

## **NEGOTIATING PIETY AND PROFESSIONALISM: Hadith, Patriarchy, and the Digital Contestation of *Muslimah's* Roles in Islamic Fashion**

**Shinta Nuriyah Hadiana**  
UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya  
*shintahadiana88@gmail.com*

**Ida Rochmawati**  
UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya  
*idarahma@uinsa.ac.id*

**Dakhirotul Ilmiyah**  
UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya  
*dakhirotul@uinsa.ac.id*

**Rifiyatul Fahimah**  
UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya  
*rifiyafahima@uinsa.ac.id*

### **ABSTRACT**

This article analyzes the negotiation between piety and professionalism in the discourse rejecting *Muslimah* (Muslim women) as models for Islamic fashion on social media. This study employs a qualitative netnographic approach, utilizing the *Mubādalah* (reciprocal or mutual) framework

to analyze digital content from the Instagram account @raehanul\_bahraen, specifically related to religious narratives on women and modesty. The findings indicate that hadiths related to modesty, decency, and dress codes are frequently simplified and instrumentalized as moral legitimization tools that tend to reinforce patriarchal structures. However, through *Mubādalāh* hermeneutic analysis, this meaning is reoriented from symbolic prohibition toward reciprocal ethical principles that emphasize shared moral responsibility between men and women. Muslim women's identities in digital spaces emerge as active agents who negotiate piety, autonomy, and self-expression within the dynamics of religious commodification and algorithmic governance. The integration of netnography and *Mubādalāh* highlights the importance of contextual and inclusive reinterpretation of hadith, fostering a more participatory, ethical, and just understanding of Islam within the contemporary digital religious landscape.

**Keywords:** Hadith *awrah*, *Muslimah* model, Digital piety, Netnography, *Mubādalāh*.

## A. Introduction

Digital transformation has reconstructed contemporary Islamic discourse, turning social media into not only a space for preaching but also an arena for contesting interpretations of sacred texts, thereby fragmenting the meaning of hadith and reproducing gender inequality. Modern visual preaching offers inclusive access, but presents a paradox between spiritual idealism and cultural pragmatism through the proliferation of disinformation, extremism, and the penetration of popular culture (Abdurrahman & Badruzaman, 2024). This phenomenon has reached a new intensity on platforms such as TikTok, where fragments of hadiths lacking epistemic context lead to a simplification of meaning, exacerbated by low religious literacy among creators and audiences (Manik et al., 2023). The shift in religious authority in the social media era further complicates the

epistemological configuration of the community, even though the dominance of traditional scholars has not been completely disrupted (Haryadi, 2020).

The problem lies in the interpretation of hadiths about awrah (body parts required cover from view) and Muslimah's (Muslim women's) clothing, which are often reduced to instruments of moral control. Syahrur's thinking through the theory of hudud emphasizes the flexibility of clothing boundaries based on ḥayā' (modesty) and social norms (Parwanto, 2021). While the hadith narrated by Ahmad (No. 19185) is used to legitimize the obligation to cover the awrah in front of non-mahrams (person forbidden to marry with), In the contemporary context, Sharia clothing is often incorporated into the logic of cultural capitalism, thereby obscuring substantive piety (Waliyah et al., 2022). Integrating hadith values into the Indonesian Muslim fashion ecosystem promises revitalizing visual da'wah (act of proselytizing to Islam), yet it remains trapped in religious commodification (Siti Yulinda Nurhalimah et al., 2025).

The *mubādalah* approach to the hadith "women as awrah" offers a critique of patriarchal bias by emphasizing the principle of mutuality within the framework of *Maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah* (objectives of Islamic law) (Haitomi, FaisaHaitomi, F., & Najwah, 2021). Sahiron Syamsuddin's ma'nā cum maghāzā (uncovering the deeper meanings behind the text) hermeneutics reinforces this approach by positioning historical and cultural contexts as determinants of meaning (Tia Ningsih & Febriyeni Febriyeni, 2024). The variety of interpretations of hadiths on awrah (body parts required cover from view) and fitnah (slander) in Indonesia reveals the epistemological dynamics between patriarchal and hermeneutically inclusive models, in which *mubādalah* emerges as an effective strategy for reducing gender bias (Mukaromah, 2024).

The concept of tabarruj (displaying beauty inappropriately), codified by Imam al-Nawawi, categorizes the exposure of the

awrah and jewelry before non-mahrams as a violation of Sharia law (Azmi, 2021). However, its relevance becomes complex amid digital narcissism on TikTok, which reproduces modern forms of *tabarruj* through body aesthetics and suggestive gestures (Zulfikar, 2023). The hadith's restrictions on makeup are not absolute as long as they are based on the principle of simplicity (Rahmi et al., 2025). Thus, the results of the literature study regarding the concept of correct clothing according to Islamic law become the main normative basis in understanding the hadiths on clothing in contemporary Muslim life (Mulyani & Siregar, 2024).

