media as one of the most widely used platforms in cyberspace by people from various parts of the world, has become a new public space to empower women from various kinds of subordination to them, which is embodied in cyberfeminism. Indonesia as a country with a majority Muslim population has presented Muslim feminist figures such as R.A Kartini, Qasim Amin, Hussein Muhammad, and others. However, in reality, there are still many gender-related cases that are happening today. The public view of the women's empowerment movement is still interpreted as resistance to men, even for most religious people consider it contrary to religious ideology. This study uses the performativity theory to analyze gender issues in the new media era and Husein Muhammad's gender thinking as a counter to religious ideology. Therefore, the research brings together cyberfeminism, gender issues, and religion in a theoretical study that can be implemented pragmatically.

Keywords: Cyberfeminisme, Gender, Gender Issues, Performativity Theory, Husein Muhammad's, New Media, Instagram.

INTRODUCTION

The problem of sexual violence and harassment that occurs in various countries has not been stopped until now, both in the household and in the public space. Violence against women (VAW) and violence against children (VAC) are serious global concern. The 2018 WHO report found that 27% of women worldwide had experienced physical or sexual intimate partner violence at least once in their lifetime, and those from low-income and middle-income countries (LMICs) were particularly vulnerable (Ma et al., 2023). According to the WHO global status report on preventing violence against children, globally, 50% of children aged 2–17 years are estimated to experience some form of violence each year and nearly 300 million children aged 2–4 years are estimated to regularly experience violent discipline by their caregivers. Intimate partner violence (IPV) is the most common form of VAW, estimated to affect one in four women globally (Loraine, Manuela, et., 2024, p. 326).

In Indonesia, based on data from the Ministry of PPPA's Online Information System for the Protection of Women and Children, it was revealed that on January 1, 2024, until now there have been 15,595 cases of violence, 3,340 cases of violence experienced by men, and 13,550 assaulted by women. Violence is most experienced by both married and

single women (SIMFONI-PPA, 2024). With the many cases of gender injustice and inequality that occur in parts of the world, feminist communities have begun to emerge that strive to voice gender justice and equality through digital campaign activities through social media. Social media has become a popular methodological approach in recent years (González-Mohino et al., 2024) [3]. Social media platforms such as Facebook and Instagram increase the overall potential for communication by overcoming time and location barriers. These platforms allow users to communicate more spontaneously and to more than one recipient at a time which can complement other forms of communication (Tammisalo et al., 2024) [12]. Social media may also gratify a range of idiosyncratic needs in that it provides a wide range of communication affordances, compared to traditional methods of communication (Tammisalo et al., 2024). Since social media can complement communication in close relationships, some scholars have considered social media's potential as an enhancer of individuals' well-being (Chan, 2015, 2018; Dienlin et al., 2017; Gazit, Nisim, & Ayalon, 2022; Ishii, 2017; Newman, Stoner, & Spector, 2021; Rosenberg & Taipale, 2022; Vriens & van Ingen, 2018; Tammisalo et al., 2024). However, not all studies have found positive effects of social media (Newman et al., 2021; Tammisalo et al., 2024), emphasizing the need for improved understanding of the circumstances in which social media affects well-being and the mechanisms of the effect. One significant factor that determines how social media affects users' well-being is the composition of the online network (Seabrook, Kern, & Rickard, 2016; Tammisalo et al., 2024).

Instagram is one of social media platform to make the internet more equal for all by bringing together feminism, technology, art, and design. These networks promote peace and security for women, nonbinary, gender fluid, and men alike, by drawing attention to human rights, including access to the internet as a human right, but also by highlighting freedom of expression (including sexuality) and intersectional feminism to further human right (K.C. & Whetstone, 2024). In this case, feminism has found an opportunity in new media to fight for the inferior position of women in the midst of the shackles of patriarchal culture and the dominance of masculinity by realizing it through cyberfeminism.

Cyberfeminism is an understanding of how to place women to use new media as a forum or tool in empowering women themselves. In addition, social media is a space for women to free themselves from male domination (Suharnaik, 2022) [13]. However, in fact, cyberfeminism is not just a theoretical study or a critical study, it is also a praxis movement that offers ideas about the liberation of women from all kinds of patriarchal domination (Dedi Wahyudi and Novita Kurniasih, 2022) [14]. In Indonesia, the cyberfeminism praxis movement on social media includes Instagram accounts @perempuanfeminis [15] are accounts that discuss and share content related to feminism. In this account, the majority of the audience is those who support the feminist movement in Indonesia (Fakhira Sabhira, 2022). An Indonesia activist who also fights for women's rights is Kalis Mardiasih, an opinion writer, activist and book writer. Kalis Mardiasih is active in fighting for women's rights on her social media such as Instagram and Twitter (Risna Arin Mutiara and Indah Wenerda, 2022) [16]. Then Gita Savitri or known as Gita is an influencer who is active on two social media platforms, Instagram and Youtube. She actively voices her opinions on women's issues on her social media to her followers, most of whom live in Indonesia (Dila Septi, 2024, p. 3) [17]. *Perempuan Berkisah* Community [18], which was initiated by a woman named Alimah, an NGO journalist at Fahmina Institute Cirebon, and a Gender Specialist at the Institute for Education Development, Social Religious, and Cultural Studies (INFEST) Yogyakarta, actively voices gender issues through @perempuanberkisah Instagram account. This community builds a new public space for women to expose the injustices they experience. @perempuanberkisah Instagram account is present as a form of the cyberfeminism movement that takes advantage of technological developments to become a media for women's empowerment based on empathy and partiality towards victims. Gender issues raised in the account include cases of Domestic Violence (KDRT), sexual violence against women, bullying against women, and all cases of injustice experienced by women (Instagram).

One theory that provides an understanding of how cyberspace provides an opportunity for cyberfeminists to enforce gender is the theory of Performativity. Judith Butler proposed a new gender standpoint that, to some extent, tends to exclude a fixed gender and sexual identity. Through her theory, Butler aims at questioning the dominant perception of gender as something natural and innate. Gender performativity theory theorizes that gender is a social construct in the sense that one's gender identity is formed through the daily social performances of individuals that can be performed both intentionally or unintentionally (Butler, 1988, p. 519; Chahbane, 2023) [2]. To further explain her viewpoints about gender, Butler proposes the concept of "theatrical acting" in order to distinguish the performative act from the actor's act. According to Butler, performing specific acting roles takes practice, deep absorption of the script, practicing the different reactions needed in different situations, and knowing in advance who the other

characters are. However, gender is usually performed unconsciously in real life. The number of times individuals repeat their daily gender performances has naturalized the act, causing them to believe that every act they perform is natural. This illustration led Butler to emphasize society's need for constructing "a genealogy of gender that relies on a phenomenological understanding of 'acts' as socially shared and historically constituted" (Butler, 1988, p. 530; Chahbane, 2023) performances.