Globally, the commodification of Islamic fashion presents Muslimah as modern figures in a cultural capitalism agenda that transforms religious values into marketing tools (Zulkifli & Rajandran, 2024). In the West, the narrative of modest fashion claims to empower Muslim women, but often gets caught in a false dialectic between advocacy and capitalist exploitation (Amalanathan & Reddy-Best, 2024). Meanwhile, educated Muslimah in Denmark negotiate gender space by distinguishing between "pure Islam" and patriarchal traditions, utilizing social class as discursive capital to challenge conventional religious authority (Liebmann & Galal, 2020). Digital activism, such as the #YourAverageMuslim campaign initiated by Dina Tokio, also challenges Orientalist stereotypes by seizing representational autonomy through social media (Islam, 2019). Online hijabi identity becomes a space of negotiation between expressions of piety, modern lifestyle, and market demands, reflecting the complexity of Muslim women's identity construction in the era of new media (Kavakci & Kraeplin, 2017).

A critical study of women's narratives in Islamic texts emphasizes the need for egalitarian interpretations and gendersensitive education (Erwani & Siregar, 2025), especially when the Sharia hijab is trapped in capitalist exploitation (Rahim, 2022). In the Indonesian context, Muslimah play a strategic role

in digital religious moderation despite still facing structural barriers (Sutrisno, 2023). Similar discourses are also evident in negotiating women's public space in Morocco, the Netherlands, and other global contexts (Wagner & Peters, 2014). In the global economy, women's participation in the halal logistics industry demonstrates women's strategic contributions in strengthening gender equality, innovation, and sectoral inclusivity (Osman et al., 2025). Feminist ethics on platforms such as Mubadalah.id and Perempuan Berkisah emerge as counter-spaces prioritizing religious values and gender justice (Ismah, 2025).

Although theological and sociological literature on Muslimah and Islamic clothing has developed extensively, there is still an epistemological gap in the form of an absence of ethnographic studies on the discourse of Muslimah's rejection of the Sharia clothing model on social media, a phenomenon that links the authority of hadith with the contestation of gender identity. This article seeks to fill this void through a netnographic approach and a *mubādalāh* (mutual or reciprocal) framework, revealing the dynamics of discriminatory representation and offering a progressive reinterpretation that affirms gender equality in the contemporary Islamic horizon.

This study employs a netnographic approach to examine the representation of Muslimah as models of Sharia-compliant clothing on social media, with particular focus on the Instagram account @raehanul\_bahraen. Netnography is used because it enables the exploration of social, cultural, and religious dynamics emerging from online interactions between users and religious content. Following Kozinets as cited in Eriyanto (2021), this approach consists of four stages: investigation, interaction, immersion, and integration (Eriyanto, 2021). The investigation stage identifies relevant social phenomena and content rejecting the profession of Islamic clothing models; the interaction stage observes user participation and the construction of religious narratives in the comment sections; the immersion stage deepens

understanding of digital cultural contexts, communication patterns, and values; and the integration stage synthesizes findings to reveal discourse patterns and moral meanings surrounding the Muslimah modeling profession. In addition, this study applies the *mubādalah* interpretive approach developed by Faqihuddin Abdul Qadir in *Qira'ah Mubādalah* to examine the hadith used to justify the rejection of Muslimah modeling, offering a fairer and contextual analysis. The *mubādalah* analysis follows three steps: affirming Qur'anic and prophetic principles of justice, reciprocity, and humanity; identifying the central moral themes of the hadith—namely honor, slander, and public dress ethics; and extending these principles to the gender not explicitly mentioned, namely men, thereby producing a reciprocal, non-gender-biased interpretation that emphasizes shared moral responsibility (Qodir, 2023). Through this framework, the study positions the hadith within a more inclusive and equitable contemporary social context.

## B. Discussion

### 1. Profile of @raehanul\_bahraen Account and Hadith Discourses on Modest Fashion Models

Social media, especially Instagram, has changed the way Muslims understand and interpret hadith. *Da'wah* accounts such as @raehanul\_bahraen have emerged as new digital religious authorities that combine hadith texts with attractive visuals to shape religious discourse, including on the prohibition of *Muslimah* becoming models for Sharia-compliant clothing. In this context, social media has become a platform for negotiation between religious values, self-expression, and traditional gender roles. This phenomenon also reflects the dynamics of the Muslim fashion industry and the concept of the “economy of piety” emerging in the digital space (Maulana, 2025). Meanwhile,

Mahfudhoh's research highlights that this contestation reveals a tug-of-war between the ideal of piety and modern professionalism in shaping *Muslimah's* identities (Mahfudhoh, 2024).