Indonesia as a country with a majority Muslim population must pay attention to gender issues. In Islam itself, the Qur'an does not distinguish the position between men and women at all. Both are the same in the eyes of God, the only difference is charity (QS. An-Nisa [4]: 19). Islam also does not distinguish between the obligations of men and women in terms of prayer, fasting, hajj, zakat and the obligation to perform *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* (QS. al-Taubah [9]:71). The verse gives an indication that women and men are equal, both are fully human. The difference between men and women is only found in the biological or sex aspects. According to Butler in his book entitled *Gender Trouble*, there is no natural condition for humans other than the appearance of their bodies (Butler, 1990). But in reality, people are generally still wrong in interpreting something natural and non-natural. This mistake reaches the realm of social duties and responsibilities. Moreover, it is strengthened by religious ideological texts. That Muslim women's struggle includes the right to practice one's faith without fear over and above the norms administered by the majoritarian government which believes that its obligation to enforce commonality amongst different religious groups is ideal and it is one desired by all Muslim women since they would want to blend in (Krishnamurthy et al., 2024) [6].

The discourse concerning Islam, and in particular the translation of the Quran, has had a profound impact on Western views of Muslim women. This is due to the many translations of the Quran circulating in the Anglosphere placing women in an inferior position, including presenting them as second-class citizens (Engineer, 1992; Lamrabet, 2016; Nicolau, 2014; Syed, 2004; Al-Tarawneh, 2022) [1]. The contextual interpretation on normative Islam, including hadits is found among Muslim reformists, including hadits with misogynic tendency. The idea of misogynic hadits was originally popularized by Fatima Mernissi, a feminist from Morocco and an anthropologist bytraining (Masruhan, 2019) [8]. Many hadits that according to feminists contain misogynic ideas, referring that many hadits convey in its meaning aversion toward women.

As a Muslim feminist figure as well as a kiai, Buya Husein Muhammad, in the introduction to his book entitled *Fiqh Perempuan*, Dr. Andre Fillard said that everything that used to be only for NU's consumption, now comes out of a narrow circle, and becomes a material for thinking for the general public, including non-students. Things that previously only concerned pesantren people, have become a new interest for ordinary people in general. This is Husein Muhammad's gender thought, placing the issue of gender with all variations of interpretation from the centuries, from one hadith to another, from one interpreter to another (Husein Muhammad, 2001, p. 11). According to Husein Muhammad, the feminist movement considers that the interpretation of verses and narration of misogynistic hadiths are inseparable from men's feudalism. The dominance of men over women has a direct influence on interpreting Islamic scriptural texts (Husein, 2021, p. 255). In an interpretation, the psychic influence of the interpreter is inevitable. This kind of thinking construction has led feminists to assume that the negative views and attitudes towards women that occur in Islamic society are rooted in theological views that are sourced from the interpretation of the verses of the Qur'an and Hadith (Nur Lailatul, 2014, p. 415).

From the problem of gender bias reinforced by verses and misogynistic narrations so far, it can be assumed that this is the root of the problem of strengthening patrarki culture among Muslims. Patriarchal mindsets that can trigger domestic violence, sexual violence, and injustice against women have a negative impact not only on women, but also on children born from women's wombs. Their growth and development, interest in learning at school, and adversely affect their psychological and mental conditions in living life. Therefore, this problem must find a strategic solution that can break the chain of patriarchal culture in society. Husein Muhammad tried to voice his ideas and thoughts about the nature of the relationship between men and women by deconstructing texts and narrations with patriarchal nuances. Husein Muhammad deserves to be appointed as the target of a study related to his views on gender issues. In various writings that have been published, especially in his book entitled "Islam Agama Ramah Perempuan", "Fiqh Perempuan: Refleksi Kiai atas Tafsir Wacana Agama dan Gender", "Perempuan Ulama Di Atas Panggung Sejarah" It is very obvious how Husein Muhammad invites out of the mainstream of thinking that wants to confine women in the domestic sector. This is the reason why the author raises Husein Muhammad's thoughts about gender equality as a counter ideology in the midst of the dominance of patriarchal religious ideology. This paper generally wants to

discuss the concept of cyberfeminism, then how the theory of performativity can be implemented in analyzing gender issues in the new media era as a vehicle to empower Indonesia women from male-dominated discourses, and this paper will provide an overview of gender equality in the gender perspective of Husein Muhammad.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Cyberfeminism: Woman and Technology

Currently, there is a growing interest from both feminist scholars and the general public in how digital media has facilitated the visibility and spread of contemporary feminist (Keller, 2019) [5]. Women should gain access to technology and actively promote their acquisition of skills to use these new media: Are we going to miss all the opportunities that electronic networks offer us as a tool for social transformation? Few opportunities arise such as that of this moment to begin to construct a virtual world that is less discriminatory for women. Therefore, we cannot be a minority in accessing New Technologies, we must be many, for since social cyberfeminism women's technological education appears as a priority. And in fact, the numbers on women's Internet use are rising (Boix, 2005, p. 24; Puente, 2008) [9]. Cyberfeminism is a term coined in 1994 by Sadie Plant, director of the Cybernetic Culture Research Unit at the University of Warwick in the United Kingdom, to describe the work of feminists interested in theorizing, critique, and exploiting the internet, cyberspace, and new media technologies in general. This term and movement evolved from third-wave feminism, the contemporary feminist movement that followed the second wave of feminism in the 1970s, which focused on equal rights for women, and which in itself followed the first wave of feminism in the early 20th century, which concentrated on women's suffrage (Salim Alatas and Vinnawaty, 2019, p. 169) [20].

Social Media: Instagram

Social media has become a popular methodological approach in recent years (González-Mohino et al., 2024). The use of social media has been increasing dramatically during the last years. While there are many widely used social media platforms, the top five platforms worldwide in the year 2020 were Facebook, YouTube, WhatsApp, Facebook Messenger, and Instagram (Kemp, 2021; Šmelhausová et al., 2022) [11]. These platforms allow users to communicate more spontaneously and to more than one recipient at a time which can complement other forms of communication (Tammisalo et al., 2024). Social media may also gratify a range of idiosyncratic needs in that it provides a wide range of communication affordances, compared to traditional methods of communication (Tammisalo et al., 2024). Since social media can complement communication in close relationships, some scholars have considered social media's potential as an enhancer of individuals' well-being (Chan, 2015, 2018; Dienlin et al., 2017; Gazit, Nisim, & Ayalon, 2022; Ishii, 2017; Newman, Stoner, & Spector, 2021; Rosenberg & Taipale, 2022; Vriens & van Ingen, 2018; Tammisalo et al., 2024). However, not all studies have found positive effects of social media (Newman et al., 2021; Tammisalo et al., 2024), emphasizing the need for improved understanding of the circumstances in which social media affects well-being and the mechanisms of the effect. One significant factor that determines how social media affects users' well-being is the composition of the online network (Seabrook, Kern, & Rickard, 2016; Tammisalo et al., 2024).

Instagram proves a more challenging environment for feminists seeking to criticize competitive individualism and aesthetic norms. The notion of filtering enriches existing research on how online environments reconfigure feminist politics and problematizes the avowal of feminism in media culture (Savolainen et al., 2022) [10]. Instagram users' online behaviours can have effects on offline behaviours, which Miller (2017) called the "Instagram effect". This effect describes how social media posts of a specific area can increase awareness and subsequently translate into offline (Miller, 2017; Šmelhausová et al., 2022). This proves that Instagram is able to become a free and broad space for cyberfeminists to create awareness for women through empowerment movements against discrimination against women.

Social media has become an inseparable thing in the study of cyberfeminism, where the use of social media has become a new technology in communication and information. As a technology, of course, it does not just offer benefits that should be an opportunity for women. However, this social media technology is also a threat, which should be a challenge to be conquered, eliminated and solve the problem so that the ideal of women's empowerment can happen. As an open space in building equal communication without patriarchal domination and subordination, these are the beliefs and dreams of cyberfeminism that need to be proven (Suharnaik, 2022). Exclusion and the production of

inequality are often produced through social and political participation activities, so the internet in this case social media creates regressive and destructive social bonds. The role of globalization also affects the dynamics that highlight forms of individualism and excessive rigidity of cognition, making it a new problem in achieving gender equality in cyberspace (Suharnaik, 2022). Nevertheless, regardless of the expectations and challenges, it can be concluded in fairly simple language, that cyberfeminism seeks to work towards women's empowerment through technology to counter the various male-dominated discourses surrounding the use of technology. By leveraging social media such as Instagram, cyberfeminists are trying to counter all sorts of gender-dominant constructions while empowering women around the world, and most importantly, they say, is the belief that women should take over and use new media in an effort to empower themselves.

Perempuan Berkisah Community

The official website of the *Perempuan Berkisah Community*, www.perempuanberkisah.id, explained that this community was originally a learning medium initiated by a woman named Alimah on August 1, 2015. From 2008 – 2014 Alimah was an NGO journalist at Fahmina Institute Cirebon and a gender specialist at the Institute for Education Development, Social Religious, and Cultural Studies (INFEST) Yogyakarta. Alimah is also directly involved in empowerment activities in the Women's School community, which requires her to report and come into direct contact with women's issues such as sexual violence, the problem of female migrant workers, and women's issues when accessing village development programs. The women's website initially only shared the empowerment process and inspiring stories of women from the villages Alimah visited. Over time, the website also received submissions of stories from other women in 60 general categories regarding empowerment and personal stories related to gender-based issues, especially women. There are few media that specifically tell the story of protection, empowerment and community organization in detail and as it is, making the initial motivation to form *Perempuan Berkisah* as a media. After starting with a website, *Perempuan Bercerita* (PB) also created Facebook, Twitter and Instagram accounts in 2016 (Personal communication, August 26, 2024) [21].

The many stories that were sent to Instagram @perempuanberkisah, made Alimah finally form an editorial team who are volunteers to help edit, make illustrations, and become a counselor in March 2019. These volunteers are 9 people who are domiciled from various regions, who have various professions such as doctors, lab analysts, accountants, directors of women's institutions, social workers and postgraduate students who are generally also founders in their own communities. The majority of the volunteers are survivors of sexual violence who are not only to share stories but also to help victims of sexual violence to regain their strength. At the end of 2019, after the editorial team of *Perempuan Berkisah* held a meeting with @perempuanberkisah Instagram followers, it was decided to establish *Perempuan Berkisah* as a Community. As an active publication media, when creating content, the *Perempuan Berkisah* community tells stories not arbitrarily, because the values contained in the content need to be considered in line with feminist ethics, which is the basic concept that prioritizes care, love, connections, and relationships. The content to be posted must be in accordance with the criteria that have been determined. So, an internal discussion was held in the *Perempuan Berkisah* community, especially the editorial team of 9 people. In short, the *Perempuan Berkisah* community is very careful in deciding on aspects of a message that will be conveyed in the form of content. The information shared previously has been reviewed with trusted sources (Personal communication, August 26, 2024).

Performativity Theory

One theory that provides an understanding of how cyberspace provides an opportunity for cyberfeminists to enforce gender is the theory of Performativity. Judith Butler proposed a new gender standpoint that, to some extent, tends to exclude a fixed gender and sexual identity. Through her theory, Butler aims at questioning the dominant perception of gender as something natural and innate. Gender performativity theory theorizes that gender is a social construct in the sense that one's gender identity is formed through the daily social performances of individuals that can be performed both intentionally or unintentionally (Butler, 1988, p. 519; Chahbane, 2023). To further explain her viewpoints about gender, Butler proposes the concept of "theatrical acting" in order to distinguish the performative act from the actor's act. According to Butler, performing specific acting roles takes practice, deep absorption of the script, practicing the different reactions needed in different situations, and knowing in advance who the other characters are. However, gender is usually performed unconsciously in real life. The number of times individuals repeat their daily gender performances has naturalized the act, causing them to believe that every act they perform is natural. This illustration led Butler to emphasize society's need for constructing "a genealogy of gender that relies

on a phenomenological understanding of 'acts' as socially shared and historically constituted" (Butler, 1988, p. 530; Chahbane, 2023) performances.

According to Butler, within the framework of the heterosexual matrix, our sex is already biologically determined. In other words, our gender is either female or male based on cultural and linguistic conventions, namely feminine and masculine. So, what determines whether a person is feminine or masculine is the social and cultural constructs based on our gender at the time we are born (Judith Butler, 1990, p. 35) [22]. To Lacan, Butler questioned the concept of psychoanalysis, especially about "the symbolic" and "the real." Men are the "real", while women are "symbolic". Butler attacks why some are real and some are not. Isn't this contrary to the basic concept of the symbolic order: I realize there exists after realizing me is in the mirror (p. 45). The essence of Butler's thinking is that there is no natural condition for man other than the appearance of his body. Sex, gender, and sexual orientation are social constructs. This can be exemplified through the transsexual phenomenon. A person who has been transsexual, who is assumed to have 'changed' his natural condition. For example, a man who feels feminine identity, changes his sex type to a female body. So automatically, after sex as a biological fact is changed to the opposite, it will have an impact on the change that determines the validity of the individual to act in accordance with the provisions of the fixed rules on sex, gender, and sexual orientation. The conclusion that can be drawn from this is that both sex, gender, and sexual orientation are fluid, unnatural, and changeable, (and constructed by social conditions).

So if viewed from Judith Butler's thought, transgender and homosexual are not a social deviation, but a variation in human identity based on performative actions (p. 96). The theory of gender performativity shows how discourses and actions that continue to be carried out by society repeatedly produce an understanding of sex and gender both as men and women. The process of gender materialization that has been carried out so far is in a heterosexual hegemony system, so if a person's gender deviates from the applicable social norms, it is said to be deviant. This is gender violence as a result of the conception of performativity that is subject to certain hegemony. For this reason, a negotiation process is needed on norms so as to produce a more open and non-violent gender performance. The theory of gender performativity shows that gender occurs due to the process of materialization and construction.