**Figure 1: Profile of the account @raehanul\_bahraen**

The Instagram account @raehanul\_bahraen, which has been verified (blue tick), has more than 769.000 followers, 7,732 posts, and follows 53 accounts (Bahraen, n.d.-a). The content shared mostly focuses on women's issues, family, parenting, health, and Islamic messages. Each post typically showcases a style of preaching based on religious texts (the Qur'an and hadith), citing the opinions of scholars to reinforce the argument. A distinctive feature of this account is its presentation of content in a clean, structured visual format, with preaching-style writing, quotations from hadith or scholars' fatwas, and simple infographics that clarify the message.

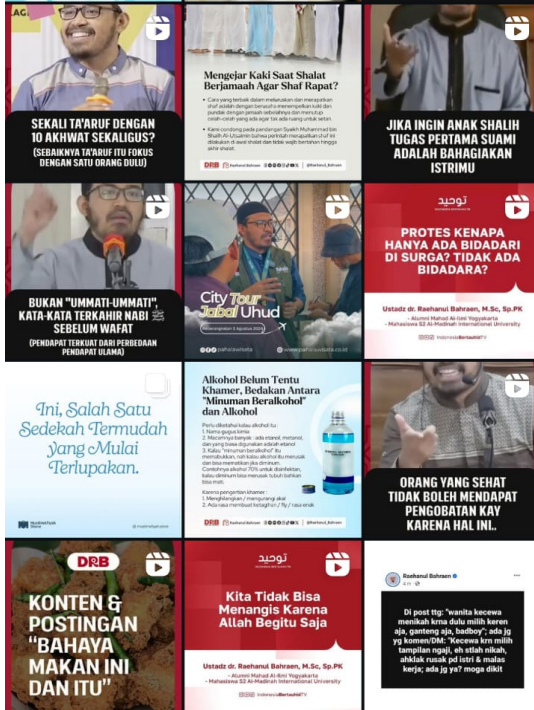


Figure 2: Feed posts on the @raehanul\_bahraen account

Dr. Raehanul Bahraen, M.Sc., Sp.PK was born in Dompu on March 4, 1986. He is a clinical pathology specialist, lecturer at Mataram University, and digital preacher. He studied at UGM, Ma'had Al-'Ilmi Yogyakarta, and is currently pursuing his master's degree at Al-Madinah International University (MEDIU). He actively writes for muslim.or.id and konsultasisyariah.com, and also oversees institutions such as the Indonesia Bertauhid Foundation and KIPMI (Bahraen, n.d.-b). One of his posts on the @raehanul\_bahraen account discusses the law on *Muslimah* becoming models for Sharia-compliant clothing, with a feed titled similarly and a quote from the hadith of Tirmidzi (3,555 likes, July 17, 2024) (Bahraen, 2024a). While on reels, he posted a short explanatory video (2,950 likes, 72 comments, December 9, 2024) (Bahraen, 2024b).

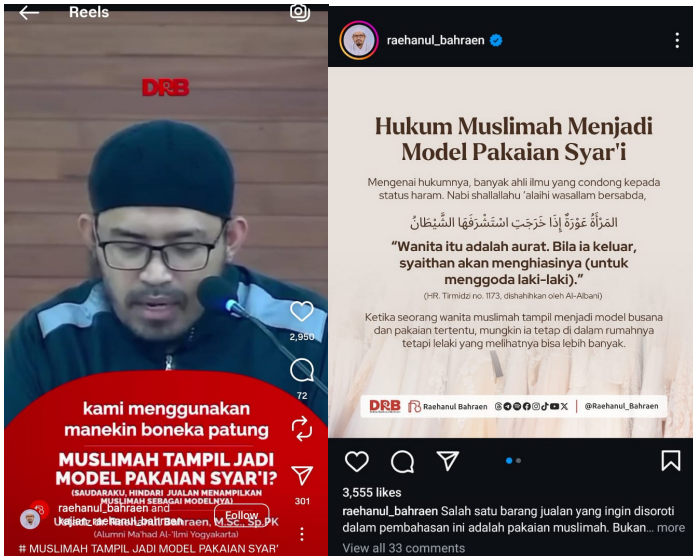


Figure 3: Feed and reel posts about Muslimah becoming models for Sharia-compliant clothing

Both pieces of content form a religious narrative that emphasizes modesty, ideals of piety, and women's moral responsibilities in the digital space. This narrative combines hadith texts, the opinions of scholars, and the personal authority of Dr. Raehanul Bahraen as a preacher and doctor, showing how digital religious authority is now built through technological expertise, online visibility, and communication strategies aligned with the logic of social media algorithms. This finding aligns with Hidayatullah, who explains that religious legitimacy in the digital era no longer relies solely on traditional *sanad* (chain of scholars for passing knowledge over time) but is also formed through digital expertise and self-branding (Hidayatullah, 2024). Meanwhile, Kadir emphasizes that the accessibility of digital *da'wah* is also determined by the authenticity of sources and their relevance to the Qur'an and authentic hadith as indicators of Islamic scholarly authority (Kadir et al., 2019).

In the context of religious discourse, this phenomenon intersects with Mukaromah's findings, which show that the

visualization of hadith on Instagram – as seen on the @mubadalah.id account – functions not only as a means of preaching, but also as an arena for negotiating meaning between religious texts and contemporary social realities (Mukaromah, 2020). Thus, studying the @raehanul\_bahraen account is important for understanding how authority, the meaning of hadith, and religious credibility are reproduced through digital media. Using a netnographic approach, this study traces the symbolic and emotional interactions between creators and audiences and shows a shift in religious epistemology from institutional authority to digital individuals, in which hadiths are now produced, consumed, and debated through the aesthetics and algorithmic logic of social media.

## **2. Netnography on the Representation of *Muslimah* as Models of Sharia-Compliant Clothing**

The netnographic approach was used to analyze how representations of *Muslimah* as models of Islamic clothing are formed, disseminated, and accepted in digital spaces, particularly through the Instagram account @raehanul\_bahraen. As an adaptation of conventional ethnography, netnography allows to explore cultural practices and religious discourse in online communities through interactions, symbols, and narratives that develop on social media (Eriyanto, 2021). Through four stages – investigation, interaction, immersion, and integration – this approach serves both as a data-collection method and an analytical framework to uncover the dynamics of meaning, authority, and ideology behind the presentation of hadith and moral messages about women in virtual spaces.

### *a. Investigation Stage*

The Investigation stage focused on tracing the social and digital context behind the emergence of narratives prohibiting *Muslimah* from modeling Islamic clothing on

the Instagram account @raehanul\_bahraen. An analysis of short videos and infographics on modesty, *awrah* (body parts required cover from view), and women's roles found that these narratives emerged in response to the growing involvement of *Muslimah* (Muslim women) in the religious fashion industry in the digital space. This account features short lectures and argumentative posters that emphasize the incompatibility of the profession of Islamic clothing modeling with the principles of modesty and honor, while also building digital religious authority by legitimizing of hadith. Thus, the narrative of prohibition reflects the epistemological dynamics between religious interpretation, the digital industry, and the negotiation of contemporary *Muslimah's* identities.

An analysis of the communication style of *da'wah* shows a persuasive-religious pattern that emphasizes the ideal identity of *Muslimah* in accordance with Sharia principles, with normative messages that reinforce the moral image of pious women in the public sphere. However, the dynamics of audience comments reveal the complexity of the digital space as a discursive arena, where support for moral messages intersects with criticism of restrictions on women's expression. This interaction pattern confirms that digital media is not merely a means of disseminating religious values, but also a space for negotiating authority and religious interpretation, increasingly pluralistic and reflective in contemporary *da'wah* practices.

#### *b. Interaction Stage*

During the interaction stage, analysis reveals the dynamics of communication between the @raehanul\_bahraen account and its followers through content on *Muslimah's* laws, serving as a model for Sharia clothing.

The comments section shows active audience engagement, with most supporting the account's views by emphasizing the value of modesty. In contrast, others question its relevance in the context of professions that remain based on Sharia law. The communication pattern that has formed is selective, as the @raehanul\_bahraen account is more responsive to comments that align with its narrative, while other users generally respond to critical comments. This phenomenon indicates a shift in discursive authority in the digital space, where the audience plays a role in constructing and negotiating religious meaning, making the comment section not merely a space for clarification but an arena for theological dialectics on social media.



**Figure 4: Comments and Interactions between Account Owners and Netizens**

The results of this interaction stage show that there's polarization among Instagram users regarding the law on *Muslimah* becoming models of modest clothing. Some comments support the account owner's view by mentioning the importance of maintaining Sharia values, while others question the validity of using hadith as a basis for argument. Some comments were responded to directly by the account owner. This indicates that social media platforms are a means of disseminating information and a dynamic space for dialogue to understand various religious perspectives.



**Figure 5: Comments questioning the application of Muslimah's clothing as a model for Sharia-compliant clothing**

The comment section, as presented in the image above, functions as a public negotiation space where narratives meet diverse social responses. At this stage, the researcher emphasizes that online interactions have created important discursive gaps, which will be further analyzed during the immersion stage.

c. *Immersion Stage*

In the immersion stage, we examined the religious narrative construction of the @raehanul\_bahraen account regarding the prohibition on *Muslimah* serving as models for Sharia clothing, through an in-depth analysis of content and audience interactions. Two main posts, dated December 9, 2024, and July 17, 2024, quoted the hadith, “Women are *awrah*. When she goes out, Satan will adorn her (to tempt men)” (HR. Tirmidzi no. 1173, authenticated by Al-Albani) to emphasize that even though the clothing is Sharia-compliant, the modeling profession is still considered inappropriate because it involves appearing in public spaces accessible to non-*mahram* men. The account then recommended using mannequins as an alternative, deemed more in line with Islamic principles of modesty, and reinforced the narrative through reels and excerpts from moral-themed lectures.