Hussein Muhammad's Gender Thought

1. Biography

Husein was born in Cirebon on May 9, 1953. Her mother, Ummu Salma Syathori, is a descendant of the large family of Dar Al Tauhid Arjawinangun-Cirebon. His father, Muhammad Asyrofuddin, came from an ordinary family with an Islamic boarding school education. He received his Islamic boarding school education at Pondok Lirboyo, Kediri, East Java. After that, in 1973, he continued his education at the College of Qur'an Sciences (PTIQ) in Jakarta and completed his studies in 1980. Not stopping there, Husein continued his studies to al-Azhar, Egypt. He returned to Indonesia in 1983 and led the Dar Al Tauhid Arjawinangun-Cirebon Islamic Boarding School (Hussein Muhammad, 2019). The focus of Husein's attention on women's issues is influenced by the activities of the Islamic Boarding School and Community Development Association (P3M). Husein said that he was invited by Masdar Farid Mas'udi as the chairman of P3M to attend a seminar on women in the view of religions in 1993. The seminar is one of the P3M programs supported by The Ford Foundation. From there, Husein realized that the role of religious people, both Islamic and others, also strengthened the subordinate position of women. After that, he began to analyze the problem based on the scientific basis of his pesantren (Husein, 2019) [19].

2. Gender Thought

Feminists see that there is confusion or even misunderstanding of the public's understanding or views on the nature of social relations that underlie the subordination of women and the consequences it causes. In general, people see women as weak creatures, while they are considered strong creatures; women are considered emotional, while men are rational; females tend to be smooth, while males are rough; and so on. These differences are then believed to be nature, or God's gift. Therefore, it is fixed and cannot be changed. Changing it is considered to be against nature. In the feminist view, the traits mentioned are, however, nothing but something that is socially and culturally constructed. In other words, it is made by man himself, not by God's Decree (Husein, 2019, p. 50).

Nevertheless, providing an understanding of gender and its implications to the community really faces extraordinary difficulties, especially when dealing with religious thoughts. Moreover, if the religious thoughts are conveyed by those who are seen by the community as the owners of religious authority. Moreover, if the holder of the authority of the

truth agrees with it. Further difficulties are when these thoughts have become religious beliefs or are believed to be the religion itself (p. 52). A large number of scholars (a term commonly used for authority holders in Islamic thought discourse) still view that men do indeed occupy a position of superiority over women. Men are superior to women. This decision is linked to the Qur'anic statement:

"Men are the rulers over women, because God has exceeded some of them over others, and because they have provided for some of their possessions..." (QS. An-Nisaa' [4] verses 34).

Az-Zamakhsari (467-538 AH), the most liberal Muslim thinker with a number of expertise, stated that men were indeed superior to women. These advantages include reason (al-'aql), firmness (al-hazm), spirit (al-'azm), mightiness (al-quwwah) and courage or agility (al-farusiyyah wa a-ramy). Therefore, he said, prophethood, ulama, great leadership are public (al-imamah al-kubra), and jihad is only given to men (Husein, p. 53). According to Imaduddin Isma'il bin Katsir, quoted by Hussein Muhammad, Fakhruddin ar-Razi, a great Sunni thinker, believed in the superiority of men over women for a number of reasons; Namely science (al-'alim) and ability (al-qudrah). He said, men's intellect and knowledge are more (broad) and their ability to do hard work is more excellent (than women). These are all essential attributes (p. 54). According to Al-Khatib as-Syirbini and Mughni al-Muhtaj, quoted by Hussein Muhammad, the main figures whose minds became role models for Muslims around the world, such as Imam Malik bin Anas, Imam Shafi'I, Imam Ahmad bin Hanbal, and Al-Mawardi, when talking about the issue of judicial power, a power in the public sphere, they required a male gender for this position. This, they said, is because in the power of the judiciary, excellent intelligence of mind is needed (kamal al-ra'yi wa tamam al-'aql wa al-fathanah). This criterion, he said, is only possessed by men. Meanwhile, the level of intelligence and intellect of women, in their view, is below that of men (naqishat al-'aql, qalilat al-ra'yi) (p. 57).

Thus we see that the religious minds represented by the great thinkers of the Muslims show the same view on the question of gender. These thoughts clearly reinforce the patriarchal culture. Women's struggle for actualization and empowerment, thus, still faces ambushes from various directions. In relation to the issue of men and women, the basic principles of the Qur'an actually show its egalitarian view. We can read this principle, for example (p. 53):

"O man, We have created you from male and female, and We have made you nations and tribes, so that you may know one another. Indeed, the noblest among you in the sight of Allah is the most pious...."

(QS. Al-Hujarat [49] verses 13)

The Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him) stated about equality in his words:

"Women are the siblings of men." (HR. Abu Dawud and Tirmidhi)

The descent of the verse and the appearance of the Prophet Saw's statement can be seen as a very spectacular and revolutionary step. He not only changed the order of Arab society at that time, but also deconstructed the discriminatory and misogynist pillars of civilization, culture, and traditions that had been practiced by previous societies for a long time. In pre-Islamic times, women's prices were very low. They are considered goods or objects that can be enforced as anything. By Islam, these misogynist and discriminatory views and practices are then changed and replaced with a just and humane view. Islam gradually restored women's autonomy as their human beings. Umar bin Khatab, who is known to have (before converted to Islam) buried his own daughter, stated (Muhammad bin Isma'il al-Bukhari, 1987, p. 2197; Husein Muhammad, 2019, p. 69):

"We didn't consider women at all. When Islam was dating, and God mentioned them, we realized that they also had their rights over us."

Then, the one-sided view that women were created from and for the pleasure and tranquility of men must also be put to an end, since the basis used does not explicitly state so (Husein Muhammad, 2019, p. 78):

"And, among His verses, He created for you (male and female) spouses of the same kind, that you may be inclined and at peace with them, and He made among you (and your spouse) love and affection..." (QS. Ar-Ruum [30] verses 21).

What is stated in this verse is that among the signs of God's majesty is the creation of human beings in pairs, so that there is a tendency and love to say one to the other in each couple. It is not explicitly stated in the verse that women were created unilaterally from and for men. However, humans are created in pairs, male and female. Men are for girls and girls are for boys, men tend to women and women tend to men. Thus, the interpretation of women's

subordination through this verse becomes completely unfounded. Contemporary history has also proven that a number of women have the same advantages as men, even some even surpass men, so that work or duties that are temporarily considered to be only a monopoly of men are self-debunked. This all proves that women are essentially the same as men (p. 79).