The communication pattern in @raehanul\_bahraen’s post reflects a *da’wah* strategy that emphasizes caution and piety while limiting women’s freedom of expression in the creative industry. Audience responses in the comments section appear polarized; some support it as an effort to uphold morality. At the same time, others question its relevance to modest fashion practices grounded in Islamic values. Thus, the immersion stage shows that digital space functions not only as a medium for normative *da’wah* but also as an arena for negotiation between piety, professionalism, and the representation of *Muslimah* in contemporary Islamic discourse.

**Table 1: Analysis of Comments on the Instagram Account @raehanul\_bahraen**

No	Source	Comment Content	Analytical Interpretation
1.	Feed	“Women should stay at home and not show themselves to the world; you should not be seen.” (kiminovi)	Reinforcement of gender norms that construct female piety through concealment and reproduce religious patriarchy in digital discourse.
2.	Feed	“Where are the words that forbid it in the hadith? Why can’t I find them?” (yulia_isna)	Expression of skepticism toward doctrinal authority, indicating the emergence of participatory religious authority online.
3.	Feed	“Sadly, there are still many who sell <i>shar’i</i> clothing but still show women’s styles like this and that.” (rma_roti)	Moral discourse positioning women’s bodies as symbols of public morality and enabling digital moral surveillance.
4.	Feed	“Just use a mannequin so you can see what the clothes look like without using real people “ (apipyool.exe)	Negotiation between religious piety and economic practice, reflecting adaptive interpretations of Sharia in modern contexts.
5.	Feed	“What if a woman shows only her wrists or half of her body, Ustad... is a woman’s voice also considered <i>awrah?</i> ” (fitrinovianingsih_)	Public inquiry into fiqh boundaries, reflecting the democratization of Islamic knowledge in digital space.

No	Source	Comment Content	Analytical Interpretation
6.	Feed	“Sorry, let me help answer... even if only the hem of the robe is visible, if the person wearing it is a real woman, then it is not permissible. The solution is to still use a mannequin.” (a.ffaaii)	Assertion of rigid textual authority, illustrating the persistence of Salafi-oriented digital <i>da’wah</i> logic.
7.	Reels	“What if her face is covered?” (caramelxmacchiato1)	Tension between modesty norms and visual expression, revealing epistemological negotiation within religious discourse.
8.	Reels	“It could still be considered slander, so it’s safer to just use mannequins.” (zinhaiqar)	Reinforcement of moral norms that frame women’s bodies as moral risk and justify bodily control in digital preaching.
9.	Reels	“A woman’s body is an <i>awrah</i> .” (hamin_saf)	Internalization of normative piety rooted in classical discourse and sustained within digital religious practice.
10.	Reels	“Respectful greetings to the producers of <i>shar’i</i> clothing who are steadfast in not using female models.” (latifah_id4)	Strengthening of religious solidarity through the formation of a digital piety network.

No	Source	Comment Content	Analytical Interpretation
11.	Reels	"Oh God, I was almost tempted, but luckily I overthought it and changed my mind afterwards." (nuriaawulan_)	Affective engagement reflecting personal spiritual self-reflection and the emotional impact of <i>da'wah</i> .
12.	Reels	"It's really sad to see that nowadays there are so many women promoting <i>shar'i</i> clothing but violating <i>shar'i</i> rules with their swaying walk." (jessicasuzan)	Social critique exposing the paradox of performative piety and moral contestation in digital <i>da'wah</i> .

Analysis of comments on @raehanul\_bahraen's post about the prohibition of *Muslimah* becoming models for Islamic clothing reveals three main trends in the discourse on religion and gender in the digital space. Comments 1, 3, 8, 9, and 12 show that some of the audience maintain a conservative view that women's bodies are entirely *awrah* (body parts required cover from view) and that must be kept out of the public sphere, so that the modeling profession is considered incompatible with the value of piety. Meanwhile, comment number 2 indicates resistance to religious authority by questioning the legitimacy of the hadith as the basis for the ban. Comments numbers 5 and 7 illustrate the audience's cognitive engagement in seeking clarification of Sharia law, indicating that the digital space serves as a participatory arena for the public in interpreting religious norms.