3. Woman in Family

a. Family Needs Responsibilities

In order to create a peaceful, safe, peaceful, and prosperous family, it is very necessary to have togetherness and an attitude of sharing responsibilities between husband and wife. The Qur'an encourages cooperation between husband and wife through surah al-'Imran verse 19. In another verse, the Qur'an mentions the division of responsibilities between men and women through surah an-Nisaa' verse 34. From this verse, it is clear that the responsibility for the maintenance of the wife and family is imposed on the husband. Then it is explained more specifically about the husband's maintenance obligations including food (food), clothing (clothing), and board (shelter), it is explained in surah al-Baqarah verse 233, ath-Thalaq verse 6 (Husein, 2019, p. 267). Briefly, it can be concluded that a wife is exempt from the obligation to work and strives to cover the needs of her life, let alone for her family.

b. Duties of The Wife

In the classical fiqh that are still in force today, it is stated that the duty of the wife is to serve her husband's sexual needs, accompany and manage his husband's household. In addition, wives are also very influential in the formation of good and healthy human beings, in this case their children. However, in addition to these duties, a wife can also do other jobs inside or outside her home, either in order to generate additional spending money for herself or her family's needs or social interests. The history of the lives of women during the time of the Prophet (peace be upon him), including his wives, proves this fact. They worked as mothers who breastfed and raised other people's children (baby sitters), traded, raised livestock, farmed, home industry, nurses, teachers, housekeepers, and various other professions that existed at that time. Islam has never forbidden such works to be done by anyone (p. 270).

c. The Problem of Wives Working Outside The Home

There is a problem that arises in fiqh when a wife has to work outside the home and leave her family. Fiqh experts agree that when it happens, it must get permission from her husband. Violation of this authority can be seen as nusyuz. According to classical jurists, a sitri is allowed to leave the house even without her husband's permission, if the situation is really emergency (compulsory), for example, if her house is going to collapse, her soul and property are threatened by criminals, take care of her rights in court, study the sciences of fardhu 'ain or for the purpose of istifta (asking for fatwa) because her husband is stupid, or earn a living, earn alms, as long as her husband cannot provide for her. This is supported by several fatwas of Muslim figures such as Ibn Hajar al-Haytsami, Zainuddin almalibari in his book Fathul Mu'in, Kamal bin Hummam from the Hanafi madhhab in Fath al-Qadir (p. 275).

d. Working Women and Sexual Relations

As clearly stated in surah an-Nisaa' verse 34, male leadership in the family is not only because of the advantages they have, but also because of the man who is obliged to provide for themselves. The majority of scholars say that this obligation is due to the existence of a marital relationship. That is, it means that the husband can "enjoy" his wife's body at any time. Enjoyment of the wife's body is the main goal (Primary) of a marriage. However, this enjoyment is not free. It must be balanced with maintenance. This clearly shows that for matters related to sexual relations, the position of the husband is very strong and dominant, while for matters related to alimony, the wife has dominant power. As a result, wives who work outside the home, both day and night, are very dependent on the considerations of both parties, if the husband allows it, then the maintenance remains the wife's right. So the husband must also be willing if his access to sex is lost. This is a logical risk for his actions. On the other hand, if the wife still insists on working, even though her husband does not allow it, then she must also accept if her right to alimony is lost. These consequences are logical and legitimate. Therefore, the common thread of the issue of rights and obligations can be approached through moralistic and moral views. This approach focuses more on democratic, humanitarian, and common good attitudes; that sex and economics don't have to be seen as everything. These two basic human needs should be seen as a mere means to build a noble and happy human civilization (p. 279).

METHODS AND METHODOLOGY

This study is a qualitative interpretive research with Judith P. Butler's theoretical analysis of gender issues on social media, in this study focuses on the issue of domestic violence (KDRT), and Husein Muhammad's gender thinking on gender issues through an Islamic approach. The scope of this study is social media, especially Instagram. The data analysis unit in this study is in the form of pieces of pictures or captions and Instagram comments that show that there is an effort to dismantle the value of Indonesia women. There are 2 data sources in this study, namely primary data sources and secondary data sources.

The primary source of data was obtained from Instagram posts in the form of pieces of images and elements of images and captions contained in the Instagram post. Meanwhile, secondary data was obtained from books, journals (online), and articles (online). Data collection in this study was obtained using documentation techniques. This is done because the object of the research is in the form of documents, namely Instagram post content.

The collected data is then analyzed in three stages. In the first stage, the researcher will present posts on domestic violence issues through images or captions and comments on Instagram. Second, the researcher will analyze the issue of domestic violence in the first stage with the theory of Performativity, which emphasizes gender performance. Third, the researcher will analyze the issue in the first stage with the Islamic approach of Husein Muhammad's gender thought, which emphasizes the position of women in the household. By using Judith P. Butler's theory to interpret gender behavior, and Husein Muhammad's thinking to give an overview of the position of women in the household, the results of this analysis can explain the scenes included in the deconstruction of women's values both in Indonesia and even in the world.

Figure Style and Format:

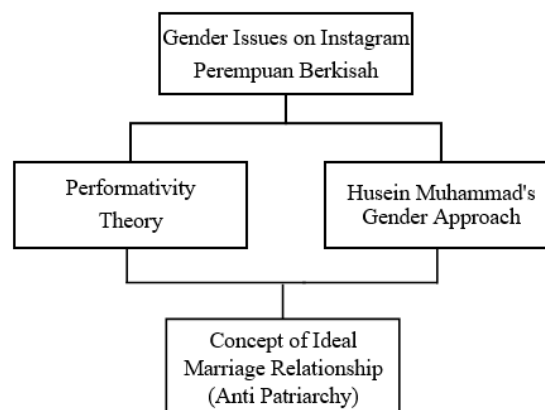


Figure 1. Research Framework

RESULTS

Based on the results of the analysis of posts on the Instagram social media account *Perempuan Berkisah*, about the issues of Domestic Violence (KDRT), after being analyzed using the theory of performativeness which also participates in the theory of power relations, and using the approaches of Husein Muhammad's gender thinking, it was found that the cases of Domestic Violence (KDRT) that occur in the community are due to the low understanding of the community about the relationship between men and women. There are still many gender biases and power relations biases that trigger friction in married life or in this case Domestic Violence (KDRT). This is further strengthened by the Muslim community's understanding of religious ideological texts that are misogynistic, leading to the increasingly strong condition of patriarchal culture.

DISCUSSION

This study uses a library research method by analyzing the content of @perempuanberkisah Instagram accounts in finding issues of Domestic Violence (KDRT) as primary data, and supported by other documents in the form of the results of a survey of violence based on data from the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (KEMENPPPA) 2024. The following is the data from the KEMENPPPA survey results presented as of January 1, 2024 until now (real time):



Figure 2 (a). Number of Cases Based on Location

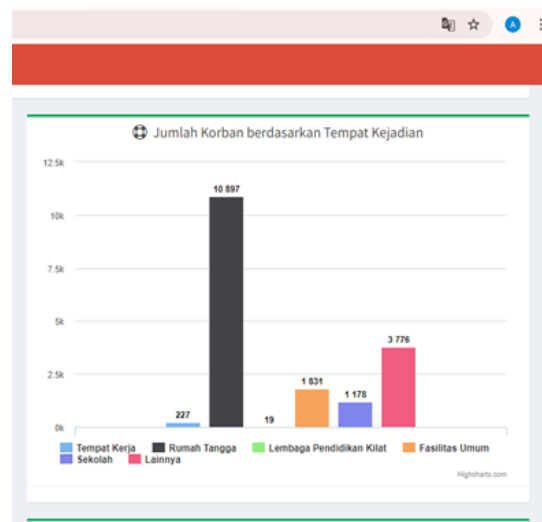


Figure 2 (b). Number of Victims Based on Location of Incident

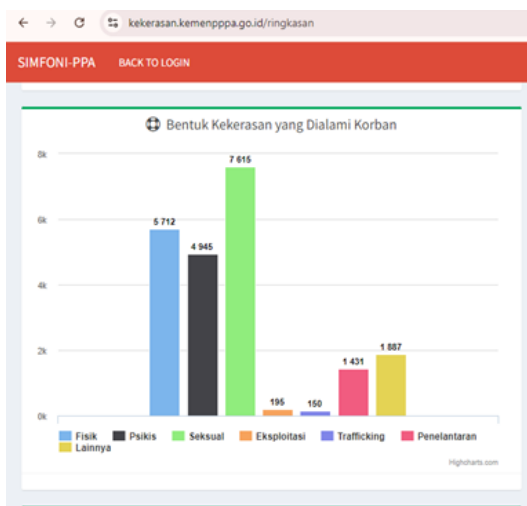


Figure 2 (c). Forms of Violence Experienced By The Victim

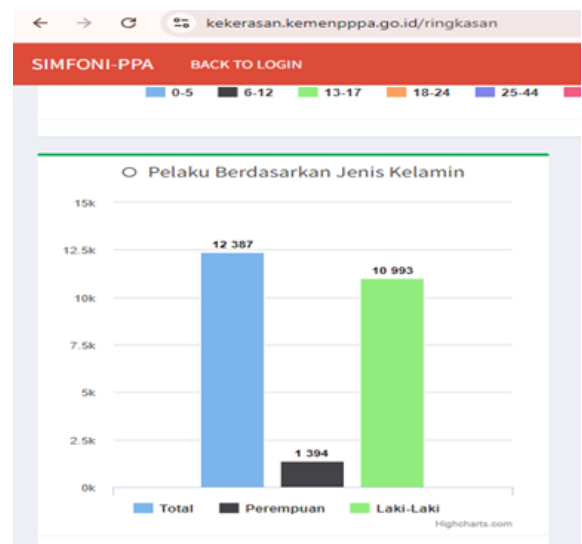


Figure 2 (d). Number of Perpetrators of Violence By Gender

Based on this data, judging from the number of cases of violence based on the scene, the most acts of violence occurred in the household, occupying the highest number of 10,223. Judging from the number of victims based on the scene, the most acts of violence occurred in the household, occupying the highest number of 10,940 victims. Judging from the form of violence experienced by victims, the most acts of violence occur in the form of sexual violence, and in the second most position in the form of physical violence. Judging from the gender of the perpetrators, the most violence committed by men accounted for 12,387 perpetrators. This means that from the data, it can be seen that cases of Domestic Violence are in the most critical position in Indonesia. The following data on the results of the survey of violence based on the age and education of the victims:

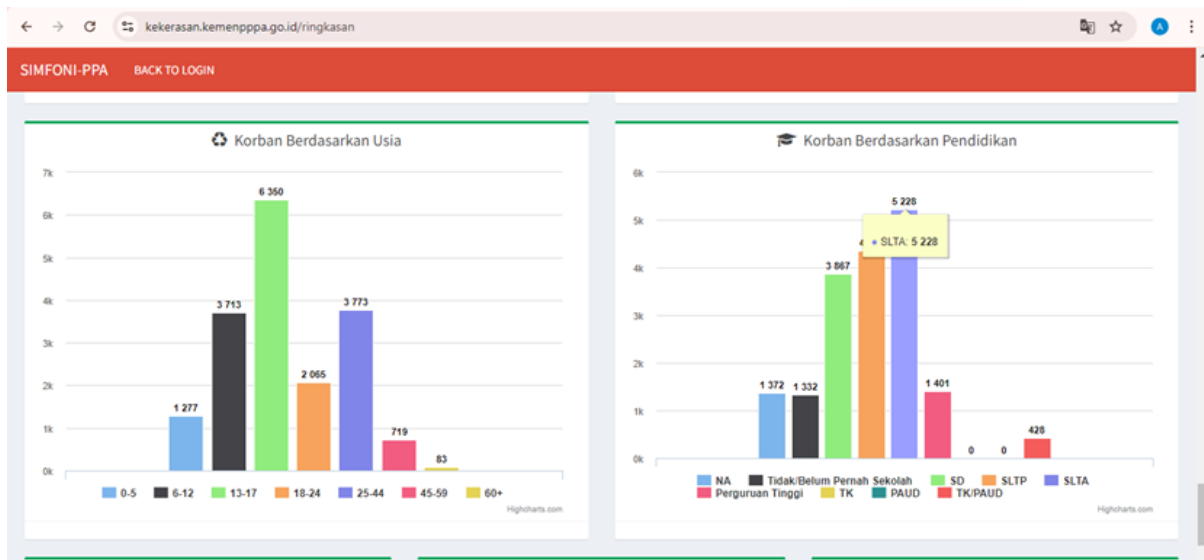


Figure 2 (e). Victims Based on Age and Education

Based on this data, judging from the victims by age, the most acts of violence were experienced by victims aged 13 to 17 years, in the second most position of victims with the age of 25 to 44 years, followed by children aged 6 to 12 years. Judging by education, the most victims are from the high school (SLTA) educational background, in the second most position from the lower secondary school (SMP) background. This means that the most victims of Domestic Violence are women with the age of adolescents, adults, and children. Furthermore, the author will present several cases of Domestic Violence (KDRT) uploaded on the Instagram account of the Women's Story Community based on the personal stories of the victims. The selected uploads are posts in the period August 2023 - August 2024 as many as six posts.

Post Description: August 21, 2023

Based on the observations that the author has made on the Instagram account post, it is told that there is a case of Domestic Violence (KDRT) committed by an older brother (he is a 40-year-old widower) to his 30-year-old sister and her parents. The physical and verbal violence that was carried out had been going on since her younger sister was a child. In addition, the man also used his brother's name to pay debts to the lender, making his younger sister often charged debts by the lender. The younger sister had told this to her family, but instead she received rough treatment from his brother, both physically and verbally. The brother also did this to his parents. The neighbors knew this and gave the brother a lot of advice, but his attitude and character never changed.



Figure 3 (a). Posted on August 21, 2023

Post Description: August 29, 2023

Based on the observations that the author has made on the Instagram account post, it is said that there is a case of Domestic Violence (KDRT) felt by a girl. Since childhood he often witnessed his father not being serious about providing for the family, and his mother who was often angry at home. When he was a teenager, he received a Bidikmisi scholarship and had to undergo college overseas. Long story short, she was attracted to a man who was eight years older. But suddenly this woman became pregnant outside of marriage while still in college. Then finally got married and gave birth, and college is still continuing. When her child was 1.5 years old, she became pregnant again, but her husband no longer gave affection, behaved indifferently, and often went out of the house at will, the husband's work was also uncertain, so it was hampered in terms of maintenance. The life decisions that this woman felt made her regret and felt that she was only living alone.