Comments 4 and 6 demonstrate the emergence of adaptive solutions, such as the use of mannequins to promote Islamic fashion, which reflect the audience's efforts to negotiate piety with creative industry practices. Meanwhile, comments 10, 11, and 13 present reflective criticism of the contradiction between the idealism of *mubādalah* and the realities of modern life. Based on these findings, the immersion stage shows that social media has a dual function: as a means of normative *da'wah* and as an interactive space for negotiating meaning between religion, morality, and *Muslimah's* identity. This phenomenon confirms the shift in religious authority from a hierarchical form to a participatory and dialogical model, in which netizens play an active role in interpreting and reshaping the discourse of piety in the digital age.

#### *d. Integration Stage*

During the integration stage, we combined findings from the investigation, interaction, and immersion stages to understand the narrative prohibiting *Muslimah* from wearing Sharia-compliant clothing on the @raehanul\_bahraen account. This account plays a major role in shaping religious discourse by presenting hadith and the views of scholars, which gain social legitimacy through audience responses. Posts dated July 17 and December 9, 2024, show that the narrative is disseminated top-down and reinforced through public participation, including support, clarification, and criticism. Thus, digital religious authority is formed through interactions between preachers and audiences, in which social validation is a crucial factor in strengthening the credibility of narratives and demonstrating how hadiths function as a form of legitimation in building religious authority in the social media era.

The results of the integration stage reveal gender bias in religious narratives that prohibit *Muslimah* from modeling Islamic clothing. This prohibition implicitly places women as moral subjects who are controlled through certain religious interpretations, while representations of piety are reduced to visual aspects and compliance with norms of modesty, ignoring their intellectual and professional potential. This pattern shows that digital *da'wah* often reproduces patriarchal power relations by framing women's piety within normative and domestic boundaries, so that digital space not only becomes a medium for spreading religious values, but also an arena for the reproduction of gender-based power that shapes the ideal image of *Muslimah* as passive and obedient figures.

**Table 2: Research Results based on Netnography Stages**

No	Netnography Stage	Analysis Focus	Key Findings
1	Investigation	Identifying relevant accounts and content	@raehanul_bahraen was selected due to its active discussion of women's <i>fiqh</i> (Islamic jurisprudence) and <i>shar'ī</i> (Islamic law-based) clothing, using hadith-based short lectures in reel and feed formats.
2.	Interaction	Communication patterns in the comment section	Audience responses were polarized: most supported the prohibition, while others questioned the hadith's context; the account also engaged selectively with commenters.

No	Netnography Stage	Analysis Focus	Key Findings
3.	Immersion	Interpretation of narratives and public reactions	The account promotes values of simplicity, honor, and Sharia obedience, while audiences interpret the message diversely based on personal perspectives.
4.	Integration	Linking findings with theory and social context	The discourse reflects participatory digital religious authority yet reproduces gender bias; prohibiting <i>Muslimah</i> from modeling reinforces moral control over women's bodies and subtly limits their agency in digital space.

The results of the four stages of netnography show that the discourse on the prohibition of *Muslimah* becoming models for Islamic clothing on the @raehanul\_bahraen account reflects a shift in religious authority in the digital space. Discussions in the comments section show that religious authority is now dialogical and participatory, no longer entirely dependent on conventional clerical figures. However, the narrative constructed by this account still shows gender bias by placing women as symbols of piety measured through appearance and compliance with modesty norms, thereby indirectly limiting women's mobility and expression in social and professional spheres.

The discourse disseminated by the @raehanul\_bahraen account exerts a significant influence on the formation of digital patriarchy within online religious environments. By predominantly framing women's piety in

terms of appearance and dress, this discourse progressively constructs the perception that women's bodies constitute the primary domain of moral governance. Through the accelerated circulation of such narratives across social media platforms, these assumptions become normalized and institutionalized as legitimate religious standards. Consequently, women's roles in Islam are increasingly confined to visual and symbolic forms of obedience, while their intellectual agency, professional engagement, and social participation remain comparatively marginalized. In this process, social media operates not merely as a channel of religious communication but as a structural mechanism that reconfigures gendered power relations in subtle, systematic, and largely imperceptible ways.

In this context, the *mubādalāh* approach offers a more equitable and contextual interpretive framework for the hadith on which the prohibition is based. The principle of reciprocity *mubādalāh* emphasizes the importance of reading hadiths in a reciprocal manner between men and women, so that their interpretation is not trapped in patriarchal bias. This approach is an important alternative in reconstructing a more equitable, inclusive, and relevant understanding of religion for *Muslimah* in the digital age.

The *mubādalāh* approach offers a substantial contribution by deconstructing patriarchal biases in hadith interpretation and reframing ethical discourse toward justice and reciprocity between men and women. In interpreting the hadith on women as *awrah*, *mubādalāh* situates the text as a universal moral principle relevant to contemporary Muslim identity without negating women's social and professional participation, including within the Sharia fashion industry shaped by religious commodification. Despite these strengths, its application faces challenges among audiences committed to textual-

normative readings and requires adequate religious literacy to avoid misinterpretation as legal relativism. Nevertheless, amid ongoing contestations over Muslim identity in digital spaces, *Mubādalāh* constitutes an adaptive and ethically grounded framework for advancing a more just Islamic discourse.