Figure 3 (b). Posted on August 29, 2023

Post Description: September 8, 2023

Based on the observations that the author has made on the Instagram account post, it is said that there was a woman who worked overseas in 2018. Long story short, she was in a romantic relationship with a man and got pregnant out of wedlock. Then they got married, but only in terms of own data, not religiously (Christian). Her husband promised to marry her religiously one day. But after 4 years of marriage, the husband never married her religiously, even the husband told his parents that he was not ready to marry this woman religiously. This makes the woman feel like a prostitute, coupled with her husband's possessive attitude and tendency to often commit domestic violence against her and her child. Even the husband often thinks that their child is not the result of their relationship.



Figure 3 (c). Posted on September 8, 2023

Post Description: September 13, 2023

Based on the observations that the author has made on the Instagram account post, it is said that a woman named Mega died because she was killed by her husband Nando on Thursday, September 7, 2023 when she was pregnant with her third child and had two toddlers. This woman once ran away from home because of domestic violence committed by her husband, but after that she came back because the happiness and safety of her children came first. For many years this woman was a victim of her husband's violence. The neighbors knew this, but they kept quiet because it was considered a matter of their privacy. At night when the murder occurred, neighbors heard the woman's cry for help, but no one helped her. In fact, Domestic Violence in Indonesia is one of the criminal acts promulgated in Law No. 23 of 2004 concerning the elimination of Domestic Violence.



Figure 3 (d). Posted on September 13, 2023

Post Description: February 16, 2024

Based on the observations that the author has made on the Instagram account post, it is said that there is a girl who since the age of 3 and her sister is 1 year old, her mother found it difficult to take care of them and decided to become a Female Worker (TKW) in Malaysia. Because her husband chose to leave her, and return to his wife in the first marriage. This girl lived and grew up with her grandparents in a remote village outside the island of Java. But she experienced sexual abuse by her grandfather and uncles, who at the time did not realize that it was sexual harassment. Even living close to her father did not make her feel protected because her uncles continued to sexually abuse her. At his adult age, even though the family has gotten along and improved, the attitude of his uncles has also changed, but her memory of the abuse has never disappeared and hurt her.



Figure 3 (e). Posted on February 16, 2024

Post Description: August 18, 2024

Based on the observations that the author has made on the Instagram account post, it is said that there is a celebrity and influencer from Aceh province named Cut Intan Nabila who has experienced Domestic Violence (KDRT) did by her husband Armor Toreador during five years of marriage. It is known that at that time Cut Intan Nabila was still in school in grade 11 Senior High School, while she was also a fencing athlete. Armor Toreador asked her to marry, but the invitation was rejected. After graduating from high school, the two got married, and it is suspected that the two never underwent an in-depth introduction process, only getting acquainted through Instagram. Because of this marriage, Nabila had to cancel college. Even after getting married, her career or profession as an athlete was stopped because she was pregnant with her first child at that time. Since getting married in 2019 to 2024, they have had three children. The third child was born in July 2024. The domestic violence she experienced has been going on for many years, but Nabila does not dare to speak to anyone because she still considers this a disgrace that does not deserve to be known to the public. In addition, Armor also has debts of up to billions of rupiah which makes Nabila feel even more heavy in her marriage. Finally, on August 13, 2024, she uploaded CCTV footage of the violence her husband committed against her in front of their babies who were less than one month old, and in front of their two toddler children. The upload was on the Instagram account @cut.intannabila, then this case was also uploaded by the Instagram account @perempuanberkisah. Currently, Armor Toreador has been detained and designated as a suspect in a Domestic Violence case by the Bogor Police with multiple articles, namely articles on Domestic Violence, Persecution, and Infidelity.

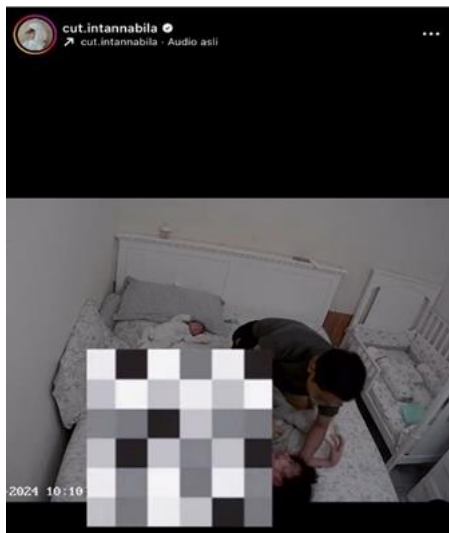


Figure 3 (f). Post on Instagram @cut.intannabila, August 13, 2024



Figure 3 (g). Post on Instagram @perempuanberkisah, August 18, 2024

Performativity Theory Analysis

Based on the six cases of Domestic Violence that have been explained, all perpetrators in each post are men. Some of them have the status of husband, older brother, uncles, and grandfather. For all the victims are women, some of them have the status of younger sister, daughter, and also wife.

If analyzed through the theory of performativity, the men in the six cases showed two gender performances in the form of; First, the dominant character who has a tendency to be abusive to the victim, which is done repeatedly, and on average occurs in marital relationships. Second, sexual orientation is prioritized in establishing relationships with women. From some of the cases explained, the tendency of men to impregnate their women outside of marriage relationships. Then, because of this sexual orientation, he makes his partner a sexual object only, which has a tendency to easily impregnate in close proximity to the previous child.

These two gender performances are part of the social construction that has been established in society, or it can be said that this is the stereotype that exists in society that men are considered dominant and powerful creatures, while women are considered weak and helpless. So that chenny male attitudes show their superior side. Foucault's theory of power relations can answer public questions about the reasons why women victims of domestic violence still want

to survive and even tend to have many children. It should be noted that patriarchal culture is still deeply rooted in society. There is still gender inequality and inequality in power relations between men and women in marriage relationships. The power relationship affects many things; economic, psychological, to the fate of children. The hegemony factor of religious ideology also contributes to patriarchal culture, for example, some people believe that obedience to their husbands is a source of reward that will lead to happiness in heaven, wives who resist their husbands can be said to be 'disobedient' wives. So for victims of domestic violence with abusive and sexually oriented husbands' gender performance, they have no other choice on the basis of this power relationship.

Husein Muhammad's Gender Approach

Based on the six uploads that have been explained, it generally shows that domestic violence (KDRT) that occurs is dominated by men to women. Be it in marital relationships or family relationships outside of that. As explained in the literature review of Hussein's views in relation to the relationship between men and women, the basic principles of the Qur'an actually show his egalitarian views. We can read this principle, for example:

"O people, We have created you from male and female, and We have made you nations and tribes, so that you may know one another. Indeed, the noblest among you in the sight of Allah is the most pious...." (QS. Al-Hujarat [49]: 13)

The Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) stated about equality in his words (Hussein Muhammad, 2021, p.67):

"Women are the siblings of men." (HR. Abu Dawud and Tirmidhi).

The descent of the verse and the appearance of the Prophet Saw's statement can be seen as a very spectacular and revolutionary step. He not only changed the order of Arab society at that time, but also deconstructed the discriminatory and misogynist pillars of civilization, culture, and traditions that had been practiced by previous societies for a long time. So the abusive attitude of an older brother to his younger sister and parents, as well as the abusive attitude of a husband towards his wife, are ancient attitudes (jahiliyah), reprehensible, and far from religious guidance. Because the Qur'an and hadith have very clearly shown the equality between men and women.