### 3. Mubādalāh Analysis and Perspective related to the Hadith on “Women are *Awrah*”

This discussion highlights the hadith “Women are *awrah*” (HR. At-Tirmidzi), which is often used to legitimize the rejection of *Muslimah*’s professions as models of Sharia clothing in the digital space. Through a netnographic approach and the *mubādalāh* perspective, which emphasizes the principles of reciprocity and gender justice, this study rejects literal interpretations that are patriarchal in nature and asserts that the concept of *aurat* is not an instrument of restriction but an ethical call for men and women to uphold human dignity equally. The *mubādalāh* approach thus becomes an important framework for correcting interpretive bias, while reaffirming the moral value of the hadith as a teaching of *rahmatan lil ‘alamin* (mercy for the whole world) that is relevant to the context of *Muslimah*’s piety and professionalism in the digital age. The following is the text of the hadith that is the focus of this study’s analysis:

حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ بَشَّارٍ، قَالَ: حَدَّثَنَا عَمْرُو بْنُ عَاصِمٍ، قَالَ:  
حَدَّثَنَا هَمَّامٌ، عَنْ قَتَادَةَ، عَنْ مُورِقٍ، عَنْ أَبِي الْأَحْوَصِ، عَنْ  
عَبْدِ اللَّهِ؛ عَنِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ: «الْمَرْأَةُ عَوْرَةٌ»،  
فَإِذَا خَرَجَتْ اسْتَشْرَفَهَا الشَّيْطَانُ، هَذَا حَدِيثٌ حَسَنٌ صَحِيحٌ  
(Muhammad, n.d.). غَرِيبٌ.

Meaning: "Women are *awrah*, so when they leave the house, Satan will look at them." (HR. At-Tirmidhi, no. 1173).

In *Majma' al-Baḥār*, the hadith "Women are *Awrah*" is interpreted to mean that women are seen as something that must be protected, just as *awrah* causes shame when seen. The term *awrah* is defined as *saw'ah*, parts of the body that must be covered or anything that causes shame in public. The Prophet's words, "When she leaves (the house), Satan will look at her (*istashrafahā*)" are explained as Satan's attempt to adorn women in the eyes of men so that they appear attractive and lead both of them into temptation. Linguistically, *istashrafahā* means "to lift one's gaze to see clearly," indicating that the appearance of women in public spaces is associated with the potential for temptation. Some scholars interpret that "Satan" here does not only mean supernatural beings, but can also refer to wicked humans who behave deceitfully, as a metaphor for moral and social temptations that can arise from public interaction (Al-Raḥīm, n.d.).

From the perspective of *mubādalah*, the "*al-mar'ah 'awrah, fa idhā kharajat istashrafahā al-shayṭān*" is not interpreted literally, but rather through three stages of reading that emphasize the values of reciprocity, justice, and universal humanity. The first stage affirms the basic principles of the Qur'an and hadith that men and women are equally honored, have moral responsibilities, and constructive social roles in realizing *maslahah* (benefit) (Nur Rofi'ah, 2025). The principles of *al-musāwah* (equality) and justice are the basis for ensuring that the hadith is not interpreted in a way that discriminates against women. The second stage highlights the structure of the hadith by shifting the focus from the subject of "women" to the moral message it contains: the obligation to maintain honor, modesty, and ethical boundaries in public spaces for all human beings, regardless of gender. Thus, the *awrah* is understood as a symbol of moral ethics, not an instrument to restrict women's movement.

In the third stage, the moral message of the hadith is applied to those not mentioned in the text: men. With this approach, the hadith demands mutual responsibility; men must also guard their gaze and behavior so as not to cause slander (Qodir, 2023). The concept of slander in the Qur'an is universal, as explained in Q.S. al-Anbiyā' [21]: 35 (al-Anbiyā', n.d.). Q.S. al-Dukhān [44]: 17-18 warns against the disobedient (al-Dukhān, n.d.). Q.S. al-Mā'idah [5]: 49 warns against following one's desires (al-Mā'idah, n.d.). Q.S. al-Furqān [25]: 20 emphasizes that humans test one another (al-Furqān, n.d.). Through this stage, the hadith, which initially had the potential to give rise to patriarchal interpretations, is reinterpreted as a shared ethical guideline for maintaining self-respect and fair social relations. In the context of the @raehanul\_bahraen account, the *mubādalah* approach enables a more dialogical and equal reinterpretation of religious discourse, rendering the hadith a basis for promoting universal values of equality and humanity rather than restricting *Muslimah's* professions in contemporary digital realities (Sutrisno, 2023).

#### **4. The Implications of Hadith Discourse on *Muslimah's* Identity in the Digital Age**

The *Mubādalah* approach to interpreting hadith opens up a deep space for exploration in reconstructing *Muslimah's* identities in the dynamic digital landscape. Here, women are no longer positioned as passive objects of normative restrictions, but as active agents who creatively negotiate religious meaning in everyday contexts. Through this lens, the hadith "*al-mar'ah 'awrah*" is reinterpreted not as an exclusive instrument that restricts women's access to public spaces, but as a universal ethical principle that invites all human beings, regardless of gender, to collectively maintain self-respect and moral responsibility. This interpretation aligns with empirical findings that show how

*Muslimah* in the diaspora in Europe and Morocco strategically balance their presence in public spaces, balancing between a sense of security, social obligations, and aspirations for personal freedom (Wagner & Peters, 2014).

In the digital domain full of virtual interactions, this *mubādalah* approach intersects with feminist ethical principles that emphasize creating safe spaces where women can express their identities and experiences without the pressure of repressive judgment or structural exploitation. Analysis of platforms such as *mubadalah.id* and *Perempuan Berkisah* shows how this feminist ethics is integrated into a religious value framework, creating an inclusive digital ecosystem where *Muslimah* share personal narratives, build solidarity, and reflect on their spiritual journeys (Ismah, 2025). This phenomenon highlights the duality of social media; although vulnerable to commodification and overexposure, these platforms also function as emancipatory arenas where *Muslimah* articulate piety in ethical, contextual, and dialogical ways. As a result, hadith values have evolved from rigid moral surveillance mechanisms into a foundation of dialogical ethics that empowers women to manage their autonomy and integrity amid the complexities of digital culture.

Further implications include a shift in religious authority from monolithic interpretations by traditional scholars to a participatory digital ecosystem. *Muslimah* are now recipients of religious messages and active contributors who reinterpret, respond to, and negotiate the meaning of hadith in their social practices through creative content and communal discussions. This dynamic gives rise to a reflective and critical Muslim identity, in which piety, professionalism, and social engagement achieve a harmonious balance. Essentially, the discourse on hadith in the digital age strengthens *Muslimah's* agency to project a rational, adaptive, and inclusive piety that embraces diversity of experience.

Theologically and socially, *mubādalāh* affirms that piety is not the exclusive domain of a particular gender, but rather a shared commitment to upholding dignity and justice in both physical and virtual interactions. This interpretation shapes a holistic *Muslimah* identity, transcending superficial visual representations to become an authentic reflection of Islamic values of *rahmat li-al-‘ālamīn*, justice, compassion, and sustainable digital civility. The humanistic and balanced conclusion of *mubādalāh* invites empathy and openness to diverse interpretations, revitalizing the role of *Muslimah* as empowered, critical, and resilient moral and social agents. This approach not only reformulates views on hadith but also enriches a more just and mutually supportive religious life, where every individual, especially women, can flourish in meaningful freedom.

### C. Conclusion

This article reveals the complex interaction between religious authorities, gender constructs, and digital media logic in shaping the discourse of rejection of *Muslimah* as models of Islamic fashion on social media platforms. Through netnographic analysis, it was found that digital space has become a dynamic arena for negotiating religious meaning, where hadiths are often reduced to tools of moral legitimization that maintain patriarchal structures. However, reinterpretation through *mubādalāh* hermeneutics shifts the meaning of these texts from symbolic prohibition to mutual ethics, emphasizing shared moral responsibility between genders. As a result, *Muslimah*'s identities in the digital age transcend passive subjugation to religious norms, emerging as active agents who negotiate piety, autonomy, and self-expression amid the tide of religious commodification and visual algorithms. This integrative approach between netnography and *mubādalāh* paves the way for a more contextual, inclusive, and relevant understanding of hadith in contemporary social reality, while encouraging

a reflective identity that balances piety with professional and social engagement.

Ultimately, the lens of *mubādalah* affirms that piety is not the monopoly of a particular gender, but rather a collective commitment to upholding human dignity and justice in both physical and virtual interactions, in line with Islamic values of *rahmat li al-‘ālamīn* (mercy for the whole world), justice, compassion, and sustainable digital civility. By decentralizing religious authority from monolithic clerical interpretations towards a participatory digital ecosystem, *Muslimah* have evolved into empowered moral and social agents, capable of articulating forms of piety that are rational, adaptive, and inclusive of diverse experiences. This reformulation not only revitalizes engagement with hadith but also enriches contemporary religious life with greater equality and mutual support, inviting empathy and openness to diversity of interpretation as a path to meaningful prosperity, especially for women navigating digital complexities.

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