Husein said, in the Qur'an, it is explained that among the signs of God's greatness is to create men and women in pairs to love each other and provide peace through surah ar-Ruum verse 21. So committing domestic violence in the household is an act that is far from human values and Islam. In fostering a household, it is very necessary to have togetherness and an attitude of sharing responsibilities between husband and wife. The Qur'an encourages cooperation between husband and wife through surah al-'Imran verse 19. In another verse, the Qur'an mentions the division of responsibilities between men and women through surah an-Nisaa' verse 34. From this verse, it is clear that the responsibility for the maintenance of the wife and family is imposed on the husband. Then it is explained more specifically about the husband's maintenance obligations including food (food), clothing (clothing), and board (shelter), it is explained in surah al-Baqarah verse 233, ath-Thalaq verse 6.

As clearly stated in surah an-Nisaa' verse 34, male leadership in the family is not only because of the advantages they have, but also because of the man who is obliged to provide (needs) for themselves. The majority of scholars say that this obligation is due to the existence of a marital relationship. That is, it means that the husband can "enjoy" his wife's body at any time. Enjoyment of the wife's body is the primary goal of a marriage. However, this enjoyment is not free. It must be balanced with maintenance. This clearly shows that for matters related to sexual relations, the position of the husband is very strong and dominant, while for matters related to alimony/needs, the wife has dominant power. These consequences are logical and legitimate. So the common thread of this problem can be approached through; moralistic views and akhlakul karimah. This approach focuses more on democratic, humanitarian, and common good attitudes; that sex and economics don't have to be seen as everything. These two basic human needs should be seen as a mere means to build a noble and happy human civilization.

In many cases of domestic violence, marriage is only interpreted as a means of channeling sexual desire. This is why there are many marriages that initially depart from married by accident. So getting married because of a mishap due to irresistible lust. Many couples get married in their teens because of this, though not all. But what needs to be underlined is that a wife should not be interpreted as a sexual object only, so that after becoming pregnant, giving birth to many offspring, as if the husband's mission has been completed. The affairs of the happiness of wives and children, all the needs of wives and children, their peace, seem to be the number two thing. It is interesting to discuss, that taking care of a wife's beauty is the responsibility of the husband, because it is directly proportional to the husband's sexual needs. It is normal for a husband to crave a wife's performance that is comfortable to look at, good

stamina, in order to get optimal sex quality. This must be directly proportional to the husband's efforts in providing for physical and conjugal needs. The reality that happens a lot in many domestic lives, after the wife gives birth to several children, she does not have time to take care of herself because of the lack of husband involvement in it (domestic affairs) such as helping to take care of children, washing family clothes, cooking, and so on. There are still many who think that domestic affairs are only the wife's business. In fact, something called needs consists of two; physical and conjugal needs.

As explained by Husein Muhammad, the needs of a husband include food (food), clothing (clothing), and board (shelter), it is explained in surah al-Baqarah verse 233, ath-Thalaq verse 6. This is a physical need that is the responsibility of the husband. First, food affairs; This means that cooking and providing food for children and wives is logically the responsibility of the husband. Second, clothing (clothing); This means that all kinds of performance or appearance needs of children and wives are the responsibility of the husband, including in taking care of his wife's beauty. Third, the board (residence); This means that the cleanliness of the house, washing clothes, and maintaining home security are the responsibilities of the husband. Islam has clearly regulated that, but many Muslims still think that domestic affairs are the affairs of the wife. That's a big mistake. The conjugal needs that husbands must give to their wives and children are a form of affection, love, and peace for them. In many cases of domestic violence, the confusion that occurs is the domestic affairs mentioned above are considered the responsibility of the wife, so that when it is not done optimally by the wife, the husband shows an attitude of protest and irritation which has an impact on his lack of seriousness in fulfilling his birth and mental support. Even though these two things are obligatory. So it is true that what Husein Muhammad said, the common thread of this problem, can be approached through; moralistic views and akhlakul karimah. This approach emphasizes more on democratic attitudes, humanity, and the common good; that sex and economics don't have to be seen as everything. These two basic human needs should be seen as a mere means to build a noble and happy human civilization.

One form of a moralistic approach and morals in married life is to involve the wife in activities outside the home, this is certainly on the basis of mutual benefit. Both in order to generate additional spending money for himself or his family's needs or social interests. The history of the lives of women during the time of the Prophet (peace be upon him), including his wives, proves this fact. They worked as mothers who breastfed and raised other people's children (baby sitters), traded, raised livestock, farmed, home industry, nurses, teachers, housekeepers, and various other professions that existed at that time. Islam has never forbidden such works to be done by anyone.

Then, if in the household there is no development of the moralistic approaches and morals mentioned above, which will trigger Domestic Violence (KDRT), there are three things that need to be underlined; First, public understanding of domestic violence cases is still low. It is proven by the fact that there are still many victims of domestic violence who do not have the courage to report their problems to law enforcement, choosing not to speak up to the people around them and even their own families. In fact, the law that regulates domestic violence cases is clear, namely it has been regulated in Law No. 23 of 2004 concerning the elimination of Domestic Violence. So domestic violence is not a personal problem, but a public problem. All society and law enforcement in a country are obliged to protect victims of domestic violence. Second, never assume that exposing acts of domestic violence committed by a spouse or other family member is prohibited by religion. This is wrong. As explained in the previous discussion, Islam strongly upholds egalitarian principles. Violence, harassment, and all kinds of injustice to women as in the pre-Islamic period (jahiliyah) have been abolished with the presence of the teachings of the Prophet (peace be upon him), this is supported by egalitarian texts of the Quran and hadith. So, having the courage to speak up to the public about the domestic violence cases experienced is a must. Third, in the era of advances in information and communication technology, social media has been present to provide cyberspace for people around the world to freely express themselves virtually. Social media such as Instagram as already explained, has become the most widely used platform by people around the world. So as a society living in this modern era, we can express anything on Instagram (without violating norms and ethics). Including exposing issues of domestic violence. Evidently, the Cut Intan Nabila case has now been handled by the authorities, and the perpetrator has been detained with multiple articles (domestic violence, persecution and infidelity).

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the analysis of posts on the Instagram social media account Perempuan Berkisah, about the issues of Domestic Violence (KDRT), after being analyzed using the theory of performativeness which also

participates in the theory of power relations, and using the approaches of Husein Muhammad's gender thinking, it was found that the cases of Domestic Violence (KDRT) that occur in the community are due to the low understanding of the community about the relationship between men and women. There are still many gender biases and power relations biases that trigger friction in married life or in this case Domestic Violence (KDRT). This is further strengthened by the Muslim community's understanding of religious ideological texts that are misogynistic, leading to the increasingly strong condition of patriarchal culture. So through the moralistic and akhlakul karima approaches offered in gender thought, Husein Muhammad can become a counter ideology. This approach focuses more on democratic attitudes, humanity, and the common good. So that it can be a solution to all problems in domestic life related to the relationship between men and women.

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